



LEON TROTSKY

Open Letter to Vandervelde

Citizen Vandervelde,
A few years ago you addressed yourself to me with an open letter concerning, if I am not mistaken, the repression against the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. Generally and invariably, you stood up against the Bolsheviks in the name of the principles of democracy. It is your right. If your criticism did not obtain the intended result, it is because we Bolsheviks proceed from the principles of the revolutionary dictatorship.

The Russian Social Revolutionists, your co-religionists in democracy, opened up, in their time, the terrorist struggle against us. They wounded Lenin and sought to blow up my military train. Turned over to the Soviet Tribunal, they found in you one of their most rabid defenders. The government to which I belonged authorized you not only to come to Soviet Russia, but to come before the Tribunal as the attorney for those who tried to kill the head of the first workers' state. In your plea, which was reproduced in our press, you invariably appealed to the principles of democracy. It was your right.

On December 4, 1932, I stopped in transit with my traveling companions in the port of Antwerp. I had no intention either of propagandizing for the dictatorship of the proletariat or of coming forward as the defender of the Communists and strikers arrested by the Belgian government who, so far as I know, committed no assaults upon the members of the Brussels government. A few of my companions, and my wife with them, wished to visit Antwerp. One of them, for the purposes of his voyage, needed to get in touch with a consulate in the town. All of them were categorically prohibited from touching the soil of Belgium, even under escort. That part of the port where our boat was located, was carefully encircled. On both sides of the boat stood police sentries. From the deck we were able to pass under review the policemen of democracy, military as well as civil. It was an imposing spectacle.

The number of dicks and cops—you will permit me this familiar designation for the sake of conciseness—exceeded the number of sailors and dockers. The boat looked like a temporary prison; the adjacent section of the port, like a prison courtyard. The police chief took a copy of our papers—even though we were not entering Belgium and had not been authorized to disembark at Antwerp. He asked to receive my explanations for the fact that my passport is made out to the name of Sedoff. I declined to engage in any discussion with the Belgian police, with whom I had nothing to do.

The police officer tried to act with threats: he declared that he had the right to arrest anybody whom the boat's sailing route chances to conduct into Belgian waters. I must, however, acknowledge that there were no arrests.

I request you not to find in my words any complaint. It would be ridiculous to complain about such a trifle in the face of what the toiling masses and especially the Communists are made to undergo throughout the world at the present time. But the Antwerp episode seems to me to be enough of a pretext for returning to your old "Open Letter," to which I did not reply at that time.

I hope I am not mistaken in counting Belgium among the democracies. The war which you carried on was—in that so?—the war for democracy. After the war, you were at the head of Belgium as minister and even as Prime Minister. What more is necessary to bring democracy to its complete unfoldment? On that score, I think, there can be no discussion between us. Why then does this democracy nevertheless reek so much of the police spirit of old Prussia? And can one believe that the democracy which experiences such nervous convulsions at the chance approach of a Bolshevik, will prove capable of neutralizing the class struggle and of guaranteeing the peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism?

In reply you will undoubtedly call to my mind the Ve-Cheka, the GPU, the deportation of Rakovsky and my own expulsion from the Soviet Union. That argument is beyond the point. The Soviet regime does not adorn itself with the bedraggled plumes of democracy. If the passage to socialism were possible within the state forms created by liberalism, the revolutionary dictatorship would not be necessary. For the Soviet regime, the question can and should be put of knowing if it is capable of teaching the workers the struggle against capitalism. But it is absurd to demand that the proletarian dictatorship should observe the forms and the rites of liberal democracy. The dictatorship has its rigorous methods and logic. The blows

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Bridgeman Red Cases Revived

Supreme Court Ruling Opens Attack on American Communist Movement

A concerted attack upon the whole Communist movement is being launched by the decision of the Michigan Supreme Court, just handed down, which rules that all those involved in the famous Michigan Communist cases of 1923, must stand trial on charges of criminal syndicalism.

The scores of those arrested or indicted, date from a convention in Bridgeman of the underground Communist party some ten years ago. The first trial, that of William Z. Foster, resulted in a hung jury. The second trial, that of C. E. Ruthenberg, resulted in a conviction which was upheld by the State Supreme Court. The death of comrade Ruthenberg occurred during his appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The revival of the Bridgeman cases is not merely an attack upon the Communist movement, upon the party and the Left Opposition, several of whose

members are also involved, but on the working class as a whole, which the bourgeoisie seeks to weaken by cutting off and imprisoning its most conscious vanguard. When the arrests were first made years ago, it was clear that the cases were directly connected with the numerous labor struggles of that period. The same holds true today. The fear of the growing discontent of the masses is impelling the ruling class to revive an ancient case in the hope of depriving the proletariat of its leadership.

Against this vicious attack, it is necessary to mobilize the maximum strength of the whole labor movement. The Communist party, the leader of the proletariat, must be defended by every worker! A united front of solidarity must be erected around the militants involved, through which the bourgeoisie, its police and its courts, will be unable to break.

WE ARE COUNTING ON YOU FOR AID

The danger that we may be compelled to suspend the publication of the MILITANT as a weekly, must arouse the deepest concern of every friend of the Left Opposition in this country and impel him to prompt action. We have thus far been able to maintain the MILITANT by means of the most strenuous sacrifices. And that was the only way, because while the world crisis has laid bare the bankruptcy of the present social order and given a great impulsion to the revolutionary progress of the working class, it has also deprived it of the financial means with which to sustain it. We are not threatened with this retreat because the Left Opposition is losing ground in the United States. Quite the contrary. Our influence and prestige are greater at the present time than ever before; our views, stubbornly advocated for years in the face of countless obstacles, are verified by the events of every new day. The threat comes from the fact that the ravages of unemployment have so drastically affected our own comrades that those upon whom we could once rely for substantial and systematic contributions are far less, or not at all, able to make them today.

This does not mean for one moment that the situation is hopeless. It only means that the task of preserving the weekly MILITANT must be shouldered by a much greater number of comrades and friends. When we make the appeal for speedy assistance, it should be borne in mind that the MILITANT is our principal mouthpiece on a national scale, and not merely on a local one, for it has been of signal aid to the young and sturdy Bolshevik-Leninist movements in Canada, in England, in South Africa and China. It is our main organ, for where the weakness of our movement prevents us from sending a suitable comrade for work, we know that the MILITANT can

be relied upon to present the Opposition standpoint to the most distant localities. It is our main educational center, for its columns teach those great historical principles of revolutionary Marxism which have been so dramatically verified by the history of the last two decades, and it teaches them not only in the light of the past, but in connection with the living unfoldment of events week by week. Moreover, the MILITANT constitutes that hub from which radiate the spokes of our other activities and enterprises: the organ of the Opposition youth, YOUNG SPARTACUS; the organ of the Yiddish-speaking Oppositionists, UNSER KAMF; the organ of our Greek-speaking comrades, KOMMUNISTIS. Should the hub be smashed, the spokes would be left hanging limply in the air just as surely as the hub would fail to turn the wheel without well-connected spokes.

We have not been derelict in our efforts to maintain the weekly at all costs, because we are aware of the heavy blow that our movement would be struck by its collapse. We are confident that the same knowledge and spirit will animate all our friends to exert themselves to the utmost, to contribute generously in our present drive to save the MILITANT. The drive is Point One on the order of the day until the danger to the MILITANT is overcome. An early contribution is a double contribution, and we are anxious not to protract the campaign. The work that demands doing well will not permit it.

Therefore, every shoulder to the wheel, every comrade to his post. We are counting on our friends to carry us over the hump, to save the weekly MILITANT from collapse!

—MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor.

Send funds immediately to the MILITANT, 126 E. 18th St., N. Y. C.

MOSCOW LETTER

Stalin Banishes Zinoviev

The editorial board of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition reports the following important news from Moscow.
"On November 24 and 25, 1932, the People's Commissar for Food Supplies of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, Elsmont, the director of Soviet transportation, Tolmachev, the former People's Commissar for Agriculture, A. Smirnov, Boser and various others, were arrested. Smirnov, Elsmont and Tolmachev were accused of allegedly having formed a conspiracy with the aim of creating an organization for the overthrow of Stalin. Elsmont is supposed to have refused a confession and to have proved that Rykov and Tomsky knew nothing of the 'conspiracy'."

Another group, Nemtchenko, Gushburg and others, were also arrested on the same accusation.

"Kamenev has been banished to Minsk (Belarus) Zinoviev to Kustanay (in Kazakhstan); Sten to Akmolinsk; Shapkov to Tarn. Rutin has been confined in the Chelabinsk solitary prison. To Smilga, it was proposed that he quit Moscow."

As we learn further, the work of the Russian Left Opposition is increasing and its contacts are growing. The report above characterizes the internal situation in the CPSU as well as the social processes in Soviet Russia. The next stage of the inner-Russian development contains great dangers. It is our task to follow the events with the closest attention and draw upon our resources to the full for the defense of the line of Lenin and Trotsky, as well as for the support of the work of the Russian Left Opposition.

Left Wing Victory In The I.L.G.W.U.

The thorough victory of the Left wing in the elections for officers of Local 9, International Ladies Garment Workers Union (New York), is of tremendous significance for the movement. The victory was gained not only against the slate of the reactionary Right wing, but also against the joint slate of the anarchist clique and the Lovestone group. Local 9 is the second largest local of the union in the country, and the triumph of the Left wing gains additional significance from the fact that two weeks previously, it swept the ruling clique out of office in the largest local, Local 1, and secured the election of its own slate. The impending elections in Dressmakers' Local 22, where the Left wing is also presenting its slate, will most likely show similar, if not such decisive, results.

The gratifying results in these elections reveal a number of important points to consider. But its persistent blunders of the "third period" stripe, the Stalinist leadership of the Left wing gave aid.

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Two Killed in New Illinois Mine War

Lewis and Operators Renew Terror Drive Against Miners

The Illinois mine struggle, which has been in progress since the latter part of last summer, has flared up anew in Taylorville. According to press reports, a bloody gun battle such as has not been seen since the march to Franklin County has taken place in Kincaid six miles from Taylorville. A miner's wife and a scab lost their lives in the course of this conflict. Eleven strikebreakers were wounded as a reward for their endeavor to work the mine under the scab outfit of Lewis and company.

Taylorville, the scene of the affray, has been the center of the most violent struggle of the Progressive Miners Union to organize the coal diggers in a union controlled by the rank and file. Similarly it has been the focal point of resistance by the boss-controlled UMW of A and the vicious labor-hating Peabody Coal Company. The Peabody Coal Company has refused to sign up with the new union even though the wage scale they offer is no different from the UMW of A. They fear the militancy and the relief spirit of the Progressive Miners Union. They have enlisted gunmen, gangsters, and the National Guard to break the backbone of the new union. But all their intimidation, tear gas, bayonets and military terrorism has not budged the Taylorville miners a single inch.

Displaying the most intrepid courage and the most indomitable persistence, the Taylorville miners have remained on strike through these long months when starvation and brutality have become a normal occurrence. They have refused to be driven back to work under a union which has betrayed them every time they have given battle to the starvation program of the operators. By an overwhelming majority, the Illinois miners dispensed with the Judas services of Lewis, Walker and their ilk. But the defunct and decrepit UMW has continued its faithful services to the coal barons. Where their ability to persuade the miners to return to their company union has miserably failed, they have resorted to bullets and black-

jacks in earnest cooperation with the National Guard.

This latest occurrence in Taylorville is the result of the scab-herding activities of these discredited hunkies. At the summons of Peabody they have hunted out strikebreakers from the four corners of the United States and thrown them into the Taylorville mines. The scabs have worked under the protection of an army of armed "deputy sheriffs." Picket lines of Progressive miners were dispersed, thousands of miners were arrested, and several shot in cold blood. Due to this overwhelming force the picketers were temporarily forced to retreat. This picket line at which the shooting occurred has been the first effort at renewed activity on the part of the Taylorville strikers. The picketers were met at the mine gates by 150 deputy sheriffs who unquestionably opened fire. It appears that the picketers shot back in self-defense although the local Taylorville tyrant of the coal company says that the miners "were reported to have guns."

In spite of this very reliable testimony, five companies of the National Guard have again been brought on the scene to "enforce peace." "Enforce peace" means to assure the coal company and the Lewis union the right to work the mines with scab labor. But it experience proves anything it demonstrates that these hunkies are going to have a hard time of it so long as the miners preserve their solidarity.

Opposition Youth at Chicago Conference

CHICAGO.—Some five to six hundred delegates, representing colleges and universities from every part of the country, including representatives from the Students League of Canada, Cuba, and South America, responded to the call of the National Committee for the Student Congress against War (initiated through the efforts of the National Students League) held at Maudel Hall, University of Chicago on December 28 and 29, to resolve upon a program of student struggle against the scourge of war and militarism. The Congress was made up of the widest variety of political views ranging from the socialists, pacifists, liberals, to the Communists (including the Left wing of the Communist party, the Left Opposition). Upon such a political background, dominated by an overwhelming number of delegates from the National Students League, and within that representation a majority of Communists, the Congress passed through stormy sessions, bordering at the close, upon split and disruption, and finally arriving at a working basis.

Rival Positions Presented

The first day of the Congress was limited entirely to speeches of a general character. The Congress was led off by Edmund Stevens, a member of the National Students League and Chairman of the National Committee for the Student Congress against War. He was followed by Joseph Cohen, also a member of the NSL and student delegate to Amsterdam Congress, who made the keynote address. The election of the conference committee were then completed. To conclude the morning sessions the symposium on "Imperialism and War" took place. The speakers at this symposium were Upton Close and Earl Browder. The former presented the position of pacifism. Browder followed with an exposition of the Communist position. In the discussion the sharp differences between the Communists and pacifists were signally displayed and gave evidence that the ensuing deliberations would be characterized by a similar sharpness.

The afternoon session was taken up with another symposium: "Anti-war Movements," discussed jointly, although from divergent points of view, by J. B. Matthews, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Jane Adams, and Scott Nearing. Quite naturally, the highlight of the discussion was the speech of Jane Adams. In calling attention to a banner stretched across the hall, inscribed: "Fight Against Imperialist War," this grandmother of "pure pacifism" expressed her sorrow in no uncertain terms about rash students who wanted to carry on a fight "that was all wrong." "There are no more imperialist wars" because Great Britain, the last Empire, was already dissolved and is now a "commonwealth of nations." We must struggle against other wars, this sage of pacifism made sure to point out, and then showed that the real danger lay in a future of class wars. Her speech served only to stir the mili-

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"With Both Hands"

The internal position of the Soviet Union is making a new political turn inevitable and increasingly urgent, a turn that must be more radical than all those that preceded it. Everybody feels it. Many see it clearly. The bureaucratic leadership, standing at the focal point of the difficulties and the dissatisfaction, preserves an obdurate silence. Perhaps because it does not yet know what road to tread? Or perhaps because it prefers to keep still about the already trodden road until it has become an irrevocable fact?

To "drive" the duped, lulled and half-stifled party, unnoticed, upon a path it does not want to take—that is the tactical method of Stalin. The transition from the "dry" system to the "wet" in alcoholic beverages, was never decided by the party; on the quiet, the bureaucracy simply continued to raise the alcoholic content of light beverages in the interests of the state revenues, and in this way it brought the country from four to forty percent. The same method is applied by Stalin in every field. All the more necessary is it now to pay sharp attention to the maneuvers of the bureaucracy which is silently preparing a new "surprise" for the working masses. The symptoms of a secondary order must also be checked up attentively and distrustfully: by taking the whole situation into consideration, they might contribute to cornering the bureaucratic leaders long before they have brought the new turn, which it may no longer be possible to make good again, up to forty percent.

The eminent American specialist for the construction of agricultural machines, Thomas Campbell, worked for a period of time as a technical adviser of the Soviet Union. After his return to the United States of America, he pub-

Stalin Bureaucracy and the U. S. A.

STALIN'S DENIAL

Months after the appearance of the book by Thomas D. Campbell which is referred to in the statement on it which we reprint here from an editorial in the latest issue of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition, Stalin has found it advisable to publish a "denial" of the interview with himself which Campbell prints in "Russia, Market or Menace?" After the Opposition press in this country and in Europe had been filled with comments on this significant conversation between Stalin and the American bourgeois specialist, Stalin finally found it necessary to make some statement on the matter in order to extricate himself from an embarrassing position. "The Stalin 'denial'," which successfully avoids refuting the essential passages of the interview as published by Campbell, was made for the theoretical organ of the Russian party and ended to the *Daily Worker* several days ago. As will be seen, the comments made upon the whole question in the editorial of the Russian Bulletin still retain their pointedness and effect.

lished a book: "Russia, Market or Menace?" The high point of this book, at least politically speaking, is the report of an extensive conversation of the author with Stalin. This conversation, the authentic reproduction of which permits no doubts, as we shall see, deserves not only to be reprinted, but must also be submitted to an attentive consideration.

"As soon as we were seated I explained to Mr. Stalin through the interpreter that before we entered into any business negotiations I wanted to speak to him frankly and without offense in regard to my trip to Russia and several other matters which were on my mind. He immediately agreed to this and with one motion of his arm pointed towards the door, upon which his secretary left the room in about three steps. I then said to Mr. Stalin, 'I am very anxious, Mr. Stalin, that you should know that I am here without any intent of giving you any false impressions. I am not a Communist; I am not a disciple of Bill Haywood or Emma Goldman, and I resent many of the things which I hear about your government. Nevertheless, I am much interested in your agricultural development, as I am an agricultural mechanical engineer and have spent most of my life trying to develop mechanized agriculture in the United States. We had a poor crop in Montana this year, and the work which your government has offered me is interesting. I will not, however, make any kind of working agreement with your Government if it cannot be done absolutely independently of my political beliefs and strictly on a business basis.' Whereupon Stalin rose alertly from his chair, crossed to my side of the table, took my hand in both of his, looked me straight in the eye, and said, 'Thank you for that, Mr. Campbell. Now I know that I can believe you. Now I know that we can respect each other and perhaps we can be friends.'"

"He then motioned me to sit down, and asked me to continue. I went on to explain that we in the United States resented many things which we had heard about the Soviet Government, such

Japanese Resume Chinese Offensive

The military clique in control of the political fortunes of Japan has embarked upon the second phase of its military adventure of conquest in Northern China. Under some flimsy pretext the Japanese army, navy, marines and air force has laid waste to the city of Shanhaikwan, after a ferocious assault the Japanese forces with the use of armored cars, bombs thrown from airplanes, cannonades, and all together paraphernalia that goes with a bombardment, the Japanese succeeded in repelling their raid on Shanghai a year ago. The whole Chinese garrison of more than 500 soldiers and about as many civilians, men, women and children were annihilated, and the city reduced to smoldering ruins by this terrific assault. The Japanese entered the city triumphantly. Then with the typical insolence that characterizes the Japanese militarists they demanded an apology from Chang Hsiao Ling the commander of the garrison. (Presumably because there weren't more residents of Shanhaikwan they could slaughter).

The Japanese invasion will not stop with the capture of this northern city. It is but another step in the campaign of Japanese Imperialists to carve a colonial empire out of Northern China. Grave international complications will no doubt ensue from this latest venture, with the ever-present threat of an attack on the Soviet Union looming in the distance. It is the duty of every worker to stand on guard against the outbreak of a new imperialist war and to protest the horrible slaughter of the oppressed Chinese people.

OPEN FORUM

Liebknecht-Luxemburg Memorial

Speakers:
MAX SHACHTMAN—JOSEPH CARTER

Friday, January 13, 1933

126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB OF N. Y.

Opposition at Chicago

C. L. A. Delegates Defend Lenin View at Anti-War Meet

(Continued from page 1)

tant pacifist minority who were determined from the outset that the congress set forth as its principle line and perspective, the struggle against ALL war and to prevent it from adopting a clear, distinct class position. The bulk of the congress received with smiles and tolerance the remarks of an old woman who neither felt nor understood the historic epoch in which she lives. In the evening the congress split into study groups to discuss the various phases of war and militarism.

Thus ended the first day, without actually having discussed or acted upon the really important questions of how the students shall fight against war and under what kind of a program this struggle should be carried on. This phase of the work remained for the second and final day of the Congress. Particularly here, was expressed a weak point of the Congress. Obviously, the questions of how the struggle should be carried on, under what program, the question of permanent organization, the adoption of resolutions, when crowded into one day would make impossible a thorough and clear discussion. The weakness was even more pronounced since prior to the congress no statements or resolutions were presented by the Committee, upon the basis of which the discussion could proceed. The procedure allowed for the presentation of resolutions by the Resolutions Committee their immediate discussion and adoption.

Left Opposition Issues Statement

On the morning of the first day, the Spartacus Youth Clubs of the Communist League of America distributed a statement to the delegates with an exposition of its views on the Congress and its program (the statement appears in this issue of the Militant). This was the only expression of the Communist position presented to the delegates prior to the Congress. As it turned out, this statement proved to be decisive in the decisions of the Congress. It warned the students of the impermissibility of individual action of the student body and proposed united action with the working youth under the leadership of the working class. The statement continued to point out that war was the product of the social system and that its elimination would come about with the abolition of capitalism. "This congress," the statement read, "must renounce all hopes in the League of Nations, of capitalist disarmament and of all pacifist illusions. It must denounce the humbug of national defense as propounded by pacifists since this serves to oppress and divide the smaller nations. It must announce its support of wars of national liberation of colonial peoples. It must unequivocally declare its support and defense of the Soviet Union and call for economic collaboration with the Worker's Land. This Congress must establish that the only solution to the problem of militarism and war is the revolutionary one."

The statement made a profound impression on the revolutionary elements present. It struck the first militant chord in the initial stage of the congress that was characterized by vagueness and confusion. It was only after the report of Donald Henderson on "How Shall Students Fight War" that the congress began to arrive at a program and resolutions. In the afternoon of the second day the reports of the Resolutions Committee opened up the vital part of the congress. The initial resolution on the endorsement of the pledge of the Amsterdam Congress brought the first real discord in the Congress. The pacifists and the Socialists protested that such a resolution could not be accepted by them if the resolution implied support of all the deliberations of Amsterdam. Upon being assured that this was not implied in the resolution, that to vote for it meant only to endorse the anti-war pledge, the resolution was carried!

The resolution on the fight against the ROTC witnessed a second conflict. An amendment by Henderson called for "coming from within" policy and found the pacifists again in protest on the basis that it was unethical to join an organization in order to destroy it, particularly when it is proposed to fight it openly. Here again Henderson explained that his amendment implied such a tactic only where compulsory military drill in the schools existed. With this explanation, the pacifists finally agreed not to block the progress of the congress, in spite of their disagreement. The resolution on the recognition of the Soviet Union likewise witnessed a sharp discussion because of the clause calling for defense of the USSR, but it was nevertheless carried unanimously.

The significance of these struggles indicated that the congress would face ever greater difficulty with the pacifists and socialists as the reports of the Resolutions Committee progressed. A resolution on students rights was carried unanimously. Shorter resolutions; against the anti-Semitic pogroms in Poland, endorsement of the Anti-War Congress in Montevideo, and protest to the Chicago School Board for the expulsion of Milton Gilinsky on account of his fight against the ROTC were carried unanimously.

Left Wing Pressure Effective

The main resolution then followed. It was around this "Draft Resolution" that the political basis for the later threatened split, was laid. The delegates of the Left Opposition introduced a resolution to the Resolutions Committee for adoption as the main resolution of the congress. This resolution contained the essential political points of the statement issued by the Spartacus Youth Clubs. Attached to the resolution was

another one on the "Defense of the Soviet Union", which called for unconditional defense, to campaign for economic collaboration, the extension of long-term credits, and recognition. The resolution signed by sixteen student delegates and four alternate delegates was not accepted by the committee. Instead the congress was presented with a committee resolution. The resolution of the Committee, drawn up hurriedly, contained in essence the main points of the Opposition resolution.

What came as a distinct surprise, was that the resolution adopted a revolutionary approach in contradistinction to the prevailing attitude prior to the congress. Even at the congress it was difficult to ascertain the character of the resolutions. It was clear that the pressure of the Opposition, plus the fact that the Communist representation was overwhelming, forced the adoption of a revolutionary resolution. Had the organizers felt no pressure from the Opposition delegates, and had the strength of the pacifists and socialists been greater, the resolution would have been an extremely watery and opportunist one. As it was, the Opposition delegates found it possible to accept the resolution.

Ryerson, one of the Canadian delegates and a member of the YCL proposed a lengthy amendment to the main resolution on the causes of war, that was unanimously accepted. This amendment was taken from the Opposition resolution. Another amendment calling for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union was introduced by comrade Caplan, also from Canada. This amendment was overwhelmingly defeated by the mass of delegates, through the leadership of the Y. C. L. and N. S. L. delegates, who under pressure of the pacifists and socialists, contended that it was sufficient to call for the defense of the Soviet Union. To introduce the clause calling for unconditional defense would make impossible unity on the resolution, was the argument introduced by the Stalinists.

The points of the resolution of the Committee were accepted one by one without apparent objection from the Right wing in the congress. It was quite clear that the pacifists and socialists, were willing to concede the resolutions because of the overwhelming number of Left wing delegates and were awaiting only the practical program of action. In fact, their leaders stated openly on the floor, that they felt that any objections on their part to the resolutions, would be of no avail and they were willing to let them by with the hopes of working out a common agreement in a fight on the campus against war (each in his own way—A.). But the peace was abruptly ended. An amendment was introduced calling attention to the betrayals of the Socialist International during the last war, and to prevent any future betrayals of a similar nature. Upon the introduction of this amendment the Socialist delegation, under the leadership of Amicus Most,

Leon Trotsky

History of the Russian Revolution

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representing the Rand School, warned the congress that if this amendment was carried the Socialist delegation could not continue in the united front. The pacifists joined in the cry. Once more the Communists, through their spokesman, Henderson, had to explain that calling attention to the past betrayal was not an attack on the Socialist party! The amendment was carried with an addition that too in all who betrayed the working class during the war. (The Socialists made a pointed reference to

William Z. Foster, for selling Liberty Bonds.)

Split Threatens

In voting upon the section of the resolution containing the tasks of the congress, the socialists raised strenuous objections to point B which read: "To support the American Committee for the Struggle Against War which in response to the Amsterdam Congress is leading an effective movement of workers and intellectuals against war." The Socialists tried to read into this point the thought that it meant acceptance of Amsterdam and its decisions, and warned the conference that it should delete this point or else the socialists could no longer cooperate with the congress and would bolt. For a time it appeared that the Socialists, with the aid of the pacifists would split the conference. The proposal to delete was not accepted.

The elections of the resident executive committee brought out once more the tenaciousness of the situation. The pacifists would not accept on the committee unless the Socialists participated. Their attitude was predicated on the idea that a united front without the socialists would mean Communist domination and they would not participate in such a movement. It was here that the socialists announced their intention to split the conference. The reason given was the adoption of point B in the resolution. Under these conditions it appeared that the conference would break-up.

A motion introduced by a member of the NSL called for rescinding the disputed point B in the draft resolution. This motion was made with the aim of preventing the socialists from splitting the conference and to gain their adherence to it. The motion to withdraw this section witnessed an intense discussion in which the Communists split their vote. Henderson opposed the motion, but to no avail. The pacifists pleaded for the passage of the motion in order to maintain the unity of the congress. The socialists demanded that the motion be passed, holding the threat of split over the congress. Under these conditions point B was withdrawn from the resolution by above majority vote.

The congress closed with the election of the executive committee and a delegate to the Anti-war congress in Montevideo. Among those elected to the executive committee were, Joe Cohen and Edmund Stevens, of the National Students League, Margy Gelman, NSL and Left Oppositionist, Monroe Sweetland of the League for Industrial Democracy and member of the Socialist Party, and Morris Skop, a pacifist. Carl Geiser was elected delegate to the Montevideo congress.

Thus the congress ended. Its future is extremely dubious. What success can an "independent" movement of the student have in the struggle against war? What will be the relation of this movement to the revolutionary struggle of the workers who alone form only class capable of carrying through and directing a correct struggle against war? How will the pacifists reconcile themselves to a congress which adopted the political position of opposition to imperialist war and support of the class war of the proletariat? These questions remain to be answered.

—ADERAHBE.

Wall Street Rulers Force Wage Cut On the Teachers of New York City

The teachers are going to have their pay cut. Wall Street decided that. The City of New York which spends from twenty-five to thirty-three percent of its budget on interest on loans made to it by Wall Street, recently applied again to the bankers for additional financial assistance. The men who overthrew Herriot and the Belgian ministry told our city moguls to economize to the tune of forty million. Twenty million, they said, must come out of the wages of the policemen, the firemen, the city employees and the teachers.

The city employees did nothing about it. The policemen and firemen took it lying down. But the teachers showed active resentment. A number of organizations representing the more advanced minority attempted to fight. They called conferences, sent delegations to Albany to plead their case with the state legislature and the chief executive of the state. Their fight ran a short course and ended in defeat. The poor showing they made was due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the teachers are full of illusions about society and the state they teach their pupils. The Times quoted one of their spokesmen as saying that the teachers had no faith in the city politicians but trusted the state legislature. Such political naivete made the teachers easy prey for the experienced sharks in Albany. After much fruitless rushing to and fro the teachers' committee (except the small teachers' Committee to protect salaries) decided not to oppose the wage cut but to "compromise" by "protecting" the legislation reserving to the state legislature the right to cut their wages; their pension rights, and other such fool-deal which will go by the board under the next assault by Wall Street. A third item in their "compromise" was the attempt to limit the reduction to two years.

Just before the special session of the legislature got around to this particular item on the agenda of the bankers' instructions a delegation of teachers went up to Albany to see Roosevelt, Lehman et al, about this compromise. When they learned this ultimatum to Roosevelt he told them that he would relay it to New York. Dejectedly but still hopefully the delegation fled into an anteroom. Here they cooled their heels for two hours while the wires hummed between Albany and New York. Finally, Roosevelt told them that the bankers were opposed to the time limit. Meekly they accepted the decision. That was the inevitable conclusion of their fight under the circumstances of their lack of class consciousness, lack of organization and their poor fighting method.

Further attacks on the living conditions of the teachers are foreshadowed. Roosevelt recently announced that the state will be about \$100,000,000 short by the middle of 1933. He suggests that a large share of this deficit will be made up by a drastic cut in the appropriations for education.

The attacks on their standards will compel the teachers to resist. To make their resistance effective they must make clear to themselves what they are resisting. The bankers, of course, are the

people who initiate these attacks. But they are routed through the state apparatus. In defense of their interests the teachers are brought into conflict with the state bureaucracy.

Against its crushing weight they cannot contend alone. They must seek support among the classes whose economic and social interests impel them to struggle against the capitalist state. They can find allies among the petty bourgeoisie. They can enlist the aid of the taxpayers' associations; social service organizations; women's clubs, etc. Their support, in the long run, will amount to paper resolutions passed at conferences in expensive hotels; futile appeals to the state legislature the Board of Education and every board which will allow steam to be let off in its presence; and "moral support" in the press. But when it comes to a showdown these doughty knights of democracy, good-will and what not will leave them in the lurch. The class which lives in eternal hope of becoming big bourgeois and in everlasting fear of being pushed into the proletariat by the bourgeoisie cannot be counted on to risk its stakes in a fight against the stronghold of world reaction.

The teachers will have to seek and find allies in their own class, the working class. This raises the question of the relation of the teachers to the working class movement. The relation must be the central axis of their program. On this point they must strive to attain the greatest possible clarity. They must formulate their relation to the working class movement on class lines. To do this they must slough off their illusions. They must become clear on their class position in society, the class nature of their conflict with the capitalist state, their need of fighting support against it. In a word they must develop class consciousness.

The problem of which current-reactionary, socialist or Communist—to ally themselves with has already sought the teachers out and is pressing for solution. The Communists have begun to penetrate their ranks. They are not alone in the effort to win influence among the teachers. Others groups and interests are attempting the same thing in the interest of patriotism and payoffs, of reform and milk-and-water protest. If the Communists pursue a correct policy they can win the teachers for Communism.

These are the basic considerations which the teachers must take into account in formulating their program. According to the answer they give to these questions will depend the organizations they build. The question of organization is a very complicated one. At the present time there are about seventy organizations among the approximately 40,000 teachers in New York City. They range all the way from a Teachers' Welfare League through the Teachers' Union of the American Federation of Teachers in the AF of L to the Teachers Committee to Protect Salaries organized by the Educational Workers League of the TUUL. We will return to this aspect of the situation in an early issue.

—T. STAMM

The Left Wing Victory in the I. L. G. W. U.

nal assistance from the Left to the process of restoring the Right wing union to a considerable extent, a process which was furthered from the Right by the combined efforts of the police and the bosses. The Industrial Union, which started out with such great promise, was reduced by the erroneous course of its leadership, to a sect embracing little more than the Communist elements. The advent of this new situation, this new relationship of forces, was first ignored entirely by the official Left wing. Then it was ignored, despite the fact that the Left Opposition did not cease to call attention to the need of orienting the Left wing's policy on the basis of it. When it was finally given a grudging, half-recognition, the Stalinists advocated that infinite "radical" course of boycotting the Right wing union and isolating themselves from the workers by a categorical refusal to participate in what they called the "company union". At one time, this sectarian madness reached the point where the Left wing workers were kept from going out on strike after a call for one had been issued by the Right wing union. This surrender of the workers to the mercies of the Right wing-Forwards skates, afforded the Lovestonites their opportunity to act for a time as a sort of rallying ground for those militants in the Right wing union who would not reconcile themselves to the policies and leadership of their organization.

Defeat For Lovestonites

The Lovestone liquidators, however, in whose direction the Stalinist policy drove scores of workers, did not require very much time in which to discredit themselves. Their panic-mongering, their demands for a disorganized, every-man-for-himself dissolution of the Left wing, alienated from them the more advanced Left wingers. Others who supported them for a longer period of time, dropped away after the collapse of the notorious united front with Levy and Co. whom the Lovestonites lifted into the saddle of Local 1, only to be kicked in the face (as should have been foreseen) the minute these petty bourgeois labor politicians arrived in power. At the first serious test, as the Lovestonites later lamented, Mr. Levy joined hands with the reactionary union priesthood against the progressive and Left wing forces. The discreditment of the Lovestonites, an inevitable product of their whole course, is revealed in their crushing defeat at the recent elections. For the

party to reduce them to impotence, it was enough to borrow a little from the Lovestone platform, and more from the Left Opposition, and make a half-turn away from yesterday's sectarianism. The fact that the Lovestonites supported the reactionary Right wing as against the Left in such a key question as the choosing of the Election Objectives committee, did not help raise their prestige in the eyes of the serious progressive and Left wing forces. Unprincipledness and the opportunist game of hide-and-seek between the Right wing and the Left which the Lovestone group has played, has received a well-merited punishment. It should now be clear to all that the Left wing will progress in the needle trades, as in every other field, only in the process of liquidating the liquidators, or relentlessly combating the Lovestone group and nullifying its influence.

The majority of the workers in the light wing union voted for the Left slate in spite of the fact that the Left wing presented no concrete program, unless one can dignify with that designation the general phrases concerning a "fight to improve conditions". This fact speaks eloquently for the tremendous resources available to the Left wing in the reactionary unions, resources which it has only begun to tap. That it is an annihilating refutation of all the marble-headed theories and practices of "social Fascism", goes without saying. The workers in the Right wing union, suffering bitterly in the present crisis without their leaders taking a single step to improve their conditions have turned, and rightly so, to the Left wing movement for guidance and leadership.

But it is precisely on this score that the Left wing is defective. To retire on its laurels, to become intoxicated with its victories, would mean that the Left wing has learned nothing from the instructive experience of the last four years or more. What will the Left wing propose to do in those locals of the ILGWU which have entrusted them with the leadership? It is essential to put the official Left wing either has no clear point squarely, for it is plain that perspective, or else has a false perspective about which it keeps quiet now and which it plans to unfold in a series of accomplished facts.

What Will Left Wing Do Now?

Does it intend to utilize its leading positions in the Right wing union for the purpose of breaking away little

splinters to be added to the Left wing Industrial Union? Such a course would not only restore the Left wing to yesterday's isolation and gain for it the resentment and disillusionment of the workers, but would make the future progress of the movement increasingly difficult. The masses will tolerate a blunder here and a blunder there; they will forget or overlook a great deal; but they will not stand for a policy of permanent blundering.

Or will the Left wing utilize its victories for the purpose of carrying on a genuine fight for the unity of the needle trades workers in one union, an aim which corresponds to the needs and aspirations of the harshly exploited, the decimated and split-up workers? If it carries on a petty sectarian game of victories behind the backs of the masses, if it does not carry on the fight for unity as the Left Opposition has outlined it, then the recent triumphs will fade away like a plucked flower at night. The new leaders of Locals 1 and 9 must immediately make use of their advantageous positions to demand the unification of all the organized needle trades workers. That is now the key question, directly connected with the problem of organizing the resistance of the needle trades workers to the violent encroachments that have been made on their standards of living. It is to this question that we shall return in an early issue. —S.

SILENT CAL SILENT

Catvin Coolidge, who came into national notoriety by claiming to have broken the Boston police strike, and then presided for six years over the most mediocre administration in modern times, has just died. He was the author of: "Profits and civilization go hand in hand." He was said to be a very civilized man. With his death, his claim to silence has become irrefutably established.

THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1933

Vol. 6, No. 1 Whole No. 148

«Unser Kampf» Tour Concludes with the Launching of Worker's Clubs

On our return trip to N. Y. we made short stops in Chicago, Cleveland, Youngstown and New Castle. The Chicago «Unser Kampf» Club had in the meantime, since its organization a few weeks earlier, arranged a lecture for us at which we spoke to about fifty workers on the Program of the Left Opposition. The discussion lasted till the early hours of the morning and four workers joined up with the club at this lecture.

We also had lectures on the same topic in Cleveland and Youngstown. In New Castle we met, informally, with the members of our branch and sympathizers. We discussed many problems facing the revolutionary movement today. We were very much impressed with this type of workers from the mills who are utilizing this plague of unemployment for the broadening of their Marxian arsenal. Our comrades in New Castle are a promise for the development of future struggles among the steel workers.

In Pittsburgh we established connections among the Jewish workers for the first time. The newly formed branch arranged a lecture for us at which we had an attendance of over forty workers who heard for the first time what the program of the Left Opposition was. We succeeded in getting some subs for

the «Unser Kampf» and we now have a comrade in charge of the work in this locality.

From Pittsburgh we proceeded to Philadelphia which we made preparations for a lecture to be held at a future date. We also stopped off in Trenton, making arrangements for a lecture on the program of the Left Opposition to be held on the fourth of January.

On the whole we visited over twenty cities on this tour, holding about the same number of public meetings at which we addressed close to a thousand workers—an element who in their bulk had not been reached hitherto by the ideas of the Left Opposition. This was our first tour of the kind where we made an effort to reach the Jewish speaking worker. As a result of this tour, we now have three functioning «Unser Kampf» Clubs outside of New York (Toronto, Chicago, Minneapolis) with one in the process of formation in St. Louis, with small groups or individuals doing the work of «Unser Kampf» in sixteen cities. With this organized base we feel confident that we will now be able to proceed with the regular issuance of «Unser Kampf», building up the existing clubs and preparing the grounds for new ones.

—MORRIS LEWIT.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.

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July 4, 1931—Dec. 31, 1932
76 Issues

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THE MILITANT
126 East 16th Street,
New York City

«With Both Hands»

The Stalin Bureaucracy and the United States of America

(Continued from page 1)

as the confiscation of property, elimination of personal rights, nationalization of women and children, repudiation of debts and religion, and above all, what we thought was an attempt to interfere with our own Government. I told him that neither he nor his Government could expect the friendship, cooperation and recognition of our Government if they ever did try to interfere with our affairs.

"Mr. Stalin immediately replied that he realized this and he too wanted to speak with the same frankness and with out offense. He said that he knew there were such unfavorable reports in our country, and took considerable time to explain the true conditions in Russia. He unhesitatingly admitted, with disarming frankness, that under Trotsky there had been an attempt to spread Communism throughout the world. He said that was the primary cause of the break between himself and Trotsky. That Trotsky believed in Universal Communism while he wanted to confine his efforts to his own country. He explained that they had neither the time nor the money to try to Communize the world, even should they wish to do so, and that his own chief interest was to improve the conditions of the people in Russia, without any interference whatsoever in the government of other countries.

"We discussed the Third International and other reports of Soviet propaganda and I must admit that Mr. Stalin convinced me there is no attempt now on his part, or on the part of officials of the Soviet Government, to interfere with the Government of the United States. We discussed politics, economics, banking, business, trade with the United States, transportation, agriculture and education. I was amazed at Mr. Stalin's knowledge of general affairs. He reminded me of many of our big industrial leaders who must have a general knowledge of practically all affairs to hold their positions. His words, as they were transferred to me through the interpreter, were carefully chosen, and I was particularly surprised at his knowledge of the Constitution of the United States. In fact, my own lack of knowledge of this same Constitution caused me considerable embarrassment, and the first thing I did, upon reaching London, was to find a bookstore to buy a copy.

"The conference lasted well after dark, as the sun sets early in the northern country. Upon leaving, he told me that the interpreter would prepare a typewritten copy of our conversation, which I received two weeks later in London, signed 'I. Stalin' and with this note—Keep this record, it may be a very historical document some day."

The correctness of the interview, as is clear from the circumstances described, is beyond any doubt. Campbell is no light minded journalist hunting after sensations, but an energetic Yankee business man, an important American man of wealth and machine builder. He is quite kindly disposed in his relations to Stalin. In reporting the interview, Campbell did not rely merely on his memory, but also upon the official report supplied to him. Finally, Campbell's reports have nowhere and never been denied. These circumstances sufficiently clarify the correctness of the interview from the formal side. But much more important is the inner political power of conviction of the conversation, its concordance with the spirit of their participants and their circumstances. No journalist, moreover, could

have thought up that double handshake, that excellent description of the true essence of the differences of opinion between Stalin and Trotsky.

The Yankee remains true to himself to the very end in this conversation. The solid bourgeois, who has had a bad harvest this year and is therefore all the more inclined to do a stroke of business with the godless nationalizers of women, sticks his leg upon the Soviet table, and slaps the leader of the Bolsheviks on the shoulder half patronizingly, half warningly.

Nobody will want to reproach Stalin for endeavoring to utilize the meeting with Campbell for facilitating an agreement with the American government and the American market. Yet, why this "sudden" rise to his feet, this gripping of Campbell's hand with both of his and this proposal not only of "mutual respect" but also of "friendship"? Does that resemble the conduct of a representative of the workers' state, who is carrying on business negotiations with the representative of the capitalist world? And alas and black, no resemblance at all! But it does resemble the crawling conduct of a petty bourgeois before a big bourgeois. This little occurrence which, to put it frankly, nauseates one in the reading, is very characteristic: it affords the possibility to discern the true political consciousness of Stalin, who is so resolute and relentless in the struggle against the Opposition (Communists and the dissatisfied workers).

Fifteen years after the October revolution, Stalin speaks with the American capitalist in virtually the same tone in which Milukov and Kerensky once spoke with Buchanan in the not very glorious days of the impotent coalition. The resemblance lies not only in the tone, but also in the contents. "The necessity is openly preached amongst you in the press and in public for concluding the war," Buchanan cuttingly reproached the February powers—that is, "Not we," Milukov, Terechenko, Kerensky defended themselves, "only the Bolsheviks. But we'll finish them off right enough." "Just look," Kerensky then assured Buchanan, holding his hand with both his own because he did not have a third hand—"just look, Lenin is already driven into illegality again and Trotsky is in the Kresty prison."

Naturally, Stalin's position is essentially different for the October revolution is an historical fact, and the "apparatus" built itself upon its social consequences. But the political task of the bureaucracy does not consist in the spreading of the October revolution throughout the world; it is for this program that Trotsky was expelled from the USSR, Stalin respectfully reports to the American bourgeois. His Stalin's task—consisted in improving the position of the Russian people by means of "friendship" with American capital. Unfortunately, however, it is precisely Stalin's policy on the field of "improving the position of the people" that leads to constantly sadder results.

Perhaps a sage will be found to contend: By his assertions about the international revolution, etc., Stalin simply aimed at deceiving the American as to his real opinions. What is wrong with that? Is it worth while hanging on to such a point? Yet, only a completely hopeless idiot could possibly believe such an explanation.

Before anything else: Is it permitted to seek to deceive an adversary by such declarations which must inevitably confuse and demoralize friends? For what Stalin simply declared before the whole

world was that in contradiction from the Left Opposition, his faction has renounced the theory and practice of the international revolution. Should one play with such things in the interests of diplomacy? Even in the limits of diplomacy such a game would be condemned to a miserable fiasco. A private conversation, even when it lasts till sunrise, is not enough to exercise any influence upon the ruling class of the U. S. A. The Yankees—are serious business men; they will not buy a pig in a poke. Assertions must stand on facts and lead to facts. The declaration of Stalin is no maneuver and no trick; taken at bottom it is the consequence of the theory of socialism in a single country. It was prepared for by the whole policy of recent years. In the near future too, it may become the doctrine of the new course, into which the bureaucracy is entering more directly every day, thanks to its blindness and its failures.

Can it really be forgotten that the Soviet government, unexpected by all, supported the Kellogg Pact? The motivation dictated by Stalin and intended only for home consumption, said: Even if the Kellogg Pact does not go far enough, it is nevertheless a step forward. Soviet diplomacy is of course under no obligation to say out loud everything it is thinking. It must not, without undermining the ground beneath its feet, make any steps of declarations which help the enemy to deceive the workers and weaken their vigilance. The Kellogg Pact is no step forward to peace, but the diplomatic cover for the mightiest and most dangerous of all the imperialist bandits. The matter is not merely confined to the Pact. Litvinov recently supported the American proposal for "partial disarmament". In that connection the Soviet press did not expose Hoover's demand, but only those imperialists who did not want to join hands with it. Meanwhile, Hoover's proposal, just like the Kellogg Pact, has as its aim neither disarmament nor the averting of war, but the concentration of the control over war and peace in the hands of the U. S. A. The preparation of favorable moral and material points of departure for the coming war—that is the only task of the American imperialists. If it is assumed that Soviet diplomacy could not express itself openly—that is not our opinion—then the press should have spoken for it. But when the Stalin-inspired diplomacy clings to the proposals of Hoover and Kellogg "with both hands", it is deceiving the world proletariat and weakening the Soviet state, if the Centralists in Amsterdam places themselves entirely upon the basis of petty bourgeois pacifism, which is honestly meant for the most part and is at all events still rooted in the masses, then in Geneva, they join hands at the "Left" with imperialist pseudo-pacifism, whose roots are to be sought in banks and trusts. In the question of war, the epigones break openly and demonstratively with the revolutionary tradition of Leninism. Their immediate objective is to win the trust of American capital. The nocturnal conversation in the Kremlin constitutes irreplaceable commentary to the speeches of the Soviet delegates at Geneva.

Yet, diplomacy does not exhaust the question, and on this field it can lay no claim to first place. Where does the Communist International fit in? For four and a half years now no Congress of the Comintern has been called and nobody knows when it will be called, if ever. Stalin does not so much as find the time to appear at the ECCI Plenum and leaves the leadership to people who for the most part need leading themselves. Is it not a deliberate demonstration of disrespect for the Comintern? Does it not signify and in actuality and

not only in conversation with the American bourgeois, Stalin has given up completely the policy of the international revolution? No, he did not deceive Campbell. He only described, with rare frankness, the situation as it actually is. Still another question, and that the most essential of all, was brightly illuminated in the Stalin-Campbell dialogue: the question of socialism in one country. In spite of all the half-baked prophecies, the Five Year Plan did not increase the economic "independence" of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the advances of the industrialization extended and deepened the relations of Soviet economy to world economy, consequently, also, their mutual dependency.

The double hand-shake of Stalin and his respectful indication of the Left Opposition to American capital is, in the last analysis, nothing but the political expression of the economic dependency of the Soviet Union upon the world market. The humiliating character of this "expression" is determined by the psychology of a very highly situated but, notwithstanding that, a petty bourgeois bureaucrat, whom the great events always find unprepared.

The more the Stalin faction turns its back upon the international revolution, the more it will feel its dependency upon world capital, the more convulsively it will cling to it "with both hands". Stalin's hand-shake is not only a symbolical act—it is almost a program. Whereas he thoughtlessly and flatteringly accuses the Opposition of endeavoring to turn over Soviet industry to foreign capital, Stalin is obviously preparing for a change in the international as well as the internal political course.

Stuck in a vise, the bureaucracy is capable of engaging in any adventure, including treacherous ones. To trust it blindly, means to be an accessory to treason. Today more than ever we are duty-bound to watch over Stalin's conduct in the field of foreign political relations not only with tireless attention but also with sharp distrust.

On guard! Be prepared!

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The Crisis in the Food Workers Industrial Union in New York

The Food Workers Industrial Union is in a very bad situation. The enthusiasm and strength of its membership and its strike struggles, which struck terror in the past in the hearts of the bosses' associations and their gangsters, has given place for a long time to pessimism and discontent. This is very often denied and only occasionally admitted by the leadership of the union and the Trade Union Unity Council. But they always cautiously avoid any explanation of the causes that brought about the present situation.

During the party's pre-convention discussion in the summer of 1930, I wrote an article on the union, pointing out that unless the union changes its policy and corrects its errors, the union would continue to head toward destruction. This article never appeared. The excuse was that it was handed in too late, though it was given to them during the first week of the opening of the discussion. Again, a year ago, the convention of the union took place. The discussion for the delegates to the convention was limited by the fraction (headed by Joseph Zack) to ten minutes and later to 5. I strenuously protested against this decision and insisted that the past errors ought to be brought out into the open and a chance to discuss these errors be given to the delegates. In this way, some of the confidence lost by the members in the fraction, might be regained. This proposal was rejected by Zack on the ground that such a discussion would tend to demoralize the convention.

On November 16, 1932, the elections of the officials in the Cafeteria Section took place. General secretary Rubin made a long and "satisfactory" report on the union. He defended the general policy of the F.W.I.U. and said that if some sort of crisis existed in the union, it was because we had failed to carry out correctly the "general line". Then three minutes was set as the limit to the discussion, which was not to last over an hour. Some party members who had chanced to be misunderstood by the party bureaucrats, took advantage of the opportunity, to smooth over their bad standing by defending the "general line". Then the slate of the fraction for the officials was presented and steam-rolled without difficulty—to the glory of the general line.

The Open Letter
Let us take the open letter of the Executive Committee of the F.W.I.U. signed by the General Secretary Joseph Zack, addressed to the organization and published in the September issue of the **Food Worker**. In it the crisis is analyzed as follows:

"It is necessary to emphasize at this time that the inner situation in the Food Workers Union is such that the union can hardly attract and hold workers ready for organization." The letter attributes the cause of the present conditions in the union to the following reasons: anarcho-syndicalist traditions of the union; constant changes in the leadership; lack of persistent, steady line of policy in the industry; infantile Leftist tendencies when the union is on the up-grade; rank opportunism when faced with severe difficulties; lack of inner democracy; cliquism of Beal and Teitelbaum, etc.; and above all, the failure to carry on the "general line" of the F.W.I.U.

So read the letter. But when we examine closely the actual results of Zack's letter we see that the general line curbed out in full in the union (which entirely reflects the general line which the Stalinist bureaucracy has imposed upon the party) is what brought about the present conditions in the union.

It is discouraging, however, that with the exception of Kleron's mild criticism in the following issue of the **Food**

Worker, the fraction said nothing about the merits or lack of merits of this disgraceful document.

Is it possible for us to believe that the fraction forgot the past so soon and allowed itself to be made the scapegoat—of the "general line"? Has it been forgotten that in every instance, all the policies and tactics in the union were made with the endorsement of Zack and Johnstone, whether they were "ultra-Leftist" or "rank opportunistic"? For instance in May 1930, when the Executive Committee after a three day discussion decided to change the structure of the union, Johnstone over-ruled the proposals of the Executive Committee of the union, stating that it was an A F of L policy. Only a year and a half later, this "A F of L policy" was accepted by them as the "correct F.W.I.U. policy." The above example is an indication of that "lack of persistence" in the union's line. Was I not condemned time and again by Johnstone and other bureaucrats for proposing in the leading fraction the abolition of the general shop delegates council, the establishment of section executives, etc., etc.?

To conceal these facts which are very well known at least to some members of the union can only bring injury to the F.W.I.U. in particular and Communism in general.

In his letter, Zack speaks for democracy against bureaucracy. What a pity! Didn't Zack, over the heads of the union leadership, come down to the Concooper's workers, demanding a ten percent tax on their wages for the F.W.I.U. and stating that those who refuse to pay the tax are enemies of the working class? When the majority of the members refused to submit to this categorical and arbitrary demand, Zack came back a few weeks later with an alleged decision by the National Committee of the Trade Union Unity League and the party, stating that for the benefit of the "concoopers", they were ordered to leave their jobs. When the workers elected a committee to see comrade Foster and find out the reasons for this decision, he (Foster) in the presence of the National Committee, said that the "committee knew nothing of this decision and, turning to Zack, he condemned him for such bureaucratic action.

The Kornelios Case
Another example is the Kornelios case. Because Kornelios dared to criticize the inefficiency of the Concooper's management, he was fired from his job by Zack's assistant, John Steuben. When the membership of the union condemned this action and voted that Kornelios return to work, Zack said, "Nothing doing. The membership is not always right," and rejected its decision.

As to anarcho-syndicalism, the cliquism of Beal, Teitelbaum and the others, we shall deal with these aspects of the question in our next article.

In conclusion, Zack proposed several good points for the union. But these points were proposed dozens of times in the past. They never materialized due to the fact that the party members did not function as a genuine Communist fraction.

Only recently, the party bureaucrats arbitrarily excluded more than thirty comrades from fraction meetings, considering them as "unhealthy and disruptive elements". Only those with special invitations from the fraction secretary are now allowed to attend meetings. This action has nothing in common with Leninism. If comrades are not qualified for the fraction, they must first be called to account before the Control Commission and action taken there. Such procedures indicate that no healthy measures are being taken to remedy the ills within the union.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

The turn-over of labor in industry is a vital index of workers' living conditions. In Japan this index is artificially lowered by the method of involving workers in debt at the beginning of employment so as to keep them in bondage, and by the virtual imprisonment of labor in dormitories. Factory workers are allowed but two rest days a month by law and those in dormitories can only leave two to four times a month by special permission. Even so the turn-over in "normal" times is extremely high, official figures setting it at from 60 to 100 percent before the present crisis. The costliness of this turn-over may be gauged by the fact that it takes a year in silk mills to bring a recruit's productivity up to average, yet the average term of work is but slightly more than one year. Nor do the girls who represent more than half of all factory workers (and 80 percent of all textile workers) transfer to other factories. They prefer to return home to marry—or they are forced into prostitution.

Trade Union Movement

The first attempts at organizing trade unions were ruthlessly suppressed by the government. The anti-union Act of 1900 remained in force with but minor changes up to 1926 when, following the English models of opportunist "harmony" unions designed with the aid of the ruling class to blunt and render harmless the weapons of working class organization, the Japanese government decided to foster and encourage company unionism by a new act recommending arbitration in labor disputes. This act has remained a dead letter on the statute books although company unions have spread. Trade unions still possess no legal status, the government cautiously tolerating re-

formist unions but ever ready to suppress "dangerous tendencies" without warning.

The Outburst of 1918 and After

As the cost of living rose to dizzy heights during the War, the workers were driven more and more by need to strike for higher wages. Whereas in 1914 there were only 50 strikes involving 7600 workers, the number of strikes rose to 398 in 1917 and to 417 in 1918 involving, in the latter year 66,000 workers. The existing scarcity of food was aggravated by the Siberian adventure which necessitated the buying-up and diversion from the market of large stocks of rice. The pinch of hunger was felt everywhere by the masses.

Suddenly, without previous warning, the storm broke and there came the thunderclap of the spontaneous uprising of 1918. Starting in the obscure fisherman's village of Toyama where some fishermen's wives stormed the rice shops for food for their starving children, the movement spread like wildfire among workers and peasants. The agrarian movement revealed its elemental power by the burning of the homes of large landowners in forty-two provinces, and the looting of granaries. In the space of a few days the workers in practically every large town and city poured out into the streets, banded together and, where they did not loot the shops directly, forced the sale of rice to pre-war prices. Troops were called out in every large city. The workers faced the troops and called on them not to fire on their brothers and sisters. The government, realizing the ultimate possibilities of the situation, threw the troops into the shops to sell food over the counters at low prices, yes, and to give free rice

to the poor. Only when the movement began to recede were the troops used for shootings and brutal suppression, many of those who had bought rice at the lowered prices being thrown into prison for indeterminate periods.

Had there been the barest kernel of a Bolshevik party in Japan at this time, the year 1918 might well have been hailed as the "1905" of the Japanese working class. But no such organization existed, ready to place itself consciously at the head of the masses in action and to formulate the necessary political slogans in the light of the existing situation and the relation of forces. The masses were not aware of developments in Russia, the censorship acting as a "cordon sanitaire" to prevent the infecting of the Japanese workers. Whatever leadership did exist was more under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism than under that of Communism. Hence the complete lack of preparation for events, the sporadic character of the outburst and the lack of political demands that could have served as a focal point for later organization. Soviets were out of the question but demands to end the war, to grant universal suffrage, to recognize the right of the workers to organize—under the circumstances the democratic slogans could have been linked up with the more elemental demand for bread and peace.

Nevertheless the rice riots of 1918 form a turning-point in Japanese history. The masses learned their own power and the utter helplessness of the ruling class in the face of a mass outpouring into the streets. The seed was planted for making the workers conscious of their historic role. Consciously or not, the first step had been taken on the road to the conquest of power. Immediately the riots resulted in a great impetus to unionization. The unions became a force to be reckoned with, one that could no longer be safely suppressed by the ruling class. Instead the government and the "enlightened" capitalists were impelled to resort to the new methods of "boring from within" the unions, helping to create organiza-

tions for "harmony" and the "mutual interests" of capital and labor.

Anarcho-Syndicalism and the Unions

In 1906 the worker-intellectual Kotoku returned to Japan from the U. S. where he had been active in the ranks of the I.W.W. Kotoku brought to Japan the best traditions of this movement, an insufficiently grounded but revolutionary precursor of Communism. The movement thus founded was ruthlessly hounded by the police until temporarily suppressed by the discovery of a bomb plot against the Emperor in 1911 for which eleven men and one woman were executed. Despite this inevitable result of individualist terror, the basic ideas of syndicalism, direct mass action and industrial unionism, penetrated deeply into some of the unions, particularly those organized in the newly-built dockyards, destined soon to closure under the blight of the after-the-war crisis of 1920. Encouraged by the uprising of 1918 in which they had taken a leading part, the syndicalists led several great dockyard strikes during the years 1919 and 1921. In the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi dockyard strikes of 1921 there was exhibited the inspiring heroic solidarity of thousands of workers. To combat the rapid spread of unemployment now engulfing the working masses, the strikers set up the slogan of workers' (syndicate) control and management of the shops. Many strikers felt that the proletarian revolution was at hand.

These strikes were the high point of syndicalist influence in Japan. They illustrate the splendid fighting qualities of the syndicalists but also the inevitable downfall of a workers' movement that attempts to ignore the state with its special armed forces prepared to crush any revolt. These strike struggles and the political consequences form an object lesson of the absolute need of a revolutionary vanguard in the form of the Communist party armed with the Marxist theory of the state, analyzing every new situation by means of its dialectic class approach and thus prepared to put forward correct tactics based on correct policies.

Our Club Plan

MILITANT BUILDERS

Since December 24th there has been no change in the rate at which subs are coming in. The record for December 24—January 4 is not a good one. Perhaps the reason is the year end holiday slack. Be that as it may we must now make up for lost time. To make this campaign a success, every branch must participate and there should be no let up in the work.

New York should be taken as an example of what splendid work can be done by taking advantage of our club plan. New York is in the lead again. In New York more comrades are participating in the campaign than anywhere else, and they are doing the work consistently.

Here is the record of the campaign from the beginning up to date by cities:

THE RECORD BY CITIES

New York	48
Chicago	32
Minneapolis	22
Pittsburgh	18
Philadelphia	15
Montreal	13
Toronto	10
Boston	10
New Castle, Pa.	8
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4
Lynn, Mass.	4
South Bend, Ind.	4

THE STAFF

Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	12
H. Capelis	12
P. Vonnas	12
H. Nash	11
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
W. Krehm	6

A. Joel	6
J. Ross	6
H. A.	4
M. Hudson	4
F. Rayburn	4
M. Gottlieb	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Koulkow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
E. McMullen	4
A. Miller	4
J. Weber	4
L. Basky	4
G. Drucker	4
C. Ingram	4
J. Ritz	4

The New York Branch is represented on this list by five members. That is the reason New York stands at the head of the list of cities.

Mobilize the membership for the campaign!

THE NEW YORK CLASS IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Due to the holidays at the end of the year, the course of lectures on "The History of the Communist International" being conducted by Max Shachtman at the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th Street, was postponed for two sessions. The course will be resumed this Sunday, January 8, 1933, with the "Fourth Congress of the Comintern" as the topic. All comrades are invited to attend.

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

The official press now prints from issue to issue an uninterrupted list of accusations against the workers, the directors, the technicians, managers, co-operative personnel, and the trade unionists: all guilty of not fulfilling the plans, the instructions and "the six conditions". But where are the causes for this? Objective causes do not obtain. To blame for it all is the ill will of those entrusted with the fulfilling. And that is just what Pravda writes, "Do there obtain any objective causes whatever for this deterioration in the work? None whatever!" (October 2, 1932). People simply do not want to work as they should—and that's all there is to it. The October plenum of the CEC has ascertained that "there is unsatisfactory management in every link down the line." Except, of course, that link which is called the Central Executive Committee.

But are there really no objective causes for the poor quality of the workmanship? A specified amount of time is required not only for the ripening of wheat but also for the familiarization with the complex technological processes. Psychological processes, it is true, are more pliable than those of vegetation, but this pliability has its limits. One cannot skip over them. And in addition—and this is no less important—one cannot demand the maximum of intensity under minimum of nourishment.

The resolution of the October plenum of the CEC accuses the workers and the administrators of their inability "to clinch" their highest achievements, and of their continuing falling below the marks they had set. In reality, the breakdowns were ingrained in the character of the achievements themselves. By virtue of an exceptional effort a man can lift a weight that is far above his "average" strength. But he cannot long sustain such a load over his head. It is absurd to accuse him of his inability "to clinch" his effort.

Soviet economy is in danger! It is not difficult to determine its ailment. It springs from the nature of the successes themselves. From an excessive and poorly calculated strain the economy has suffered a rupture. One must proceed to cure, painstakingly and perseveringly. Rakovsky warned us as early as 1930, "We are entering an entire epoch, which will pass under the heading of payment in full for the entire past."

The Second Five-Year Plan

The second Five Year Plan was fashioned in the scales of "gigantism." It is difficult, to be more correctly, it is impossible to judge "by sight" the extent to which the final indices of the second Five Year Plan are exaggerated. But the question now touches not the balance of the Second Five Year Plan, but its points of departure, the line of its junction with the first Five Year Plan. The first year of the second Five Year Plan has received an onerous inheritance from the last year of the first Five Year Plan.

The second plan, according to the design, is the spiral continuation of the first plan. But the first plan has not been brought to completion. The second plan from the very beginning is left suspended in mid-air. If one leaves things to go on as they have been, then the second Five Year Plan will begin by patching up the holes of the first under the administrative whip. This means that the crisis will be aggravated. In this manner one can bring matters to a catastrophe.

There is only one way out: the inauguration of the Second Five Year Plan must be put off for one year. 1933 must be made a buffer between the first Five Year Plan and the second. In the course of this period it is necessary on the one hand, to verify the inheritance left by the first Five Year Plan, to fill in the most yawning gaps, to mitigate the unbearable disproportions and to straighten out the economic front; and on the other hand, to reconstruct the Second Five Year Plan, so calculating it as to make its points of departure about flush to the actual and not imaginary results of the first Five Year Plan. Doesn't this simply mean that the period for the completion of the first plan will be prolonged another year? No, unfortunately that is not the case. The material consequences of the four years' of hue and cry cannot be stricken out from reality by one stroke of a pen. A careful checking over is necessary, a regulation, and a determination of the coefficients of growth actually achieved. The present condition of economy excludes in general any possibility of planned work. 1933 cannot be a supplementary year of the first Five Year Plan, nor the first year of the second. It must occupy an independent position between the two, in order to assure the mitigation of the consequences of adventurism and the preparation of the material and moral prerequisites for planned expansion.

The Left Opposition in its own time was the first to demand the inauguration of the Five Year Plan. Now it is duty bound to say: It is necessary to put off the second Five Year Plan. Away with stock jobbing! There is no reconciling them with planned activity. Then, you are for retreat? Yes, for a temporary

* The hostility, an outright hatred, toward "gigantism" is rapidly growing in Soviet circles, as a natural and an inevitable reaction against the adventurism of the last period. There is no need, however, to explain to what extent this reaction, from which the petty bourgeois skifflet spirit derives satisfaction, may in the future become dangerous to the socialist construction.

retreat. And what about the prestige of the infallible leadership? The fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat is more important than blown-up prestige.

The Year of Capital Reconstruction
Having been knocked off balance, Soviet economy is in need of serious reconstruction. Under capitalism the broken equilibrium is restored by the blind forces of the crisis. The Socialist Republic allows of applying conscious and rational cures.

It is impossible, of course, to halt production in the whole country as it is halted during repairs in a factory or in an enterprise. But there is also no need whatever for it. It is enough to lower the tempos. The current productive labor for 1933 cannot be carried on without a plan, but this plan must be one for a single year, worked out on the basis of moderate quality quotas.

Attainments in quality must be given first place. Inopportune constructions should be liquidated; all forces and resources must be concentrated upon constructions of the first rank; the interrelations between the various branches of industry must be balanced on the basis of experience; factories must be put in order; equipment must be restored.

Let there be an end to driving, and spurring, and establishing records, but let the productivity of each enterprise be subjected to its technological rhythm. Return to the laboratories whatever has been taken too soon from out of the laboratories. Finish building whatever still remains unfinished. Put in order the interrelations between the departments in factories. Straighten out whatever has been bent. Repair that which has been damaged. Prepare the factory for a transition to the highest stage. Quality quotas must be given a character both supple and conditional in order that they may not interfere with achievements in quantity.

1933 must gain complete mastery over the labor turn-over, by bettering the conditions of the workers; that's where the beginning must be made, for herein is to be found the key to everything else. Workers and their families must be assured of food, shelter and clothing. No matter what the price!

The management and the proletarian cadres of factories should be freed of supplementary burdens, such as the planting of potatoes, breeding rabbits, etc. All questions relating to supplying factories with necessities must be regulated as independent and not supplementary tasks.

Order must be brought into the production of objects for mass consumption. Commodities must be adapted to human needs and not to the raw by-products of the heavy industry.

The process of inflation must be stopped with an iron hand and the stable monetary unit must be restored. This difficult and painful operation cannot be undertaken without boldly curtailing capital investments, without sacrificing many hundred millions that have been inexpediently or inopportunistically sunk in new constructions, in order that thus losses into billions may be forestalled in the future.

A temporary retreat is exigent both in industry and in rural economy. The hitherto line of the retreat cannot be determined beforehand. It will be revealed only in the experience of capital reconstruction.

The managing organs must control, assist, and pick out everything that is capable of living and functioning but they should desist from driving enterprises to their doom, as is the case now. The economy and the human beings need a breathing spell from administrative violence and adventurism.

Many managers, as is shown by the papers, have independently arrived at the conclusion that 1933 must differ in some essential manner from the elapsing year. But they do not draw their ideas to their conclusion, in order not to expose themselves to danger.

As touches the rail transport, *Economic Life* writes, "One of the most important tasks of 1933 must be the task of a full and final liquidation of each and every imperfection, non-completion, poor tie-up and disproportion in the functioning of the different integral parts of the transport mechanism." Well spoken! This formula should be accepted in full, and be expanded to apply to the entire economy, as a whole.

As touches the tractor plant in Stalingrad, *Pravda* writes, "We must decisively dispense with defective methods of workmanship, we must put an end to fever along the conveyor in order to guarantee a regulated output of production." That is absolutely correct! Planned economy, taken as a whole, represents, in its type, a conveyor on a state scale. The method of stuffing up holes is incompatible with planned production. 1933 must "put an end to fever along the conveyor", or at least we must considerably lower the temperature.

The Soviet government itself has announced by proclamation a "turn" from quantity to quality in the sphere of rural economy. That is correct, but the question must be approached on a much wider scale. The matter touches not only the quality of the cultivation of the soil, but the entire kolkhoz and sovkhos policy and praxis. The turn from quantity to quality must be carried over into the functioning of the administration itself.

First of all, a retreat is inevitable in the sphere of collectivization. Here

USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

more than anywhere else the administration is the captive of its own mistakes. While superficially continuing to automatically command, and to specify under the signature of Molotov and Stalin the precise number of acres for grain tillage, the bureaucracy, in reality, is now floating with the current.

Concurrently, in the villages there has appeared a new stratum of the so-called "retired" i. e. former kolkhoz members. Their number is growing. It is out and out insanity to keep by force within the collective peasants who pilfer the crops, who sell the seed in bazaars and subsequently demand it from the government for sowing. However, it is no less criminal to leave the process of collectivization to its own course. The tendency to place a cross, just now, over the collectivization movement is now evidently raising its head even within party ranks. To allow this would be to throw out the child from the tub along with the soap suds.

1933 must serve to bring the collective rural economy into alignment with the technical, economic and cultural resources. This means—the selection of the most viable collectives, their reorganization in correspondence with experience and the wishes of the basic peasant mass, first of all the peasant poor. And, at the same time—the formulation of such conditions for leaving the kolkhozes as would reduce to a minimum the disruption of rural economy, to say nothing of the direct dangers of civil war.

The policy of mechanically "liquidating the kulak" is now factually discarded. A cross should be placed over it officially. And simultaneously it is necessary to establish the policy of severely restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulak. With this goal in mind the lowest strata of the villages must be welded together into a union of the peasant poor.

In 1933 the moujiks will till the land, the textile workers will produce calico, the blast furnaces will smelt metal, and the railroads will transport people and the products of labor. But the highest criterion of this year will lie not in producing as much as one possibly can and as fast as possible but in putting economy in order; in checking over the inventories, separating the healthful from the diseased, and the good from the bad; in clearing away the rubbish and mud, in building the lacking houses and dining rooms, in finishing the roofs, in installing sanitary ventilation. For, in order that they may work well, people must first of all live like human beings, and consequently satisfy their human needs.

To set aside a special year of capital reconstruction is a measure which by itself solves nothing whatever of course. It can attain its major significance only under a change in the very approach to economy, and, first of all, to its living protagonists, the workers and peasants. The approach to economy pertains in the domain of politics. The weapon of politics is the party.

Our task of tasks is to resurrect the party. Here as well we must take an inventory of the onerous inheritance of the post-Lenin period, we must separate the healthy from the ailing, the good from the bad, we must clear away the rubbish and the mud, we must air and disinfect all the offices of the bureaucracy. After the party there follow the Soviets and the trade unions. The capital reconstruction of all Soviet organizations is the most important and the most urgent task of 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, October 22, 1932.

THE END.

Open Letter to Vandervelde

(Continued from page 1)
of this logic often enough fall upon proletarian revolutionists who took part in the establishment of the regime of the dictatorship. Yes, in the development of an isolated workers' state, betrayed by the international social democracy, the bureaucratic apparatus has acquired a potency which is dangerous for the socialist revolution. I have no need of this being called to my mind. But before the class enemy, I assume full responsibility not only for the October revolution which produced the regime of the dictatorship, but also for the Soviet republic as it is today, with its government which exiled me to a foreign land and deprived me of my Soviet citizenship rights.

We have destroyed democracy in order to master capitalism. You are defending capitalism allegedly in the name of democracy. But where is it hidden, this democracy?

Not in the port of Antwerp, in any case. There were ticks, cops, gendarmes equipped with rifles. But not even the shadow of the democratic right of asylum was to be found there.

And in spite of everything, I quit the waters of Antwerp without the slightest pessimism. During the midday pause, dockers gathered on the deck, emerging from the hold or coming from port. There were two or three dozens of them, of these strong and serene Flemish proletarians, blackened for the most part by coal dust. A cordon of detectives separated them from us. The dockers contemplated the tableau in silence, taking the measure of everyone present with their eyes. There is a solid dockworker in the direction of the flatfeet. Our deck replies with smiles; a movement surges through the workers. They have recognized their own. I do not say that the Antwerp dockers are Bolsheviks. But by a sound instinct they took their place. In resuming their work, they smiled amicably at us and many of them brought their gnarled fingers to

The Death of the Father of Revisionism

(Continued from last issue)

It is interesting to note that at the outset, the party fathers and the official theorists—Liebknecht the elder, Kautsky, Schoenlank and others included—attached no fundamental significance to Bernstein's views. The party press even wrote at the outset that there is something healthy in the idea to submit the party program to periodic revision on the basis of new developments. That the socialist movement would split on this rock which Bernstein threw into its midst, did not occur to most of the leaders at the beginning.

The credit for the first shot in the counter-offensive, seems to go to Parvus (Dr. Helfand), the brilliant Russian Marxist who was then active in the German movement. He was promptly followed by Rosa Luxemburg, whose comparative youth in the German movement did not diminish the effectiveness of the blows she continued to strike for the Left wing throughout her life, down to the very day when she was assassinated in Berlin by Bernstein's comrades-in-arms. Fighting on their side were also Clara Zetkin, Franz Mehring, Karl Kautsky—always a little belatedly, appearing on the battleground at the very end, as Rosa put it, like the Napoleonic Old Guard!—and the father of Russian Marxism Plechanov.

Defeats on Paper

With such an array of intellectual giants massed against him, it is no wonder that Bernstein suffered defeat after defeat. But these defeats were of a formal nature and left him and his movement unimpaired. In 1890, at the Hanover party congress, the party adopted Bebel's resolution against the revisionists: "The party stands as before on the foundation of the class struggle.... there is no reason for the party to change either its fundamental principles and demands, its tactics, or its name, that is, to become a democratic-socialist reform party in place of a social democratic party...."

In Dresden, four years later, the radical wing gained another paper triumph when the revisionist attempts to change the class struggle tactic of the party were condemned. Only 11 delegates voted against this resolution; some were Left wingers, not wholly satisfied with it, the rest were at the extreme Right. As for most of the revisionists, they mockingly voted for the resolution amidst considerable merriment. They knew better than most of the radicals that the resolution would remain on paper, whereas the practice of the party was swinging more definitely in their direction. So prominent a party father as Auer, who carefully refrained from voting for Bernstein at the party congress, is said to have written him: "Lieber Ede, so was tut man, aber man sagt es nicht!"—"My dear Eddie, that's the sort of thing you do, but you don't talk about it!" This classic formula contains more than cynicism; it sums up the ideas of the party leaders, on the road to their August 4, 1914 but prudent enough to conceal the fact under the old watchwords and banners.

The genuine Marxist wing of the movement was even then in favor of expelling Bernstein from the party. In 1901, Plechanov wrote: "In Bernstein's views there are now left only feeble traces of socialism. In reality he stands much closer to the petty bourgeois adherents of 'social reform' than to the revolutionary social democracy. Yet he is still called 'party comrade' and he is not requested to leave the party."

their caps in sign of greetings. There it was, our democracy.

When the boat descended the Scheldt, in the misty fog, all along the quays, with their cranes paralyzed by the crisis, cries of farewell resounded from

Eduard Bernstein's 'Triumph' Over Militant Marxism

Rosa Luxemburg also presented a proposal for his expulsion, but the very idea of such a ruthless measure horrified the party leaders and, for that matter, most of the Left wingers. It was never even taken up by the party congress. Kautsky, at that time still engaged in polemizing against Bernstein in that dry, pedantic, lifeless manner which proved to be no obstacle to their eventual reconciliation, opposed his expulsion. He stood for preserving that peculiar sort of "freedom of opinion in the party" which has always served to shield the Right wing from the attacks of the Left.

The discussion around Bernstein's views was not, of course, confined to the German movement. His writings not only gave a decisive impetus to a whole series of revisionist attacks upon the body of Marxian doctrine by petty bourgeois economists and sociologists, but formed the line of demarcation between the two principal tendencies in the international socialist movement.

In practice, and not infrequently in theory, the whole Second International was dominated by the revisionist school, as was shown most strikingly and fatally in the crucial moment when the world war broke out. The rise of imperialism in the most important countries of the two continents had reared a labor aristocracy that merged or almost merged with the lower middle class which was being attracted everywhere to the socialist movement. Their interests became bound up with the destinies of their respective imperialist fatherlands. Allegiance to socialism became a "practical ideal" which was reconciled without great difficulty with the frightful exploitation of those tens of millions of black, brown and yellow colonial peoples who never figured in the Bernsteinian scheme, and for good cause.

The upper strata of the working class, swelled by an influx of the petty bourgeoisie from town and country, fortified by a powerful trade union and party bureaucracy, bolstered up by well-established institutions and interests, recoiled from the prospect of social revolution. With the gradual improvement of their own conditions, and with every apparent prospect of steadily "growing into" socialism by the parliamentary process (the German socialist vote in 1912 reached 4,250,000; elsewhere it rose correspondingly), the criticism of the Left wing lost much of its vigor and effectiveness and the standpoint of Bernstein appeared to be justified by the facts of social evolution.

The Kautskys and Bernstein

Added to this was the fact that the official Marxist school, represented by Kautsky with whom Luxemburg broke long before the war, did not exclude the Bernsteinian conception; it rather supplemented it much in the manner that a left peg-leg assists a still vigorous right foot. While the official program of the German social democracy, adopted in Erfurt towards the end of the last century, was formally Marxian, it had wide gaps in it through which opportunist practice could enter with ease. The central criticism by Marx of the Gotha program—the omission of the dictatorship of the proletariat—was ignored at Erfurt too. At all events, the

the port from unknown but faithful friends.

In finishing these lines between Antwerp and Vlissingen, I send the workers of Belgium a fraternal greeting. December 5, 1932.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

The following letter is a response to last week's announcement of our plans and difficulties by one of our friends and sympathizers who has himself raised twenty-five dollars for the publication of our pamphlets. We hope that it will be the signal for our friends to follow his example.

"The ideas of the Left Opposition are gradually penetrating into the ranks of the party members. The more honest party members and sympathizers are turning to the Left Opposition for true information on and a Marxian interpretation of the burning problems of the Chinese, German, Russian situations, the world economic crisis, unemployment and the trade union movement.

"The Stalinist leadership of the Comintern and the American party have done everything to confuse the proletarian vanguard. The Left Opposition is the only Communist current that has a Marxist position on revolutionary problems. The ideas of the Left Opposition are expounded in its press. But this is not sufficient. Pamphlets and books have to be published too. During the year 1932 books of extraordinary importance on the Chinese and German questions were published by the League. Events, however, move with great rapidity in Germany, the Soviet Union and in other countries. New questions arise and new solutions are needed.

"As announced in the last issue of the *Militant* the League has on hand a few timely pamphlets by comrade Trotsky and other comrades dealing with the crisis in Soviet economy, the situation in Germany, unemployment in this country, the role of the Left Opposition, etc. These pamphlets, a great need of the hour are, unfortunately, still in manuscript. Their publication is delayed be-

cause of lack of funds. Such a situation cannot be tolerated. These pamphlets should come out immediately.

"How can it be done? Very easily. Through the establishment of a Publishing Loan Fund. Comrades and sympathizers who are anxious to see the ideas of the Left Opposition propagated without undue delay should lend the League as much as they can afford for a definite period of time. This money will be used for the publication of books and pamphlets. The 'debt' will be paid back as rapidly as the pamphlets sell. There is no risk in making these loans and they don't require great sacrifices (and no sacrifices are too great for revolutionists).

"Comrades and sympathizers! Help realize this plan! Take out a few dollars from the bank and 'invest' them in the ideas of revolutionary internationalism! If you have no savings of your own persuade your friends to make a loan to the League. We must get these pamphlets out. Let us try and succeed will be on our side.

"Comradely,
"D. MARCUS"

Work is already under way on Unemployment and the American Working Class by Arne Swabeck. We will keep our movement informed of the progress we are making. But this does not mean that the idea put forth by comrade Marcus is not as absolutely necessary as he puts it. It is. There are many obstacles to overcome before we can finally say that this pamphlet, not to speak of the others, is off the press.

And those are the magic words we are anxiously awaiting the opportunity to announce. So let us have action on comrade Marcus' suggestion. Who will match his loan of 25 dollars?

Kautskyan formulation was open to interpretations from both sides.

Plechanov, however, when the program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was being elaborated, did not fail to denounce the omission of a clear reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Erfurt program as theoretically incorrect and, in practice, a cowardly concession to the opportunists. Cowardly concessions of this sort, screened by formal adherence to the terminology of the class struggle, proved to be the essence of Kautsky's fight against Bernstein. Plechanov's aphorism in his "Open Letter to Karl Kautsky" that "either the social democracy will be buried by Bernstein or Bernstein by the social democracy", was verified with cruel exactitude at the decisive hour.

The world war was the catalytic agent which precipitated the "theoretical dispute" into two clearly defined sides of the class struggle. What started out as an "abstract discussion" ended by splitting the socialist movement wide open, with the representatives of the proletarian revolution on one side of the barricades and the social-patriots, agents of imperialism, on the other. By and large, these two class camps were made up of the same elements who divided on the questions raised by Bernstein. The anti-Bernsteinians took their stand against the imperialist war; the revisionists supported the imperialist fatherland.

There were exceptions, it is true. Plechanov turned patriot; Lensch, who had played the radical before the war, volunteered for the front; Hyndman, with his arid pre-war orthodoxy, became a jingo. Bernstein on the other hand, turned Centrist and pacifist for the moment, and effected a touching reconciliation with his old friendly-enemy, Kautsky. But as a rule, the old pre-war divisions remained and became more rigid.

Bernstein had sowed the seed which yielded the fruits of social patriotism. One of his most insistent arguments had been directed against the Marxian idea that the workers have no fatherland. "This may have been justified in an agitational sense," he argued, "in 1847 when the workers had no rights and unlimited absolutism reigned throughout Europe. Now that the workers had won universal suffrage, had partaken of the cultural achievements of society, had invaded the legislative bodies—the workers did have a fatherland. This idea became the theoretical basis for all the outspoken social-chauvinists from whom Bernstein separated himself for a short time during the war."

A Short-Lived Centrist

It goes without saying that he found no place at the side of Lenin and the Bolsheviks during the war, any more than they were at his side in the two decades before the war. He did not stand with Liebknecht and his revolutionary opposition; nor did he ever reconcile himself with the other Spartacists—Luxemburg, Mehring, Zetkin—who continued their struggle against him with even greater vigor during the war. His anti-war position had almost everything in common with pacifism and, as in the past, nothing in common with socialism. He belonged to that group of 23 Reichstag deputies, led by Haase and Ledebour, who finally summoned up enough small courage to break the decision of the social democratic fraction and, on August 20, 1915, to leave the session during the vote on war credits. Seven months later, 18 of the deputies formed a fraction of their own which later became the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany. In the Centrist (USPD), he shared leadership jointly with Kautsky, as a symbol of their essential reconciliability.

He did not wait for the split at the Halle Congress of the party where the majority of the membership joined the ranks of the Communist International. Just as he had pioneered the revisionist movement, he pioneered the most bitter anti-Bolshevik current in the social democracy. He was the first to denounce the bosom of Scheidemann, Noske and Ebert, who were realising in sanguinary practice the class collaboration theories of Bernstein. Here too he had not long to wait for Kautsky: both of them were active agents in re-cementing the ranks of the Majority socialists with the prodigal sons who had left it for a while under the pressure of discontented workers. Except for the very last years of his life, when old age would no longer permit it, he was drawn into all the special conferences of that particular faction which rules the party and regulates the antagonisms and ambitions of all the other factions: the group of Wels-Seydewitz, Breitscheid, Stampfer, Loebellmann.

Last Triumph

At the Heidelberg party congress in 1925, his signal services to reformism were generously acknowledged by the whole party in the formal programmatic repudiation of the class struggle. His coronation was also his vindication; but even more was it a vindication of Plechanov's prediction. Bernstein had buried the social democracy. But by that time it could no longer be re-animated into the "democratic-socialist reform party" of his early dreams. It already functioned not only as a bulwark against revolution, but also as an obstacle to social reform. It had betrayed the present of the movement as well as its future.

Bernstein triumphed not only over the Left wing in the social democracy (and that only formally, because the Left wing is today restored on a grander scale in the revolutionary Communist movement), but over the Centrist morass. His life's work is a lesson and a warning which the Communist movement, split into three wings as was the social democracy a generation ago, will profit by heeding.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.



Japan Seizes North China

Soviet Union Also Threatened

Events are moving rapidly in the Far East. The Japanese military expedition to carve a colonial empire out of Northern China has gotten under full swing as four Japanese armies numbering more than 10,000 soldiers are advancing with the aid of tanks, planes and artillery along a 225 mile front into the Jehol province. The Japanese assault which began with the ruthless invasion and destruction of the city of Shanhaiwan a little over a week ago, under the pretext of defensive measures against the impotent Chinese garrison located in the above mentioned city, has turned out according to universal expectation, which the Japanese did little to conceal, to be their first move in the partition of China.

Leaving a trail of devastation and ruin in their wake the Japanese imperialists are advancing upon their long talked-of aim to add the Jehol province and possibly Inner Mongolia to their puppet state Manchukuo. In spite of the bragadoes of the Chinese generals and the Kuo Min Tang, that they would resist to the last drop of blood, the Japanese have started their march with nothing to block their way but the intense cold. As a matter of fact, Japan refuses to be deterred by any circumstances from her Chinese conquest and rumors are current that Chiang Kai-Shek is looking towards negotiations "for an amicable settlement of the dispute." Were it not for the pressure from the Chinese masses and the foreign imperialists, who have their own axe to grind (on the Chinese people) the Chiang Kai-Sheks would capitulate to Japan without even their present pretensions.

And this is borne out by innumerable facts that even the Chinese censor could not keep hidden. The invasion of Shanhaiwan was known for some time previous to its occurrence not only by Chang Hsiao Lung, commander of the garrison, but also to many far less informed journalists. And yet no attempt was made to bring reinforcements to strengthen it. On the contrary the fort was abandoned to the tender mercies of the Japs who proceeded to wipe out every Chinese-looking person that was found in the city. During the battle which lasted hardly 24 hours the need for assistance became quite apparent. Every one looked to Chiang Kai-Shek, the generalissimo of the Chinese armies—but the general was too busy fighting Communists in southern China! Every now and then this general, proves that it is not only unwilling but incapable of fighting the Japanese marauders. The only place where the Chinese bourgeoisie and their dunkeys have shown any belligerency is in the talkiest chambers of the League of Nations. And no wonder! To call into being an effective resistance to the invaders would mean to set the Chinese masses into motion. The Chinese bourgeoisie fears, above everything else, the Chinese people. They conceive of them as a far greater enemy than all the imperialists combined. The bourgeoisie and the militarists are quite well aware that the struggle against the foreign invader might easily be turned against them as would have been the case in 1925-1927 were it not for the Menshevik policies of Stalin and Co.

But the Chinese bourgeoisie will not succeed in stifling the discontent of the toiling millions. Already widespread resentment is breaking loose against the Chinese compradors. Resolutions calling for decisive action are pouring into Nanjing from all parts of the country. Mass meetings of students burning with resentment against the flagrant betrayal of Chiang, are gaining in momentum. The Japanese imperialists may yet succeed—in blowing the spark of the third Chinese revolution into flames. And that is a conflagration that has burned more than one imperialism in the past!

The Japanese adventure in northern China is fraught with the direct consequences for the workers of the world and for the Soviet Union. World war hangs in the balance. The working class must remain on the alert.

Japan is staking everything on this Chinese expedition. Despite the severe crisis shaking Japanese economy to its very foundations: despite a huge national deficit which is growing every day; despite the falling value of the yen; despite an unprecedented mass hunger and privation that is wracking every Japanese city and village, the Military is plunging the country into an ever greater crisis in pursuit of their imperialist designs. All their grandiose plans may blow up under the huge volcano that is gathering fuel in the simmering discontent of the Japanese workers and peasants. The war-crazed and avaricious militarists will stop at nothing.

Simultaneous with the Jehol invasion has come the refusal to sign the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. What a striking confirmation that is of the Left Opposition's condemnation of the Stalinist signature of the Kellogg pact, to which these "non-aggression" pacts are merely a corollary. To sign

Answer! Where Is Rakovsky?

Where is Christian Rakovsky and what has happened to him?

Persistent rumors are abroad concerning his fate. In some quarters the horrifying report is in circulation that he has already died. Under any circumstances we would never believe a report put in that form. For if the news of his death is verified, it will not be simply because "he has died"—but because he has been assassinated by the Stalinist regime!

For more than two generations, Christian Rakovsky has enriched the annals of the revolutionary working class struggle by word and deed. Not all the hatred and persecutions of the ruling classes in half a dozen countries ever caused him to waver for an instant in his devotion to the proletariat and its cause. With his name inseparably associated the history of the militant socialist movement throughout the Balkans, to which he gave instinctively of body and soul, his time, his energy, his money, and his brilliant talents.

The indomitable soldier was at his fighting post from the first day of the Bolshevik revolution when so many of his detractors and jailers were on the other side of the barricades. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, warrior in the fight against the counter-revolution and in the civil war, leader of the Bolshevik delegation which bearded the imperialists at the Genoa conference, ambassador of the Soviet republic to London and Paris—he has always clothed the post he occupied with a dignity, a revolutionary single-mindedness, a scintillating penetration which raised him to that eminence in the hearts of the proletariat and

the councils of the party and the International which were his beyond question in the days of Lenin.

That hatred which the Rumanian boyars and the Czarist police against this great man who had no country but the International was transmitted to the bureaucratic apparatus which encountered in him the Left Oppositionist, the fighter against national socialism and for revolutionary internationalism. Expelled from the party together with Trotsky and the other Bolshevik-Leninists in 1927, he was immediately exiled. The last authentic news heard about Rakovsky was that he was seriously ill in Barnaul, his place of exile.

The latest information emanating from the Soviet Union gives us cause for the greatest alarm over comrade Rakovsky's fate. His courageous refusal to bend under the Stalinist repressions has only brought down on his head all the rabid persecutions of which the bureaucracy is capable. The deliberate failure to provide the exile with elementary medical attention has for some time put his life in danger. How long he would be able to last under this sort of treatment, has been an awful question in our minds for many months. The silence and lack of direct information concerning Rakovsky's position, have only increased our fears.

That is why we are compelled to cry out: Where is Christian Rakovsky? What has the Stalinist machine done with him? We will repeat our questions until an answer is given. The Communist workers will join us in this demand for the cause of Rakovsky is the cause of the whole proletariat!

TECHNOCRACY

Engineers Have New Plan To Save Bankrupt Capitalism

The engineers and technicians are gathering a mass of followers to the movement called technocracy. It is heralded as a new theory having revolutionary implications without revolution. Backing up their argument with a mass of indisputable facts which they state in a very capable manner, they explain the historical development of machine production and how the machine is displacing labor. The light they throw upon the marvelous machine development is most revealing and has positive value. But the light they throw upon the anarchy of capitalist production is nil.

Technocracy denotes the attempt of the scientists and technicians to get out of the impasse which the capitalist mode of production has arrived at without the elimination of the capitalist exploiters. Technocracy deals with the evils of the "price system" and considers the problem of "energy". Their survey in no way touches or considers the problem as an evil issuing from the field of production. This shifts the issue to the field of distribution.

When a ruling class nears its end, ideological decay and confusion mark the twilight of its decay. Such was the case when the early French materialists drove religion from pillar to post—until religion reconciled itself with the new exploiters.

Such, also, is the case with the scientists who function under the present bourgeois rule in the stage of its decay. They are floundering around advocating a thousand and one remedies. One of these widely heralded "solutions" for the "price system", for capitalism, is Technocracy. The real rulers have nothing in common with this viewpoint.

These technologists have discovered the following: "that in the last 200 years energy—that is power and machines—has multiplied man's ability to produce goods and to do useful work for himself by 75 to 100 fold." In their Energy Survey of North America they have assembled many worth-while facts of the productivity of labor and its displacement, but they arrive at no conclusions, or at false conclusions.

Howard Scott says that "technology smashes the price system." Price system means capitalism. They think they

will be able to organize capitalism. Dr. N. Rautenstrauch says, "Technocracy is primarily concerned with...the problem of organizing a civilization to maintain itself on a given continental area." Of course not one word is said about how to get rid of the exploiters. They will "organize" capitalism in a vacuum.

The truth of the matter is that these technicians see the handwriting of the approaching revolution on the wall and desire to avoid it. Scott says: "Physical wealth is not measured in terms of labor, goods, or money, but in terms of energy. And with the discovery of this truth the bankers, the industrialists, the Marxists, the Fascists, the economists, the soldiers and the police are things of the past." To measure in terms of

(Continued on page 3)

The Civil War in China

Dangerous Turn From Partisan War to Pitched Battles

SHANGHAI—

Following the unification of the Chinese Left Opposition, it met with serious difficulties from the ruling class, in which renegades increased the obstacles in our development. Comrade Peter, one of the outstanding militants of the Opposition, died in prison. Now, with the help of renegades, the "Blue Shirt Society" (a secret Fascist organization) and the police, have captured comrade Chen Dushan and several other militants. My next letter will give you more information about this. Here I wish only to represent my views of the status of the peasant war in China, a vital question for the coming revolution.

Trotsky's Analysis Verified

Just as I began this letter, I received comrade Trotsky's letter on the present war in China of September 22, 1932. I read it over and over again, and I am convinced that what he says is quite right. His analysis conforms with the present developments in the peasant detachments. The news you usually receive in the United States does not correspond with the facts. It is either made up of bourgeois rumors, declaring that Chiang Kai-Shek has won big victories, or else it consists of the inflated accounts by Stalinists.

Despite all this, the fact is that the peasant detachments are at present weakened and the bourgeoisie has gained some triumphs in the "extermination of the red bandits". One clear example is the fact that during its victory against the "third extermination" by the white armies, the effectiveness of the "Red Army" on the borders of Anhwei, Honan and Hupeh provinces rose to several tens of thousands, and they succeeded in seizing stores of arms and ammunition from Chiang Kai-Shek's forces. But now, they are defeated, i. e., the strong force is greatly weakened, especially when its principal troops have met with big

United Front Call Issued For Unemployment Insurance

Opposition Welcomes Party Turn and Warns Against Opportunistic Tendencies

The call issued by the New York State Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance for a conference to be held in New York City on January 22 at the Irving Plaza Hall, is a step forward which the Left Opposition cannot but welcome. Virtually from the beginning of the crisis, with its constantly growing unemployment, we have steadily advocated the establishment of a united front of all the working class organizations for the common fight to gain relief from the sufferings and hardships inflicted on the workers.

Despite the hailstorm of abuse and ridicule to which our standpoint was subjected by the official representatives of the Communist party we have held steadfastly to the view that the best way to mobilize the collective strength of the workers for the purpose of shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the ruling class, was the genuine united front once practised by the Communists, but thrown overboard and denounced as "counter-revolutionary" by the Stalinists. We declared at the outset that the inexorable pressure of the facts of the class struggle would lift our point of view to the top, piercing through the calumny and suppression of the bureaucracy. We uttered our warnings to the Communist workers that the policy imposed upon the party by the leadership would isolate the movement, would reduce it to a sectarian influence over the revolutionary workers and nobody else—unless the helm was turned and the course steered in the tested direction we had charted.

Opposition Stand Vindicated

The recent united front conference in Chicago, was the first big vindication of our point of view. However grudgingly and inadequately the turn was made in the Chicago conference, it was nevertheless sufficient to inspire tens of thousands of workers with confidence in their own strength, with the conviction that now the battle conducted with closed ranks would bring concrete results. The first stiff blow at the theory and practice of "social Fascism" and the "united front from below" was dealt by the Chicago conference. The proposal for the New York conference is the second blow struck at the theories which have crippled the effectiveness of the Communist movement, and consequently of the working class movement as a whole.

The editorial comment of the Daily Worker (January 11, 1933) which prefaces the call of the Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief, is a far cry from the frenzy of

the "Third Period": "The preliminary committee proposes a meeting of representatives of workers organizations to discuss the advisability of carrying through a state-wide workers' conference to map out a legislative program in defense of our interests. We propose that such a conference, if agreed upon, is to conclude the widest possible representation of all workers' organizations, social, fraternal and benevolent and above all labor unions, irrespective of political opinions or affiliations. The workers of this state have never before been confronted with the need for unity and united action as they are at the present time. Any attempt at dividing the forces of the workers at this time would be a betrayal of their interests."

The call itself proclaims that the Com-

SAVE THE MILITANT

In a previous issue the National Committee addressed an appeal to all members and to all friends and comrades of THE MILITANT calling attention to the great danger which now threatens our weekly organ. It was said frankly in that appeal that unless drastic measures are taken immediately the success which we have had thus far in maintaining the weekly will end with its collapse. This needs to be reiterated with all possible emphasis and to carry the addition that with this issue our financial conditions have become yet more acute.

It is no longer sufficient to speak of maintaining the weekly MILITANT in its regular appearance, the problem now is to SAVE THE MILITANT. In the solution of that problem all our comrades, all our friends and sympathizers, must take part. It is a serious task. It is an important task. It holds out no promise of personal rewards but it demands some real revolutionary sacrifice. That is what we request of you and we feel certain that such a request will not be addressed in vain to the members and supporters of the Left Opposition. We know that you have the will to display such a spirit of sacrifice and where the will exists the way can be found.

THE MILITANT, who have followed in its struggle for the Leninist path, fully appreciate the importance of saving our organ and again lodge it upon a more solid financial foundation. That the significance of its role increases from day to day, has been amply illustrated by all experienced so far. But the past will appear small compared to its future role and for that we must prepare.

To SAVE THE MILITANT the National Committee has launched a concentrated national campaign to collect a special fund of \$1,000.00, apart from the regular income of the organization. This campaign is under way. It is to terminate March 1, 1933. A number of comrades have already come forward with their contributions. We know it represented a sacrifice on their part and we know that they will help further. We must say also in all seriousness that the number of comrades participating in the contributions to date is entirely too small and has not yet at all reached the point of diminishing the danger to our weekly organ. Because of this we count firmly upon the added support of all of you who read this appeal. We expect you to put your shoulders to the wheel. We expect you to help.

—ARNE SWABECK.

The following contributions have been received to date:

NEW YORK	
Gordon	\$3.00
Shulman	5.00
Cannon	2.00
Katsikis	1.00
Eckstadt	2.00
Kent	2.00
Sterling	5.00
Capells	3.00
Poulans	1.00
Saul	2.25
Rosa	1.00
Milton	1.00
Carmody	1.00
Kitt	3.00
Kaldis	1.00
Victor	1.00
Spiegel	2.00
Beardslee	5.00
Stamm	1.00
Marcus	4.00
Glee	.50
CLEVELAND	
Branch Collect	3.12
Keller	1.00
PITTSBURGH	
Oklin	1.00
Sifakis	1.00
Hilch	1.00
MINNEAPOLIS	
Branch Collect	11.00
Total	\$87.12

BANQUET

for THE MILITANT

Saturday, January 21, 9 P. M.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS

SCHOOL HALL

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TICKET . . . 40c

Zinaide Trotsky

From Berlin comes the shocking news of the death of Zinaide Trotsky, daughter of comrade Leon Trotsky. Hounded by the cruel persecution of the Centrist bureaucracy, she took her life, a victim to the thirst for personal vengeance that has animated Stalin in his campaign to annihilate Trotsky, his immediately family, and his best friends and associates.

Comrade Zinaide was driven to her death even though she was not actively engaged in the political movement. More than a year ago, she left her husband in Moscow and came to live with her son in the exile home of her father in Princeton. A year ago, suffering from lung trouble, she received permission to enter Germany for medical treatment. Some months ago, the rude and disloyal usurper deprived comrade Trotsky and his family of Soviet citizenship. Comrade Zinaide approached the Soviet Embassy in Berlin with the request that her passport be extended to enable her to continue her residence in Berlin. Her passport was taken from her by the Stalinist diplomats and a new one denied her. Legally without a country, she subsequently received notice that she was to be expelled from Germany. Last Tuesday she was found dead in her home.

Comrade Zinaide is the second of Trotsky's two daughters to die. A few years ago, the first died of pulmonary tuberculosis in a Moscow hospital, while her father was exiled in Alma-Ata. The bureaucracy kept the news from him until some time after the event, so as to deprive him of "grounds" for coming to Moscow to attend the funeral. It is with these monstrous persecutions, medieval in their calculated cruelty, that the Stalinist apparatus seeks to break down the heroic spirit of the greatest living revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, whom they cannot fight with honest weapons. It is the same sort of persecution that drove Trotsky's most intimate friend, the noble A. A. Joffe, to put a

(Continued on page 8)

OPEN FORUM

LENIN

Speaker:
J. P. CANNON

JANUARY 20, 1933

126 East 16 Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Letters from Militants

Chauvinism Among Pittsburgh Stalinists

PITTSBURGH.—Some time ago we wrote in the Militant of the chauvinism that is poisoning the well of our party in Pittsburgh. That was on the occasion of an attack by Jewish Stalinists against Greek Oppositionists. We said at that time that this chauvinism unfortunately does not extend to Left Oppositionists alone and warned the party of the danger.

At the present we have a telling proof of how correct our conscientious warning was. The fear, the Jewish organization which is led by the Stalinists, recently leased a headquarters. In the lease signed by the Stalinists representing the local clause is contained guaranteeing that no Negroes are to be allowed into the Headquarters! An unprecedented example of white chauvinism! A telling proof of the degeneration that Stalinism is bringing into the ranks of Communism!

In defense of their action, the Stalinists (and we can furnish the names) offer the unheard-of, most unprincipled excuse: the clause excluding the Negro workers is to continue in effect for only (only!) one month! We ask: Does the party leadership condone this action, or will they take drastic disciplinary measures against the party fraction in the room? The workers will expect an answer.

As for the Left Opposition, it does not demand "mass trials" which turn the serious problem of uprooting chauvinism into a farce. It demands disciplinary action coupled with Communist education, which is so lacking in the ranks of the party today. Only a return to Leninism—only a ruthless rejection of strangulating Stalinism—will once and for all put a stop to the degeneration of our party. The Left Opposition will fight tirelessly for a return to Leninism, for the Bolshevik training of the ranks of the Communist party.

Boston Branch Moves Forward

BOSTON.—While Boston has not been heard from in the columns of the Militant lately (except for the article by comrade Schechet on the ILD), there has been considerable activity in this district.

Three of our comrades are members of local ILD branches, one, comrade Schechet now serving on the executive committee of the John Reed Branch. Two comrades are very active in the Left Wing Needle Trades Union and have held several committee positions.

Comrade A. Konikow has given the following lectures:

- (1) "Why is there a Shortage of Food in Russia?" on November 13, before Branch 27 of the Independent Workers' Circle. Attendance 25.
- (2) "What does the Left Opposition Want?" on November 26 for the Independent Workers' Circle of Peabody. Attendance 75.
- (3) "Communism versus Socialism" on Dec. 14 for the Poole-Zionist Women's Club of Dorchester. Attendance 75.
- (4) "What the Left Opposition Stands For" on December 16 for the Chelsea Labor Lyceum Forum. Attendance 65.

Comrade W. Konikow spoke before the Independent Workers' Circle, Branch 27, on December 11th on "Communism versus Socialism", attendance 25.

At all these lectures there was much enthusiasm for the Left Opposition views and the sale of literature was good.

Through the efforts of some of our comrades the Social Science Club, a non-partisan organization for the study of Marxism, was formed three months ago, with a membership of 35. Twenty members enrolled in an intense study course in Elementary Marxist Economics. This course was a huge success. On Tuesday, Jan. 10 there will be a regular quarterly meeting of the club to which the public is invited, admission free. This meeting will be held in Tremont Temple, Room A at 8 P. M. There will be a lecture on "Communism versus Socialism". Three new courses will be started: "History of the Three Internationals", "The Russian Revolution", and "Elementary Marxist Economics". For further information write the Secretary, 11 Keswick St., Boston, Mass.

On Jan. 13, comrade A. Konikow will debate with Louis Marcus of the Socialist Party on "Socialism versus Communism" at No. 1 Stuart St., Boston, Mass.

On Jan. 22, comrade W. Konikow will speak before Independent Workers' Circle, Branch 27, at 12 noon, in Apleron Plaza (upper hall) on "Trotskyism, What It Stands For."

On Jan. 22, Dr. A. Konikow will speak on "Trotskyism, What It Stands For," in Huntington Chambers, Boston at 3 P. M. under the auspices of the New Thought Forum.

As a result of our activity we are glad to report the addition of two new members, with the possibility of three more joining very shortly.

THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD
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SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1933
Vol. 6, No. 2 Whole No. 148

Greek Militant Expelled in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA.—

On December 27, a meeting of the ILD Greek Branch of our city was scheduled to take place at the headquarters of the Greek Workers Club, *Spartacus*. Comrade Theodore Pappas suggested to comrade Caldis who happened to be in Philadelphia that day, to go to the Club and meet certain workers who are anxious to know some truths about the views of the Left Opposition. So far the only thing they knew was the continuous hurling of epithets against the Opposition.

Comrade Goodman came along with the two Greek comrades at the Club, but unfortunately no meeting and no discussion took place, the Stalinists explaining that the rainy weather prevented many workers from reaching at the Club.

Comrade Pappas was asked by many workers to provide a Greek Oppositionist from New York to debate with a Stalinist in order to be able to grasp the fundamental differences of the two viewpoints, and that they were going to propose this at the next business meeting of the Club.

The local Stalinists were panic-stricken at the appearance of comrade Caldis and the distribution of the Militant and Communists by comrade Theodore Pappas, and last week called a special meeting to take measures against the spreading of sentiments in favor of the Left Opposition.

They adopted the same splitting attitude as their New York brothers by expelling comrade Pappas from the Club. Also they held a Stalinist trial and they issued a judgment against Pappas that he can remain at the Club only if he apologizes for his past conduct and also undertake the distribution of the Militant for three months. Comrade Pappas told the "court" that he is willing to sell the Militant for three years if they will convince him that its editors are genuine revolutionary Marxists and not incompetent mercenaries of Stalinism. Then a few of the Stalinists forced him out of the Club room and forbade him to attend it in the future because he is a "dangerous" element. Comrade Pappas bombarded the Greek Stalinists with the most effective weapon at his disposal at present: the Militant, Communists and pamphlets and books of the Opposition.

Stalinists Challenged in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, MO.

At a recent meeting of the International Labor Defense, after listening for more than an hour to a young man from Cincinnati extolling the virtues of the I. L. D., I thought it time to place a few facts before the workers present. I was given a chance for the floor in the following manner. The young man from Cincinnati, evidently very well pleased with himself, proposed a question period following his speech. Posing before the speaker's stand, he was indeed a perfect picture of self-satisfaction.

Calmly taking the floor, I said first of all that I was in complete agreement with the role and functions of the ILD, but that certain events had convinced me that the organization was too narrow and sectarian. I cited the case of Morgenstern and Goodman, members of my organization, the Communist League (Opposition) who were arrested for distributing a leaflet pointing out not only the need for the struggle for immediate demands but stressing the fact that the final solution to the problems of the working class could only be the proletarian revolution. Yet the ILD had done nothing for them. I also cited the New York marine workers' case which the ILD sabotaged. I explained that while between the official party and the Left Opposition there were disagreements of a fundamental theoretical and tactical nature, this should not enter into the question of defense. The ILD must take up the case of any worker, regardless of his organizational affiliations.

During this short speech, the bureaucrats became very nervous. When I finished, the young Stalinist from Cincinnati apologized and shamefacedly admitted that the ILD had formerly been sectarian and had made mistakes. But he would remind the comrades (myself) that at the last convention of the ILD the formula of self-criticism had been applied, resolutions passed, and everything was hunky-dory now. From now on a Trotskyist would be treated like anybody else.

Despite the fact that the bureaucrats considered the discussion at an end, I asked for the floor again it was given to me grudgingly this time. First I asked if the selection of the National Hunger March delegates had not taken place since the "historic" convention of the ILD. Then I told them of the case of comrade Payer who, although duly elected as a Hunger March delegate from his ILD branch, had nevertheless been rejected at the last minute by a "meeting"—where it was held and by whom, only god knows—and a delegate substituted for him who was not even a member of that branch.

Glaring at me like a bull at a red shirt, the Cincinnati Stalinist, although not the chairman, called me to order and commanded me to sit down. It was at this point that the real fireworks began. I was accused of attempting to disrupt the meeting and of having been sent here for that purpose. I was accused of bringing "theoretical questions" into the ILD. They were not interested in "Trotskyism", etc. In this manner a lynching spirit was worked up and one Stalinist

rose to demand that my application for membership be rejected. The bureaucrats rather nervously corrected this move, for it was a complete substantiation of my charge of discrimination against Oppositionists.

At this point, it was decided to "explain" the case of comrade Payer. The "explanation" by Julius Pollack, party candidate for U. S. Senator from Missouri, left the audience gasping for breath. To cover up the extraordinary procedure against Payer, Pollack employed the methods of calumny and falsehood. Knowing that comrade Payer was a coward, he said, and not steered in the class struggle, it was decided that he was not the man to help fight the Washington police, for he lacks the courage to fight the St. Louis police. Believing that I would not again get the floor, I shouted out that these were falsehoods. I was however given the floor by the chairman who asked what more I had to say on that point.

In spite of the threats of a physical attack, I took the floor to nail these lies to the wall. I cited Payer's long record of militancy in the struggle, his picketing of the British Consulate, arrest during our unemployment demonstration, record in the street meetings, and the number of times he had been arrested. I demanded a retraction of the falsehoods or a working class tribunal to hear the charges.

My proposals were of course not acted upon and discussion turned to other matters. Not until the meeting ended did a private discussion take place, with the Ohio Stalinist. He condescendingly explained that he disliked getting personal with a worker, as so many workers are confused, etc. I reminded him that we were so confused that we had numberless times invited the Stalinists to debate with us, so as to bring the differences before the working class; and at all times our invitation had been declined. With workers listening, he immediately proclaimed his willingness to debate as any time. But the bureaucrats promptly became cautious when I enthusiastically accepted. "Unless we cannot find time," they added, "and you know we are busy fighting the boss class." Nevertheless, we finally decided on the subject which (if they accept) is to be: "Is Trotsky a Friend of the Soviet Union?" That this is the last we will hear from this on the matter, is more than likely.

—G. ROBERTS.

Pittsburgh Branch Progresses

PITTSBURGH NOTES

The Stalinist terror campaign against the Left Opposition is in full swing here. Not only are Oppositionists slandered and attacked on every possible occasion, but even more, the tolerant party members are intimidated by the bureaucracy. Party members are forbidden to come to Opposition meetings and classes. Party members are warned against going into the houses of Left Opposition comrades. They are even threatened with disciplinary measures for speaking to our comrades.

In the meantime, the struggles of the rank and file within the party against the national bureaucracy are proceeding unabated. Only recently, the topmost bureaucrats have been forced to make a concession to the militant Pittsburgh rank and file. They have agreed to remove all the out-of-town functionaries, outside of the D. O., from their positions and to replace them with local comrades. While this is no doubt the fruit of courageous efforts by the bulk of the militants here it is important for them not to be deceived by such a measure. For, the bureaucrats still maintain the right to appoint functionaries (instead of having them elected by the responsible bodies), so as to assure themselves in the near future to place such local workers in leading positions as will carry out their bureaucratic designs and decisions.

But the Pittsburgh rank and file is wide-awake. It is conscious of the progress it has achieved by fighting and it has already been encouraged thereby to continue fighting, to clear the road for real Leninist advances. It would not be at all surprising, if the logic of their struggle will, very soon, lead them to demand the regular election of functionaries, which is a primary element of the old Leninist system of democratic centralism, instead of the appointment from above of functionaries, which is a distinguishing feature of the Stalinist system of bureaucratic centralism. In any case, the Leninist Left Opposition stands ready to offer every aid and to fight side by side with the rank and file militants.

In the Progressive Youth Club
Militant readers are acquainted with recent developments in the Progressive Youth Club. They know of the fight that the Stalinists—acting under the guise of "non-politicals"—carried on against letting in Left Oppositionists. Some time ago, we showed that this policy plays right into the hands of reactionaries and is bound to react even against the Stalinists. That we were not far from wrong, a more recent incident goes to prove. To wit:

Last week, two leading party comrades applied for membership to the club. A reactionary clique within the club, which has been thriving on the foolish struggle of the Stalinists against us, has cleverly used the anti-proletarian "No Politics" cry of the latter against the Leninist Opposition to entrench itself self-wisely with a good measure of power. In fact, they have grown so powerful, that they have found it extremely easy to reject these applications of the party members, abused them as being "disruptive Communists". They were so successful in their effort that they even managed to enlist support for this reactionary action from a miseducated party member serving on the committee

Leon Trotsky

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that handled the applications! The Stalinist policy worked like a boomerang! The party comrade's name is Nellie Martin and every Communist has a right to demand that she be taken to task for such unheard-of conduct. It remained, however, for the lone comrade from the Left Opposition, serving on that committee, to carry on the fight against the attack on Communism with the support of a few party sympathizers. Comrade Salov found it necessary, not only to represent the Left Opposition in this struggle, but the official party as well. And that is not so strange either. It is only natural. The conscientious party comrades will continue to discover this more and more from their own experiences: that Stalinism miseducates the Communist workers and that the Leninist Left Opposition alone educates them in a Communist sense; that Stalinism is incapable of teaching the workers to defend Communism and that the Left Oppositionists are the best fighters for the progress of our Communist party.

Opposition at Anti Pogrom Conference

PITTSBURGH.—

In the Anti-Pogrom United Front Conference, which was called here by party auxiliary organizations, the Left Opposition was represented by a delegate in order to participate in the work. Comrade Frank Salov offered the assistance of the local League organization, speaking in its name. The delegate of the Communist League (Opposition) was seated and elected to the Conference Committee.

Arrangements are now under way to hold a mass protest meeting and a demonstration. The Pittsburgh branch of the Communist League (Opposition) calls upon all its sympathizers and friends to participate energetically in these actions and to help make them a success. While taking an active part in the work, the organization reserves for itself the right to independent criticism of all the actions taken and proposals offered by the various organizations represented in the united front.

Hold Public Meeting

On Thursday evening, January 5, the Pittsburgh branch held a small mass meeting at the Irene Kaufman Settlement, on Centre Avenue. A representative worker crowd was on hand and listened attentively to comrade Gordon who spoke on the subject "The Communist Party and the Left Opposition." After the lecture, there were some interesting questions and discussions from the floor, to which the speaker replied in a brief summary. The group intends to hold more meetings of this sort in the future, in order systematically to bring the viewpoint of the Left Opposition before the Pittsburgh workers.

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Czech Right Wing Collapses

Lovestone's Allies Take Final Step and Join Social Democracy

On October 16, 1932, the national conference of the Czechoslovakian Right Opposition decided upon unification with the social democracy and, together with a small number of members, it turned over to it a number of homes and other party properties which it had taken with it at the time of its expulsion. With this act, an instructive chapter in the history of Czech Communism finds its conclusion.

When in the year 1928 the Comintern leadership completed its swing from the Right-Centrist course of capitulation to "Murell and Chiang Kai-Shek" to the adventures of the "third period", it encountered a stiff resistance in Czechoslovakia from the party membership, all the more so as the beginning of the new course promptly produced the catastrophe of the Red Day of July 6, 1928. Stalinist diplomacy was intent upon confining the indignation of the party workers within such limits that it would not do damage to the prestige of the Comintern leadership. It permitted a criticism of the preceding opportunism in so far as it was replaced by ultra-radicalism, and guarded against a clarification of the ultra-Leftist blunders of the present. It succeeded in attributing the whole blame or the weakening of the party to the file leadership, in spite of the fact that the latter had simply acted as the executors of the Moscow chiefs.

Centrism Assists Right Wing

The majority of the party membership concentrated its hopes upon the new Gottwald-Fried opposition which was overthrown from Moscow. But immediately upon the first actions of the new leadership, broad strata of the party moved away. The proclaiming of the immediately revolutionary situation at the time of the textile workers' strike, at the beginning of 1929, the bureaucratically impatient foundation of new trade unions, after the opportunistic Hais secretary of the IAV (International One Big Union) had carried the majority of the membership by surprise with the aid of organizational swindling and the small following of the then removed party leadership and created the foundations of a new opposition.

The Gottwald party leadership, true to the Stalinist commandment, completely dropped the Leninist united front policy. The Right Opposition, at any hour of the day or night, was ready for a united front with the social democracy against the Communist party. The Right Opposition prepared the road for entry into the social democracy. But this remained concealed from many of its own members.

Even before it began to realize its goal of unification, the Opposition went through a split. A part of the deputies refused to contribute to the Opposition treasury out of their salaries. Is that how you understand democracy, that I, who do receive five times as high a salary as the average worker, should turn over half of it to the organization at a time when the others contribute a bare one—one hundredth of theirs?—said a deputy to the democratic babblers, and quit the Opposition.

When we came out for unity, then we mean above all the unity of the organizations' treasuries, for then the organizations will be all the stronger, opened old man Hais, and joined the social democratic trade unions with his organization. The German bishop Brandier was dispatched for the marriage ceremony and he even handed down a dispensation to the betrothed from the legally prescribed proclamation of the bans. The priest returned to Germany and described the Prague unification as a model of the Leninist tactic. It was indeed a model of Brandlerist policy; but it had nothing in common with Leninist trade union tactics. When Leninists come forward for the unity of the trade union movement, they put such conditions as guarantee the possibility of revolutionary agitation. The entry of the Hais organization into the social democratic trade union league was based upon a complete political capitulation to the social democracy. That was the music which Heinrich Brandler "overheard".

In the ranks of the Right Opposition could be heard soft voices which shyly criticized Hais' capitulation. But the secretariat of the Opposition remained in the Trade Union House, which now belonged to the social democracy.

The following which the Opposition leaders brought into the social democracy is slight. One part of their workers has remained indifferent, a second part capitulated to Stalinism, a third part is coming closer to the Left Opposition.

That the Czechoslovakian Right Opposition temporarily rallied a substantial number of party members around itself, that it was able for quite a time to de-

ceive itself and its ranks about the direction of its course, is to be ascribed above all to the Stalinists. For the latter conducted the struggle against the Right wing principally with the accusation that it was for agreements with social democratic leaders. They thus permitted the liquidators to utilize for their own ends the mistakes of the Centrist party, which rejected the united front with the leaders under any circumstances. A second fact is of still greater significance. By the reduction of the difference between themselves and the Right wing to the question of "from above or from below", "united front with the leaders or without them", the Stalinists excluded from the discussion the fundamental strategical questions.

Decline of Right Opposition

The Czech Right Opposition rose to its height in 1929, after a temporary economic boom and a series of mistakes of the Stalinists, produced a new dissemination of democratic-pacifist illusions within the Czech working class. But when the consequences of the world economic crisis violently gripped the economic life of the country, when the million and a half unemployed and partly unemployed once more had the occasion to feel the effects of the ruling social democracy's methods, when the revolutionary wave began to rise, the Right Opposition receded. At the same time, the Czech Left Opposition took shape and grew.

The general direction of the Right Opposition was: Away from the revolution, over to the social democracy. The adventurist stupidities of the Stalinists, however, drove many workers into its ranks, who did not want to capitulate to reformism but to win the social democratic workers to the revolution on the basis of partial demands. That is why the process of differentiation within the remnants of the Right Opposition, which have not been drawn over to the social democracy, is inevitable. The Left Opposition says to these workers: We understand that the treachery and characterlessness of the leader of the Right Opposition restrain you from active policy and push you towards indifference. For you, for all of us, there is but one road: Closer to the Communist Party! Fight to win it back to the policy of Lenin, under the banner of International Left Opposition!

—O. FRIEDMANN.

North China Seized

(Continued from page 1)

this innocuous pact would have been of little consequence for the Japanese imperialists. It would not have stopped the military plans by one inch of conquered territory. But what they have done is significant. They have refused to sign the pact on a flimsy pretext. Stalin, they say, has changed the industrialization plans in preparation for war. In view of the present difficulties of the five year plan, this charge is not only absurd but is a cover for Japanese provocations against the Soviet Union. The Daily Worker reports that four Soviet ships have been interned by the Japanese military. Japan's hostile acts are clear to all.

At the same time another significant fact comes to light. Unlike the events of last year when the conquest of Manchuria was met with anxious outcries on the part of American and other imperialists who feared for their own profits and concessions, the silence of this year has been conspicuous. Is it because the imperialist powers know in advance that Japan's rampage will this time end up in an assault upon the Soviet Union? There are strong indications that this may be the case.

The workers must be on their guard for any eventuality. They must give their support to the Chinese workers and peasants in the struggle against the Japanese plunderers and the Chiang Kai-Shek butchers of the Chinese people!

—G. C.

ANNOUNCEMENT

All Militant readers are urged to watch for the next issue of the paper. It will be of especial interest to all Communist Militants. It is going to be a special anniversary number devoted to three great working class leaders, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg whose writings and deeds have blazed the trail for the Communist movement. The next issue will contain articles and reprints by well known revolutionary writers commemorating the life and analyzing the deeds of these heroic fighters for the proletariat. Watch for the next issue!

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The Technocrats «Refute» Marxism

(Continued from page 1)
energy, according to Scott, will do away with classes and the class struggle, with revolution and with Marxists. Quite a large order!

Technocratic "Energy"

The whole structure of Technocracy revolves around the axis of "energy." Scott says, "Energy is defined as the capacity for doing work. All forces of heat transfer or of work done are said to involve a transfer of energy." Again: "Now energy appears in many forms but it is possible to measure them in units of work—the erg and the joule, or in units of heat, the calorie."

The "technocrats" hide behind the word "energy" every form of energy used in the present capitalist system of production. They do not make any distinction between determining factors of energy and contributing or auxiliary units of energy. Second, when they deal with human labor as a form of energy they primarily deal with one phase of the problem and ignore the other and most important phase.

The first phase of the problem of labor (energy) they deal with is its displacement by the machine. Scott says: "In other words a price system demands man-power if it is to succeed, and man-power for production success becomes more and more a thing of the past as the kilowatt hour takes its place." To refer to the displacement of labor or "man-power" and not to tell what effect this has upon that part of labor which is left in production, is to state the problem without stating the determining factor. The development of machines, new inventions and processes carry with them greater exploitation of labor.

Scott says kilowatt hours take the place of man-power. What really happens is that the higher composition of capital—an increase in constant capital (kilowatt hours, etc., means of production) and a decrease of variable capital (wage-labor in the form of labor) causes greater exploitation of the wage workers, a fall in the rate of profit but a rise in the mass of profit which goes not to society but to the owners of the tools of production.

If the technocracy school would realize that private ownership of the tools of production must be abolished and that social ownership must replace it, they would be a long way toward the proper utilization of the facts they have accumulated. Also this would be the opening of the door out of the blind alley they are now in. Failing this understanding their positive facts are lost or else they are utilized by reaction to mislead the workers.

Is Labor's Importance Decreasing?

Many are already using the "movement" for this purpose. But the technicians and scientists who want to be of service to mankind must see beyond the decay of capitalism into the future social system which is going through its birth stage in the Soviet Union now.

The change from hand-tool production to the machine age is viewed by the school of technocracy as the passing of man-power (labor) to kilowatt hours of energy units, etc. Where they see the replacement of man-power by machines, they conclude that the importance of man-power (labor) in a machine society diminishes. The truth is that the importance of labor in the relation of pro-

Engineers Have New Plan to Save Bankrupt Capitalism

fits and exploitation increases with machine development.

Let us restate the problem from a Marxist point of view and see what light it throws upon the school of technocracy. The foundation of the use-value (products or commodities) of every society is labor and nature. The determining factor in society is not nature but labor. The relation of labor to production and to the ownership of the means of production determines its status in that society, no matter how productive labor is.

All value, wealth of use-values in society, no matter what its form may be—buildings, machines, trains, roads, electric power, clothes, and other necessities—can be reduced, not to energy in the abstract, but to labor and natural properties, no matter if they were made by hand-tool production or machine production.

Two Debates in Chicago

Two debates are scheduled in Chicago which are of considerable importance and interest to the militants of that city, according to the announcements of the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

On Tuesday, January 17, Norman Satir, of the Left Opposition, will debate with T. Statman, organizer for the IWW on the subject: "Communism or Syndicalism?"

On the same date, Joseph Giganti, organizer of the Left Opposition will debate with M. Olney, anarchist spokesman, on the subject, "What Next for the Spanish Worker—Communism or Anarchism?" This debate will take place under the auspices of the Spartacus Workers League, at its headquarters, 1045 W. Polk Street.

Both debates deal with themes of current importance and the debaters will undoubtedly bring forward their respective sides of the question in as thorough a manner as possible, enabling those who attend to judge the merits of the disputing tendencies in the labor movement. All Chicago militants are cordially invited to attend the debates.

relationship under capitalism. The social factor and the form of "energy" of LABOR is the decisive factor in the energy of any and every society. This determining "factor" is what the Technocracy school ignores.

In other words, if we were to find the basis of the equation of all use-values of society we must reduce the use-values to the amount "of socially necessary labor time embodied within them." (Energy?). Constant capital (machines, buildings, raw material, power, etc.) can be reduced to congealed labor time. The other part, necessary for capitalist production and the vital part—variable capital (wage labor)—can be transformed into labor, living labor, in the process of production. All forms of energy, measured by the kilowatt hour can be reduced to so many hours of socially necessary labor time. The equation of Dr. Rautenstrauch and Peral-Reed deals with an entirely different phase of the problem and does not touch the basic factors of the present day economic problems. The problem their equation does not touch is the problem that must be solved if we are to have an orderly and planned society. Many technicians desire this but do not know how it is to be attained.

The Key to the Problem

Let us consider the "energy of technocracy" in the field of capitalist production. So many yards of linen in value equal so many pounds of wheat not because we have some arbitrary "price system" but because each can be reduced to so many hours of labor embodied within the commodities. The only way to measure all forms of energy which are the result of man's labor is to reduce them to socially necessary labor time embodied in them. This labor time is the measure of value and the key to the understanding of the problem the technicians have unearthed but have not explained properly nor solved.

To regard "energy" in the abstract and leave out of consideration the measure of its value, labor time, is to leave the ground of concrete reality and lose the key to an understanding of the class problems and the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. To find a way out of the capitalist contradictions, it is necessary first to state the problem correctly. This Marx and the

Marxists did long ago. The displacement of man power by the machine, which is a progressive development under capitalism, was analyzed by Marx long ago and its consequences predicted. The school of technocracy has just now discovered the fact but has not yet drawn the conclusions which flow from them. What a difference between the dialectic materialist method and the bourgeois methods! And how superior it proves itself to be in analyzing and pointing the way to the solution.

Kilowatt hours, capital, commodities, or any other form of use-values can be reduced to congealed labor—to "dead labor." Under capitalism we have a system where "dead labor"—capital—controls and subjects living labor—the labor of the workers, in the process of production. Thereby capital controls the lives of the wage earners.

Only when the control of the capitalists over the means of production is broken can the workers be liberated. For this a revolution is required. Technocracy cannot solve the problem in a vacuum. It cannot eliminate the class struggle. There is no substitute for the proletarian revolution and the expropriation of the expropriators. For that reason "technocracy" remains an imposing deception.

—H. O.

ZINAIDE TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

bullet through his head in 1927 in protest against the Thermidorian vices of the party rulers. Three years before his death, in 1924, Trotsky's devoted secretary and collaborator, Glazman, took the same way out of the nightmare of venous intrigue brought into the life of the party by the dominant clique. One by one—Glazman, Joffe, Butov, Heinrichsen, Silov, Blumkin, Rosanoff, and now Zinaide Trotsky—these serene but unyielding spirits have been cut down in their youth or their rich prime—tormented to death, driven to suicide, or shot in obscure courtyards. While scoundrels and parasites, ex-Petlurists and Mensheviks, scavengers and camp-followers, penetrated to the highest posts of the Soviets and the party, the bravest of the brave and the cream of Bolshevism, the organizers of the insurrection and the heroes of the Civil War, were driven out of the party and... into the grave. It is the fate reserved by Stalin for the Left Oppositionists in prison and exile, for that fearless revolutionary chief, Rakovsky, for all those who have stood unflinchingly by the side of the Bolshevik exile who incarnates the international proletarian revolution. The blood of these Bolshevik victims is on Stalin's head!

To the bereaved exile in Turkey and to his family, we send our most deeply felt sympathy. At the graveside of our dear comrade Zinaide Trotsky, the American Bolshevik-Leninists pledge themselves anew to the unending struggle to liberate world Communism from the monstrous regime which has devastated it and sent a new victim to a premature death.

The International Workers School of the St. Louis Branch is conducting a class in the "Fundamentals of Communism" with Martin Payer as the instructor. The class is held every Monday evening, 7:30 P. M. at the Small Club Room of the Cruden Branch Library, 14th and Cass Avenues. All Militant readers and friends are invited to attend. The admission is free.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet

Left Delegates Issue Statement at Chicago Student Conference

The present world crisis in capitalist economy, occurring as it does in the epoch of imperialism, which is at once the period of the highest development of capitalism and the period of its decay, contains within itself the seeds of war. The spread of industrial capitalism during the past half century has increased the number of capitalist powers, the antagonisms between which with the growth of monopolies, trusts and cartels have created ever-sharpening rivalries between the imperialist nations. Before the Great War it was still possible for capitalism to escape from the recurrent crises by a continuous extension of the world market. That is no longer possible. The rival imperialist powers now find it impossible to lift themselves out of the crisis by expanding the over-seas markets. Today they are shackled with a vast army of unemployed workers who are becoming increasingly impatient. In order to avoid an internal upheaval which would jeopardize their own existence, the rival imperialist powers are compelled to struggle incessantly for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of financial control. Inevitably the disproportion between the size of the productive forces (especially of the proletariat) and the markets in the possession of the different imperialist nations causes a break, and capitalism proceeds to settle its differences on the back and with the blood of the great masses of the population, the workers. But imperialist war cannot achieve a permanent solution of the problems of economic disequilibrium. Owing to the unequal development of capitalism in different countries, a time soon comes when markets and sources of raw materials must be redistributed and the struggle for economic hegemony appears on the order of the day once more. Obviously, therefore, imperialist wars are a product of the development of capitalist society and are inherent in it. In this epoch of socialized production, the historic task of putting an end to all wars falls upon the working class because of its indispensable role in the production process. The proletariat, itself the product of capitalist industry, is the only social force capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat which, when achieved on a world scale, lays the basis for the development of socialism. Only in such a society when the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and class differences have disappeared, will the causes of war finally have been removed. To us, therefore, the problem of war is a problem of class conflict flowing from the extant mode of production and exchange today it is a problem for the working class because it is the workers who must do the fighting and the dying and it, the workers, leading all the oppressed masses, who alone can overthrow capitalism. Hence, we, as students, can play no independent role. While carrying on work in our respective fields, our task is essentially one of supporting the working class in its day-to-day struggle against capitalist exploitation and of helping it resist the outbreak of further imperialist wars by working with it towards the overthrow of capitalism.

While we oppose imperialist war, we affirm our support to all oppressed people seeking liberation from imperialist exploitation. We look upon wars of national liberation as progressive and as a step further on the road of final emancipation for the down-trodden masses. An uprising of the Chinese or Indian masses directed towards throwing off the yoke of foreign imperialism must receive our support. The struggle in the colonial countries does not end, however, with the eviction of the foreign imperialists, for the exploited masses will still have to deal with their own national capitalists. It is for this reason that the emancipation of these backward peoples can only be achieved under the leadership of revolutionary workers who must strive to extend the national revolt into a struggle for power which will eventuate in the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Imperialist war assumes increased significance for the world proletariat when it takes the form of an interventionist attack upon the USSR. The Soviet Union is the first and only Workers' State in history and as such it is the duty of every revolutionary organization to defend the achievements of the Soviet Union and to insure the continued existence of the proletarian dictatorship in that country pending the further development of the world revolution. The events of the past few years have shown precisely how the flames of war lunge at the frontiers of the Soviet Union simultaneously from the Far East and from the closer West. At the same time strangling the independence of China, Japan constructs in Manchuria fortresses from which to strike at the Soviets. On the other hand, the advance of Fascism in Germany opens up the perspective of a struggle for life or death between a Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. The struggle against war signifies under these conditions the struggle to save the lives of tens of millions of workers and peasants belonging to the new generation which has grown up since the Great War, to preserve all the conquests of labor and of thought, to save the first Workers' State and the whole future of humanity.

It follows naturally that we cannot support any program which condemns all wars in general. Each must be considered in its own context and from the point of view of the historical interest of the world proletariat.

Lastly, we must point out the irreconcilability between our position and that of pacifists, who, blind to the causes of armed conflict, dismiss all wars with a wave of the hand. Too long now have the masses been misled by statements such as that made by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland at the recent Amsterdam Anti-War Conference to the effect that a wave of opposition must be raised against "whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from and whoever it may menace." We repeat that we are opposed to such pacifist utterances and will consistently oppose adherence to a similar position at this conference. The problems of war can be discussed only on the basis of class interests.

We consider it absolutely wrong to create a permanent individual membership anti-war organization. Such an organization will only separate the struggle against war from the general struggle against capitalism.

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FOR A UNITED WORKER-STUDENT YOUTH CONFERENCE

The great weakness of this Congress lies in the fact that it has segregated the student youth from the working class youth. In view of this, the Congress goes on record as favoring:

- The organization of a nation-wide united front anti-war conference of all youth organizations, worker and student.
- The organization of a preliminary conference of all leading youth organizations to prepare for such a national conference.
- The election of an executive committee of the Student Congress Against War, that will help in the work toward such an end.
- We call upon the Young Communist League, the historic leader in the struggle against imperialist war and militarism, to initiate this movement.

SIGNED:

Yetta Barshefsky, Crane College, Chgo.
B. Landau, Crane College, Chicago.
Daniel Shelley, University of Chicago.
Meyer Freeman, University of Toronto.
Max Caplansky, University of Toronto.
Eric Renouf, University of Toronto.
Norman Knight, University of Toronto.
Norman Satir, Chgo. Branch C. L. of A.
Irving Bern, Spartacus Y. C., Chgo.
Ruth Stamm, Hunter College, N. Y.
Walter Karsner, Hunter College, N. Y.
Mannie Goltman, Brooklyn College
Sam Freidlich, Tukey High, Chicago.
Walter Danyluk, Tukey High, Chicago.
Charles Burle, Tukey High, Chicago.
H. Rosenfeld, Tukey High, Chicago.
Sally Goltz, Crane College, Chicago.
Al Giotzer, Youth Section C. L. of A.
Mannie Goltlieb, Spartacus Y. C.,
Des Moines, Iowa.

By an error, the above statement was announced for publication in the last issue of the MILITANT. It was carried over to this issue instead. The next issue will contain a critical analysis of the proceedings of the Chicago conference.

THE HISTORY OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Max Shachtman

will speak every Sunday evening, 8 P. M. on the following subjects in the course:

Jan. 15 1922—The Last Leninist Congress.

Jan. 22 1924—The First Great Victory of the Right-Center Reaction and the Fifth Congress.

Jan. 29/30—The Triumph of the Epigones at the Sixth Congress.

Feb. 5 The Future of the Third International: Collapse or Regeneration?

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JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

The High Speed of Japanese Development

A striking feature of post-war Japanese development is its rapid tempo. Born in the epoch of imperialism, Japanese capitalism, even before it has attained full maturity, undergoes all the sicknesses of decay—the stifling of expanding productive forces by the shrinking of markets. Its internal woes are so profound that desperate remedies are sought; hence the imperialist venture in China, a venture that not only sacrifices the lives of Japanese—and Chinese—workers for capitalist profit, but that demands for its accomplishment ever greater diversion of resources, growing budgets and mounting deficits, hence more intense exploitation of workers and peasants. The national income must be reapportioned; the middle class is taxed at the unbelievable rate of 30 percent of its earnings (every citizen with an income of \$150, or more is taxed); the workers must receive even less than their previous pittance. In short, the class struggle is intensified at a pace corresponding to the unbounded program of imperialist expansion.

But not only does Japanese imperialism accomplish forced marches in the strain of catching up with the rival powers. The working class, too, undergoes rapid transformations. In the single decade since the war, the Japanese proletariat has condensed the long experience of a whole century of British development. Today the Japanese workers are strong out along the road of development with a rear-guard of opportunists and reformists always ready to desert and betray the vanguard of Communists in time of battle.

During this decade of proletarian growth the economic and political changes have followed each other with great rapidity—a sure indication of the revolutionary possibilities. The workers have shown themselves acutely sensitive to the international labor movement, but unless a leadership is built up that is grounded in Marxist principles, the

principles of the Bolshevik-Leninists, and is at the same time, flexible in its tactics, with regard to the changing relations of forces, the results may well be disastrous for the working class.

Reformism and Opportunism

The great influence of syndicalism, later of Communism, in the post-war era forced the shrewd ruling class of Japan to avail itself of the generous assistance of reformism in attempting to trick the proletariat into following the path of "peaceful" agitation and development. The illuminating experiences of the English working class since the Chartist movement, the course followed by the revisionists in German social-democracy, the history of the second international—these lessons of betrayal were not learned in vain by Japanese politicians and capitalists. The classic method of dividing and ruling is applied in the union movement and on the political arena by the government's policy of encouraging the growth of Right wing organizations and suppressing brutally the Left wing. Thus the Yuaikai (Friendly Society of Laborers), organized in 1912 by the Christian socialist, Suzuki (the Gompers of Japan), under the patronage of one of the Elder Statesmen, was transformed into the Japanese General Federation of Labor in 1919. Its function was to combat syndicalism and divert the workers from the "dangerous" road of class struggle and mass action. Through the leadership of this federation of 46 unions with its 33,000 workers, and that of the 82,000 members of the Seamen's Union and the 42,000 members of the Naval Workers' Union, the capitalists hoped to create a division between the skilled and the unskilled, to form an aristocracy of labor, on the lines of the A. F. of L. that could be bribed into acquiescence to capitalist policy. Fortunately syndicalist influence and the lateness of development of Japanese unions, permitting their utilization of international experience, assured the formation of industrial unions. Only 9 percent of the organized

workers are in craft unions, thus eliminating the artificial and fratricidal struggles between unions over jurisdiction.

If workers too often fail to realize the decisive importance of the class controlling an organization, the employers have no illusions on this score. The bosses in Japan have organized shop committees and company unions on a wide scale. In fact they now embrace 340,000 workers, as many as have been permitted to organize in all the workers' unions combined.

The year 1919 saw the gradual spread of information concerning the Russian Revolution among the workers. The spread of Communist ideas terrified governing circles and brought on a period of white terror that has not abated to the present time. The crisis of 1920 with its mass unemployment did not help to reassure the upper class. Nor did the Kobe strike of 1921 with its great solidarity parade of 30,000 workers. In 1922 the Comintern established relations with Japanese comrades and started an illegal, underground movement. The movement has remained small but exerts a profound influence despite the committing of many blunders under Stalinist control.

The earthquake of 1923 gave the government its opportunity to belabor the proletarian movement. The police and the military incited the reactionaries and their dupes among the masses to murder all Koreans under the pretext that they were responsible for the terrible conflagrations that broke out as a result of the quake. Simultaneously with the most brutal massacre of thousands of Koreans, those most exploited workers in Japan, performing the dirtiest work with the outcaste Etais, the soldiery seized hundreds of radicals of all shades and put the most prominent ones to the sword. In cruelty and cold-bloodedness this exploit of the Mikado outdid any of the Czar's pogroms of the Jews.

The Communists and the Labor Party

The promise by the government of universal suffrage in 1925 (the actual voting not to take place till 1928), started widespread agitation for the formation of working class political parties. The Right wing leaders in the unions at first looked askance at this new development, seeing in it a threat to their bureaucratic control through the organization

of a rival leadership. But the example of the British Labor Party, then coming into power, heartened them and caused the attempt of creating a political party under union auspices. This same year saw the split of the General Federation of Labor—with what aid from the Communists is not clear but quite easily to be inferred from international developments in the "third period"—into Right and Left wings, the latter including syndicalists to an even greater extent than Communists. And the Communist party, despite the persecution and the handicaps of illegality, presented as clearly as was possible under the circumstances, their own political outlook had they differed, toward themselves sharply from the opportunist elements a large section of the syndicalists could have been won over to Communism, not to speak of other Left wing workers. But the Anglo-Russian Committee, the bloc of the Chinese party with the Kuo Min Tang, in short the obliteration and dispersing of the vanguard in the mass of uncrystallized workers, the voluntary yielding of initiative by the only force capable of leading the workers correctly to that force designed only to mislead—all this saw its counterpart in the attempts of the Communists, under the direction of the Comintern, to form a mass labor party.

The Peasants' Union (50,000 members) issued the call for all workers to unite in a proletarian party. In No. 16 of the Communist International may be found the attitude of the Comintern on the entire question. Vassiliev writes enthusiastically hailing the call. "Not only labor and progressive peasant elements are interested in the organization of a new party aiming at the thorough democratization of the State—the whole country demands this!" Further "the Communist wing of the commission for the formation of the proletarian party formulated its own platform as follows: The aim of the proletarian party is struggle against imperialism and the menace of imperialist wars. The slogans are: Korea's and other colonies' rights to self-determination; hands off China; those who till the land must own it; the 8 hour day; work or full maintenance for unemployed; workers' control; universal suffrage for all citizens over the age of 18; democratic liberties; abrogation of laws directed against the labor movement; abolition of the Upper Chamber and the Genro Council." Its immediate slogan is the

"workers and peasants' government". Vassiliev adds naively that "after a perusal of the draft programs of action of the Left and the reformists, one is struck by the similarity of the most important points of the political and economic demands." He sees the conditions for a united front as very propitious. "Through their work within the proletarian party, the Japanese Communists will no doubt soon be able to grapple with the task of developing their ranks into a mass Leninist party with a strictly revolutionary program and iron discipline."

In No. 17 of the Communist International, after the complete fiasco of the all-embracing mass party, we find the following gossamer: "The reformists, after their unsuccessful attempts to balk the formation of the Proletarian Party by refusing participation, decided to achieve their sabotaging work by drawing up a program provoking the Left to a split. The latter took up a firm position, and acquiesced in making every concession if only to obtain the organization of a legal mass party. In their desire to preserve the legal physiognomy of the new party, the Left went so far that they abandoned without any reserves the demand for the independence of the colonies (they agreed to autonomy) and agreed to the abandonment of the demand for the confiscation of the land without compensation. But the reformists, who had previously come to an agreement with the police, quit the inaugural congress of the Proletarian party, declaring that they did not desire to be a weapon in the hands of the Left. The Lefts, continuing their policy of guaranteeing legality to the new party at all costs, also left the congress. The delegates of the Peasant Union and the Suheisha remained in the congress." Of course, the police closed the congress down anyhow. But to go on: "But the reformists will not enjoy their victory for long. Even if at first the Proletarian party did not have a program of action worked out according to all the rules of Lenin, etc., even if in its program it made opportunist, reformist, false steps, all this is not so essentially important. What is important is the fundamental fact that the working and peasant masses are being brought into the proletarian party and it is also important that the objective situation of the country unrestrainedly urges the Japanese workers and peasants to decisive acts and big tasks."

From Istanbul to Copenhagen

From Istanbul to Copenhagen and back by a whole series of means of locomotion—boat, automobile, train—there is something that might have furnished an interesting theme for an able writer. Yet you cannot find even an attempt in this direction in the press: a few pen-pushers confined themselves to invented interviews, like that in the *Petit Journal*, whose correspondent, it appears, met Trotsky last year on the island of Majorca! But this indigence did not prevent the press from revealing on several occasions—by information, by distortion or by silence—its sentiments towards the various stages of the trip. Let us set down the position of those who claim to express "public opinion," the position of the capitalist governments and also the attitude of those proletarians who were encountered along the route.

Let us pass over everything which smacks of fantasy, imagination and a taste for scandal. Objective reports, or rather strict information, are rarely to be found. The Italian press preserve a prudent restraint: a few French papers did the same; the socialist *Populaire* in particular had no illusions concerning the social democratic tribune accepted by Trotsky to deliver his justification for the October against the social democracy. Not a single paper gave any sort of an objective exposition of the ideas of the Left Opposition.

The Anti-Bolshevik Fury

On the other hand, the anti-Bolshevik hatred, too true of capitalism which has retained an ever-smarting souvenir of the October and the years of the civil war, expressed itself with a terrific violence in the canards of the various countries. In France, in the big press, it is the *Journaux* that took front place by its vertiginous provocations. The courageous acts of the Bolsheviks, showing the whole world proletariat the emptiness of the ideas of capitalist fatherland, of national defense—the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, is denounced by the *Journaux* as "treason." It seeks to exploit all the chauvinistic and conservative sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie against the Russian revolution. It is quite normal on the part of an organ which was one of the most rapid supporters of czarism, of Russian loans—not out of benevolence, to be sure—and whose "patriotism" did not cease to overlook its treasury during the war. In the Belgian press, the anti-Communist hatred expressed itself with just as much frenzy, but in addition it had that special imprint which a few grotesque provincialists put upon it. In the *Antwerp Matin*, the editors deplore in an indelible style, the police measures... because they did not permit "the cures" to reach the ears of Trotsky. In reality, the police measures could not prevent a number of shouts of sympathy from reaching our comrade.

To be sure! a number of Danish journals made a good deal of noise about comrade Trotsky's presence in Copenhagen. The "repulsive Communist," the "Bolshevik agitator," "blood covered hands"—the expressions have not changed since 1917. The reactionary Danish press gained an ally in the person of Prince Aage, whose sole distinction lies in having served as an officer in the Foreign Legion. This individual found it in place to recall the noted phrase: "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark." Prince Aage never thought of the fact that among the characters of Shakespeare there are not Hamlets but also clowns and buffoons.

The Danish socialist paper, *Socialdemokratiet* at first sought to exploit the act of its government in granting a visa for eight days. It presumptuously pretended that the social democracy had made it possible for Trotsky to emerge "for an hour from the prison where his friends confined him." But Trotsky's speech put a damper on their pretensions: Trotsky was not affected by their efforts; he had remained the Communist, the warrior of October. Four years of exile had done nothing to make his lean towards democracy.

A number of papers, in Denmark and in other countries, displayed their disappointment over the fact that in his speech Trotsky did not engage in polemic against the Stalinist policy and that on the contrary he gave an exposition, based upon scientific conceptions, of Marxism, of Leninism, the most magnificent and clear-sighted justification of the Russian revolution, putting in the shade all the ritualistic and hollow phrases which the official Stalinist propaganda spreads throughout the world. Naturally, the bourgeois and the social democratic press could not appraise the indirect manner in which our comrade combatted Stalinism. Some expressed their astonishment and their discontent without restraint: "The October revolution, stage in the historical rise of humanity—this was the quintessence of the declarations. But Trotsky does not say the least little word about his conflicts with Stalin and his exile. The question must be put frankly as to why Trotsky accepted the invitation of the social democratic students..." wrote the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of November 2, 1932. In the report of *Socialdemokratiet*, you can read: "applause which had only a polite character." "Trotsky affirmed, and it was quite superfluous, that he was a Communist." "In the first half, Trotsky bore himself as a professor, delivering a lecture... but after a while, he spoke loudly and gesticulated, turning to all sides, striking the table with his voice acquired a great force. He was an impassioned agitator..." What stupor among the indolent social democrats!

Bourgeois and social democrats were not alone in their discontent with Trotsky's speech. If it did not corre-

What Happened Along the Route of Trotsky's Trip?

spond with their views, it corresponded just as little with the interests of the Stalinist faction.

During his passage through France, en route to Denmark, the Stalinist *Humanite* was very reserved. The hateful campaign of the bourgeois press must certainly have dictated such an attitude to it. Let us point also to the fact that, for example, Macdonald, declared to one of our comrades: "If we had anything to say to the bourgeoisie, it would be: the workers settle their differences among themselves and the bourgeoisie has nothing to do with our quarrels." We are heartily in agreement. It is more than deplorable that the TASS agency did not follow this advice. On the way back, *Humanite* contented itself with a few empty comments; it had to pay tribute to Moscow. The bureaucracy of the French Communist Party found the way of covering itself up before its superiors: that's the only thing that mattered.

The Danish Communist paper, *Arbejderbladet*, bi-weekly, was obliged to give an important place to "Trotskyism." Never has the Danish party known any Left Oppositionists; isolated from the Comintern, "Trotskyism" had never been fought in this tiny party. This time, Stalinism let go in full. But not a single new argument: upbuilding of socialism, five year plan... at the meetings organized by the Danish party. Opposition comrades who had come to Copenhagen re-established the facts—in spite of the difficulties in language—and the Stalinist campaign was shot full of holes. It is from Moscow, that is, from Stalin, that the worst provocations had to come. The fear expressed in this title of *Pravda*, "The Lion Has Escaped," led Stalin to a direct and open denunciation to the international police against a so-called "International Conference" of the "Trotskyists" in Copenhagen. Soviet diplomacy also made its contribution: above the interests of the proletariat state, it put the interests of the bureaucracy and the Stalinist faction.

The capitalist governments of the states through which Trotsky had to pass, conducted themselves variously, some with a measure of correctness, others with more cynicism and crudeness, but all with the same intention: guard Trotsky closely, prevent him from entering into contact with the proletarians, the Communist movements. The Italian Fascist government, which really has no need of justifying its reactionary nature, permitted itself a cheap gesture and authorized Trotsky to visit Pompei. The "democratic" and "social democratic" governments which must give guarantee to their capitalism, felt themselves obliged to act in a very strict manner. At Copenhagen, not a single day of extension of the visa; two days were left him before the departure of the boat; it was an affair of state, order was endangered. Belgium—where the social democracy has such strong positions—did not permit a single one of Trotsky's traveling companions to disembark. An illegal measure from the standpoint of bourgeois legislation itself; but what matter: a few hours of promenade along the boulevard of the capital... And "democratic" France, of the right of asylum to the Gorgulova and all the White scoundrels, not a minute more than necessary was granted. Herriot, during his visit to Russia in 1923—had promised that when he would be minister, the decree on expulsion issued against Trotsky in 1916 would be recalled if he wished to come to France. Empty promise! A sojourn in France for a few hours would have "made the mother sick." When the voyage threatened to change the pre-established plan by a single iota, there was not one government that did not cast off its mask of hypocritical politeness and reveal the fear that inspired it.

In spite of all imaginable measures, the feelings of the proletariat, of the revolutionists, showed themselves on various occasions during the voyage. We will say nothing about the comrades charged by their various sections of the Opposition to assure security; they did their duty and they laugh at what the bourgeois and the social democrats have to say about it. The bourgeois press is not accustomed to giving much space to the demonstrations of the Communist party. But for once, it changed its habits and exaggerated the hostile demonstration organized by the Stalinists during the disembarkation at Esbjerg, which was limited to a few feeble whistles and nothing more. On the other hand, it preserved silence about all the demonstrations of sympathy towards the organizer of the Red Army.

In Greece, there not only was no Stalinist demonstration at Piræus—it was the pretext invented by the Greek police for refusing Trotsky authorization to visit the city—but our Archie-Marxist comrades made demonstrations on the quay, later in accompanying Trotsky's wife, comrade N. I. Sedoff, during her visit in Athens and finally above all, the demonstration organized at night time by the Corinth nucleus and party members who during the passage of the boat through the Corinthian canal, shouted: Long live Trotsky—Long live the Commune!

In Denmark, between Esbjerg and Copenhagen, at many of the stops, railroad workers, metal workers... came to shake Trotsky's hand. A German worker expressed his hope of seeing our comrade return to Russian right away.

We do not report Antwerp here, for the narrative is contained in the open letter to Vandervelde.

Finally, during the return, at the North Station in Paris, the engineer and fireman of the train saluted Trotsky; and in the Lyons station, while journalists and photographers waited in vain on the quay, on the other side of the train a score of railroaders came to shake Trotsky by the hand, greeting him with the "Rot Front" of the German Communists.

The voyage is at an end. Trotsky is back in Prinkipo. An important episode in the life of the Left Opposition and of the revolutionary movement has been concluded. The leader of the world proletarian revolution has spoken before thousands of auditors; his voice was carried by radio over the vast territory of the United States; by means of the film, thousands upon thousands of people will be reached. In the wall erected by world capitalism, to which the Stalinist faction brings its support in the form of calumny and falsehood, a large breach has been made. Nothing can fill it up again.

AT MARSEILLES

The return voyage of our comrade Trotsky ended according to Hoyle; the nervousness of the police, the provocations of the reactionary press—and the insults of *Humanite* showed without a doubt that Trotsky, that the ideas he embodies, remain the implacable foes of capitalism and of everything that demoralizes the proletariat.

At the moment when *Humanite* tried to besmirch our comrade, here is whom it joined in chorus: let every party comrade read these provocations in *L'Ami du Peuple* (12-5-32): "One of the greatest assassins of all times, which called himself 'Bronstein' or 'Braunstein' in the ghetto and whom the parties respectfully call M. Trotsky, has paid us the honor of a visit. It might be feared that the relatives of the Russos butchered by the Bolsheviks would not take kindly to the butcher. 'Monsieur Trotsky' was guarded by our police much more effectively than the Ukrainian Hetman Petlura and M. Doumer, president of the Republic."

"A tectonic deputy has demanded from M. Herriot's ministry if the costs of this solitude, in accordance with the Franco-Soviet pact, will be reimbursed to our poor budget by the Soviets. The reply is to appear, according to the rules, in the *Journal Officiel*."

"As 'Monsieur Trotsky' was to proceed to Copenhagen, a Danish prince who served as an officer of the Foreign Legion, became indignant that his people forgot so quickly the exploits of the monster: a Danish princess was the czarina of

Russia her two sons and tiny children were massacred by order of Trotsky. Was it necessary to repeat: 'There is something rotten in the state of Denmark'?"

At Marseilles, the boat for Istanbul left. By force, the police sought to embark our comrade on an Italian freighter. Trotsky refused to travel 15 days in this manner. He addressed the following telegram to Herriot, Chautemps, De Monzie, with a copy to the socialist leader Bism and the party leader Thorez:

"Together with my wife, I have received authorization to pass through France, from Constantinople to Copenhagen and return. At Dunkirk, my friends informed me that by losing the boat we would be forced to remain 8 days in France, near Marseilles, which did not enter into our traveling plans. We made arrangements accordingly. Upon our arrival in Marseilles we were put on an Italian boat 'Campidoglio', in spite of the fact that this unexpected turn disorganized the new arrangements made. We ascended the boat without objection in order not to create an incident. We then learned that this boat is not indicated in our voyage and that it takes 15 days to get to Constantinople which, without speaking of the material difficulties, would be entirely prejudicial to the health of my wife and me. When I tried to explain to the special commissioner that I cannot leave on this boat, he threatened me with violent measures."

"The transit visa, even the strictest, do not signify, at least without previous formal advice, the right of the police to hold me as a prisoner and to force me to take a boat which is absolutely contrary to that indicated for my trip. I hope that the French government will prevent this abuse. I am ready to quit France by way of Italy, and I hope that the Italian government will not refuse me a transit visa through Venice, which would permit me to leave France tomorrow or the day after."

"I await your reply on the quai of Marseilles, with my wife surrounded by police agents. The declaration of the police chief that he can take no responsibility for the attitude of the Russian Whites cannot change my decision, which is dictated by the circumstances."

"P. S.—I have just learned that the police are going to put us in a hotel in order to set us on the Italian boat by force, if the Italian visa is not given us before our departure."

In the end, the Italian transit visa were granted. The French police, which was above all concerned with Trotsky not gaining any contact with the French workers, authorized the departure through Italy.

Humanite, by its whole attitude during the voyage, characterized itself principally by its cowardice, and devoted a few lines of information to the last incident.

—VERITE.

The Stalinist Policy in the Chinese Peasant War

(Continued from page 1)

in the ranks of the K. M. T. militarists, acute and serious.

The responsibility for the defeats of the peasant detachments is due largely to the light-mindedness of the Stalinists. First, their evaluation of the present situation in China is erroneous. In the political resolution of the latter part of 1932, the official Chinese Communist Party writes:

"In evaluating the present situation, we must point out the fact that the comparative relationship of class forces in our country has undergone a change which is wholly to the advantage of the workers and the peasantry as well as to the Red Army and the Soviet movement. The strength of each section of the Kuo Min Tang has been weakened, whereas on the contrary, the workers and peasantry and the Soviet government have grown and been consolidated. The Red Army has become a large and strong force, the Soviet power reigns over a territory of several tens of millions in population. The advance of the Red Army has brought it to lay siege around Nanchang, Chian, Wuhan and other principal and semi-principal cities. The policy actually pursued in the past of not occupying large cities, does not now harmonize with the facts. The enlarged Soviet districts must draw in the fragmentary districts into one whole, and given the advantages of political and military conditions, must occupy one or two important central cities. This will constitute the beginnings of the first triumph in one or several provinces. This is now on the order of the day for the whole party and the Soviet movement."

Policy Change Is Injurious

Here we ask the Stalinists: Is the strength of every section of the K. M. T. actually weakened? To what degree are they weakened? Only the Stalinists, who shut their eyes to the facts, do not see them. At a decisive moment, the Kuo Min Tang militarists find it quite easy to unite and to wage a brutal attack upon the armed forces of the peasantry. The exaggerations of the Stalinists do not help the peasant troops at all, on the contrary, it does them a great injury.

In the second place, the political line of the Stalinists is to have the village surround the city, to have it lead the workers, and not to have the proletariat lead the peasantry. The victories of the Stalinists come out of the military advances of the peasant detachments and not from the power of the workers, and as a result, the Stalinists are leading the party onto the road of a peasant's party.

Moreover, the political mistakes exercise an influence on the military defeat. The Stalinists, in order to harmonize the situation with their false evaluation ("first triumph in one or several provinces") are giving up the guerrilla tactics which are favorable to the partisan

troops, and replacing them with pitched battles which are unfavorable to the peasant detachments, but warmly welcomed by Chiang Kai-Shek, who is able to give his heavy cannon and airplanes a more decisive role to play. In guerrilla warfare, cannon and airplanes play little part, the former being almost totally ineffective owing to tremendous weight and difficulty of transportation. This was clearly revealed in the events of Western Hupeh and on the borders of Anhwei and Honan. Before the peasant detachments adopted the tactics of pitched battles, their defeats were very few and rare. On the contrary, they always gained victories which even the bourgeois press had to acknowledge. The Stalinists became dizzy with rejoicing over these triumphs and loudly proclaimed the coming of a revolutionary situation, changing the guerrilla tactics into tactics of pitched battles. They assembled the fragmentary peasant detachments as a whole—"the Red Army"—and attacked large central cities, fighting for "the first triumph in one or several provinces." But the facts showed that the "Red Army" was not only unable to deal the enemy the fatal blow, but on the contrary, it suffered many heavy defeats and had to retreat to the Northwestern part of China.

All that we have mentioned here clearly proves the erroneousness of the Stalinist political line. Of course, Stalin himself will deny this and in a very distant future he will make somebody responsible. In the period of opportunism, the man "responsible" was Chen Du-Hsiu. In the period of putschism, it was Tsui-Tsu Bo, and during 1929-1930, it was the "Li Li San line." Who will be the scapegoat now? We do not yet know. But the clever Stalin has undoubtedly selected somebody whose name we shall soon learn. The fact is that so-called Chen Du-Hsiuism, Tsui-Tsu Bolsin and Li Li Sanism are, taken together, the true expression of Stalin's own line. We do not assert, of course, that no mistakes were made by Chen Du-Hsiu, Tsui-Tsu Bo and Li Li San, but their errors pale into insignificance before the "international line" of the Stalinist leadership.

It is well to note the fact that the Stalinists who charge the Left Opposition with being "liquidators," have removed the Central Committee of the Chinese party into the "Soviet districts." This proves that the Stalinists are not "liquidators" but the banner-bearers of "run-awayism." They have left behind the urban proletariat: Such a flight is no small matter. The development of the "Red Army" has brought the Stalinists to the attempt to realize the fantasy of the village laying siege to the city, that is, the line of the peasantry "leading" the workers. What will be the result of such an idea and course? This: the Chinese Communist Party will be led by the Stalinists along the road of a pea-

New York United Front

Party's New Turn in Right Direction Contains Serious Dangers

(Continued from page 1)

In a word wherever changes have been made in the party policy, as indicated above, have not only been in the right direction, but more specifically, they have been in the direction advocated by the Left Opposition during all the time when its advocacy was equivalent to little better than "Left Social-Fascism" in the eyes of the Stalinists.

But when we say above that "we can agree with" the change in policy represented by the New York conference call, we also have in mind several distinct reservations. Without setting down frankly our inability to accept the present turn unreservedly, we should be guilty of dereliction of duty. When the ruling group in the party made a sharp turn away from the opportunist right wing course of five years ago, and swung abruptly to the Left—at that time also in the direction indicated by the Opposition—we did not make the mistake of swallowing everything uncritically. We raised our voices then to admonish the party against the infantile and extremist aspects of the Leftward turn of Centrism. The failure to heed the warning of the Opposition brought the now well-established results.

The same holds true this time also. Even if in reverse order. In the first place, the party leaders have made the turn behind the back of the party. The inevitable consequence of such a practice will be revealed tomorrow: the bureaucracy will accuse the rank and file militants of having failed to carry out or understand properly the "correct general line." The militants will be unable to understand and execute the policy of the party unless the party states plainly:

(1) that there has been a turn; (2) what is the nature of the turn and the reasons for it; (3) that the policy of yesterday was false. "One uncondemned error always leads to another or prepares the ground for it." Not the least reason for the injurious consequences of the opportunist "united fronts" with Chiang Kai-Shek and Purcell which preceded it, and the failure to condemn them clearly. This maxim holds true in the present case with just as much vigor.

If the party fails to explain clearly why the socialist and A. F. of L. unions were social-Fascist or outright Fascist yesterday, with which no united front was admissible, whereas today a united front with these elements is a "need" that brings "good results"—it will not only fail to generate concerted and intelligent action by the party members, but it will

fall also to mobilize under the banner of the united front call those non-Communist workers who, only the day before, were repulsed by the old policy.

Opportunist Aspects of Change

In the second place, we must call attention to another aspect of the change of front. The years of leadership of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement have proved beyond the peradventure of a doubt that it is incapable of pursuing a consistent Leninist policy. It swings like a pendulum between Right wing opportunism and infantile ultra-Leftism. Class conscious militants cannot permit the struggle for relief from the scourge of unemployment to be confined within the narrow channels into which the reformists of all shades seek to divert it. Not only from strictly party platforms, but particularly in the united front movements, the Communists must strive patiently to enlighten the workers to the fundamental truth that purely parliamentary action is at best a secondary, auxiliary weapon. The main emphasis must always be placed upon the militant fight of the masses, in their organizations, in demonstrations, in all the forms of the struggle outside the poisoned, sterile atmosphere of capitalism's legislative halls.

With these considerations in mind, the call of the Trade Union Committee is open to the most serious criticism. The only concrete proposal for action contained in the call is expressed in the extract already quoted above. The conference is being called solely for the purpose of discussing the "advantages of carrying through a state-wide workers' conference to map out a legislative program in defense of our interests." We are not concerned with quibbling over words. Yet the whole phrase reeks with the spirit of those arch-respectable petty bourgeois "legislative campaigns" so dear to the hearts of the A. F. of L. lobbyists, or the ambitious Socialist party statesmen of the Waldman-Solomon-Thomas-Blanchard school. Whoever makes the slightest concession to this spirit, which the reactionaries and reformists have so sedulously cultivated in the minds of multitudes of workers, is doing a distinct disservice to the movement.

Without in the least ignoring or rejecting the tribute offered the workers, employed and unemployed, by the legislative chambers of the ruling class, without underestimating the value of working class demonstrations and the presentation of our demands before the state and federal capitols, our main task remains the mobilization of the workers for struggle outside the parliamentary halls of capitalism. The very first appearance in the Communist movement of any tendency to minimize or ignore the primary importance of this task, must be promptly combatted and checked. Only by the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses will our demands upon the legislature gain that momentum and force which will compel action by the capitalist law-makers. Any other conception is an opium dream or outright deception.

We refrain from dwelling here on other shortcomings of the call. It would have been far more in harmony with the requirements of the situation had it been issued formally to all the working class organizations directly, without resorting to the petty and ineffectual evasion of appealing only to "branches" and "locals." Furthermore, it is not correct to confine the objective of the movement to the demand for unemployment insurance. Especially now must the demands for immediate relief, for long term credits and recognition of the Soviet Union, and the six-hour day without reduction in pay, be put forth in an unemployment program, not as disconnected demands, but as inseparable parts of a whole.

But bearing all these reservations and criticisms in mind, the fact nevertheless remains that the movement initiated by the Trade Union Committee is a distinct step forward. That the Communist League of America (Opposition) will support it, will help advance it with all the resources at its command, goes without saying. It should meet with the support of every worker, employed or unemployed, and of every working class organization.

—M. S.

Cannon Speaks at Right Wing Forum

As our readers know from the reports and analyses which the Militant carried, the Right wing of the Communist movement internationally is in the process of disintegration. In Czechoslovakia it has gone over bag and baggage to the social democracy. Not so long ago that redoubtable Trotsky-ester and defender of the infallible line, Bert Miller, accompanied by a small number of satellites, deserted the soiled banner of Lovestone for the shoddy progressiveness of Munde.

Now the Lovestone group is in the throes of a serious internal division over the Russian question. The people who proclaimed the correctness of the Stalinist line—for Russia—contend with the contradictions which their false position and their entire course have created.

The serious situation in Soviet economy has its repercussions in the American stronghold of the Brandler international. Under the pressure of their rank and file the Lovestone leadership is resorting to maneuvers to wriggle out of their contradictory position. Giffow assails the Stalinist policies as "Trotskyist." Lovestone, still pursuing visions of power and position, is attempting to ingratiate himself with Browder, Amter and the other pillars of American Stalinism. Of this nature was his "unity" conference of last spring. For the same reasons they recently invited the Left

Opposition to speak at one of its forums. The League accepted and sent comrade Cannon to speak on—What the Left Opposition Stands For.

Comrade Cannon spoke on Sunday, January 8, to a crowd of some 300 Left Oppositionist, Lovestoneite and party and YCL members. The meeting lasted until one o'clock. In the discussion period the Weisbordites made a united front from below in attacking the Left Opposition by attempting to discredit its representative. Their stock in trade was isolated, half quotations and gossip in the Hearst "exposure" style.

Benjamin, Wolfe and Zam were the Lovestoneite heavy artillery. All three made a miserable showing. They made no effort to counterpose any point of view of their own to the presentation of our stand by comrade Cannon. What they accomplished was a terrific exposure of their bankruptcy. This was apparent to all not blinded by Lovestoneite patriotism. And even on these workers a serious impression was made by the unavailability of our position.

It is almost unnecessary to report that this meeting was entirely peaceful. Four years have not passed in vain. The black-jack and knife assaults committed against us have passed into the limbo of history. We think that the Lovestoneites will think twice before resorting again to this method of ideological argument. These are now the exclusive property of the Stalinist regime in the Comintern,

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 3 [WHOLE NO. 150] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

The New Party Turn

The new turn, or half-turn, of the Party in the unemployment movement opens up the possibility for a broad development of the unemployment struggle which hitherto has owed its stagnation and ineffectiveness, in no small degree, to the absurdly narrow and sectarian policy of the Stalinists. To the extent that it creates the conditions for the free participation of all workers organizations, whose members have a good cause and a genuine will to react against the fearful pressure of unemployment, the new policy of the party creates the primary conditions for the transformation of the isolated vanguard actions of the Communist militants into a united movement embracing masses of workers. Such a movement, driven forward by the appalling mass misery and discontent, and putting all parties and leaders to the test of action, can lead to a stormy development of working class struggle and a rapid expansion of Communist influence. From this point of view the Left Opposition is bound to greet the new turn, to support it with full strength and to penetrate into the very heart of the unfolding movement.

At the same time the new turn puts the Left Opposition before new opportunities and tasks. By releasing their monopolistic stranglehold on the emancipated movement, and inviting all workers' organizations, "irrespective of political opinions or affiliations," the Stalinists are perforce required to leave a crack open for the feared and hated "Trotskyists". We must and we will make our way through that crack, spread it wider, and establish direct contact with the workers, including the Communists, who are assembling for struggle under the banner of the united front. Up to now the strength of the Marxist wing of the movement has been revealed chiefly in its criticism. The opportunity to participate in a movement of struggle against the plague of unemployment places us also before the test of action. The Left Opposition will grow in numbers and influence to the extent that it makes good in this test—to the extent that it demonstrates its qualities as a fighting political organization—not a mere propaganda circle.

But this direct participation in actions can be really effective for the unemployment movement only if it supplements and reinforces the criticism of all harmful and retarding currents and tendencies, including the tendency of bureaucratic Centrism. In no case and under no circumstances can this criticism be submerged in a general sentiment of "unity". First of all, we have to see things as they really are and to talk out loud about them. Not a few party members discouraged and demoralized by the devastation of the "Third Period", will hail the "new turn" uncritically, as a way of salvation. Is it possible that a Left Oppositionist here and there, chafing for action and wearied of the drawn-out struggle of our small faction for the principle of foundations, can fall into the same error? Hardly. But such things have happened before. Every zig-zag of Stalinism, the whole course of which is a series of zig-zags to the Left and to the Right, has claimed its credulous victims. For this reason alone a critical appraisal of the new united front policy at the beginning, and at every turn, must go along with and condition our support.

In initiating the new tactic the Stalinists have been true to themselves—to the vacillating, cowardly, half-measure character of Centrism. In the first place the turn from the "social Fascist" theory is not a complete one; the branches of the Socialist Party and the local A. F. of L. unions are invited to the united front—but what of the central bodies of these organizations? What of the leaders? Can you convince any Socialist worker or A. F. of L. unionist that these leaders are unwilling and unable to participate? (Continued under Editorial Notes on Page Four)

OPEN FORUM

REPORT OF THE OPPOSITION
DELEGATES TO THE UNITED FRONT
UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE.

Speakers:
J. P. CANNON
MAX SHACHTMAN

January 27, 1933
126 East 16 Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

WHO WILL PREVAIL?

They are watching the financial appeal column every week with an interested eye. Our MILITANT is sick. Of this its enemies are, by now, quite convinced; and its creators, those who have made it and those for whom it has been a light, have no reason to deny it. Indeed, they cannot, for the appeals that appear here every week now are all too patently the desperate cry of distress. And more than that, the two issues that were skipped and the two issues that came out in half size described too graphically the mad upward course of the temperature markings on the fever chart of the sick paper.

Yes, the MILITANT is in desperate trouble. The financial crisis harks like a high fever from week to week and from day to day. The sickness is a financial sickness—the prole bills, past due, accumulating, becoming more and more insistent in the demand for payments—this is the mortal illness that assails the paper.

Who will prevail?—that is the question. With your help, dear friends of the MILITANT, we shall answer that question our way. The paper will prevail. Its message will prevail. The courage, the sacrifice, the unconquerable spirit of the Bolshevik-Leninists will prevail.

The Left Opposition in America, and on an international scale, is on the eve of great adventures. All its ideas are being vindicated, its predictions verified. Its organization grows and extends to every capitalist country in the world.

Its cadres grow firmer, harder, more confident of victory and more determined to achieve it. We have the right to victory and we have no right to turn back and the path of resolute struggle leads toward it.

In this struggle the MILITANT is our voice and our banner. The voice shall not be silenced. The banner shall not come down. The means will be found, the sacrifices will be made, the paper will be saved. We say this because we have confidence that those who have made the paper and kept it alive in all adversity will do their duty when they know how matters stand. There is no doubt now how matters stand. The need is for money—not tomorrow, but today. That is your first obligation. Do not let anything take precedence over it. Send in your contribution now.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

JANUARY YOUNG SPARTACUS OUT

The January number of the YOUNG SPARTACUS is off the press and ready for sale and distribution. It is an eight page devoted primarily to the anniversary of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg and the struggle against imperialism. It contains reports of the New York and Chicago Anti-War Conferences and articles on the latest developments in the Young Communist League, besides items of general working class interest. Order your YSPs. Reach the young Communists, YSPs and working youth with the YOUNG SPARTACUS.

L. Trotsky Ill

An Associated Press dispatch from Istanbul on January 9 reports that comrade Leon Trotsky is seriously ill in his home on the island of Prinkipo. The report states further that comrade Jan Frankel, who has worked as Trotsky's secretary for almost three years of his exile, is on his way to Europe for the purpose of securing the services of a foreign specialist.

It appears that the exertions attendant upon his recent trip through Europe en route to Copenhagen, overtaxed comrade Trotsky and rendered more acute the ailments from which he has been suffering for many years now. The secret agreement between Stalin and Kemal Pasha has kept Trotsky virtually a prisoner in Turkey. Under the pressure of the Soviet embassies in various countries, every application for a visa—has been denied by practically all of the European governments, whose claims to the defense of the right of asylum, do not extend to the leader of the Bolshevik-Leninists. His isolation in Turkey has made it impossible for him to obtain the special medical attention he requires.

Is it not high time for the Communist workers everywhere to reflect upon this matter, and to raise their voices in protest against the hideous united front between Stalin and the European bourgeoisie which keeps in Turkish confinement the organizer of the Bolshevik insurrection, the leader of the Red Army, the closest collaborator of Lenin?

Japanese Invasion of Jehol Creates Tense Situation

World Imperialist Powers Press for Their Share of Loot

The rattle of the sabre grows louder in the Far East. As the Japanese conquest grows in scope and as the plunder and murder of these robber bandits proceeds unabated grave events of international consequence loom on the horizon. Fear for their territory and sources of exploitation have struck fear into the hearts of American and British imperialism. The equanimity that marked the original attitude of American imperialism has given way to an attitude of extreme anxiety over Japan's possible purpose in her invasion of the Jehol territory. At the outset, when it seemed that the Japanese military expedition might end in intervention against the Soviet Union, the diplomatic circles in Washington were quiet as the grave. But now, when it appears that American profits and the huge Chinese colonial market will be swallowed up by Japanese capitalism, a virtual furor of protest has emerged from the Washington watchdogs of the Wall Street bankers, munition makers and manufacturers' interests in every part of the globe.

Already recrimination, abuse and contradictory rumors calculated to incite the war fever fill the air, both in America and in Japan. The old and familiar story of "atrocities" begins to make screaming headlines on the front pages of the yellow journals. The Tokyo War Office gives out information to the Japanese press that the United States is making huge sales of war supplies to the Chinese. The United States foreign office counters by saying the whole matter is a colossal fabrication. The truth is a mere bagatelle. The truth perhaps lies somewhere between these two, although it is a well known fact that the Du Ponts are not wasting any opportunity to reap profits from their deadly products. And they will sell this war paraphernalia to the Japanese just as soon as to the Chinese. Such are the noble and principled motives that actuate these same gentlemen to the last world slaughter. They have but one criterion—pecuniary gain. They reserve the sentimental phrases for consumption by the masses.

Simultaneously a new sensation has flashed across the American scandal sheets. A group of Japanese workers, according to these press reports stormed the Singer Sewing Machine plant in Yokohama and left a wreckage behind them amounting to several hundreds of thousands of dollars. Counter charges and claims are made that there was insufficient police protection; that it was a group of left wing workers that committed the deed, etc., etc., ad nauseum. And now we hear still more ominous news that the Japanese fleet maneuvers have been advanced from October to June or July in the Pacific. And the American naval maneuvers, likewise to the Pacific, are scheduled to take place in about a month. Naval maneuvers are usually the prelude to more serious action.

At the same time we notice another significant fact. The attitude of the League of Nations has undergone an abrupt and fundamental revision. In less than a week the position of the "black international of imperialism" changed from one of yielding to all the Japanese demands to a hard boiled attitude of no concessions whatever. At first glance this is somewhat astonishing. But upon looking deeper into this change it is quite in accord with the spirit of recent international events.

During this past week when the Lytton report hung fire the American Congress intervened to lay down the law. To the public it merely reaffirmed its policy on the Far Eastern question of January 1932. "Protection of the open door.... respect for the territorial and administrative integrity of China.... the Nine Power pact.... the Kellogg-Briand Peace Treaty" and all the other shams that serve to camouflage the desire of the American capitalist class for self-aggrandizement in China and the opening up of huge markets for the profiteers. But behind the scenes another and more powerful weapon was brought into action. And with this weapon the American imperialists bludgeoned the League of Nations to make its position conform to American interests.

This weapon is the war debt, which has been suspended over the heads of the defaulting nations, by the U. S. for this purpose among others. The voice of the American Whirlwind has thundered forth; "If you want a favorable settlement on the debt you owe us, then support our policy against the Japanese!" And as the old saying goes "money talks". The whole League of Nations including France which has previously given Japan her warmest support fell into line. And now the papers tell us that a strong condemnatory resolution against Japan will be adopted. Great Britain which had been reticent about "provoking Japan" has now offered diplomatic representations to the latter about the tense situation which is endangering British interests. The American whip strikes sharply and imperatively. But any illusion that any possible action of the League of Nations will permanently stop Japan's adventure in Jehol and elsewhere is not only absurd but dangerous. The most any action of the League can accomplish is to cause war alignments and intensify imperialist rivalry to the breaking point. The Wall Street agents to Washington are using the League of Nations as their battering ram against the Japan. (Continued on page 4)

Leon Trotsky Defends the October Revolution

Full Text of Speech Delivered to the Social Democratic Students at Copenhagen November 27th 1932

My dear listeners,

Permit me to begin by expressing my sincere regrets over my inability to speak before a Copenhagen audience in the Danish tongue. Let us not ask whether the listeners lose by it. As to the speaker, his ignorance of the Danish language deprives him of the possibility of familiarizing himself with Scandinavian life and Scandinavian literature immediately, at first hand and in the original. And that is a great loss.

The German language, to which I have had to take recourse, is rich and powerful. My German, however, is fairly limited. To discuss complicated questions with the necessary freedom, moreover, is possible only in one's own language. I must therefore beg the indulgence of the audience in advance. The first time that I was to Copenhagen was at the international Socialist Congress, and I took away with me the kindest recollections of your city. But that was over a quarter of a century ago. Since then, the water in the Ore-Sund and in the fjords has changed over and over again. And not the water alone. The war broke the backbone of the old European continent. The rivers and seas of Europe have washed down not a little blood. Mankind, and particularly European mankind, has gone through severe trials, has become more sombre and more brutal. Every kind of conflict has become more bitter. The world has entered into the period of the great change. Its most extreme expressions are war and revolution.

Before I pass on to the theme of my lecture, the Revolution, I consider it my duty to express my thanks to the organizers of this meeting, the Copenhagen organization of the social-democratic student body. I do this as a political opponent. My lecture, it is true, pursues historic-scientific and not political aims. I want to emphasize this right from the beginning. But it is impossible to speak of a Revolution, out of which the Soviet Republic arose, without taking up a political position. As a lecturer I stand under the same banner as I did when I participated in the events of the Revolution.

Up to the war, the Bolshevik Party belonged to the international social-democracy. On August 4, 1914, the vote of the German social-democracy for the war credits put an end to this connection once and for all, and opened the period of uninterrupted and irreconcilable struggle of Bolshevism against social-democracy. Does this mean that the organizers of this assembly made a mistake in inviting me as a lecturer? On this point the audience will be able to judge only after my lecture. To justify my acceptance of the kind invitation to present a report on the Russian Revolution, permit me to point to the fact that during the 35 years of my political life the question of the Russian Revolution has been the practical and theoretical axis of my interests and of my actions. The four years of my stay in Turkey were principally devoted to the historical elaboration of the problems of the Russian Revolution. Perhaps this fact gives me a certain right to hope that I will succeed, in part, at least, in helping not only friends and sympathizers, but also opponents, better to understand many features of the Revolution which had escaped their attention before. At all events, the purpose of my lecture is: to help to understand. I do not intend to conduct propaganda for the Revolution nor to call upon you to join the Revolution. I intend to explain the Revolution.

I do not know if in the Scandinavian Olympus there was a special goddess of rebellion. Scarcely! In any case, we shall not call upon her favor today. We shall place our lecture under the sign of Athena, the old goddess of knowledge. Despite the

passionate drama of the Revolution as a living event, we shall endeavor to treat it as a dispassionate anatomy. If the lecturer is drier because of it, the listeners will, let us hope, take it into the bargain.

Let us begin with some elementary sociological principles, which are doubtless familiar to you all, but as to which we must refresh our memory in approaching so complicated a phenomenon as the Revolution.

Human society is an historically-originated collaboration in the struggle for existence and the assurance of the maintenance of the generations. The character of a society is determined by the character of its economy. The character of its economy is determined by its means of productive labor.

For every great epoch in the development of the productive forces there is a definite corresponding social regime. Every social regime until now has secured enormous advantages to the ruling class.

Out of what has been said, it is clear that social regimes are not eternal. They arise historically, and then become fetters on further progress. "All that arises deserves to be destroyed".

But no ruling class has ever voluntarily and peacefully abdicated. In questions of life and death arguments based on reason have never replaced the argument of force. This may be sad, but it is so. It is not we that have made this world. We can do nothing but take it as it is.

The Meaning of Revolution

Revolution means a change of the social order. It transfers the power from the hands of a class which has exhausted itself to those of another class, which is on the rise. The insurrection is the sharpest and most critical moment in the struggle of two classes for power. The insurrection can lead to the real victory of the revolution and to the establishment of a new order only when it is based on a progressive class, which is able to rally around it the overwhelming majority of the people.

As distinguished from the processes of nature, a revolution is made by human beings and through human beings. But in the course of evolution, too, men act under the influence of social conditions which are not freely chosen by them, but are handed down from the past and imperatively point out the road which they must follow. For this reason, and only for this reason, a revolution follows certain laws.

But human consciousness does not merely passively reflect its objective conditions. It is accustomed to react to them actively. At certain times this reaction assumes a tense, passionate, mass character. The barriers of right and might are broken down. The active intervention of the masses in historical events is in fact the most indispensable element of a revolution.

But even the stormiest activity can remain in the stage of demonstration or rebellion without rising to the height of revolution. The uprising of the masses must lead to the overthrow of the domination of one class and to the establishment of the domination of another. Only then have we a whole revolution. A mass uprising is no isolated undertaking, which can be conjured up any time one pleases. It represents an objectively-conditioned element in the development of a revolution, as a revolution represents an objectively-conditioned process in the development of society. But if the necessary conditions for the uprising exist, one must not simply wait passively, with open mouth: as

Shakespeare says, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

To sweep away the outlived social order, the progressive class must understand that its hour has struck, and set before itself the task of conquering power. Here opens the field of conscious revolutionary action, where foresight and calculation combine with will and courage. In other words: here opens the field of action of the Party.

The revolutionary Party unites within itself the flower of the progressive class. Without a Party which is able to orientate itself in its environment, evaluate the progress and rhythm of events, and early win the confidence of the masses, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible. These are the reciprocal relations of the objective and the subjective factors in insurrection and in revolution.

The Causes of October

What questions does the October revolution raise in the mind of a thinking man?

1. Why and how did this Revolution take place? More concretely, why did the proletarian revolution conquer in one of the most backward countries of Europe?

2. What have been the results of the October revolution? and finally,

3. Has the October revolution stood the test? The first question, as to the causes, can now be answered more or less exhaustively. I have attempted to do this in great detail in my "History of the Revolution". Here I can formulate only the most important conclusions.

The fact that the proletariat reached power for the first time in such a backward country as the former Tsarist Russia seems mysterious only at first glance; in reality, it is fully in accord with historical law. It could have been predicted and it was predicted. Still more, on the basis of the prediction of this fact the revolutionary Marxists built up their strategy long before the decisive events.

The first and most general explanation is: Russia is a backward country, but only a part of world economy, only an element of the capitalist world system. In this sense Lenin exhausted the riddle of the Russian revolution with the lapidary formula, "The chain broke at its weakest link".

A crude illustration: the great war, the result of the contradictions of world imperialism, drew into its maelstrom countries of different stages of development, but made the same claims on all the participants. It is clear that the burdens of the war had to be particularly intolerable for the most backward countries. Russia was the first to be compelled to leave the field. But to tear itself away from the war, the Russian people had to overthrow the ruling classes. In this way the chain of war broke at its weakest link.

Still, war is not a catastrophe coming from outside, like an earthquake, but as old Clausewitz said, the continuation of politics by other means. In the last war, the main tendencies of the imperialistic system of "peace-time" only expressed themselves more crudely. The higher the general forces of production, the tenser the competition on the world markets, the sharper the antagonisms, and the madder the race for armaments, and that measure the more difficult it became for the weaker participants. For precisely this reason the backward countries assumed the first places in the succession of collapses. The chain of world capitalism always tends to break at its weakest link.

(Continued on PAGE TWO)

International Workers School

CLASS
to
ELEMENTARY COMMUNISM

by

MARTIN ABERN

MONDAY—8 P. M.

126 East 16th Street

BANQUET FOR THE BENEFIT OF "THE MILITANT" SAT., JAN. 21 at 8 P. M.

Spaghetti Dinner

Music

Entertainment

126 E. 16 St.
ADMISSION

40c

«The Russian Revolution Will Become The First Stage Of The Socialist World Revolution» - 1905

(Continued from page 1)

If, as a result of exceptional or exceptionally unfavorable circumstances—let us say, a successful military intervention from the outside or irreparable mistakes on the part of the Soviet Government itself—capitalism should arise again on the immeasurably wide Soviet territory, together with it would inevitably arise also its historical inadequacy, and such capitalism would in turn soon become the victim of the same contradictions which caused its explosion in 1917. No tactical recipe could have called the October Revolution into being, if Russia had not carried it within its body. The revolutionary Party in the last analysis can claim only the role of an obstetrician, who is compelled to resort to a Caesarian operation.

One might say in answer to this: "Your general considerations may adequately explain why old Russia had to suffer shipwreck, that country where backward capitalism and an impoverished peasantry were crowned by a parasitic nobility and a rotten monarchy. But in the simile of the chain and its weakest link there is still missing the key to the real riddle: how could the socialist revolution conquer in a backward country? History knows of more than a few illustrations of the decay of countries and civilizations accompanied by the collapse of the old classes for which no progressive successors had been found. The breakdown of old Russia should, at first sight, rather have changed the country into a capitalist colony than into a socialist state."

This objection is very interesting. It leads us directly to the kernel of the whole problem. And yet, this objection is erroneous; I might say, it lacks internal symmetry. On the one hand, it starts from an exaggerated conception of the backwardness of Russia; on the other, from a false theoretical conception of the phenomenon of historical backwardness in general.

Living beings, including man, of course, go through similar stages of development in accordance with their ages. In a normal five-year old child, we find a certain correspondence between the weight, and the size of the parts of the body and the internal organs. But when we deal with human consciousness, the situation is different. Contrary to anatomy and physiology, psychology, both individual and collective, is distinguished by exception 1) power of absorption, flexibility and elasticity; there in consists the aristocratic advantage of man over his nearest zoological relatives, the apes. The absorptive and flexible psyche, as a necessary condition for historical progress, confers on the so-called social "organisms", as distinguished from the real, that is, biological organisms, an exceptional instability of internal structure. In the development of nations and states, particularly capitalist ones, there is neither similarity nor regularity. Different stages of civilization, even polar opposites, approach and intermingle with one another in the life of one and the same country.

Let us not forget, my esteemed listeners, that historical backwardness is a relative concept. There being both backward and progressive countries, there is also a reciprocal influencing of one by the other; there is the pressure of the progressive countries on the backward ones; there is the necessity for the backward countries to catch up with the progressive ones, to borrow their technology and science, etc. In this way arises the combined type of development: features of backwardness are combined with the last word in world technology and in world thinking. Finally, the historically backward countries, in order to escape from their backwardness, are often compelled to rush ahead of the others.

The flexibility of the collective consciousness makes it possible under certain conditions to achieve the result, in the social arena, which in individual psychology is called "overcoming the consciousness of inferiority". In this sense we can say that the October revolution was an heroic means whereby the people of Russia were able to overcome their own economic and cultural inferiority.

But let us pass over from these historical-philosophic, perhaps somewhat too abstract generalizations, and put the same question in concrete form, that is, within the cross-section of living economic facts. The backwardness of Russia expressed itself most clearly at the beginning of the twentieth century in the fact that industry occupied a small place in that country in comparison with agriculture, the city in comparison with the village, the proletariat in comparison with the peasantry. Taken as a whole, this meant a low productivity of the national labor. Suffice it to say that on the eve of the war, when Tsarist Russia had reached the peak of its well-being, the national income was 8 to 10 times lower than in the United States. This is expressed in figures, the "amplitude" of its backwardness, if the word "amplitude" can be used at all in connection with backwardness.

At the same time, however, the law of combined development expresses itself in the economic field at every step, in simple as well as in complex phenomena. Almost without highways, Russia was compelled to build railroads. Without having gone through the stage of European artisanry and manufacture, Russia passed on directly to mechanized production. To jump over intermediate stages is the fate of backward countries.

While peasant agriculture often remained at the level of the 17th century, Russia's industry, if not in scope, at least in type, stood at the level of the progressive countries and rushed ahead of them in some respects. It suffices to say that the giant enterprises, with over a thousand employees each, employed, in the United States, less than 18 percent of the total number of industrial workers, in Russia over 41 percent. This fact is hard to reconcile with the conventional conception of the economic backwardness of Russia. It does not, on the other hand, refute this backwardness, but complements it dialectically.

The same contradictory character was shown by the class structure of the country. The finance capital of Europe industrialized Russian economy at an accelerated tempo. Thereby the industrial bourgeoisie assumed a large-scale capitalistic and anti-popular character. The foreign stockholders, moreover, lived outside of the country. The workers, on the other hand, were naturally Russians. Against a numerically weak Russian bourgeoisie, which had no national roots, stood therefore a relatively strong proletariat, with strong roots in the depths of the people.

The revolutionary character of the proletariat was furthered by the fact that Russia in particular, as a backward country, under the compulsion of catching up with its opponents, had not been able to work out its own conservatism, either social or political. The most conservative country of Europe, in fact of the entire world, is considered, and correctly, to

be the oldest capitalist country—England. The European country freest of conservatism would in all probability be Russia.

But the young, fresh, determined proletariat of Russia still constituted only a tiny minority of the nation. The reserves of its revolutionary power lay outside of the proletariat itself—in the peasantry, living in half-serfdom, and in the oppressed nationalities.

The Peasantry

The subsoil of the Revolution was the agrarian question. The old feudal-monarchic system became doubly intolerable under the conditions of the new capitalist exploitation. The peasant communal areas amounted to some 140 million desyatines.* But thirty thousand large landowners, whose average holdings were over 2,000 desyatines, owned altogether 70 million desyatines, that is, as much as some 10 million peasant families or 50 millions of peasant population. These statistics of land tenure constituted a ready-made program of agrarian revolt.

The nobleman, Bokorkin, wrote in 1917 to the dignitary, Rodsianko, the chairman of the last municipal Duma, "I am a landowner and I cannot get it into my head that I must lose my land, and for an unbelievable purpose to boot, for the experiment of the socialist doctrine". But it is precisely the task of revolutions to accomplish that which the ruling classes cannot get into their heads.

In Autumn 1917 almost the whole country was the scene of peasant revolts. Of the 624 departments of old Russia, 482, that is, 77 percent, were affected by the movement! The reflection of the burning villages lit up the arena of the insurrections in the cities.

But the war of the peasants against the landowners—you will reply to me—is one of the classic elements of the bourgeois, by no means of the proletarian revolution!

Perfectly right, I reply—so it was in the past. But the inability of capitalist society to survive in an historically backward country was expressed precisely in the fact that the peasant insurrections did not drive the bourgeois classes of Russia forward, but on the contrary drove them back for good into the camp of the reaction. If the peasantry did not want to be completely ruined, there was nothing else left for it but to join the industrial proletariat. This revolutionary joining of the two oppressed classes was foreseen with genius by Lenin and prepared by him long ahead of time.

Had the bourgeoisie courageously solved the agrarian question, the proletariat of Russia would not, obviously, have been able to take the power in 1917. But the greedy and cowardly Russian bourgeoisie, too late on the scene, prematurely a victim of senility, did not dare to lift its hand against feudal property. But thereby it delivered the power to the proletariat and together with it the right to dispose of the destinies of bourgeois society.

In order for the Soviet state to come into existence, therefore, it was necessary for two factors of different historical nature to collaborate: the peasant war, that is, a movement which is characteristic of the dawn of bourgeois development, and the proletarian insurrection, that is, a movement which announces the decline of the bourgeois movement. Precisely therein consists the combined character of the Russian Revolution.

Once the peasant bear stands up on his hind feet, he becomes terrible in his wrath. But he is unable to give conscious expression to his indignation. He needs a leader. For the first time in the history of the world, the insurrectionary peasantry found a faithful leader in the person of the proletariat.

Four million industrial and transportation workers led a hundred million peasants. That was the natural and inevitable reciprocal relation between proletariat and peasantry in the Revolution.

The National Question

The second revolutionary reserve of the proletariat was constituted by the oppressed nationalities, who moreover were also predominantly made up of peasants. Closely tied up with the historical backwardness of the country is the extensive character of the development of the state, which spread out like a grease spot from the center at Moscow to the circumference. In the East, it subjugated the still more backward peoples, basing itself upon them, in order to stifle the more developed nationalities of the West. To the 70 million Great Russians, who constituted the main mass of the population, were added gradually some 90 millions of "other races".

In this way arose the Empire, in whose composition the ruling nationality made up only 43 percent of the population, while the remaining 57 percent consisted of nationalities of varying degrees of civilization and legal deprivation. The national pressure was incomparably cruder in Russia than in the neighboring states, and not only those beyond the western boundary but beyond the eastern one, too. This conferred on the national problem a monstrous explosive force.

The Russian liberal bourgeoisie, in the national as well as in the agrarian question, would not go beyond certain ameliorations of the regime of oppression and violence. The "democratic" governments of Milukov and Kerensky, which reflected the interests of the Great Russian bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, actually hastened to impress upon the discontented nationalities, in the course of the eight months of their existence, "You will obtain only what you tear away by force".

The inevitability of the development of the centrifugal national movement had been early taken into consideration by Lenin. The Bolshevik Party

* One desyatine equals 140 acres.

struggled obstinately for years for the right of self-determination for nations, that is, for the right of full secession. Only through this courageous position on the national question could the Russian proletariat gradually win the confidence of the oppressed peoples. The national independence movement, as well as the agrarian movement, necessarily turned against the official democracy, strengthened the proletariat, and poured into the stream of the October upheaval.

The Permanent Revolution

In these ways the riddle of the proletarian upheaval in an historically backward country loses its veil of mystery.

Marxist revolutionaries predicted, long before the events, the march of the Revolution and the historical role of the young Russian proletariat. I may be permitted to repeat here a passage from a work of my own in 1905:

"In an economically backward country the proletariat can arrive at power earlier than in a capitalistically advanced one...."

"The Russian Revolution creates the conditions under which the power can (and in the event of a successful revolution must) be transferred to the proletariat, even before the policy of bourgeois liberalism receives the opportunity of unfolding its genius for government to its full extent."

"The destiny of the most elementary revolutionary interests of the peasantry... is bound up with the destiny of the whole revolution, that is, with the destiny of the proletariat. The proletariat, once arrived at power, will appear before the peasantry as the liberating class."

"The proletariat enters into the government as the revolutionary representative of the nation, as the acknowledged leader of the people in the struggle with absolutism and the barbarism of serfdom."

"The proletarian regime will have to stand from the very beginning for the solution of the agrarian question, with which the question of the destiny of tremendous masses of the population of Russia is bound up."

I have taken the liberty of quoting these passages as evidence that the theory of the October Revolution which I am presenting today is no casual improvisation, and was not constructed *ex post facto* under the pressure of events. No, in the form of a political prognosis it preceded the October upheaval by a long time. You will agree that a theory is in general valuable only insofar as it helps to foresee the course of development and influences it purposefully. Therein, in general terms, is the invaluable importance of Marxism as a weapon of social and historical orientation. I am sorry that the narrow limits of the lecture do not permit me to enlarge the above quotation materially. I will therefore content myself with a brief resume of the whole work which dates from 1905.

In accordance with its immediate tasks, the Russian Revolution is a bourgeois revolution. But the Russian bourgeoisie is anti-revolutionary. The victory of the Revolution is therefore possible only as a victory of the proletariat. But the victorious proletariat will not stop at the program of bourgeois democracy; it will go on to the program of Socialism. The Russian Revolution will become the first stage of the Socialist world revolution.

This was the theory of the permanent revolution formulated by me in 1905 and since then exposed to the severest criticism under the name of "Trotskyism".

To be more exact, it is only a part of this theory. The other part, which is particularly timely now, states:

"The present productive forces have long outgrown their national limits. A Socialist society is not feasible within national boundaries. Significant as the economic successes of an isolated workers' state may be, the program of 'Socialism in one country' is a petty-bourgeois Utopia. Only a European and then a world federation of Socialist republics can be the real arena for a harmonious Socialist society."

Today, after the test of events, I see less reason than ever to dissociate myself from this theory.

The Bolshevik Party

After all that has been said above, is it still worth while to recall the Marxist writer, Malaparte, who ascribes to me tactics which are independent of strategy and amount to a series of technical recipes for insurrection, applicable in all latitudes and longitudes? It is a good thing that the name of the luckless theoretician of the coup d'Etat makes it easy to distinguish him from the victorious practitioner of the coup d'Etat; no one therefore runs the risk of confusing Malaparte with Bonaparte.

Without the armed insurrection of November 7, 1917, the Soviet state would not be in existence. But the insurrection itself did not drop from Heaven. A series of historical prerequisites was necessary for the October revolution.

1. The rooting away of the old ruling classes—the nobility, the monarchy, the bureaucracy.
2. The political weakness of the bourgeoisie, which had no roots in the masses of the people.
3. The revolutionary character of the peasant question.

4. The revolutionary character of the problem of the oppressed nations.

5. The significant social weight of the proletariat.

To these organic pre-conditions we must add certain conjunctural conditions of the highest importance:

6. The Revolution of 1905 was the great school, or in Lenin's words, the "dress rehearsal" of the Revolution of 1917. The Soviets, as the irreplace-

able organizational form of the proletarian united front in the revolution, were created for the first time in the year 1905.

7. The imperialist war sharpened all the contradictions, tore the backward masses out of their immobility and thereby prepared the grandiose scale of the catastrophe.

But all these conditions, which fully sufficed for the outbreak of the Revolution, were insufficient to assure the victory of the proletariat in the Revolution. For this victory one condition more was needed:

8. The Bolshevik Party.

When I enumerate this condition as the last in the series, I do it only because it follows the necessities of the logical order, and not because I assign the Party the last place in the order of importance.

No, I am far from such a thought. The liberal bourgeoisie—yes, it can seize the power and has seized it more than once as the result of struggles in which it took a part; it possesses organs of seizure which are admirably adapted to the purpose. But the working masses are in a different position; they have long been accustomed to give, and not to take. They work, are patient as long as they can be, hope, lose their patience, rise up and struggle, die, bring victory to the others, are betrayed, fall into dependency, again bow their necks, again work. This is the history of the masses of the people under all regimes. In order to take the power firmly and surely into its hands the proletariat needs a Party, which far surpasses the other parties in the clarity of its thought and in its revolutionary determination.

The Party of the Bolsheviks, which has been described more than once and with complete justification as the most revolutionary Party in the history of mankind, was the living condensation of the modern history of Russia, of all that was dynamic in it. The overthrow of Tsarism had long since become the necessary condition for the development of economy and culture. But for the solution of this task, the forces were insufficient. The bourgeoisie feared the revolution. The intelligentsia tried to bring the peasant to his feet. The muzhik, incapable of generalizing his own miseries and his aims, left this appeal unanswered. The intelligentsia armed itself with dynamite. A whole generation was burned up in this struggle.

On March 1, 1887, Alexander Ulianov carried out the last of the great terrorist plots. The attempted assassination of Alexander III failed. Ulianov and the other participants were executed. The attempt to substitute a chemical preparation for the revolutionary class suffered shipwreck. Even the most heroic intelligentsia is nothing without the masses. Under the immediate impression of these facts and conclusion grew up Ulianov's younger brother Vladimir, the later Lenin, the greatest figure of Russian history. Even in his early youth he placed himself on the foundations of Marxism, and turned his face toward the proletariat. Without losing sight of the village for a moment, he sought the way to the peasantry through the workers. Having inherited from his revolutionary predecessors their determination, their capacity for self-sacrifice, and their willingness to go to the limit, Lenin at an early age became the teacher of the new generation of the intelligentsia and of the advanced workers. In strikes and street fights, in prisons and in exile, the workers received the necessary tempering. They needed the searchlight of Marxism to light up their historical road in the darkness of absolutism.

In the year 1883 there arose among the enigmas the first Marxist group. In the year 1898, at a secret meeting, the foundation of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was proclaimed (we all called ourselves Social-Democrats in those days). In the year 1903 occurred the split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. In the year 1912 the Bolshevik fraction finally became an independent Party.

It learned to recognize the class mechanics of society in struggle, in the grandiose events of twelve years (1905-1917). It educated cadres equally capable of initiative and of subordination. The discipline of its revolutionary army was based on the unity of its doctrine, on the tradition of common struggles and on confidence in its tested leadership.

Thus stood the Party in the year 1917. Despised by the official "public opinion" and the paper thunder of the intelligentsia press, it adapted itself to the movement of the masses. Firmly it kept in hand the control of factories and regiments. More and more the peasant masses turned toward it. If we understand by "nation", not the privileged heads, but the majority of the people, that is, the workers and peasants, then Bolshevism became in the course of the year 1917 a truly national Russian Party.

In September 1917, Lenin, who was compelled to keep in hiding, gave the signal. "The crisis is ripe, the hour of the insurrection has approached". He was right. The ruling classes had landed in a blind alley before the problems of the war, the land and national liberation. The bourgeoisie finally lost its head. The democratic parties, the Mensheviks and social-revolutionaries wasted the remains of the confidence of the masses in them by their support of the imperialist war, by their policy of ineffectual compromise and concession to the bourgeois and feudal property-owners. The awakened army no longer wanted to fight for the alien aims of imperialism. Disregarding democratic advice, the peasantry smoked the landowners out of their estates. The oppressed nationalities at the periphery rose up against the bureaucracy of Petrograd. In the most important workers' and soldiers' Soviets the Bolsheviks were dominant. The workers and soldiers demanded action. The ulcer was ripe. It needed a cut of the lancet.

Only under these social and political conditions was the insurrection possible. And thus it also became inevitable. But there is no playing around with the insurrection. Woe to the surgeon who is careless in the use of the lancet! Insurrection is an art. It has its laws and its rules.

The Party carried through the October insurrection with cold calculation and with flaming determination. Thanks to this, it conquered almost without victims. Through the victorious Soviets the Bolsheviks placed themselves at the head of a country which occupies one sixth of the surface of the globe.

The majority of my present listeners, it is to be presumed, did not occupy themselves at all with politics in the year 1917. So much the better. Before the young generation lies much that is interesting, if not always easy. But the representatives of the older generation in this hall will surely well remember how the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks was received: as a curiosity, as a misunderstanding, as a scandal; most often as a nightmare which was bound to disappear with the first rays of

(Continued on PAGE THREE)

LEON TROTSKY

History of the Russian Revolution

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street, New York

«The October Revolution Has Laid The Foundation For A New Civilization» - 1932

(Continued from page 2)

dawn. The Bolsheviks would last twenty-four hours, a week, a month, a year. The period had to be constantly lengthened.... The rulers of the whole world armed themselves against the first workers' state: civil war was stirred up, interventions again and again, blockade. So passed year after year. Meantime history has recorded fifteen years of existence of the Soviet power.

15 Years of the Soviet Regime

"Yes," some opponent will say, "the adventure of October has shown itself to be much more substantial than many of us thought. Perhaps it was not even quite an 'adventure'. Nevertheless, the question remains its full force: What was achieved at this high cost? Were then those dazzling tasks fulfilled which the Bolsheviks proclaimed on the eve of the Revolution?"

Before we answer the hypothetical question, let us note that the question in and of itself is not new. On the contrary, it followed right at the heels of the October Revolution, since the day of its birth. The French journalist, Claude Auet, who was in Petrograd during the Revolution, wrote as early as October 27, 1917:

"Les maximalistes ont pris le pouvoir et le grand jour est arrivé. Enfin, me dis-je, je vais voir se réaliser l'Eden socialiste qu'on nous promet depuis tant d'années... Admirable aventure! Position privilégiée!"

"The maximalists (which was what the French called the Bolsheviks at that time) have seized the power and the great day has come. At last, I say to myself, I shall behold the realization of the socialist Eden which has been promised us for so many years.... Admirable adventure! A privileged position!" And so on and so forth. What sincere hatred behind the ironical salutation! The very morning after the capture of the Winter Palace, the reactionary journalist hurried to Eden. Fifteen years have passed since the Revolution. With all the greater absence of ceremony our enemies reveal their malicious joy over the fact that the land of the Soviets, even today, bears but little resemblance to a realm of general well-being. Why then the Revolution and why the sacrifices?

Worthy listeners—permit me to think that the contradictions, difficulties, mistakes and want of the Soviet regime are no less familiar to me than to anyone else. I personally have never concealed them, whether in speech or in writing. I have believed and I still believe that revolutionary politics, as distinguished from conservative, cannot be built up on concealment. "To speak out that which is" must be the highest principle of the workers' state.

But in criticism, as well as in creative activity, perspective is necessary. Subjectivism is a poor adviser, particularly in great questions. Periods of time must be commensurate with the tasks, and not with individual caprices. Fifteen years! How much that is in the life of one man! Within that period not a few of our generation were borne to their graves and those who remain have added innumerable gray hairs. But these same fifteen years—what an insignificant period in the life of a people! Only a minute on the clock of history.

Capitalism required centuries to maintain itself in the struggle against the Middle Ages, to raise the level of science and technology, to build railroads, to stretch electric wires. And then? Then humanity was thrust by capitalism into the hell of wars and crises! But Socialism is allowed by its enemies, that is, by the adherents of capitalism, only a decade and a half to install Paradise on earth with all modern improvements. No, such obligations were never assumed by us. Such periods of time were never set forth. The processes of great changes must be measured by scales which are commensurate with them. I do not know if the Socialist state will resemble the biblical Paradise. I doubt it. But in the Soviet Union there is no Socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition, full of contradictions, burdened with the heavy inheritance of the past, and in addition under the hostile pressure of the capitalist states. The October Revolution has proclaimed the principle of the new society. The Soviet Republic has shown only the first stage of its realization. Edison's first lamp was very bad. We must know how to distinguish the future from among the mistakes and faults of the first Socialist construction.

But the unhappiness that rains on living men? Do the results of the Revolution justify the sacrifice which it has caused? A fruitless question, rhetorical through and through; as if the processes of history admitted of an accounting balance-sheet! We might just as well ask, in view of the difficulties and miseries of human existence, "Does it pay to be born altogether?" To which I have written, "And the fool waits for answer". Such melancholy reflections have not hindered mankind from being born and from giving birth. Suicides, even in these days of unexampled world crisis, fortunately constitute an unimportant percentage. But peoples never resort to suicide. When their hardships are intolerable, they seek a way out through revolution.

Besides, who becomes indignant over the victims of the socialist upheaval? Most often those who have paved the way for the victims of the imperialist war, and have glorified or, at least, easily accommodated themselves to it. It is now our turn to ask, "Has the war justified itself? What has it given us? What has it taught?"

The reactionary historian, Hippolyte Taine, in his eleven-volume pamphlet against the great French Revolution describes, not without malicious joy, the sufferings of the French people in the years of the dictatorship of the Jacobins and afterward. The worst off were the lower classes of the cities, the plebeians, who as "sansculottes" had given up the best of their souls for the revolution. Now they or their wives stood in line throughout cold nights to return empty-handed to the extinguished family hearth. In the tenth year of the revolution Paris was poorer than before it began. Carefully selected, artificially pieced-out facts serve Taine as justification for his annihilating verdict against the revolution. Look, the plebeians wanted to be dictators and have precipitated themselves into misery!

It is hard to conceive of a more uninspired piece of moralizing. First of all, if the revolution precipitated the country into misery, the blame lay principally on the ruling classes who drove the people to revolution. Second, the great French revolution did not exhaust itself in hungry lines before bakeries. The whole of modern France, in many respects the whole of modern civilization, arose out of the bath of the French Revolution!

In the course of the Civil War in the United States in the '60's of the past century, 50,000 men

were killed. Can these sacrifices be justified?

From the standpoint of the American slaveholder and the ruling classes of Great Britain who marched with them—no! From the standpoint of the negro or of the British workingman—absolutely! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole—there can be no doubt whatever. Out of the Civil War of the '60's came the present United States with its unbounded practical initiative, its rationalized technology, its economic plan. On these achievements of Americanism humanity will build the new society.

The October Revolution penetrated deeper than any of its predecessors into the Holy of Holies of society—into its property relations. So much the longer time is necessary to reveal the creative consequences of the Revolution in all the domains of life. But the general direction of the upheaval is already clear: the Soviet Republic has no reason whatever to hang its head before its capitalist accusers and speak the language of apology.

To evaluate the new regime from the standpoint of human development, one must first answer the question, "How does social progress express itself and how can it be measured?"

Balance Sheet of October

The deepest, the most objective and the most indisputable criterion says—progress can be measured by the growth of the productivity of social labor. The evaluation of the October Revolution from this point of view is already given by experience. The principle of socialistic organization has for the first time in history shown its ability to record unheard-of results in production in a short space of time.

The curve of the industrial development of Russia, expressed in crude index numbers, is as follows, taking 1913, the last year before the war, as 100. The year 1920, the highest point of the civil war, is also the lowest point in industry—only 25, that is to say, a quarter of the pre-war production. In 1925 it rose to 75, that is, three-quarters of the pre-war production; in 1929 about 200, in 1932, 300, that is to say, three times as much as on the eve of the war.

The picture becomes even more striking in the light of the international index. From 1925 to 1932 the industrial production of Germany has declined one and a half times, in America twice; in the Soviet Union it has increased fourfold. These figures speak for themselves.

I have no intention of denying or concealing the sunny side of Soviet economy. The results of the industrial index are extraordinarily influenced by the unfavorable development of agriculture, that is to say, of that field which has essentially not yet risen to Socialist methods, but at the same time has been led on the road to collectivization with insufficient preparation, bureaucratically rather than technically and economically. This is a great question, which however goes beyond the limits of my lecture.

The index numbers cited require another important reservation. The indisputable and, in their way, splendid results of Soviet industrialization demand a further economic checking-up from the standpoint of the mutual adaptation of the various elements of economy, their dynamic equilibrium and consequently their productive capacity. Here great difficulties and even setbacks are inevitable. Socialism does not arise in its perfected form from the Five-Year Plan, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, or Venus from the foam of the sea. Before it are decades of persistent work, of mistakes, corrections and reorganization. Moreover, let us not forget that Socialist construction in accordance with its very nature can only reach perfection on the international arena. But even the most unfavorable economic balance-sheet of the results obtained so far could reveal only the incorrectness of the preliminary calculations, the errors of the plan and the mistakes of the leadership, but could in no way refute the empirically firmly established fact—the possibility, with the aid of Socialist methods, of raising the productivity of collective labor to an unheard-of height. This conquest, of world-historical importance, cannot be taken away from us by anybody or anything.

After what has been said, it is scarcely worth while to spend time on the complaints, that the October revolution has brought Russia to the downfall of its civilization. That is the voice of the dispirited ruling houses and the salons. The feudal-horror "civilization" overthrown by the proletarian upheaval was only barbarism with decorations à la Taine. Like it remained inaccessible to the Russian people, it brought little that was new to the treasury of mankind.

But even with respect to this civilization, which

is so demeaned by the white emigres, we must put the question more precisely—in what sense is it ruined? Only in one sense; the monopoly of a small minority in the treasures of civilization has been destroyed. But everything of cultural value in the old Russian civilization has remained untouched. The Huns of Bolshevism have shattered neither the conquests of the mind nor the creations of art. On the contrary, they carefully collected the monuments of human creativeness and arranged them in model order. The culture of the monarchy, the nobility and the bourgeoisie has now become the culture of the museums.

The people visits these museums eagerly. But it does not live in them. It learns. It builds. The fact alone that the October Revolution taught the Russian people, the dozens of peoples of Tsarist Russia, to read and write, stands immeasurably higher than the whole former hot-house Russian civilization.

The October Revolution has laid the foundations for a new civilization, which is designed, not for a select few, but for all. This is felt by the masses of the whole world. Hence their sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is as passionate as once was their hatred for Tsarist Russia.

Worthy listeners—you know that human language is an irreplaceable tool, not only for giving names to events but also for evaluating them. By filtering out that which is accidental, episodic, artificial, it absorbs that which is essential, characteristic, of full weight. Notice with what nicety the languages of civilized nations have distinguished two epochs in the development of Russia. The culture of the nobility brought into world currency such barbarisms as *Tsar, Cossack, pogrom, nagalka*. You know these words and what they mean. The October Revolution introduced into the language of the world such words as *Bolshevik, Soviet, kolkhoz, Gosplan, Piatiletka*. Here practical linguistics holds its historical supreme court!

The profoundest significance, but the hardest to submit to immediate measurement, of that great Revolution consists in the fact that it forms and tempers the character of the people. The conception of the Russian people as slow, passive, melancholy-mystical, is widely spread and not accidental. It has its roots in the past. But in Western countries up to the present time those far-reaching changes have not been sufficiently considered which have been introduced into the character of the people by the Revolution. Could it have been otherwise?

Every man with experience of life can recall the picture of some youth, that he has known, receptive, lyrical, all too susceptible, who later, all at once, under the influence of a powerful moral impulse, became hardened and unresponsive. In the development of a whole nation, such moral transformations are wrought by the revolution.

The February insurrection against the autocracy, the struggle against the nobility, against the imperialist war, for peace, for land, for national equality, the October insurrection, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and of those parties which sought agreements with the bourgeoisie, three years of civil war on a front of 5,000 miles, the years of blockade, hunger, misery and epidemics, the years of tense economic reconstruction, of new difficulties and renaissances—these make a barrel but a good steel. The hammer of the Revolution forged the steel of the people's character.

"Who will believe?" wrote a Tsarist general, Zaslavski, with indignation, shortly after the upheaval, "that a porter or a watchman suddenly becomes a chief justice, a hospital attendant—the director of a hospital, a barber—an officeholder, a corporal—a commander-in-chief, a day worker—a mayor, a locksmith—the director of a factory?"

"Who will believe it?" They had to believe it. They could do nothing else but believe it, when the corporals defeated generals, when the mayor—the former day worker—broke the resistance of the old bureaucracy, the wagon-greaser put the transportation system in order, the locksmith as director put the industrial equipment into working condition. "Who will believe it?" Let them only try and not believe it.

For an explanation of the extraordinary persistence which the masses of the people of the Soviet Union are showing throughout the years of the Revolution, many foreign observers rely, in accord with ancient habit, on the "passivity" of the Russian character. The revolutionary masses endure their privations patiently but not passively. With their own hands they are creating a better future and they want to create it, at any cost. Let the class enemy only attempt to impose his will from the outside on these patient masses! No, he would do better not to try it!

Help Us Publish Trotsky's Speech On "The Defense of the October Revolution"

It is impossible to speak of the speech which comrade Trotsky made to the social-democratic students in Copenhagen without the greatest enthusiasm. It is a masterpiece. We know that it will take its place with the inspired teachings of our great revolutionary leaders.

It is, at the same time, a crushing and unanswerable refutation of the slanders with which the degenerated Stalinist regime seeks to maintain its crumbling prestige. Who, reading this speech, can lend credence to the boomeranged legend that Trotsky and the Left Opposition are counter-revolutionists? What belief could he place in pieces like this? (Daily Worker, January 19, 1933): "Trotsky, like the Socialist Daily Forward, acts on the theory that any difficulty in the Soviet Union is his opportunity. The main line of imperialist attack consists in the attempt to discredit revolution as a weapon of the working class, as the way out of the miseries of capitalism; it consists in the attempt to convince the masses in the imperialist and colonial countries that no matter how bad their conditions are, things are still worse for the masses of the Soviet Union. This is Trotsky's line." Is not the speech itself, if we are to leave out of account for the moment, all the writings and deeds of the International Left Opposition, a sufficient answer to this trash of the Stalinists? We think it is. That is why we want

to bring it out as a pamphlet and give it a wide distribution.

Will you help us get this pamphlet out? The cost is about ninety dollars. That is the figure we must raise, and raise at once. Work on the pamphlet has already begun. The question is: can we raise the money necessary to get it out quickly? Our comrades and friends must give the answer.

Elsewhere in this issue we explain how the publishing fund works. Let us apply it now, concretely, to the problem of getting out this pamphlet. Let those of us who can afford it make donations for this purpose. No one should hesitate to send in what he can. No amount is too small, and, of course, no amount is ever too large. Perhaps there are some friends who would like to help us get the pamphlet out but who are not in a position to make donations. They can help with loans.

No one should hesitate to make a loan. The money will be used exclusively for the purpose of getting out the pamphlet. A strict accounting will be kept and given. A record will be published in the MILITANT. And, of course, every penny will be paid back.

Now let us raise the money in the shortest possible time. Ninety dollars are not much. We can do it. Rush all notices to PIONEER PUBLISHERS, at 84 East 10th Street, New York.

The Revolution and Its Place in History

Let us now in closing attempt to ascertain the place of the October Revolution, not only in the history of Russia but in the history of the world. During the year 1917, in a period of eight months, two historical eras intersect. The February upheaval—that belated echo of the great struggles which had erupted out in past centuries on the territories of Holland, England, France, almost all of Continental Europe—takes its place in the series of bourgeois revolutions. The October Revolution proclaims and opens the domination of the proletariat. It was world capitalism that suffered its first great defeat on the territory of Russia. The chain broke at its weakest link. But it was the chain that broke, and not only the link.

Capitalism has outlived itself as a world system. It has ceased to fulfill its essential mission, the increase of human power and human wealth. Humanity cannot stand still at the level which it has reached. Only a powerful increase in productive force and a sound, planned, that is, Socialist organization of production and distribution can assure humanity—all humanity—of a decent standard of life and at the same time give it the precious feeling of freedom with respect to its own economy. Freedom in two senses—first of all, man will no longer be compelled to devote the greater part of his life to physical labor. Second, he will no longer be dependent on the laws of the market, that is, on the blind and dark forces which have grown up behind his back. He will build up his economy freely, that is, according to a plan, with compass in hand. This time it is a question of subjecting the anatomy of society to the X-ray through and through, of disclosing all its secrets and subjecting all its functions to the reason and the will of collective humanity. In this sense, Socialism must become a new step in the historical advance of mankind. Before our ancestor, who first armed himself with a stone axe, the whole of nature represented a conspiracy of secret and hostile forces. Since then, the natural sciences, hand in hand with practical technology, have illuminated nature down to its most secret depths. By means of electrical energy, the physicist passes judgment on the nucleus of the atom. The hour is not far when science will easily solve the task of the alchemists, and turn manure into gold and gold into manure. Where the demons and furies of nature once raged, now rules ever more courageously the industrial will of man.

But while he wrestled victoriously with nature, man built up his relations to other men blindly, almost like the bee or the ant. Belatedly and most undecidably he approached the problems of human society. He began with religion, and passed on to politics. The Reformation represented the first victory of bourgeois individualism and rationalism in a domain which had been ruled by dead tradition. From the church, critical thought went on to the state. Born in the struggle with absolutism and the medieval people, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and of the rights of man and the citizen grew stronger. Thus arose the system of parliamentarism. Critical thought penetrated into the domain of government administration. The political rationalism of democracy was the highest achievement of the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

But between nature and the state stands economic life. Technology liberated man from the tyranny of the old elements—earth, water, fire and air—only to subject him to its own tyranny. Man ceased to be a slave to nature, to become a slave to the machine, and, still worse, a slave to supply and demand. The present world crisis testifies in especially tragic fashion how man, who dives to the bottom of the ocean, who rises up to the stratosphere, who converses on invisible waves with the Antipodes, how this proud and daring ruler of nature remains a slave to the blind forces of his own economy. The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind. Only on this new basis will man be able to stretch his weary limbs and—every man and every woman, not only a selected few—become a full citizen in the realm of thought.

But this is not yet the end of the road. No, it is only the beginning. Man calls himself the crown of creation. He has a certain right to that claim. But who has asserted that present-day man is the last and highest representative of the species Homo sapiens? No, physically as well as spiritually he is very far from perfection, prematurely born biologically, sick in mind and without new organic equilibrium.

It is true that humanity has more than once brought forth giants of thought and action, who tower over their contemporaries like summits in a chain of mountains. The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison, and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all because, almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by theory and practice, not subject to consciousness and will.

Anthropology, biology, physiology and psychology have accumulated mountains of material to raise up before mankind in their full scope the tasks of perfecting and developing body and spirit. Psychoanalysis, with the inspired hand of Sigmund Freud, has lifted the cover of the well which is poetically called the "soul". And what has been revealed? Our conscious thought is only a small part of the work of the dark psychic forces. Learned divers descend to the bottom of the ocean and there take photographs of mysterious fishes. Human thought, descending to the bottom of its own psychic sources, must shed light on the most mysterious driving forces of the soul and subject them to reason and to will.

Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own society, man will set to work on himself, in the pebble and the retort of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in that other sense too, that the present-day contradictory and disharmonious man will pave the way for a new and happier race.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE NEW PARTY TURN—

(Continued from page 1)
 pate in a real struggle for the unemployed if they are not even invited to do so? Secondly, the turn of policy is carried out, not in the direct, straightforward manner of Bolsheviki, but in the indirect and shame-faced manner of Stalinists. The party does not proclaim the policy, issue the call and take the lead. That is all left to the "Trade Union Committee" controlled by the party. Thirdly, there is no frank acknowledgment of the ruinous errors of the "Third Period"; and no explanations of the reasons for the change. Thus the door is left open for a retreat—also without explanations.

Yet another—and the most dangerous—of all the weaknesses in the new step of the Stalinists has already been pointed out in last week's *Militant*. That is the parliamentary reformist trend of the proposals. The time to warn against such a trend is now. Having concocted their policy of ultra-Left adventurism in an artificial atmosphere of revolutionary urgency the Stalinists can now be expected to swing to the other extreme and transform the party militants into petitioners for piecemeal reforms. The Amsterdam Congress against War heralded this swing to the right on an international scale. The watering down of policy in every field is on the order of the day. The over-emphasis on purely parliamentary action in the call for the Unemployment Conference becomes all the more menacing in the light of this general shift of policy to the right.

Having failed to conquer American capitalism in frontal attack the Stalinist generals have now given the signal to go after a little at a time; to tone down the talk about the final goal of the struggle. A highly amusing, but none the less significant incident is reported from Des Moines. A functionary, responding to a critical speech by comrade Lewitt, explained that he had been instructed "not to talk about revolution in the West." In this crude remark of the naive field worker is embodied the essence of the new Stalinist strategy: "We couldn't get the workers by command; now let us fool them in." By this maneuver they can fool the workers and themselves into the swamp of reformism, but never into a revolutionary struggle.

The Left Opposition, and only the Left Opposition, can sound the alarm against this element of the new turn in united front policy and lead the struggle against it. But this cannot be done effectively by a negative or standing-aside attitude toward the united front movement. On the contrary. Such an attitude can only alienate the Left Opposition from the Communist workers and doom its criticism to futility. An active participation in the movement, in the work and in the fight is the only way to make the revolutionary influence of the Left Opposition count in the new turn of events.

A NEW FEDERATION OF LABOR?

The Conference of Illinois trade unionists held at Gillespie on December 27th, and the second one scheduled for January 29th—both of them sponsored by the Gillespie Trades and Labor Council and the Progressive Miners of America—are events of exceptional interest to the progressive and revolutionary elements throughout the country. The first conference call proposed to discuss and lay plans for "formulating a Progressive Federation of Labor displacing the old and practically defunct American Federation of Labor." Such a project raises again, and very concretely, a crucial question of tactics, which the Left wing militants must answer realistically and correctly if disastrous errors are to be avoided.

That the coming resurgence of working class militancy, the conditions for which are maturing under the fearful pressure of the crisis, will break out of the formal bounds of the conservative trade union organizations—of this we have not the slightest doubt. That it will result in, or at least make possible, the formation of new, modern organizations on the industrial union basis in various fields is a reasonable calculation. The emergence out of the stormy conflicts of a new trade union center is not excluded; it is rather the most probable prospect. But, assuming all this, it by no means follows that the basis now exists for the formation of such a new trade union center. And, still less does it follow that organizational steps in this direction, at the present time, will facilitate the development of the progressive movement. On the contrary, at the present moment, they can only add another demoralizing failure and place new obstacles in the way of a normal and solidly-grounded development of the new union movement. From this point of view the progressive sentiments and aims of the Illinois militants run the danger of being negated by ill-considered tactics. The moderation of the original project at the December 27th Conference is to be welcomed with the hope that it is to be followed by a still further moderation of tactics on January 29th.

A new trade union center contesting the A. F. of L. for supremacy in the labor movement will very likely make its appearance at a certain stage in

the development of the American labor movement towards eventual unity on a class struggle basis. But such a new, central organization cannot be made to order. It cannot come into life at the call of the impatient militants, of a new isolate unions. A union in one industry alone, or rather in one section of one industry, and with a still problematical stability in that restricted section—as is the case with the Progressive Miners of America—is not a sufficient basis. The addition of a few, or even of all, the progressive labor organizations now existing in isolated localities and trades would not constitute a new trade union center in the real sense of the word. It could only give the deceptive appearance of such a center, tend to isolate the dynamic militant elements from the conservative organizations and arrest the radical ferment within them. Instead of creating a new progressive labor center on a firm basis the premature step now under consideration at Gillespie would retard the development in this direction. Instead of reinforcing the position of the Progressive Miners union the proposed, new venture would undermine it, cut it off arbitrarily from its natural allies, the half-former progressive movements in the conservative unions, and weaken the prestige and authority of the Progressive Miners organization. The reactionary labor bureaucracy at which the Gillespie enterprise is subjectively aimed will be the real gainers if the original plan to "formulate a New Progressive Federation of Labor" is not radically modified.

The Progressive Miners organization of Illinois enjoys a high respect among the militant and progressive labor elements throughout the country. And justly so. It has won this respect in stirring battles which wrote, and are still writing, bright pages of labor history. It is a militant organization and, despite the weakness and vacillations in its leadership has a profound urge within its rank and file to extend the battle front and to join hands with kindred elements on a national scale. This is the impulse behind the Conference at Gillespie, and it is a fundamentally sound one. Properly directed the Illinois miners movement can become a real influence for the revival of militant labor throughout the country. All the more reason therefore, to guard against the dissipation of this influence in premature and ill-considered ventures which leave the present reality out of account.

According to the report in the "Progressive Miner" the first Conference at Gillespie decided "to continue indefinitely the work of fighting within the American Federation of Labor." From this it is to be inferred that the plan to form an independent labor federation has already been modified to a certain extent, or at least postponed. It is to be hoped that the second Conference on January 29th, will revise the plan fundamentally and take the organization of a new federation off the agenda for the present.

At the present stage of developments a general propaganda movement for a militant program is needed. Such a movement can unite the militant and progressive forces in all the labor organizations, inside as well as outside the A. F. of L., and consolidate their forces for common struggle. The formation of a new, independent labor movement all intentions to the contrary notwithstanding, would pull these forces apart and weaken the struggle of each.

—J. P. C.

Pauline Gutringer

Comrade Pauline Gutringer, member of the New York Branch, has passed away. Her activity was in the forefront of the American movement against the capitalists and the revisionists within our ranks. In the Socialist party comrade Gutringer fought with the other Left wingers against the opportunism and revisionism of the socialist "leaders."

The building of the American Communist movement and its Hungarian section had the active support of comrade Gutringer. When the struggle between the Left Opposition and the Right Centre bloc broke out in the United States comrade Gutringer became a foundation member of the American section of the Left Opposition. In our movement she carried on the same active work she did before in the party. With exemplary courage she sold the *Militant* in Union Square and unflinchingly stood the physical attacks of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

She was well informed on the international movement, and followed the working class struggle throughout the world as a true revolutionist. Her keen interest in the youth of our movement reflected her understanding of the needs of the American section. The struggle against capitalism gave her strength, but as with most sincere revolutionists the internal struggles left deep marks upon her. None the less she consistently trod the path of the international revolution and Marxist principles.

Let her struggle be a lesson to the comrades of the movement. A worker-fighter whose activity must be carried on and replaced by tens and hundreds of recruits into the ranks of the Left Opposition.

LENIN ISSUE

As announced in the last issue of the *Militant* this issue was to be a combined Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg issue. For technical reasons the material prepared was not ready in time. It is possible all of it will appear in the next issue.

Protomagia at United Front Meet

The *Daily Worker* and the *Empire* have lauded the success of the Greek-speaking workers' Unemployed United Front because it succeeded in obtaining \$100,000 from the Charity Fund of the Archbishop. Although we do not disagree with the action of the unemployed in obtaining relief wherever possible, we do disagree with the methods that the Stalinist leadership pursued until last Sunday. Instead of calling a genuine united front in the beginning they confined themselves to a united front only with the Greek Archbishop.

The United Front Committee invited, for the first time since its inception, every Greek organization to participate in the discussion scheduled to take place on Sunday, January 8th. Our Greek workers Club *Protomagia* responded to this call and elected three comrades as delegates, Caldis, Katsikis and Haidons.

The meeting took place at the appointed time and the first speaker to address the gathering was a priest representing the Archbishop. He very consciously exploited the opportunity and used very clever demagoguery to strengthen the prestige of the bankrupt clergy. His final words were applauded by many ignorant workers. Comrade Daniels followed him as a reporter of the U. F. Committee and availed himself of the opportunity to attack the archbishop.

His entire remarks were concentrated against the Greek bosses without a single word to be uttered against the native bourgeoisie and the necessity of linking the struggle of the Greek workers with that of the American workers. Then the period of discussion began and the first delegate to speak was our comrade Katsikis who greeted the gathering and emphasized the necessity of linking up the struggle and preventing it from becoming isolated within narrow federalist lines. Many other delegates of party auxiliaries greeted the gathering and then a Stalinist delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union had the audacity to attack the members of *Protomagia* as people that only contribute criticism and that those who are active, are always liable to commit mistakes.

Comrade Caldis addressed the meeting and told the Stalinists that on such occasions as this, the workers in reviewing their activities propose certain things and in general do not confine themselves to pious wishes but offer some healthy criticism for the benefit of the struggle. Also he emphasized the necessity of linking the struggle of the Greek workers with those of the native workers and of classifying the Greek bosses as American exploiters. He criticized the Stalinists for their statements that the struggle is not political and pointed out that the charity methods are very opportunistic. He demanded representation of the *Protomagia* in the United Front Committee in order that its members might serve effectively in the Unemployment drive. To this demand the Stalinist chairman answered that at the 12th of February Conference of the U. F. C. a proportional representation would be given to all organizations.

The *Empire* delegate told the comrades that the *Empire* did not receive the reports of the Committee in time and that the next issue would surely print enough. He hinted that the delegates of *Protomagia* came here not to participate in any of the activities but just to disrupt. Our next delegate, comrade Haidons, answered sharply that "we are here as revolutionists to do our work with all the class conscious workers and it's up to all of you present to judge for yourselves who we are in the field of the class struggle." A prejudiced worker shouted that "we have only one workers' club"; to this worker comrade Haidons very correctly answered that at present the time is not proper to discuss the reasons of this dual club existence but declared that *Protomagia* is an educational club and was founded to fill the gap that the *Spartacus* left open for reasons that we can discuss on another occasion.

Then comrade Daniels summed up and forgot everything about the class enemies and merely concentrated his attacks against the Left Opposition of Greece that "kills workers and acts as stool pigeons for the police." Also he tried to develop a lynching spirit against the American Oppositionists who "killed two workers" on the corner of 7th and Ave. A. The workers remained silent and after the meeting were very anxious to know the reason for these attacks by the Stalinists. We told them that they heard enough about the Food Workers Industrial Union, how militant it is. And therefore, as food workers, they should join the Union and find out for themselves who are these "counter-revolutionists" and Trotskyists. Many Communist sympathizers expressed the wish that we should unite again in the ranks of the *Spartacus* Club and to this comrade Repanis shouted, "I am the treasurer of the club and all its funds are at the disposal of the *Spartacus* Club. We will be very glad to dispense with our organization. It is up to you workers to fight militantly for the unification of our forces!"

The *Daily Worker* pretends to show that the Greek Club, *Protomagia*, which participated in the united front conference of the unemployed on January 8th is a fake club, and was used by the Trotskyites in order to appear as delegates.

The fact of the matter is that the members of *Protomagia* are bona fide trade union members. Many of them have long party membership prior to their adherence to the views of the Left Opposition. This fact is well-known, especially to those workers who participated in the above mentioned gathering. If it was otherwise, as the *Daily Worker*

pretends, the Greek Stalinists would never have given the floor to our comrades.

The effect of the healthy criticism of our comrades is proved beyond any doubt by the apologies of the editorial board of *Empire*, of January 14th, in which they try to place the blame for their shameful co-operation with the Greek cardinal on the shoulders of the comrades assigned to the united front committee. The truth of the matter is that these very same mercenaries of the editorial board were personally directing these ultra-Right wing methods of co-operation with the Greek archbishop, and, thereby strengthened with their action the prejudices of the ignorant workers.

—A. C.

Japs in Jehol

(Continued from page 1)

ese. When the time comes they will pass over from the realm of words. Already we hear the music of the future.

Secretary of State, Stimson in his statement to Congress on the question of Philippine independence, on Jan. 16th said, regarding the situation that might ensue if the Philippines were freed, "Such a situation might be an irreparable blow to American influence at a time when the state of affairs in the Far East is chaotic, when every element of stability is threatened and when may come out of the Orient one of these historic moments which might disturb the whole earth." Stripped of the diplomatic verbiage the meaning of this statement is clear as day. The danger of war stands in close proximity.

But parallel with the danger of a world conflagration rises the possibility of a bloody assault upon the Soviet Union. For, however rich and desirable the Chinese market is to the imperialist bandits their interests would be better served by an attack upon the workers' fatherland than by tearing one other's throats over their booty.

The Japanese militarists have many times tried to provoke the Soviet Union. In the last issue of the *Militant* we recounted their hostile acts. They are enraged over Russia's refusal to recognize the puppet state of Manchukuo and her resumption of diplomatic relations with China. They want to force the Soviet Union to act according to the standards of capitalist greed. But the Soviet Union has no imperialist axe to grind. Its interests are the interests of the international proletariat and conversely. The present actions of Japan and the other capitalist powers must alarm the working class to the growing danger of another world war. Not only does an imperialist war become a present danger but a united attack upon the Soviet Union is threatened.

After four years of misery and privation for the working class the imperialists are preparing a huge blood bath for them to drown their sorrows in. To these preparations, intrigues, and the like the working class must be ready to answer with the only answer at their disposal, the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

—GEO. CLARKE.

BOUND VOLUMES

We want to remind our readers that the Bound Volumes of the *Militant*—both formats—are still available at \$5 for the new format (recent issues); and \$10 for the old format. Lack of space compels us to omit the usual ad.

Pioneer Publishing Fund

Two weeks ago we published a letter from comrade D. Marcus asking the friends of the League to come to its support by donating and lending money to Pioneer Publishers Publishing Fund. Comrade Marcus explained, as we had done before, that this fund was to be used exclusively for the publication of our literature. And to set an example to the entire movement he raised twenty-five dollars as a loan.

That was the beginning. As the first result we got our Unemployment and the American Working Class by comrade Swabeck in record time. Now we are ready to go ahead. We have plenty of manuscripts on hand. There is the all-important work by comrade Trotsky on Soviet Economy in Danger with which we will publish, as one pamphlet, his analysis of the Expulsion of Zinoviev. There is also the second in our series of popular Marxist pamphlets for workers: The Left Opposition of the Comintern; its history and its principles by comrade Shachtman. There are also The Only Road by comrade Trotsky and the

The Program of the U. W. P.

Proletarian Party Offshoot Elaborates Opportunist Program

The United Workers Party, an offshoot of the disintegrated Proletarian Party Opposition has at last given birth to an eight-point program. Within the program there are many correct sentences and ideas but considered as a whole it is a miserable failure at an attempt to formulate a program. Where Marxism ideas are presented they are negated by other ideas within the very same paragraph. To the readers of the *Militant* it will be sufficient to give the essence of the "program" with a short comment to show its fallacy.

1. The U. W. P. takes the stand that: "The crisis is permanent." "We are living in a period of permanent crisis; capitalism throughout the world is collapsing." "—no factors are operating to help capitalism overcome its present crisis." This would be a hopeless situation for capitalism and we know there are no absolutely hopeless situations for the exploiters. The program fails to take into consideration the relation between the present decay stage of capitalism and the ebbs and flows within this period. The program lumps these two relations together which results in confusion and contradictions.

2. The program correctly tells us that: "The only revolutionary class is the proletariat." The program says the U. W. P. will not "make concessions to the agrarian and petit-bourgeois class" but "we will cooperate with any group or organization for the purpose of sharpening and deepening the class struggle." If they mean concessions from the standpoint of principles we can agree but concessions to allies (Negro share croppers, etc., etc.) in our united effort to overthrow American imperialism, under the leadership of the workers and their party which retains its organizational independence in such united action, is essential. A program that does not distinguish between these two different kinds of concessions means that its writers have learned little from the Russian revolution and what has followed as well as what went before.

3. The section dealing with industry lists some correct points but repeats in different words the formula dealing with the crisis: "that no factors are operating to help capitalism overcome its present crisis."

4. The section dealing with unions leaves out most of the important factors of present day relations between the existing unions and the task of building new industrial unions. On unions, they say the following: "In the period of ascendancy of capitalism these organizations could succeed in obtaining results; but in the period of decline, no concessions can possibly be gotten." A pamphlet could be written explaining the fallacy of this position and the harm it can do to the class if accepted. Capitalism will grant concessions to unions as the pressure of the working class upon it increases.

5. The section dealing with unemployment errs mainly in omission, because, after all its said and done, nothing vital for the class has been said. No program, no tactics and no line of march for the class. The U. W. P. has been very active in the day-to-day work and for immediate relief but its program cannot be considered Communist. The needs of the class on the one hand and the limited "program" of the U. W. P. as applied in the Workers' Councils on the other hand, condemns these Communists in advance.

—H. O.

up new propaganda possibilities for us. Five pamphlets are only twenty-five cents. At no time should a member or sympathizer of the League be without five of these pamphlets in his or her pocket. If you cannot sell them, give them away to workers!

Let's make this pamphlet the signal for a new spurt of propaganda activity. Why see how easy it is! Everything about the pamphlet conduces to this end. Its price, its size, the number of pages, the style in which it is written; all these make it ideal for this purpose.

SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER AND THE EXPULSION OF ZINOVIEV

This will be the next pamphlet. Just as we were going to press comrade Marcus walked in here and put down twenty more dollars on our desk as another loan. He said he raised it on the basis of the immediate necessity of throwing the light of Marxist illumination on the present crisis in Soviet Economy.

Work will start immediately. In two or three weeks, at the utmost, the pamphlet will be off the press. That, of course, depends to a large extent on whether our other friends take a cue from comrade Marcus and duplicate his splendid work. Of one thing we can be sure. Twenty dollars will not suffice to publish the pamphlet. If that were all that were required it would be possible to turn out pamphlets much more quickly and without performing the miracles which are sometimes necessary. So let's see what can be done.

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Liberals Protest Chen's Arrest

The continued imprisonment of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, leader of the Left Opposition in China, has called forth a protest from a number of leading liberal and radical figures in American public life. A cablegram sent by them to Chiang Kai-Shek in Nanking reads as follows: "Leading Americans protest prosecution Professor Chen Du-Hsiu and associates. Urge their release."

Among those who signed their names to the cabled protest were a number of writers who are notably sympathetic to the Communist movement in the United States and closely associated with it. These include Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, H. W. L. Dana, Malcolm Cowley and Waldo Frank. Among the liberals and socialists who signed the protest are to be found Upton Sinclair, John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church in New York, Floyd Dell, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the liberal weekly, THE NATION, Arthur Garfield Hays, the lawyer, and Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The official Communist party, however, and the International Labor Defense, have not yet raised a single protest against the arrest of comrade Chen and his comrades, whose lives are still endangered. The only comment yet made by the Daily Worker was aimed at preventing any protest from the militant labor movement on the grounds that comrade Chen is a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist." To the disgrace of the movement, it has remained for liberals and radical intellectuals to speak out where the party preserved that dreadful silence which could not be of greater good to Chiang Kai-Shek and his henchmen than if the latter themselves had arranged for it.

The Communist workers must wipe out this shameful blot by demanding that the party and the I. L. D. take up the fight for the Left Oppositionists in China and connect their case

with those of the many other brave militants whose lives are at the mercy of the Kuo Min Tang brigands.

HELP!

There is every reason to hope that the Weekly MILITANT will continue. Thus far, our paper has depended almost exclusively upon the membership of the Communist League, out of their limited resources, to maintain the leading English expression of Bolshevism. Now, today, our readers and sympathizers must lend a hand to save the Weekly. The demands upon our numerically small membership have been heavy, especially so in this lengthy period of economic crisis.

We have no doubt that our readers will respond to the plain, frank appeal of the Left Opposition to maintain the Weekly MILITANT.

The requirements of the situation demand more and more the participation and direction of the Left Opposition in the daily class struggles. Through the MILITANT, still our best organizer, the ideas and practices of Leninism, of the Left Opposition, are made known to the Communist movement, to the Left Opposition, to the broad masses of workers coming steadily, if yet slowly, toward class consciousness and Communism.

The MILITANT can and must be maintained. Its existence as a Weekly through these scouring years of the economic crisis, have shown clearly the devotion and sacrifice of the supporters of the Left Opposition to their paper. What has been done before, can be done again—better and even more generously. Sympathizers, readers—help the MILITANT now! Save our and your Weekly!

Send money at once to:
THE MILITANT
126 East 16th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Left Opposition Demands Broad United Front at N. Y. Unemployment Conference

Presents Revolutionary Program to Stalinist Confab Oriented on Opportunist Half-Turn

L. O. Resolutions

Note: This statement was distributed to the delegates at the Unemployment Conference at Irving Plaza, New York, on Sunday, January 22.

The United Front conference for Unemployment Insurance and relief is a step in the proper direction. Properly developed it can result in a genuine and big movement of the working class against the scourge of unemployment and its source capitalism.

Through such a broad movement the working class can be more closely welded together in common struggle for the immediate and historical interest of the masses. The Communist League of America heartily welcomes this movement and works for its advancement.

The call for the present conference proposes a state-wide conference to lay out a legislative program in defense of the interests of the unemployed and working class. This proposal to put pressure on the capitalist legislature is a necessary part of a fighting movement for the unemployed. The fight on this front, however, can become really effective, even to serve the immediate interests of the unemployed only if it is supplemented by and combined with a program of direct mass pressure through huge united demonstrations of the workers.

This preliminary conference, should aim to put the movement on a firm foundation by recommending a concrete program for the consideration of the State-wide conference. For this program we proposed the following points:

1. Immediate Relief.
2. Unemployment Insurance, to be paid for by the employers and State government.
3. The 6 hour day and 5 day week, without reduction in pay.
4. Long term credit to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for American workers and the cementing of fraternal relations between the American and Russian workers. This implies the demand for recognition of the Soviet Government and the establishment of trade relations.

In supporting the movement for legislative action the Communist Left Opposition deems it necessary to point out the inadequacies of a parliamentary campaign to achieve any one of these demands. Such a tactic by itself is insufficient and would be misleading and incapable of obtaining the aims of the Conference. The broad masses of the workers must be drawn into class struggle activity for these demands. Through mass demonstrations and activity among the working class organizations—trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc., the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized must be united in the fight for these demands. In short, the widest possible mass pressure of the economic and political organizations of the working class must be exerted upon the ruling class to reinforce the legislative demands.

It is necessary that this Conference should conduct a sharp campaign of exposure and criticism of the so-called labor representatives and their lobbying methods behind the scenes with the politicians at Albany and elsewhere in order to secure a few cheap and meager concessions for the unemployed. This capitalist "politics" is only a snare and delusion to the workers and serves to disarm them before the attacks of the capitalists and their agents. These labor fakers must be shown up in their true colors by counterposing a program of class struggle to their political chicanery.

In order to achieve the aims of the Conference in concerted struggle, it is necessary to take a further step forward on the road of a broad united front of all working class organizations—unions and political parties (A. F. of L., Socialist Party, Communist Party, etc.) It is not enough to invite the branches of these organizations. The respective central organizations and the official leaders of these organizations must be put to the test before the eyes of the workers and compelled to show their colors in action. The Communist Party must participate officially in this movement and undertake thereby, to give direct leadership to the struggles of the workers for their immediate needs and final aims—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet Government.

Communist League of America
(Opposition) N. Y. Branch
126 East 16th Street
New York City

(Continued on page 4)

The New York conference held under the auspices of the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployed Insurance on Sunday, January 22, 1933, was of such significance for the struggle against unemployment in general, and the Communist movement in particular, that it deserves a detailed account and treatment.

The importance of the Conference did not lie so much in the organizations represented. In this respect, the gathering fell far short of the possibilities as

well as the requirements of the situation. Of the American Federation of Labor locals in the city, only a handful (23 of them). With isolated exceptions, the balance of the organizations present were those in which the Communists have already gained predominance. When it is considered that the ravages of the crisis, plus the treacherous passivity of all the reformist leaders and the exclusive position occupied by the

Communists in leading whatever militant fight for unemployment relief there has been in this country, it will be seen that the representation at Sunday's conference was far below the vast possibilities at hand for the mobilization of a strong fighting movement. The very fact that the meagre response can be said by the Daily Worker to have "exceeded the best expectations of the Committee", is only an indication of the extent to which the sectarian policies of the official party in the past period have isolated it from the bulk of the workers and their organizations.

This phase of the Conference may be summed up in the following observation: To the extent that the representation from non-Communist organizations was small in comparison with what it should and could have been, its size is to be attributed to the "Third Period" antics of the past, the elimination of the united front, the ultimatum policy of the party, as well as to the inadequacy of the turn made in the recent Chicago united front and at the present Conference. To the extent that non-Communist participation "exceeded the best expectations" it is due to the turn made in dropping the idiotic verbiage about "social fascism" and approaching the standpoint on the Leninist united front which the Left Opposition has sought to drill into the mind of the party for the past few years.

Our Reservations Justified

The fact that the turn was made, and while still defective, was nevertheless made in the right direction, could not fail to bring it the endorsement of the Left Opposition. At the same time, however, all the shortcomings and dangers already perceptible at the first stages of the party's turn—which we pointed out from the very beginning as factors which made it impossible for the Opposition to accord the turn an unreserved endorsement—were obtrusively present at the very first Conference in New York.

The keynote of the Conference was struck by the Committee representative who opened the meeting, Bordman, and by the Committee chairman, Weinstein, who made the general report for the hand-picked credentials committee. The burden of their appeal was the need of presenting to the legislature soon to convene in Albany a program for "unemployment insurance and other labor legislation". The burning problem of connecting with the fight for unemployment insurance, the demands for immediate relief, the six-hour day and five-day week without pay reduction, and long-term credits to the Soviet Union—this was not dealt with at all by either of the two spokesmen before the Conference. Anxious to get as far away as possible from yesterday's "fight for the streets", of the "Third Period", the speakers sedulously avoided any reference to the need of mass pressure from the workers in the attainment of their demands. The whole program of action outlined by them slithered down to the presentation of a petition to the capitalist legislators assembled at the Capitol. With not a single word did these two Communists—who apparently think that the way to function in the trade union movement is to cease acting and fighting like Communists—emphasize the danger of entertaining any illusions about what could be obtained by "petitioning the legislature", or the limits necessarily set by a parliamentary campaign. They neither drew a clear line of demarcation between their program of action and the pernicious "lobbying system" of the A. F. of L. and the Socialists, nor did they stress the quintessential importance of organized action by the masses to force concessions from the ruling class and its government.

Against the tendency towards parliamentary opportunism already visible in the party's half-turn, proved to be more than well-founded. The straining towards "respectability" was positively painful. In an overwhelming Communist assembly, the party members and apparently been instructed to adhere strictly to the solemn ritual of avoiding the term "comrade" and addressing each other as "brother" and "sister", obviously for the sole purpose of impressing the half-dozen or less "pure and simple" A. F. of L. delegates present with the fact that the sponsors of the Conference were beyond reproach or the suspicion of being connected in any way with the "Reds".

Socialist Workers Absent

The same game of hide-and-seek was played by the party in the selection of the chairman. The call for the conference, while saying nothing about "so-

(Continued on page 2)

Com. Cannon's Speech

Comrades and Fellow-workers:

In the limited time allotted for speech from the floor it is naturally impossible to deal adequately with the whole problem which has brought us into conference here today. I will therefore confine myself to some of the most salient points which must be considered in connection with our next steps on the road to a broader movement and a more effective struggle. Permit me to refer you to the mimeographed copies of the statement and resolutions of the Communist Left Opposition which have been distributed to the delegates. In this material you will find a more thorough elaboration of the program and tactics which the Bolshevik-Leninists advocate than I will be able to present orally in my limited time.

The conference here today represents a step forward in the direction of a united struggle of the workers against the unbearable burdens of the crisis. The tendency towards such a union of forces in the fight constitutes, from our point of view, the progressive feature of this conference. For it is only when the workers of various organizations and political trends are welded together in a common front that real blows can be directed against the class enemy on the great class issue of unemployment. When this union of forces is lacking, when the comparatively small groups of the workers' vanguard take the field alone and fight as isolated detachments, the blows fall heaviest on them, the class enemy remains unshaken and the masses of the workers gain no advantages.

To the extent that the present conference signifies a progressive step toward the united front struggles of the workers, we, of the Left Opposition, declare our readiness to give hearty support to the movement and to work loyally for its advancement.

Broader Base Necessary

The invitation to the branches of the Socialist Party, to the trade union locals of the A. F. of L. and similar conservative organizations means in itself and can only mean a recognition of the fact that the unemployed issue is not an issue of any party, tendency or group, but rather an issue of the class. This is the only way to present the question and to lay the groundwork for a real struggle. But this step in itself remains uncompleted. The roll call of the delegation bears eloquent testimony to this fact. Between the aspirations of the committee which called the conference and the workers' organizations actually represented there is an enormous gap. From this we do not conclude that the calculations of the committee were wrong or that the aspirations to draw the reformist and even the reactionary organizations into the joint struggle are without foundation.

No. We only have to conclude that the step taken toward this end must be followed by others. The tactics of the united front as Lenin laid them down, and as they have been verified by experience on an international scale, must be unfolded in their full scope. It is not sufficient to invite the branches of the Socialist party and the local unions of the A. F. of L. to join us in a common fight. To be sure that is something. By such an invitation we recognize the fact that the workers in these organizations also suffer from the plague of unemployment and that it is quite possible for them to join in a fight for a program of immediate demands even while they remain reformist and conservative in their political views, even while they retain membership in organizations representing these political currents. That is the beginning of wisdom on the question of the united front.

But it is by no means the whole of it. The fact remains that these workers in the reformist and reactionary organizations who have good cause and very probably a real will to fight against the scourge of unemployment are not ready to break with their organizations and are not convinced that their leaders who talk against the evils of unemployment

no less than we do, do not mean what they say. They are not ready to break with their leaders at the present moment and to respond to appeals over the heads of their official leadership and their respective central organizations. This is the situation as it exists in reality, and not in somebody's imagination. The problem is to base ourselves on this reality and find the way to draw these workers into the common struggle with us in spite of that. For this we must have recourse to the political wisdom of Lenin who has taught us how to do it. For this we must have recourse to the genuine tactics of the united front.

The appeal to the Socialist party branches of greater New York brought a response from one single branch which is represented here alone—and even that branch is located outside the metropolitan territory. The appeal to the A. F. of L. locals brought a mere handful of delegates and even these, in almost every case, come from locals already under the influence of the Left wing. Do not shut your eyes to these facts, comrades. Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that we have a united working-class front. For that we must have a large section of the workers who are absent here today. If we proceed from the point of view of the committee that the workers generally, regardless of their political views and their affiliations, want to struggle against unemployment—and I think this is the correct point of view—then we ought to ask ourselves why they have not responded to the call.

And if we face the problem clearly, we will have to say that the fault lies not with the workers but rather with the manner in which they were approached. By ignoring the central organizations, by ignoring the official leadership of the reformist and conservative organizations, the committee unfortunately gave these treacherous leaders all the ground they needed to excuse themselves before their own membership for their failure to participate.

Moreover it put the locals and branches of these organizations before the problem of acting over the heads of their official leadership and their official bodies. If you understand something of the mechanics of organization you will recognize that this is an untimely demand. The reformist workers take their organizations seriously, no less perhaps than we do. They do not act over the head of their official in-

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Nazis, Cops Provoke CPG

Von Schleicher Uses Fascists to Bolster Bonapartist Regime

On Sunday, January 22, tens of thousands of Fascists made a demonstration in Germany. In clashes with workers and Communists one worker was killed and a hundred were wounded. According to the press the occasion was the anniversary of the death of a Fascist killed in an assault upon workers. Touching sentimentality! The Kaiser sent a wreath of flowers to lay upon the grave.

Had the demonstration for this sort of human rubbish been part of the usual Fascist tinsel of bluster and burlesque pomp it could have been set down as another item in the ledger of the working class account with these agents of capitalist reaction, to be settled in full and forever by the proletarian revolution. But there are aspects of the demonstration that mark it as an event of great significance for the German and international working class and its vanguard.

In Berlin the Fascists invaded the heart of the proletarian districts to assemble in front of Communist party headquarters. Alone the Fascists would not have dared the anger of the workers. But the Fascists were "guarded" by the largest police mobilization ever made in Berlin. This was a sinister united front between the Fascist hordes and the Bonapartist police. This fact gave the demonstration a character of the highest political significance. It was not a memorial meeting at all, but an enormous provocation of the workers' vanguard. Under the circumstances the party correctly refused to be drawn. That is to its credit.

In the mind of every worker questions will arise: Why was the party not able to arouse the masses of workers to resist this hostile demonstration in its stronghold? Why could it not call on the socialist democratic workers to join with it against their common foe? The knowledge of its ability to do so would have made the demonstration in red Berlin impossible.

To ask the questions is to hint at

OPEN FORUM

**REPORT OF THE PROGRESSIVE
TRADE UNIONS CONFERENCE
AT GILLESPIE, ILLINOIS**

Speaker:

J. P. CANNON

now in Illinois Coal Fields

Friday, February 3, 1933

126 East 16 Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America

(Opposition)

(Continued on page 4)

Letters from Militants

Twenty-two P. M. A. Miners Framed

TAYLORVILLE, ILL.—

The working class is again on trial in a county called Christian. Twenty-two members of the Progressive Miners of America will stand trial March 13 on a murder charge, growing out of the Kincaid battle of two weeks ago when Emma Cumerlatto, an Auxiliary member, and two Peabody strike-breakers were killed and 18 others wounded.

In an atmosphere that smells notoriously Peabody, our fellow workers are being held like convicts of old behind dismal walls that have been constantly in service for the Insull Empire since the beginning of the strike struggle against the scab-herding United Mine Workers of America.

The Christian county grand jury has rendered murder indictments against the backbone of the midland strike movement. Besides the 22 charged with murder, there are 32 others charged with unlawful assembly and inciting to riot. The names of others are being suppressed by the court. The suppression is, no doubt, to be used as a club over an active striker's head.

Bills charging murder were reported against the following persons:

Albert Mattozo, Kincaid Chief of Police
Nick Passa
Fred Bassano
Vincent Calza
Emilio Vitali
Ferdinand Patterozzi
Walter Lusebrink
Emil Dupire

Other charges have been placed against the victims. 10 of the 22 indicted on the most serious charges are already held in the Christian county jail without bond. Defense attorneys have been employed by the Progressive Miners of America to defend the miners.

The case developed from the gun fight that took place between striking coal miners and Peabody guards, when the latter attempted to disperse a group of pickets that had formed along the sidewalks of the mining town of Kincaid. The guards approached the miners with guns in their hands and white banners tied around their arms, as an identification mark to prevent their side from shooting at them.

The Peabody guards were the aggressors in this fight as they have been in many other struggles that have taken place in the strike-torn region.

Thugs Terrorize Miners

It developed, however, that in the melee that took place the striking miners properly defended themselves and for once the Peabody guards got the worst of the fray. In retreating the thugs sniped Mrs. Emma Cumerlatto as she was opening the door of her home to save her husband from the wild shooting.

Vincent Rodens, formerly a national guard, now employed by Peabody as a guard, died as a result of wounds. The following morning James Guy Hickman, imported from West Virginia, was killed as he shot at the relief station of the Progressive Miners of America in Kincaid.

Immediately following the battle the Peabody gunmen, backed by members of the national guards, began a reign of terror. Relief stations were smashed; women and men were dragged from their homes and beaten; striking miners were kidnapped and strike leaders were hounded for weeks. The blood lust of the Peabody Coal Company started one fight in which the miners did not bow like slaves before their master. W. C. August, general superintendent of the Peabody Coal Company, issued a statement that the scabs were unarmed. "They were helpless," he stated to the press. Yet in recent conferences it has been proved that strike-breakers have a checking room in wash houses where they store their guns before going into the pits.

Members of the Progressive Miners of America have been urging the formation of a defense committee to secure national attention on the cases that threaten to execute active members of the Progressive Miners of America. The formation of such a committee is under consideration.

GERRY ALLARD.

Stalinists Collaborate With Clergy, Millionaires

PHILADELPHIA.—

Because of our exposure of their shameful collaboration with the Greek clergy at the Greek meeting on Jan. 8th, the Empress placed the blame on the shoulders of the comrades of the Unemployed Committee of N. Y. City. In spite of this the Empress of Jan. 21st encouraged the Philadelphia Stalinists to undertake a united front with the semi-Fascist organization, Abegan, a priest of St. George Church, and a rival church which is controlled by a group of Greeks headed by the millionaires, Stefanou Brothers. This meeting coincided with the day of our lecture in Philadelphia. Many Greek workers whom I met upon my arrival suggested that we postpone the hour so they could be present.

This we did and went with the comrades to the Church where the meeting was taking place. There we were amazed to see the Stalinists guarding the gates of the church! Against whom were they on guard? Not against the bourgeoisie. They were supporting the meeting and were using again the services of the famous lackey, Savelarios (former editor of Empress whom we helped to remove), who still parades as a Communist thanks to the Stalinist regime of the party which covers every

section committee that brought the charges. Of most significance was the vote of the jury. Seventeen vote for expulsion and eleven for probation. While most of the party members and YCLers voted for expulsion most of the members of the party-controlled organizations voted for probation. The audience was divided on this decision, not unlike the members of the jury.

To rid the working class of white chauvinism mass trials must not be made farces. What is needed is Communist education. This Leninist method, which is foreign to the Stalinist bureaucracy, must be revived.

—L. ROBERTS.

League Activities in Youngstown

On Sunday, January 8, the Youngstown Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) held a lecture and discussion on "The Communist Party and the Left Opposition", at Central Auditorium, Youngstown. The meeting began at 2:30 P. M., with comrade Gordon presenting a brief outline of the history of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the Russian Communist Party. He followed this sketch of the Left Opposition's origin with a summary of the platform of the Opposition today, dealing with the question of the united front against Fascism in Germany, the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution and their problems confronting the Communist movement.

There was an interested audience of workers present—several members of the C. P., S. L. Pites, and a number of workers interested in Trotsky's position. The crowd totally forty, most of whom were very favorably impressed by our platform. A number of them asked very pertinent questions on the united front policy, and we were able to explain Lenin's tactic to workers who will ponder the questions seriously.

After a summary by comrade Gordon, in which he refuted the charges of Trotsky's having broken discipline and explained what Bolshevik discipline is, the meeting, and, consequently, we were able to make clear to all the workers present that despite our bureaucratic expulsion from the C. I., we remain the Left wing of the Communist International. The meeting was a success for the Opposition.

Bureaucrats Checked in I. L. D.

Recently several members of the Left Opposition, after repeated attempts, were finally admitted into the ILLD branch in Youngstown. This organization, like all the other Party organizations here, have been terribly run down by the Stalin regime, so that hardly a skeleton remains of its former self. Our comrades joined, declaring their willingness to exert every possible effort in helping to rebuild the workers' defense organization. They were sympathetically received by the membership at the first meeting they attended and one of their number was even elected to the Section Bureau.

The Party bureaucrats, alarmed by the progress of the Left Opposition, immediately set out to "rectify" this "mistake". To the next meeting they sent down a representative, a certain Lewis, who is not even a member of the organization, to "wipe out" the Trotskyites. Lewis took the floor without anybody's permission, denounced the Left Opposition, and declared that they had no place in the ILLD. This provocative action of the bureaucrats' representative naturally aroused the resentment of all the members present and after a brief struggle on the floor he was overruled and the meeting proceeded to its order of business.

The Left Oppositionists remained at their posts in spite of the bureaucrats' attack. We consider this, and not without cause, a victory for the Left Opposition and a defeat for the Stalinist bureaucrats. The utterly unfounded and slanderous accusations of Lewis—going so far as to call one of our comrades, without rhyme or reason, a "white chauvinist"—left a deeply negative impression on all those present. The Left Opposition will not be harried from its course and will continue its efforts to help build up the ILLD.

At a recent meeting a national reporter stated that in the course of the Scottsboro campaign all the other sections of the International Red Aid registered advance, only the American section—the ILLD—did not only did not gain, but even had to register losses. The foregoing example of bureaucracy as well as other examples to follow do much to illustrate the causes for such a sad state of affairs. The Youngstown branch, for instance, is small and weak. The bureaucrats, in a purely mechanical manner, without consulting the membership, have proceeded to split up this branch into even smaller units and thereby to deprive it of whatever vitality the ILLD has left here. Naturally, every serious worker, not to mention every serious Communist, has to oppose such a reckless tactic and to fight for the preservation of the single branch up to a point where it will be so strengthened that it can only gain by expanding into more numerous units.

Another example of bureaucracy: applications for membership are passed, by the membership, but by the section bureau, without the membership having any say in the matter! The same holds true for expulsions, appointments and removals! It is no wonder then, that the initiative of the membership is thereby altogether deadened and such results as loss in membership are not at all surprising. The Left Opposition here, as elsewhere, will have as one of its first tasks in helping to pull our movement out of the rut: raising the initiative of the membership—in the case of the ILLD—by throwing off the shackles of bureaucracy and reestablishing a regime of proletarian democracy.

H. S.

Report of Unemployed Conference

(Continued from page 1)

cial Fascists, did not address itself to the Socialist party or the A. F. of L. Such a turn-about face—demanded by the situation as well as by the elementary Leninist conception of the united front—was too much to expect from the Stalinist bureaucracy which only yesterday opposed any united front at all. The result naturally was that only the most advanced sections of the A. F. of L.—and comparatively few of them—responded to the call and the militants were deprived of the opportunity of pressing the A. F. of L. leaders to the wall on a concrete issue and revealing to the rank and file conservative workers what their leaders are worth. The same held true with regard to the Socialist party. The call was addressed to "locals of the Socialist party", thus making it unnecessary for the S. P. hierarchy to put themselves on record. Concrete results of this "united front below" of the second edition? One local of the Socialist party responded to the Conference, and not a local from the metropolitan area, but one of the least important groups—Huntington, Long Island. The rank and file of the socialist workers, who by and large feel as much attached to their organization as do the Communist workers to their party, responded just as coldly to the Sunday Conference call to the "locals of the S. P." as, let us say, the individual shop nuclei of the Communist party would respond to a "united front" appeal of the Socialists addressed to the "lower branches" of the Communist party. This simple fact, which does not require a course in the Moscow Lenin School to be comprehended (more accurately: only such a course is capable of rendering the student incapable of comprehension!) has not yet penetrated into the skulls of the Stalinist bureaucracy. If it has, they have thought the better of it in the interests of maintaining themselves in the international apparatus.

To make up for this mortifying failure to bring the socialist workers into the conference, the Conference directors elected as chairman the sole S. P. delegate from Huntington! This decorative trick—worthy of the intellectual level of a stage manager in a small-town theater which is short of appropriate scenery—was the Stalinist substitute for the united front proposed by the Left Opposition which would bring together into a militant movement not only the Communist but also the socialist workers.

In the invention of such two-faced tactics, the Conference stage-managers were inexhaustible. The call asked for the election of two delegates from every organization; but the call was meant for the Left Opposition. When the self-appointed credentials committee reported, its secretary proposed the unseating of one of the two delegates from the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), one of the two from the Young Spartacus Club, from the Unemployed Workers Club and from the Protomagia, the Greek workers' club sympathetic to the Left Opposition. Furthermore, James Gordon, unanimously elected by the cafeteria department of the Food Workers Industrial Union, was marked for the discard by the credentials committee. Finally, the Lovestonite youth group was to be unseated altogether, as were also two of the three delegates sent by the parent body.

"Brilliant Tactics"

The motivation for these unseatings was positively brilliant and worthy of the masterful strategist who conceived it. Where the central organizations—like the A. F. of L. or the S. P.—did not have delegates, it was explained, their local organizations were entitled to two apiece. But where the central organizations did send delegates—like the Communist party, the "Communist Oppositions", the Unemployed Councils they would be adequately represented by one delegate! Thus, the TUUL, with its how-many-thousands of members was given one delegate, while a carpenter's local of, let us say, a hundred or more members, was given two delegates. What could be fairer? Thus the Communist party, with Hathaway, its one official delegate (together with the dozens of Rubins, Winters, Benjamins, Neesins, and others from party-controlled auxiliaries), was on an "equal footing" with the Left Opposition or the Lovestonite group!

Protests against this ruling were voted down. Another ruling was that there shall be one speaker from each "trade" or "political" group. That is only one carpenter could speak at the conference; only one member of an Unemployed Council could speak; only "one" member of the Communist party could speak as a "Communist"; naturally, only one Left Oppositionist could speak; and let us not omit to mention that comrade James Gordon, the Oppositionist whom the bureaucrats just expelled from the

party, could not speak at all because he was unseated on the grounds that the Executive Board of the Food Workers Industrial Union had sent a delegate, thus voiding the unanimous decision of the Cafeteria department to send its delegates. In this manner, Shachtman of the Left Opposition delegation, Carter of the Spartacus Youth Club, Bonanes from the Protomagia, and two Lovestonite delegates were required to leave the conference when it went into "executive session". With this ingenious tactical plan the Stalinists won the signal and decisive victory of ridding themselves of a handful of Oppositionists from the Conference, even if their pretensions to "respectability" made it extremely difficult to unseat us altogether. The motion of comrade William Kitt, of the Alternation Painters Union, to seat as fraternal delegates those whom the Stalinists proposed to exclude, was defeated by a show of hands, thus saving the American revolution, the Communist International and the Soviet Union.

This picaresque trick did not keep the Opposition from presenting its standpoint to the conference, just as little as the well-oiled maneuvers at the New York "anti-war" conference prevented us from making known our point of view.

Opposition Speaks

No sooner was the floor thrown open for discussion than comrade Cannon, representing the League, was up to the front of the room and ready to speak for the Opposition. A vigilant Stalinist promptly jumped up to propose a limitation of speaking time to seven minutes, which was adopted and to which comrade Cannon was held with laudable strictness! The Opposition had already issued a leaflet to the conference in which our point of view was set forth. In addition, we had handed out to every delegate a copy of the two resolutions which we presented to the conference for consideration. One dealt with the need of organizing immediately for a second conference on a broader basis to which would be invited not only local but central organizations, like the A. F. of L., the Socialist party, the Communist party and the independent trade unions. The other proposed a concrete and all-embracing program of action on unemployment which would go beyond the mere demand for an unemployment insurance bill and a parliamentary agitation front. All three documents are printed elsewhere in this issue, as is also the speech delivered by Cannon.

Our representative spoke on the resolution for a broader conference and expounded, for the first time in years before an audience composed overwhelmingly of Communist party members, the A. I. C. of the united front as outlined in the Communist International by Lenin and Trotsky. There was not only the closest attention paid to his remarks, and a complete absence of interruptions, but at the end of it there was a good round of applause. The presentation of our standpoint, in the resolutions and the speech, was a striking advance of the Left Opposition. The turn made by the party was in the direction we had been demanding for a long time and the apparatus men felt uncomfortable about the fact. By the very nature of things, the Opposition set the tone for the conference from the outset of the discussion.

The numerous party members who took the floor after Cannon, spoke generally in an agitational spirit, but none of them ventured to attack or abuse the Left Opposition in that contemptible routine manner which has always been the stock in trade of the Stalinists in their campaign against the Bolshevik-Leninists. Of considerable interest was the speech of one of the two Huntington S. P. delegates who referred to comrade Cannon: "I deny the assertion of the first speaker that the Socialist party is unwilling to fight for unemployment insurance and relief," he said. "It is necessary to use politics. The Labor party in England had unemployment insurance. In Germany and other countries the Socialist party got unemployment insurance for the workers. In Holland, they have good unemployment insurance. (All of which will be gratifying news to the German, British and Dutch workers!) I will conclude with the hope that we will support the Socialist party—but we must not fight amongst ourselves." The Communist delegates carefully refrained from disputing the illusions of the socialist delegate. Like him, they were anxious "not to fight amongst ourselves"—which they understand to mean the concealment of the Communist point of view.

Stalinist Confusion

The Negro delegate from the Carpenters' Union, comrade Moore, opposed the Opposition's resolution and offered a sorry example of Stalinist mis-education. "Don't waste time on the leaders of these organizations," he urged, referring to the S. P. and the A. F. of L. "The

rank and file are with us". The only trouble with his assertions was that they were, unfortunately, not true. It was and is precisely because the rank and file are not yet "with us" that the revolutionists must "waste time on the leaders" and organizations whom the masses still follow.

Among the delegates who did support our viewpoint was comrade Dreyer, of the Pharmacists Union, who called our resolution the only united front proposal made along the line of Lenin's teachings. His speech is not even mentioned by the Daily Worker, it does, however, mention the "fact" that the Left Opposition "did not have a single worker representative of organizations outside of themselves". Not only were we supported by the Spartacus Youth Club, the Unemployed Workers Club and the Protomagia, but also by such delegates as Dreyer of the Pharmacists, Bill Kitt of the Alternation Painters Union, William Hermann of the Carpenters Local 2090, Henry Stone of the Technical Men's Union, and a couple of delegates from the International Labor Defense. Out of a total of 90 delegates, Cannon received 18 votes as candidate for the resolutions committee, with the highest vote cast for a candidate standing in at all.

The Lovestonite delegate, Lifschitz, spoke in favor of the united front, and Weisbord, representing his group, announced his support of Cannon's argument for a new conference and a broad united front, adding that it did not "go far enough" because it did not propose to aim at a... general strike. All during this discussion, the representatives of the official party were silent, apparently not greatly concerned with our intervention on the grounds that "we have the votes anyway; let them talk". But at the end of the discussion, the floor was taken by the "sole" representative of the party, Hathaway. He took his place in the division of labor arranged for by the steering committee which he directed. The Communist workers and militants who did not directly represent the party, were allotted the task of speaking like trade unionists—not as Communist trade unionists but as "respectable" trade unionists! The "pure Communist" standpoint was to be presented solely by the official party spokesman. Thus, while the bulk of the speeches made by the Communist militants could have been made without much difficulty by a somewhat advanced representative of the A. F. of L. school, "comrade" (not brother, or sister) Hathaway took care to maintain appearances by telling the audience not to "think that the legislature will give anything it is not forced to give". "We have to reject," he added, "the proposal of Cannon as a proposal to delay." What Hathaway meant was that the movement had to orient itself—not on the mobilization of the widest section of the working class, but on the legislative calendar at Albany. In this single sentence, Hathaway revealed that aside from a few formally radical phrases about "relying" on the legislatures, his viewpoint differed in no serious degree from the vulgar parliamentary opportunism with which the speeches of the other party-instructed delegates were drenched.

Genuine United Front Rejected

The proposal to "invite the leaders", as he put it, was also rejected by Hathaway because, you see, they are sabotaging the fight; Hathaway only neglected to point out that the workers still following these leaders by the millions, are not yet aware of the sabotage, unless Hathaway believes either that nobody of importance is following them or that they are being followed because they sabotage the interests of their followers.

In any case, it is interesting to note that Hathaway refrained from the customary slanders about our "counter-revolutionism".

The resolutions committee report proposed that all the delegates present constitute themselves as the provisional committee for the Albany state-wide conference. As to the resolutions we submitted, the committee found itself obliged to borrow virtually all our concrete demands. Instead of confining the movement to social insurance, the program now included the demand for immediate relief, and for the shorter work day, without, however, specifying the six-hour day and five-day week. The only one of our proposals not incorporated by the committee was the one dealing with credits to the Soviet Union. Our resolution for a broader conference was rejected without a single political argument being presented against it. The cornered Stalinists merely argued that there were only six weeks left until the legislature convened, and they were so anxious to be on time to meet it that they would not be able to find time in which to call a wide united front conference to precede it!

Yet, so demoralized were the Stalinists, caught in the contradictions inherent in the half-heartedness of the turn, of its inadequacy and one-sidedness, that upon Weisbord's motion that the central bodies—the A. F. of L., the S. P., the

(Continued on page 4)

LEON TROTSKY

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Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

Student Conference Compromises Communism in Chicago
Edition of Amsterdam; Yield Principled Positions

The Student Congress held in Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, on December 26th and 27th, gave further testimony to the political revision invoked upon the Communist movement by Stalinism. The congress signified that the struggle against imperialist war and militarism was the task not of the Communists and revolutionary workers, but of the students. The progenitor of this gathering was the Amsterdam Congress held in Brussels in the summer of 1932. For that occasion, the International Left Opposition presented an extremely sharp criticism of the present regime in the Communist International, because it turned the struggle against war over to an arbitrarily appointed group of pacifists, liberals, poets, musicians, artists, actors and what not, removing this decisive activity from the hands of the Communist International, and its sections.

Over the question of the war the working class movements during the war-years split. The culmination of years of political and theoretical struggle in the 2nd International came at the outbreak of the war when the leading party in the 2nd International, the German Social Democratic Party, voted for war credits. That action was a signal for the other Socialist Parties to follow suit. With each section of the Socialist International supporting its own fatherland, the doom of Social Democracy as the leader of the revolutionary proletariat was sealed. Out of the background of this collapse, rose the international Left wing which was later to form the Communist International. The attitude toward the war in particular, and militarism in general, was the burning question in those trying days, and upon which the attitude, the political fate of the movement depended.

Upon the experiences of the world war, the Communist International in its early years set for itself the task of clarifying the great confusion of that time and made clear to the revolutionary movement that the struggle against war is one of the chief tasks of the Communists. It must at all times carry out a systematic agitation and propaganda against war. The ranks of the army must be penetrated by the Communists. In the event of war the aim of the Communists must be set upon transforming the imperialist war into a civil war. Upon concrete issues the Communists must initiate united front movements of the working class and its organizations against war and militarism. But above all do not entrust the struggle against war, to pacifists, to liberals, to the socialists, the petty-bourgeoisie or other such groupings. Unless the Communists direct the struggle against war, that struggle will in the end result in betrayal. Wasn't that the lesson of experience? Certainly! International pacifism, international social-democracy, international liberalism, betrayed the masses and came to the support of the imperialist conflicts. That is why it is all-important that in organizing united front movements against war, political policy must be absolutely correct. It is impossible to unite on the basis of an "agreement" on program with other political groupings. The basis for united front action is the concrete situation—but the Communists at no time surrender their political aims, modify them or alter them in the interests of forming united front action. That is why the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International found it necessary to declare:

"The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues, in close connection with the Party and paralleled with the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars must carry on a SPECIAL AGITATION, PROPAGANDA AND EDUCATION FOR THE INEVITABILITY OF THE CIVIL WAR, THE NECESSITY FOR MILITARY PREPARATION AND THE ARMING OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT TO DEFEND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BY FORCE OF ARMS, THAT IS TO SAY THE CREATION OF THE ARMED PROLETARIAN POWER, THE RED ARMY."

Not any artificially created organizations have the task of carrying on the general struggle against war, not the pacifists, or the liberals, but the Communists. Isn't that clear? The Communists do not conceive of war as an abstract issue but understand it as a product of the economic order of capitalism. The elimination of war and militarism will come about with the abolition of capitalism. Thus the struggle against war as an integral part of capitalism must be unified with the general social system and its replacement with Communism.

The Amsterdam Congress marked a departure from Communist principles. The Communist International, instead of organizing and leading the struggle against war, turned this task over to Barbuse, Rolland, Patel and others. Officially the Communist International was represented at the Congress. But the actual organization, of the Congress, its political program, its direction, was in the hands of an arbitrarily selected group who in reality represented nobody. Is it any wonder that the ripples created by Amsterdam have now settled to a dead calm? Confusion marked the program of that Congress. Genuine issues making necessary the existence of such a congress were not fully blossomed. The Congress in Amsterdam only succeeded in creating confusion on the question of the struggle against war. The Communists hid behind the veil of the congress.

How does the further confusion of

Amsterdam take place? It took place in the form of the organization of the American Committee against War, another arbitrarily selected committee of elements akin to those who organized the Amsterdam Congress. And just as the Amsterdam Congress not only formally but actually replaces the C. I. and YCL, as the organization to lead the struggle against war and militarism, so the American Committee against War, accomplishes the same end nationally. It was also, on the basis of a cable from the Amsterdam Congress, that the National Students League initiated the movement for the Student Congress Against War. Building upon the experience of Amsterdam and the American Committee Against War, the NSL arbitrarily organized a National Committee for the Student Congress Against War composed of a variety of elements representing numerous political views ranging from pacifism to Communism, but actually representing no organizations or members. It was this committee that organized and directed the congress. But behind this committee, as behind Amsterdam and the American Committee, stood the Communist party and the Young Communist League. Official Communism hid once more behind the cloak of a "National Committee". And so we witnessed again the spectacle of the Communists turning over the struggle against war to semi-Communists, pacifists, liberals, and anti-Communists. But what is outstanding in relation to this affair, is that for the first time since the organization of the C. I. and YCL, we are made to understand that the struggle against war and militarism is to be carried out this by the students, divorced from the working class and the class struggle.

Paying lip-service to the contrary, means nothing. The fact is that the first organized attempt to build an anti-war movement was turned over to the students. It is necessary to analyze this further. But before that, one other observation is necessary. Stalinism, which rejects the united front tactic as originated at the third and fourth congresses of the Comintern, and so much insisted upon by the Left Opposition, on the basis that they could not "unite with leaders", "but only from below", betrays itself on the question of war. Here of all places, the "united front from below" is completely forgotten and what does take place is a united front purely from the top, with individual and isolated leaders of various movements, without contact or control by the workers. It is but another instant of Stalinist zig-zags.

The advanced student in capitalist countries represents socially and ideologically the ruling class. The percentage of proletarian students is extremely small. Students do not play an independent role in the class struggle and for the most part they support capitalism and become its intellectual leaders. As a mass the students are reactionary. Only small sections of the students can be won to Communism or to the support of the proletariat. But under no circumstances can the students independently engage in struggle let alone lead any struggle against capitalism. That is the view that dominated the Young Communist International, at its inception. (At a future date the writer will present for discussion an article on the role of the student and National Student League). It is the task of the Communists to win support of the small minority of proletarian students and draw them into the struggle. That activity belongs to the Young Communist League. But what happened is that the student movement initiated the anti-war movement, gave it its leadership and only succeeded in realizing what Amsterdam has: confusion.

If our analysis of the student is correct (that analysis coincides with the resolution of the Young Communist International adopted at its 2nd congress) then it was utterly false to transfer the anti-war work into the hands of the students. Actually in relation to the youth, this task is one of the chief activities of the Young Communist League, which embodies in itself the glorious traditions of the world youth movement during the war days. But here again, following the logic of Amsterdam, the YCL, which should have initiated the movement was nowhere to be seen. It was not even represented at the congress. It was afraid to take the congress with Communism. "Keep it pure" was the slogan, because the aim is to win the pacifists and liberals! That is how the pre-congress period looked. The stu-

dents were organizing the movement against war and militarism!

Let us examine briefly the pre-congress period. First of all, a burning concrete issue was absent. Therefore the congress took on the character of a united front (among students!) for the drawing up of a program in the struggle against war. When it is understood that the whole affair was initiated by the Communists, the criminal nature of the understanding becomes clear. The working youth was not invited to the congress thereby cutting off all relations between the students and the workers. That was criminal act number two. In an effort to win the pacifists and liberals the call for the congress was addressed in the vaguest terms. What is more the congress call was false. It raised the cry for a struggle against war without specifying what kind of war. In popularizing the congress, the Soviet Union and its defense was not even mentioned. So close a sympathizer to the Communist movement as Carl Haessler, in speaking for the congress at one of the colleges in Chicago, did not mention the Soviet Union and its defense. When confronted with objections by members of the Spartacus Youth Club, he replied that if he were to do that it would drive the non-Communists away from the congress. Such and more marked all the activities of the NSL. The Young Communist League remained ignominiously silent during this whole period.

It was on one of the above mentioned situation that the Spartacus Youth Club in Chicago issued two statements, one addressed to the National Students League and the other to the YCL, outlining our criticisms of the congress preparative and proposing the necessary changes. These statements were well received by the rank and file. The leadership, however, attempted to edge out from under the criticism with charges of "Leftism" and "sectarianism". The proposal to invite working class youth organizations to the congress, made by a member of the Spartacus Youth Club at a meeting of the high school division of the NSL, was defeated by the vote of members of the YCL. It was to be a

pure student gathering and the organizers made sure in advance that it would be tainted by delegates representing workers organizations.

The nature of the congress becomes clear. Its composition was woeful. There gathered some five or six hundred students. A majority represented the NSL, some socialists and pacifists, and a great number individual students. The agenda of the Congress was an un-serious one. For a Congress that was to take up the question of how the students should struggle against war, to work up a program and resolutions, one day was allotted to speeches by Communists, pacifists, and socialists. The various speeches did not help to clarify those gathered. At best confusion became more confused. On the evening of the first day, study classes were held on various questions relating to war and militarism, directed by Communists, pacifists and socialists. And mind you, this was a congress. On the second day the practical questions of how to struggle against war, the resolutions, the election of the executive was to take place. Quite understandably, the proceedings the second day were rushed through with such speed that it was impossible for the delegates to actually assimilate its deliberations.

On the opening day of the congress the Spartacus Youth Club distributed a statement expressing the views of the Opposition youth on the congress and making concrete proposals to it. In addition to this statement the declaration of the International Left Opposition to the Amsterdam Congress was distributed. The Opposition pointed out in the statement the false nature of the congress, its failure to unite with the working youth, confusion in program, the need to adopt a revolutionary position in the struggle against war, the error in attempting to organize a permanent anti-war organizations and called upon the Young Communist League to issue an invitation for a broad united front conference of working class organizations to struggle on concrete issues against war.

(To be continued)

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Daily Worker Decries Promoter of the Amsterdam Congress

Out of the clear blue sky, we read the following comment under the "International Notes" written by "Robert Hamilton" in the *Daily Worker* of January 27, 1933: "H. G. Wells, noted British novelist, has been engaged in a war of words with the London Morning Post, in which he endeavors to play the honest pacifist. Strange words, indeed, for the author of the *Outline of History*! We recall this to warn workers of the two-faced pacifists such as H. G. Wells, who ten years after the World War shrieks his anti-war attitudes to the four winds, but keeps his mouth shut about the bombing of Iraq tribesmen and Hindu revolutionists, and who will whoop it up for murder again when the next imperialist conflict breaks out."

It would not be imagined from the violent tone of the *Daily Worker* that this is the first time that Wells has been endeavoring "to play the honest pacifist". Were "Robert Hamilton" to give the full story, it would prove to be an inconvenient revelation of the fact that only a few months ago, the whole international Stalinist press was not only engaged in a big publicity campaign for H. G. Wells and his kidney, presenting him to the militant workers as "honest pacifists" but also in helping the "two-faced pacifists" such as H. G. Wells to "shriek his anti-war attitudes to the four winds" through every megaphone the Comintern could put to his lips.

For Wells is one of the original signers of the Barbuse-Rolland-Stalin call for the notorious Amsterdam Congress which addressed itself to "all men and women of good will". While the Bolshevik-Levinists of the Left Opposition were virtually driven from the tribunes of the international and national "anti-war" conferences, the Wellses of every country were hailed by the Comintern apparatus and press as "honest pacifists", "sincere fighters against war", "reliable friends of the Soviet Union!"

The Comintern abused the Opposition for demanding that an open call be addressed to the social democratic and reformist trade union organizations for a united front against the war danger. "We will not unite with the treacherous leaders." But the "honest pacifist fighters"—with them they not only united and continue to delude—the class conscious workers with the idea that the miserable masquerade of Amsterdam was a powerful weapon of struggle against imperialist war. We of the Left Opposition, even under the hail of calumny, warned that the petty bourgeois literateurs, doctors, dentists, pacifists and generals without armies—represented nobody in particular and would add to the movement only deception and confusion. Wells is the first concrete example that the Stalinists themselves have been compelled to recognize—long after the fact and without any explanation. As a matter of fact, they "wisely" refrain from referring to Wells' co-initiation of the Amsterdam Congress. It would be a little... embarrassing.

If Wells is the first, there is no reason to think that he will be the last. The pamphlet recently issued on the Congress by the "American Committee", announces that among the delegates "two were French socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies, Hamon and

Poupy; another was Nicole, editor of *Travail*, a Swiss socialist paper. These socialists as a group passed a resolution in which they stated: 'We decided to work zealously within our respective organizations to win them over for a united front against war, and for the defense of the Russian revolution...' Hamon and Poupy are still denpites; Poupy is even a member of the Permanent International Committee. As every two-year old child knows, France is the principal backer of Japan in its Manchurian adventure, and that in the most direct sense. What have Hamon and Poupy said in the Chamber of Deputies—to say nothing about what they have done among the masses outside the Chamber—concerning the piratical war Japan is conducting in Manchuria, and the role of French imperialism in it? To our knowledge—nothing!

And the Amsterdam Committee itself, what is it doing about the erupting volcano in Manchuria which threatens to engulf the East in a new world war? It is doing the maximum it is capable of doing: nothing! The movement which was conceived as a joint substitute for the Communist struggle against imperialist war and the united front of all the workers for action against the war danger—proves to be impotent and passive when confronted by the first situation that calls for action. The Amsterdam Committee does not act—it cannot. It does not even speak. And what could it say about so acute and unambiguous a situation as the Manchurian conflict, what proposals could it make that would harmonize with the views of the Communists on the one hand, and the H. G. Wellses, Henri Barbusses, General von Schoenaichs and Ala Nazimovas on the other?

What the Opposition once said about the Anglo-Russian Committee, holds good for the Amsterdam Committee: At the moment of real crisis (when deeds are required and not merely words), as the danger of war and attack upon the Soviet Union becomes more acute, this Committee will reveal either its silent impotence or—its treachery of the illusions it aroused, or more accurately, of the illusions which the Stalinists aroused in its name.

Before the Communists are presented with new shocks in the form of the sudden discovery of new "Jingo H. G. Wells" (as the *Daily Worker* now calls him), this whole monstrosity of Amsterdam must be removed from the scene. Before the road can be clear, the obstacles must be cast aside. The Amsterdam masquerade is such an obstacle. The Communists must start from the beginning again. At the very outset, the party must renounce the opportunistic idea of forming a permanent organization with non-Communist elements for the "leadership" in the movement to educate the workers about the struggle against its oppressors. That is the function of the party alone. But the party must take the initiative in the formation of a united front of all workers' organizations, the socialist parties and the trade unions included, for a joint struggle based upon a minimum program of action, concrete and clearly defined, and not going (i. e., attempting to go) beyond the strict limits within which such a united front is inevitably circumscribed.

—S.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism
and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

Can there be any greater irony than that the Comintern, founded by Lenin and Trotsky, should urge the Japanese Communists to gain "legality" at any price, including the yielding of its own platform and program? What better object lesson is required of the extreme importance of maintaining unity of action through clarity of policy and unity of point of view—that is, through restriction of the membership of the Party to those advanced workers only, who accept Marxism and the Leninist concept of discipline—than the rich history of the Russian Bolshevik Party? And under what striking similarity of conditions! Yet history presented that irony in Japan as elsewhere. Fortunately the adventure proved in vain.

It is the function of the Party to utilize every vital activity of the proletariat to lead and direct the class along the road to power. In the light of its ultimate "illegal" revolutionary goal—the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Party demands democracy not for its own sake but for the political education of the masses, for their disillusioning with all reformist methods and objectives. The Party demands the "right" to propagate its own revolutionary platform and if this right jeopardizes democracy, so much the worse for democracy. The workers must fight for democracy, for legality of the Party, for reforms—but this struggle must never leave the masses in doubt as to the position of the Communists who, taking the objective conditions of the moment and their future trend into account, advance the interests of the working-class as a whole so as to strengthen the class for further struggle along the road to power. Even those Communist parties that have achieved legality never forget for a single instant that they may, under changing circumstances, be forced underground.

Universal suffrage was granted to the Japanese workers under the strong pressure of the masses. But it bore also a different character. It was used as a pawn by the bourgeois capitalists in an attempt to win over the workers and the petty bourgeoisie for a struggle against the militarists. The capitalists would prefer, if possible, peaceful penetration to outright conquest in China. But the struggle proved abortive, the capitalists were tied hand and foot to the war machine. Furthermore the internal crisis resolved the problem for the capitalist imperialists by its urgent demand for the most desperate remedies. Not in vain are the changes in the mode of production and in the productive forces the "shock factors" of historic development!

The moment universal suffrage was promised, in 1925, the militarists prepared carefully for any untoward eventualities. Baron Tanaka—the author of the Tanaka document—immediately resigned from the army and became president of the Seijukai Party. In the eyes of the military clique the situation called

ed for a "strong" man, a Bonaparte. And Tanaka was groomed for the task at precisely the same moment and in precisely the same fashion as Marshal von Hindenburg (as President) in Germany. Tanaka became premier in the first elections held under universal suffrage, elections so tainted by fraud and corruption, so strongly controlled by acts of autocracy that to stifle the angry criticism of the masses a thousand workers and intellectuals were arrested under the frame-up of a nation-wide Communist plot. The Tanaka regime ended in scandals strikingly like those of the Harding administration in America.

The wily Japanese capitalists have made every effort to establish the two-party system in Japanese politics. The Seijukai may be compared with the English Tory party the Minseitō with the Whigs. Both parties are under complete boss control. The party platforms mean nothing, are much alike, in fact do not vary from election to election. The government connection with big business, plain enough in America, is far more open in Japan. The party leaders become directors of the South Manchuria Railroad, of steamship companies, etc. These leaders cannot reward their followers with government jobs as these are reserved for the bureaucracy under the military clique. Hence, the parties resort to a more open cash system. The cost of elections is far greater, owing to greater corruption, than in other countries, and elections are more frequent. Before the War it took more than 20,000 yen to elect a man to the Diet. Now it costs more. Each candidate pays one-half the requisite sum—the party the rest. Since four hundred are elected each time, party expenses are enormous, control falling naturally into the hands of the rich (as elsewhere). The pay in the Diet is small but bribery for concessions and purchases provide rich plums.

The workers have no illusions concerning the bourgeois parties whose history has been all too short to permit the use of those refined niceties of technique of the Western countries. The masses pin little faith in types like the first great "commoner", premier, Hara, who came to power after the Rice-Riots. This lawyer in the pay of the copper king, Furukawa, this liberal whose doctrines were expressed in his remark: "My platform is a blank sheet of paper. I can write upon it what I will", was the willing tool of the military in the Siberian adventure. It was Hara and his minister for Home Affairs, Tokonami (one of the worst suppressors of free speech and the press), who organized one of the largest of the thirty reactionary societies ready at all times to attack the workers. Despite his personal bodyguard, despite his great services in the interests of the ruling class, Hara was assassinated for the slight difference that existed between the interests of finance capital and those of the military clique the situation called

(Continued on page 4)

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Our campaign is not in full swing yet. Many are the comrades who failed to take advantage of the club plan and the Paid Sub Cards. What can be achieved by taking advantage of the club plan is shown by the New York comrades by whom fifty-two subs out of a total of sixty-one have been turned in since the beginning of this drive. There are a number of sympathizers who have invested a couple of dollars in Paid Sub Cards and after selling them re-invest the money in additional sub cards. This creates revolving fund of \$2 per comrade-investor, helps the *Militant* financially and extends its circulation. This is the best way of keeping money in circulation, at the same time increasing the circulation of the *Militant*.

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That up-and-coming sub-getter from

the local environs has done it. He has crashed through to first place. Is he going to stay there? What do you say, comrade Vomas? And you, comrade Nash? And what has the Chicago Friends of the Militant Club to say? And all our other comrades? If he's going to stay there make him do some lively stepping to keep his place.

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AN APOLOGY

The burning importance of the New York United Conference on Unemployment made it necessary for us to carry over to next week the material we had planned to run in this issue on Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1933
Vol. 6, No. 4 Whole No. 1

Conference Report

(Continued from page 2)

Workmen's Circle and so forth—be invited to the Albany conference, the resolutions committee stated that this is what they had intended to do in any case, and when it was put to a vote, it was carried by a majority! Thus, on paper at least, the "united front from below" was rejected. It is most likely that the adopted motion will remain on paper. It involves too much of a blow at the party bureaucracy and its ever-changing policies to have much chance of being carried out seriously in practice.

From the whole course of the conference, it is clear that the party is in the midst of a serious turn-about-face, forced upon it by the increasing misery of the masses, the bankruptcy of its previous line of policy, and the incessant hammer-blows of Left Opposition criticism. Nor can there be any doubt that the turn is also the result of pressure from the party ranks which have been disturbed and disoriented with the policy of sectarianism and ultimatum which proved so sterile for the movement. That the turn is inadequate, that it is rendered far less effective than it should be, was also demonstrated clearly by the New York conference. The retention of yesterday's ultra-Leftism with regard to "no united front with the leaders or the organizations" continues to be a heavy anchor preventing the movement from advancing with the necessary power and speed. The combination with this feature of the turn of the opportunistic, parliamentary twist that has been incorporated into it, contains a grave danger for tomorrow. The Centrist bureaucracy, which swings between ultra-Leftism and a Right wing policy, is quite capable of dragging the promising movement into a stinking parliamentary swamp. In this respect, it has not changed fundamentally from the days when it worked in unbreakable harmony with Purcell and Chiang Kai-Shek. And that is what must be guarded against with the utmost vigilance.

Not only was the confused nature of the party's leadership of the present movement strikingly shown at the conference (opposition to "united front with leaders", but adoption of Weisbord's last motion, to give one example) but it was clear that the Stalinists have not thought out what their next step will be. To neglect this factor in any movement, is fatal. The function of a revolutionary leadership is to make a thorough analysis of the situation at hand in the light of past experiences; and on the basis of it to forecast the line of development for the next period; to think out problems and programs to the end; and to drive consciously and clearly-headed along the right course. This the party leadership has done at no stage of the struggle. It is incapable of doing it. It is the task of the Opposition to stand unflinchingly by its

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL NOTES

At the conclusion of his course in the History of the Third International comrade Shachtman will begin one in the Principles of the Left Opposition. Comrades interested in following the course from out of town should get in touch with comrade Weber, the administrator who will supply outlines and a list of reference works.

Such a syllabus on the Fundamentals of Communism drawn up by comrade Oehler is available.

The class in Elementary Communism by comrade Abern is proceeding smoothly.

Pioneer Publishers will supply all the literature required by the courses of the International Workers School.

The Case of Chas. Yale Harrison

We have received a copy of the statement sent out by Mr. Charles Yale Harrison, the author, announcing his resignation from the editorial board of the *New Masses* in protest against the treatment accorded to comrade Trotsky's daughter, Zinaida, which led to her suicide. The malicious attempt of the *Daily Worker* to link Mr. Harrison with the Left Opposition makes it necessary for us to state that there is not the slightest connection between the two.

Moreover, the whole tone and content of Mr. Harrison's statement reveals so clearly the unbridgeable chasm between him and the revolutionary Left Opposition that only the hirelings of the *Daily Worker's* staff could impute to us any association with the author in question. That reactionaries or petty bourgeois "sympathizers" with the movement have taken advantage, from time to time, of the disputes within the proletarian movement to air their own particular prejudices or anti-working class views, is all too well known. In the present instance, the revolting persecution of our deceased comrade Zinaida, purely in the interests of Stalin's thirst for personal vengeance upon Trotsky, brought upon the bureaucratic regime the flaming protests of proletarian revolutionists. The bureaucracy was also laid open to hypocritical chidings from the enemy camp, especially from the bourgeois press, which shed some crocodile tears in the hope that they would wipe out the fact that every single day the bourgeoisie of the capitalist world adds new murders of working class fighters to its bloody record.

The Left Opposition, and the revolutionary workers it continues to draw to its banner, will settle accounts with the rude and disloyal bureaucracy, stamped with the brand of Cain, without any of the unskilled assistance of elements alien to the genuine proletarian movement.

policy, which is verified over and over again by the events of every day, and to fight for its victory in the ranks of the Communist vanguard. The New York conference showed again that the Opposition is fulfilling its task.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Resolutions Presented to the N. Y. Conference

(Continued from page 1)

(Introduced at the Unemployment Conference by the delegation of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).)

This Conference for the Unemployed recognizes that although a base has been laid for a broad workers' movement, the representation at this Conference is insufficient for a really effective campaign for our demands. It is necessary that a united front movement on the broadest basis for the unemployed be developed. Such a United Front movement must include representatives from all working class organizations—trade unions, fraternal bodies, political parties and groups. Therefore, this Conference goes on record to issue a call for a second Conference within two weeks time. To this conference all working class bodies—central bodies as well as local and branch organizations—shall be invited to participate in a movement on the basis of a minimum program of concrete demands. The respective central organizations of the Communist party, the A. F. of L., the Socialist party and independent trade unions shall be directly invited to participate. At this conference all representatives shall as a matter of course have the right to maintain their own particular views, but shall be under the obligation to engage in a common struggle for the adopted program.

In accord with the foregoing, a standing committee shall be elected with the following instructions:

1. To issue a call immediately for the Second Conference inviting all working class organizations to participate.
2. To organize the sending of speakers to the various organizations to urge the acceptance of the invitation and explain the aims of the movement.
3. To issue a minimum of 50,000 leaflets to popularize the conference and its projected program.
4. To call upon each organization represented to hold a public meeting in support of the conference under its own auspices.
5. To organize a joint mass meeting of all organizations participating in the conference with representative speakers from each tendency.

RESOLUTION ON PROGRAM AND TACTICS

(Introduced at the Unemployment Conference by the delegation of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).)

We must aim to develop this conference into a broad movement of the working class against the menace of unemployment and against its breeder, capitalist society. In such a movement the working class can be united more closely and militantly in common struggle.

The call for the present conference proposes a statewide conference to map out a legislative program in defense of the interests of the unemployed and working class. This proposal is acceptable but in order to obtain the objects of this Conference, in part or whole, the program must be widened.

Therefore, this Conference shall go on record as favoring the following program of immediate demands:

1. Immediate Relief.
 2. Unemployment Insurance, to be paid for by the Employers and the State Government.
 3. For the 6 hour day and 5 day week with no reduction in pay.
 4. For trade relations with, and the extension of credits to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for American workers and for drawing the American and Russian workers into a closer fraternal bond.
 5. Recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States Government.
- This Conference recognizes also the need to develop the struggle for its program beyond a merely legislative and parliamentary program. It is incumbent

STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT!

Because the *Militant* goes to press before correspondence from the middle and far west, on the basis of the previous issue, has time to reach us, we are unable, at this writing, to gauge the response to our appeal for funds to print comrade Trotsky's speech, "The Defense of the October Revolution", as a pamphlet.

Of one thing we are sure. That is, that if the speech meets with the same reception outside of New York—as it did here—as it is sure to do—it will be hailed as a political weapon of tremendous importance for our movement. Once more we want to emphasize the absolutely burning importance of bringing it out as a pamphlet in the shortest possible time. Fully half a hundred comrades and friends here have been struck with the same idea independently of one another.

There must be hundreds more. While their enthusiasm is at white heat, while the greatness and beauty of the speech are still upon them—let us strike! Devoted comrades and sincere sympathizers need no exhortations to lubricate the revolutionary movement with funds. They will know how to act in the present situation. But out on the periphery of the movement there are people who must be moved by some unusual event or writing. This speech is such an exceptional event. The impulse to acquaint friends and fellow-workers with

therefore to build a broad united front movement of all working class and political organizations for mass struggles for the conference's aims through demonstrations and activity in all workers' organizations for the unity of the employed and the organized and unorganized. The utmost mass pressure must be exerted upon the capitalist class and its agents to obtain our demands.

The Conference resolves further to work for the mobilization of all working class organizations for the attainment of its program in the swiftest possible time.

Cannon's Speech

(Continued from page 1)

situations and leadership until they are ready, or nearly ready to break with the central organization. Do we act otherwise? And cannot we find our way to the reformist workers more effectively if we attribute to them something of the same sense of organizational loyalty that we ourselves manifest?

In the resolutions of the Communist Left Opposition which I have introduced here, there is a proposal to call a second conference within two weeks and to invite to this conference not only the locals and branches of the A. F. of L., the Socialist party, the Workmen's Circles and similar organizations but also their respective central bodies. I will be answered to the effect that the leaders of these organizations obstruct and sabotage the movement and do not want to engage in any real struggle with the employers and the state. We are quite convinced that this is true. But the A. F. of L. and Socialist party workers are by no means convinced and will not be convinced merely by our denunciations.

The way to convince them is to put their leaders to the test in action. That is the meaning of our proposal to invite also the leaders to join in the common struggle. It puts the conscientious workers in these organizations—those who really want to fight—in a position to demand of their leaders that they translate their words into deeds without in any way, at the beginning, involving a break with their organization. It puts them in a position to bring pressure on their leaders by normal organization means, to force some of them, if only for a short time, to participate in the united movement and to convince themselves by this test, by this experience that their leaders have been deceiving them with phrases.

Only in this way, in this process can we separate the masses of the conscientious workers in the reformist organizations from their treacherous leaders and draw them into a common struggle with those leaders and against them. This is not a new revelation of the Left Opposition. This, comrades and fellow-workers, is the A. B. C. of the united front tactic of Lenin.

This is the way we must move. This is the way the movement is tending under the enormous pressure of conditions on the one side, and the bankruptcy of all other tactics on the other. The united front tactic as we have laid it down in our resolution is a means for the mobilization of a genuine workers' mass movement for the struggle against the class enemy. It is, at the same time, a means for the separation of the reformist workers from the influence of their treacherous, phrase-mongering leaders.

The tactic that has been employed up till now, despite all the good intention, has served opposite ends. Here in the fourth year of the crisis the capitalists remain secure and arrogant. The reformist and reactionary labor bureaucracy in the political as well as in the trade union field remains unshaken in its position. The vanguard workers' movement remains comparatively weak, isolated and ineffective. All the objective conditions point to a difference state of affairs. The fearful mass misery, the appalling hunger, destitution and discontent of the millions is a powerful force to change the whole situation in a comparatively short time. It is to aid this process that the Left Opposition has come to this conference and submitted its resolutions for your consideration.

Japan

(Continued from page 3)

Japanese history embodies a great lore of bloody deeds of vengeance. When feudal society was dissolved by decree, there remained a class of "masterless men", the former samurai whose only occupation had been the wielding of the sword in the services of some lord. These ronin form the hirelings of the reactionaries in politics to convey and carry out threats against political opponents. Assassinations by these feudal mercenaries are of frequent occurrence.

In the split that followed the debacle of the all-embracing farmer-labor mass party, three parties gradually crystallized out, each one supported by a split-off section of the trade unions. The writer has been unable to obtain sufficient data as to the precise activities of the Communists in the various splits so that he can merely enumerate the parties and their strength. The Japanese General Federation of Labor supports the Shikai Minshuto (Right wing social democratic party) which obtained 165,000 votes and 4 seats in the 1928 elections. The Nihon Ronoto-Japanese Labor-Farmer Party was organized by the centrists of the General Federation of Japanese Labor and Farmers. It captured 2 seats with 96,000 votes in 1928. The Left wing organized the Rodo Nomo into which obtained no seats despite its 85,000 votes. The centrists and Left wing parties were both dissolved by the government as being dangerous. However, the party reorganized, the Lefts forming the Shin Ronoto (Labor Farmer Party) in 1929. The centrists formed the Nihon Taishuto or Japan Mass Party. In the 1930 elections the combined vote of the parties was over half a million.

From the attacks made by Japanese Communists at the present time on the "social fascists" of the other worker parties, it is clear that the Japanese Communists have followed blindly the Stalinist zig-zag tactics, tactics that have resulted at this crucial moment in the history of the working class of the world, in causing loss of confidence in the vanguard by the Japanese masses. Although we cannot accept without question the opinion of so confirmed an enemy of the Communists as Matsuoaka of the Japanese General Federation of Labor, yet there is a sufficient element of truth in his remark, made in 1929: "The Communist movement is getting more and more idealized and formalized. In other words the movement has become one of students or young men and women; it is diverging increasingly from the practical fighting line, so that it is coming more and more under the surveillance of the Minister of Education than that of the Home Minister. Their sphere of action is passing from the factories, mines and agrarian villages to the schools and colleges."

Nazis Provoke CPG

(Continued from page 1)

"dress rehearsal" by this means to bolster his regime; this was the game of Von Schleicher and Hitler.

To accomplish this, Hitler moved up to the firing line. The time is not ripe for his special services of unrestrained murder and pillage of the working class organizations. But it may be soon in the calculations of the world bourgeoisie. The working class throughout the world must be on guard, alert.

Some shifts are taking place in the world situation but the key is still in Germany. Some shifts have taken place in the German situation but the slower tempo has not altered the basic issue. It is still: Communism or Fascism. The workers must tell Von Schleicher and the bourgeoisie that the alternative to Bonapartism is not Fascism but that the solution to the problem is the proletarian revolution. Everywhere the workers, and particularly the Communist vanguard must raise their voices with the Left Opposition to demand that the C. I. and the German party throw overboard the ruinous theory of social-Fascism and adopt the Leninist united front to unite the German working class around the banner of Communism for the proletarian revolution. —T. STANM.

Unemployed & Barter Exchange

Petty Bourgeois «Solution» Reflects Pressure of the Crisis

The capitalist press has now picked up the "Self-Help" and "Barter Exchange" movements as remedies to solve the problem of the breakdown of capitalist production. Every new theory and new movement which claims to alleviate the desperate situation within the confines of capitalism is grasped by the press with the eagerness of a drowning man clutching a straw. This is the case with the widespread national movement of barter exchange.

Large sections of the middle class are participating in the movement. Exchange organizations have been set up by business interests in order to put their frozen assets into circulation. Otherwise these small business enterprises will fall into bankruptcy and thence the hands of the local bankers. The small business interests, taking the initiative in this field, hope to keep up a semblance of profit and prevent big business from taking its toll on the wave of the crisis. These movements first obtained a foothold in the West. Now they have been extended, in one form or another, to all parts of the country, drawing in large sections of the urban middle class, farmers and unemployed workers.

Whole layers of the working class have been drawn into the barter exchange movement. These unemployed workers, pressed between unemployment and starvation on the one hand and inadequate and, often, no relief on the other, have turned to the barter and self-help movements in an attempt to cheat hunger and starvation—until better times.

The barter exchange movement finds a working basis for the exchange of unmanufactured and farm products for the idle labor power of the workers. These movements take on varied forms, depending upon the initiative of local industries and organizations. The organizations vary from the business men's "cooperatives" to the cooperatives of the workers, with hybrids and temporary class collaboration plans in between. The business men's associations which have drawn in the workers as an auxiliary have by far been the most successful.

A Note On Max Eastman

To the Editorial Board of the *Militant*: Dear Comrades:

Recently I have repeatedly had opportunity to convince myself of the fact that Max Eastman is carrying on a systematic fight against materialist dialectics, the philosophical foundation of Marxism and scientific Communism. In its content and its theoretical tendency this fight does not differ in any way from the other varieties of petty bourgeois revisionism, beginning with Bernsteinism (in its philosophical-theoretical parts). If Eastman while so doing keeps his warm sympathy for the October revolution and even for the Left Opposition this crying illogicality is subjectively honorable for him but does not raise by one iota the value of his criticism of Marxism.

I could have left the Croton variety of revisionism silently to its proper destiny, if I had not been bound for a long time to Eastman himself by personal and literary ties. Eastman recently translated three volumes of my *History of the Revolution into the English language*. As is generally acknowledged, he has carried out this great work in an excellent manner. I have expressed to him my sincere thankfulness for this, and am prepared to repeat it here. But as soon as Eastman attempts to translate Marxist dialectics into the language of vulgar empiricism, his work provokes in me a feeling which is the direct opposite of thankfulness. For the purpose of avoiding all doubts and misunderstandings I consider it my duty to bring this to the knowledge of everybody. With Communist greetings, L. TROTSKY.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

How many have you sold? Have you made yourself into a literature agent to dispose of this pamphlet in record time? It is easy, incredibly easy. Five cent pamphlets are just the thing. Everyone can afford them.

In the last few years, especially, a vast literature has been written about unemployment. Most of it is a "Niagara of trash pouring into oblivion." Very little of it is Marxist. Even that which bears the stamp of the official party is not free from serious errors. But here is a simply written, short piece which is Marxist.

It opens up new propaganda fields for us. Who is not interested in the question? And what worker is not looking for a clear Marxist statement on it? We must strive to put copies into the hands of thousands of workers. The carefully and painfully built-up prestige of the Left Opposition will not be the least advantage to us in presenting our position on unemployment to the class. The weapon is forged. Let us wield it.

A REMINDER

Just a short note to remind our comrades and readers that we still have the following on hand and get in more from time to time: *Revolutionary Lessons by Lenin*; *Whither England* by Trotsky; *Value, Price and Profit*; *Wages, Labor and Capital*; the *Communist Manifesto*; and other Marxist classics. If you want any of these speak up.

Under the guiding hand of the business men's barter exchange associations, labor power takes on a form of charity.

The exploitation of labor power is still further disguised behind the "brotherhood of men", "self-help" and "charity". It becomes a substitute for social and unemployment insurance paid by the capitalists and their state. It "replaces" the class struggle; or, rather, becomes an inverted expression of the class struggle. This kind of charity is only given for a certain amount of labor power. The workers exchange their labor power at a discount for food and supplies. If this can be extended the local charity drive and the agitation for social insurance can be held in reserve—until the class pressure forces action.

These barter exchange organizations usually function on the basis of negotiable credit certificates or script. The smaller associations function on a pure barter basis. The whole barter exchange movement, regardless of which way it leans—in the direction of the workers or the capitalists—is the result of the breakdown of commodity production and distribution under capitalism. It is a return to more elementary forms of exchange. This is no sense denotes a step forward. Socialism, not barter exchange, is the solution for the breakdown of capitalism. Barter exchange in a crisis, under the domination of the business interests, is not a step toward socialism. It is a class collaboration move to prevent the free play of the class struggle development of the working class. The barter exchange movement is an attempt to bridge through the crisis until normal exchange, which rests upon the capitalist mode of production, is re-established.

The barter exchange and self-help movement has more than one side for the workers too. Dominated by the business interests, the movement becomes a powerful lever of class collaboration. Where the self-help movement becomes a workers cooperative movement, subordinated to the interest and aims of the class and the party, it can be useful to the workers as an auxiliary movement. It cannot substitute for the class struggle. It cannot replace the struggle of the employed and unemployed for demands against the capitalists and their government, such as immediate relief, social and unemployment insurance, the six hour day and five day week with no reduction in pay; in short, it cannot replace the class struggle.

The workers who raise the slogan of "workers' control" in relation to the barter exchange and self-help movement are suffering from the worst kind of ultra-Left sickness. Opportunist class collaboration ideas and ultra-Left slogans go hand in hand. The slogans of workers' control are slogans for a period of the class struggle that we have not yet reached in America. When the class struggle reaches this stage, to delay issuing these slogans will be suicidal. In the dual power stage, when the working class and its organizations become the kernel and the capitalist class and its governmental and industrial administration becomes the shell, then the time is ripe. In the meantime, a revolutionary, international program with proper tactics in the day-to-day struggles of the workers is the order of the day.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Resolution on Weisbord

The following resolution was adopted by the N. Y. Branch:

The N. Y. branch of the Communist League of America endorses the position taken by the NEC in its negotiations with the C. L. of Struggle. We view as entirely correct the present suspension of the negotiations on the following grounds:

1. Every opportunity was afforded to comrade Weisbord, as spokesman for the C. L. of Struggle to clarify his position in relation to the Left Opposition. The NEC posed correctly, after the initial blunders of comrade Weisbord, the minimal, principle requirements set by the League for the fusion of the two organizations. The columns of the *Militant* were open for the free expression of comrade Weisbord's views on these requirements. Comrade Weisbord failed to meet the requirements.

2. The NEC in all its negotiations with comrade Weisbord showed clearly its desire to leave the road open for the entrance of the Communist League of Struggle into our organization. Comrade Weisbord, on the contrary, has yet to show that he seriously wishes to fuse with the League. Even aside from basic principle difference which remain unliquidated, notably those involving the relations within the Communist movements, of its three groupings—the question of centrism—the entire approach of comrade Weisbord was based on a false policy of maneuvering, on attacks on the NEC rather than a serious approach to the International Left Opposition, on the holding of public meetings for the specific purpose of appealing to the membership (united front from below) over the heads of our leadership.

3. We emphatically state that comrade Weisbord has placed obstacles in the way of fusion with our organization. If comrade Weisbord and his group still desire to make it possible for them to become an organic part of the C. L. of A. and the I. L. O. they must be guided genuinely by the proposals made them by the NEC.

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ready raised six and a half, four and a half through the efforts of comrade Finkel, one dollar from comrade Vonnas in Pittsburgh and one from a party member in New York. That is only a small beginning. Let us go to work!

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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 5 [WHOLE NO 152] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

Hitler in Power; Civil War Starts

LEON TROTSKY

The Danger of Thermidor

An Analysis of the Significance of Stalin's Latest Speech

The Soviet regime rests on the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. The proletariat constitutes the minority of the population; the peasantry, the overwhelming majority. Yet in the hands of the proletariat are the most concentrated means of production. The forces of the peasantry, on the contrary, are split up through their economic relations. Still more, it is not a homogeneous group. As long as there is no thoroughgoing change in technique and economy in the village—and for this even under the most favorable circumstances the work of a whole generation would be needed—the peasantry will crystallize out of itself a stratum of kulaks, which inevitably strives towards capitalism. The mechanical destruction of the present kulaks decides nothing. After the alleged "liquidation of the kulaks as a class" the Soviet press constantly keeps complaining (having gone over from materialism to idealism, since bureaucrats are always idealists), of the power of the kulak "ideology", of the remains of kulak psychology, etc. In fact, behind these complaints is hidden the fact that the middle class of peasants, although locked up into kolkhozes, faced with the present level of technique and economy, sees no other way out for itself than to lift itself up to the level of the kulaks.

What the Peasants Demand

In the October peasant two revolutions were interlarded; the end of the democratic one and the beginning of the socialist. By doing away with lease payments, the democratic revolution saved the peasantry almost half a billion gold rubles. The fruits of the socialist revolution are valued by the poor peasants according to the quantity of industrial products which he can obtain in exchange for a given quantity of grain. The peasant is no utopian; he does not demand that socialism be built up in one country and in five years at that. But he does demand that socialist industry deliver him goods under conditions which are no worse than those of capitalist industry. Under these conditions, the peasant is prepared to extend an unlimited credit in political confidence to the proletariat and its party. The Soviet state would receive the possibility of maneuvering according to the internal conditions and the world situation, and of drawing the peasantry into socialist economy.

The basis of mass collectivization can only be the equivalent exchange of the products of industry and agriculture. Without going into the theoretical economic half-splitting, we must regard as "equivalent" such an exchange as will stimulate the peasants, individual as well as collectivized, to fill as much land and harvest as much grain as possible, selling the greater part to the city in order to obtain for it as large a quantity of industrial products as possible. Only such reciprocal economic relation between city and country—what Lenin called the "smytchka"—can free the workers state from the necessity of taking forcible measures against the village to compel the exchange. Only from the moment when the voluntary exchange is assured will the proletarian dictatorship be unshakable. The "smytchka" thus secured, means the closest political alliance of the poor peasantry with the urban workers, the firm support of the decisive masses of the middle peasantry, and consequently, the political isolation of the kulaks and of all capitalist elements in the country in general. The "smytchka", thus secured, means the unshakable loyalty of the Red Army to the proletarian dictatorship, which in view of the unsuccessful industrialization and the uneconomic human, largely peasant, reserves, will make it possible for the Soviet state to repulse any imperialist intervention.

As the Left Opposition has declared since 1923, industrialization is the prerequisite of the march towards socialism. Without a rising industrialization neither linen nor nails, not to speak of tractors, can be supplied to the peasants. But industrialization must be carried through at such a tempo and in accordance with such plans that the relation of the quantity of goods between city and village will steadily if slowly improve, and the standard of living of workers and peasants rise. This foremost condition of the stability of the whole regime limits the permissible

tempo of industrialization and collectivization.

Back to War Communism

It means nothing to add, "Has the five year plan abolished class and introduced socialism?" But we must unquestionably ask, "Has it assured the 'smytchka' between city and country?" The answer is "No", it has shaken and weakened it." In his last speech at the plenum of the Central Committee, Stalin boasted that the planned collectivization had been exceeded three times over. But who needs these figures outside of the bureaucratic boasters? The statistics of collectivization do not take the place of bread. The kolkhozes are numerous, but there is no meat and no vegetables. The city has nothing to eat. Industry is disorganized because the workers are hungry. In its relation to the peasant, the city has passed from a semi-voluntary exchange through a tax in kind to compulsory expropriations, that is, to the methods of war-time Communism.

The hungry workers are dissatisfied with the policies of the party. The party is dissatisfied with the leadership. The peasantry is dissatisfied with industrialization, with collectivization, with the city. Part of the peasantry is dissatisfied with the regime. What part? We cannot know, but it is clear that under present circumstances, it can only grow. "The planned collectivization has been exceeded three times over!" But that is precisely the misfortune. The forced kolkhozes not only do not lead to socialism, but on the contrary undermine the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat by becoming the organized form of the strike of the peasants against the city. By hiding its grain from the state or purposely limiting its seedling, the peasantry places itself on the road of the kulaks. "Permit me," it

(Continued on page 4)

GIVE NOW!

The drive to SAVE THE MILITANT is the first order of business of the League and its sympathizers in the present period. We are confronted with the most serious financial condition possible and unless we obtain several hundred dollars, the very existence of the MILITANT is threatened. On top of this, the Post Office threatens to revoke our mailing rights if we skip another issue.

What are you doing about this? Have you called on your fellow-workers and asked for contributions? Help Save the MILITANT. Send in your contribution at once and then visit your friends and collect funds for the MILITANT.

The MILITANT has performed an international revolutionary duty to the class and the party in keeping the Marxian theories and the Bolshevik-Leninist needs of the day before the English-speaking workers of the whole world. While the press of Stalinism sways between opportunism and adventurism the MILITANT has held high the international revolutionary principles of Marxism. The need of the organization is not a retreat to a semi-monthly but an increase in propaganda in order to keep pace with the growing activity of the League and the sharpening world events. In all parts of the country the demand for our press and our literature is on the increase. The demand is one positive side of the problem. The other side is the organizational end. We must send out organizers, but all this will fail of accomplishment unless the MILITANT is kept before the workers each week.

You cannot allow the financial difficulties to drown the voice of the MILITANT. You must strain every resource to help SAVE THE MILITANT. Send in your contribution at once, solicit funds for the Militant. Rush all funds to the MILITANT, 126 East 16th St., New York City.

—HUGO OEHLE

Opposition's Demand for United Front Is Need of the Hour in Germany

Responsibility for Rise of Fascism Must be Established

President von Hindenburg, the victorious candidate of the socialist "Front", the "bulwark of the Republic against Fascism", has finally appointed Hitler to the Chancellorship of the Reich. With the Fascist leader are his lieutenants, Hermann Goering, Speaker of the Reichstag, who is in control of the Prussian police force of 150,000 armed men, and the notorious Dr. William Frick, who has taken over the Ministry of the Interior.

The Hitler government starts out with the inclusion of all the other representatives of the extreme reaction in Germany. The von Papens, Hugenburgs, von Krosigks, von Neuraths and Seldtes represent all that is intensely chauvinistic in Germany, all that stands for the domination of heavy industry and the preservation of the "dirty East Prussian" agrarian lords. In the first collection of forces under Hitler, the monarchists, nationalists, militarists, bankers, landlords and trust magnates rub shoulders amicably with the most prominent representatives of Fascism.

Schleicher's Role

The von Papen government, and the von Schleicher regime which succeeded it, fell after having accomplished the maximum of their abilities the task and role assigned to them. Neither of the two "Presidential" governments which preceded Hitler had behind it a parliamentary majority upon which to lean, or a mass movement to base itself on. These representatives of the Bonapartist bourgeoisie could only be stop gaps, creating the illusion among sections of the working class that they stood "above the classes" and would regulate the conflicts between them. Even more than Papen, von Schleicher succeeded in winning the benevolent neutrality of reactionary social democratic trade union leaders, headed by Loh, a neutrality which meant nothing short of a betrayal of the working class. In the period of their domination, Papen and Schleicher did all they could to stave off the resistance of the working class, to weaken and demoralize it, to avoid—in the interests of the bourgeoisie—the heavy costs of a civil war, and to stake their cards upon the mirage of an economic boom.

The fact that Hindenburg, who was undoubtedly hostile to Hitler, even if not in a fundamentally class sense, finally called upon the Fascist leader to take over the government, is eloquent testimony to the desperation of the German bourgeoisie. Capitalism, in its "normal" state, never does more than keep its Fascist hordes in reserve. The German ruling class knows that the seizure of power by the Brown-shirted bandits, especially in a country with a well-organized and socially conscious working class, means civil war and the consequent disruption of the economic and political life of the country, at least until the issue of the struggle is decided. The German bourgeoisie has gone to all conceivable lengths to avoid the heavy expenses of a civil war; it has turned over the government to social democrats; it has drawn them into bourgeois coalitions; it has sought to preserve an equilibrium with the aid of the Bruening party of ultramontanism; it has resorted to the Bonapartist regimes of Papen and von Schleicher. But none of these expedients has enabled it to emerge from the profound crisis undermining its domination, the crisis which has driven hundreds of thousands of workers to the support of the party of social revolution. For just as the bourgeoisie finds it impossible to rule in the old way, the masses are refusing to live

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(Opposition)

Pass Philippines Bill Over Veto

The Philippines, under the leadership of Quezon and a large section of the national-bourgeoisie, are fighting the Independence Bill. The 35 year struggle for independence is taking on a new form, since the Independence Bill comes from the United States. This can be accounted for when one realizes what is behind this bill. The Independence Bill tries to please different layers of the American exploiters, and in doing so, has forced Congress to turn out an Independence Bill loaded with jokers. The Bill retains all of the essential needs of the imperialists and at the same time attempts to eliminate the advantage the national bourgeoisie of the Philippines have with regard to those commodities they export to America in competition with other American producers.

The Bill in its final form provides the following safeguards for imperialists: The Philippines must call a special convention to adopt a republican constitution. Ten years after this they will have "independence." The Bill reserves the right for naval bases and retains the right to military posts after the attainment of "independence." At the same time the Bill provides the following for the American competitors, who were the main ones to drive through the bill. After ten years the islands will be outside the American tariff walls. In the meantime the imports are to be limited. A graduated scale of export tax on commodities of a competitive nature that are sent to America will be imposed. In this period all goods shipped from the United States to the islands will be duty free. Emigration will also be cut. The Bill attempts to unite all sections of the American people behind it. It will have all sections of the Filipino people against it, except the section of American flunkies. The American workers must demand the immediate and unconditional release and freedom of the Filipino people.

10,000 in Strike in Detroit

Wages and «Dead Time» Issues in Briggs Auto Walkout

Marking one of the first mass struggles of the auto workers against the boss class since the crisis started, more than 10,000 men at the four plants of the Briggs Mfg. Corp., makers of auto bodies, in Detroit, have struck against "dead time." ("Dead time" is the time piece workers are kept idle without pay while being shifted to other departments or, while forced to wait for repairs or parts necessary to their process in the industry. Piece workers lose many hours a week through this method of wage cutting. It is "little things" like this that make basic wage rates so misleading in the statistical reports.)

According to the *Daily Worker*, the progress of the strike movement reads as follows:

January 12—500 workers strike against 20 percent wage cut at Briggs Vernon Highway Plant in Detroit.

January 21—1,000 workers in Motor Products Corp., Detroit, strike against 15 percent wage cut.

January 24—Strike in Briggs Highland Park plant, Detroit; and Hayes Body plant in Grand Rapids, Mich.

January 25—Strike of Briggs Mack Ave. workers brings total up to 8,000.

January 26—Two more Briggs plants strike and raise total up to 10,000. Capitalist press "discovers" the strike movement.

January 27—Motor Products workers, who won their strike, refuse to work on material from Briggs plants. 700 of these workers join A. W. U. Ford lays off 150,000.

January 28—Murray Body Company forced to close through fear; men join strike movement.

Solidarity of Workers!

The Briggs Company—three hours after Ford paid a visit to his Highland Park plant in which the Briggs factory in Detroit is housed, agreed to abolish "dead-time" and guarantee its employees an hourly wage. It also agrees to raise some wages, though not as high as the workers demand and in some instances the new scale is lower than the old. The company, however, has not negotiated with the strike committee but has simply posted the notice of its proposals. At-

tempts were made, of course, to arouse the Ford workers against the strikers with the argument that the Briggs strikers have thrown them out of work.

The workers had until Monday noon, January 30, to return to work or be replaced by men from Detroit's army of unemployed. But so far the workers have maintained their solidarity and their effectiveness through mass picketing.

The Briggs strike became effective January 26, when, after several prior outbreaks, 10,000 closed their ranks against the bosses. Ford is boss of Briggs. He was not slow to try to take advantage of the situation. He seized the opportunity to lockout 150,000 workers in his employ, on the pretext that the failure of the Briggs Co. to deliver bodies disrupted the entire Ford belt system of production. This was an attempt to turn the Ford workers against the strikers. But the workers have not been taken in by this lying cant. They have refused to work on stuff coming from Briggs.

In his efforts to discredit the strike Ford has spread the story that rival manufacturers have instigated the workers against Briggs. Speaking of the men who work in the plants that bear his name Ford said: "There is not a man among them that would strike," even if his scale of wages is little, if any, higher than that of other manufacturers. Lies! We are confident that the Ford workers will not be long in following the example of the Briggs workers. And as for meddling instigation!—

CANNON AT FORUM

Comrade Cannon will speak this Friday, Feb. 3 at 8 P. M. at the Left Opposition Open Forum at 126 East 16th Street. The subject of his lecture will be "Is the Time Ripe for a New Federation of Labor?" He will discuss in this lecture the most important conference in Gillespie, Ill., in which Comrade Cannon participated and which adopted the policy of the Left Opposition. It promises to be an intensely interesting meeting. Be sure to attend!

mass meeting The CRISIS in GERMANY

James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman

Stuyvesant Casino
SECOND AVE., Near NINTH ST., SUN-
DAY, FEB. 5th, 8 P. M. ADM. 15 CTS.

The Elections and Labor's Struggle

Note must be taken, now that detailed figures are available, of the extremely low poll of the various parties of the working class in the national elections in November. Even in absolute terms, in round figures, higher votes have been polled in other elections. But when consideration is given to the millions of new voters, due to increase of population and extension of suffrage to women. It is found that the various labor parties—the Communist party, Socialist party, SLP—received proportionately the lowest vote in 32 years. Such a result is surprising in view of the years of economic crisis, which, one could expect or hope, would have a radicalizing, if not revolutionary, influence on the political attitude of the American worker. Yet, not only did the Communist party receive a distressingly low vote, but even the Socialist party with its emancipated program appealing to the vast mass of the petty bourgeoisie and what remains of the upper strata or aristocracy of labor, obtained a vote lower than the high vote of Debs.

Some Factors in the Low Vote

It will give some comfort, but not be telling the whole story, to acknowledge a number of factors and deficiencies of American political life which effect the tabulation of the voting strength of the American workers. First there is the disfranchisement of vast numbers of the foreign-born, though that need not be a permanent obstacle; there is, too, the intimidation and terror in the South which brings about the real, if not formal, disfranchisement of the mass of Negro workers and peasants. Corruption and vote-stealing are factors, perhaps even worse than conceived by revolutionists themselves, as revealed in the recent elections in New York City when even a Democrat, McKee, swerving from the Tammany machine, found later that some 150,000 votes for him had not been tallied. Allow, then, for wholesale stealing of Communist and socialist votes. The political writer Kent maintains that the political machine having the most money for campaign purposes always wins the major elections. Grant its importance to the capitalist parties, that phase can nevertheless have only a secondary significance for the working class parties which depend on basic social and economic factors for their ultimate victory. The social-patriot and many times "socialist" minister of Belgium's monarchy, Emile Vandervelde, in his book, "Socialism Versus the State" made out something of a case for the tremendous ballyhoo methods of the American capitalist parties to affect the working class in casting their ballots. But that too can have but transitory significance and had its basis, in part, in a stable American capitalism. In addition, many millions of people continued the practice of staying away together from the polls.

The sad truth is that in 1932, almost four years after the most terrific economic crisis in American history, the workers as well as the bourgeoisie, middle classes and farmers, voted their belief in the efficacy of capitalism yet to solve the ills of unemployment, low wages, etc., etc. It is true that they rejected the reactionary administration of Hoover and accepted the demagogic politician Roosevelt, but that of course was a case of tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. The shift basically was not a change from their capitalist outlook, but only a change of administrators of the system of private property.

Does this mean that relatively swift changes of the political physiognomy of the American people, and particularly the proletariat, are excluded? By no means. Despite the affirmation of faith of the vast mass of American people in the social system of capitalism, it is nevertheless observable that there is a search for new methods, even new systems. There is no longer the same certainty about the durability of capitalism or its parts. Too many dents have been made in its armor and the soldier doesn't seem to be such an ardent fighter. It is a fact that with one hand the American workers gave their okay to American political system as such, and that with the other, they are girding themselves for struggles which will bring them into sharp conflict with capitalist property rights and ideas.

The masses often devise their own strategies in the class struggle, evidently preferring or finding it necessary to experience every possible solution for their requirements. The American workers, having had in the past the least need for independent political experience and actions, because of the circumstances and character of American economic life as against that of Europe, are proceeding to turn over in their minds the ways and means out of their impasse. In this, they are no different than the workers in other countries, albeit not yet so advanced politically and industrially.

A Lesson from England

People often shift their base of attack in the hope of effecting their aims. When the ravages of the Industrial Revolution in England, in the beginnings of capitalism, ate their way into the sinews and bones of the English workers, they turned toward trade unionism and initiated big struggles. Various factors contributed to their defeat on the economic field and they abandoned that field almost entirely and entered the struggle for the granting of suffrage and other political rights. The Chartist movement was the essence of this transference of struggle by the English proletariat from the economic to the political field. The Chartist movement had its vital importance in the evolution of the English labor movement, as did also a sharp turn at another time toward the co-operative movement led by Robert Owen as a panacea for the miserably exploited English workers.

Struggles of all description were to en-

What the Presidential Vote Means for the Workers

For many decades before the English labor and political movement had made headway in the direction of joint action or agreement between the industrial and political arms of labor to achieve labor's aims. The movement has proceeded by the process of evolution and division. Rapid changes in the condition of Great Britain's imperialist domain bring the mass of English workers, who adhere to the political platform of socialism, to the point where they will have to abandon once and for all the tempo of "gradualism" in socialism and go over to the tempo and outlook of Communism.

There is need to allow and hope to believe in swifter reactions and development among the American workers from now on. Though in the last elections, their vote indicated from a class standpoint, almost total ignorance of the significance of the economic crisis in this social milieu, the fact remains that in their daily life they pay very close attention to it, and can be expected to generalize their experiences in a more thorough-going class manner. How does this show itself?

The Labor Party

Let us take the matter, briefly of the Labor party. It is still by no means excluded that there will be formed a Labor party in the United States. But the relation of the Communists toward it, at least that of the Left Opposition, has been clarified; namely, that of sharp exposure and opposition, despite our readiness to consider what might be our working relation to it if such a movement develops.

Not so many years ago, when Labor party agitation and attempts at organization reached their heights, the bulk of the proponents of the Labor party, in accepting it, undoubtedly attached a definite class significance to it, in fact in many cases, a revolutionary importance. They viewed it, not as the Communists did—as a part of a process of American political evolution—but rather as the class movement of the workers and a substitute for any other revolutionary movement. It is true, also, that this same bulk removed from the Labor party any idea of mass actions, extra-parliamentary activity and viewed it in the parliamentary or English Labor Party sense. And such a Labor party, if it develops, will have all that opportunist virus and confusion. But such as it was in those years of 1922-28, it was essentially a movement of labor and even regarded by opponent classes and groups as a narrow class movement which might have its dangers for capitalism.

But today, irrespective of the development of a Labor party, such a party is looked upon altogether differently. The experiences of the English Labor Party have made their way on an international scale, not excepting America. Among its proponents in America are middle-class leaders who find in the platform of a Labor Party the reflection of the middle classes' own needs and ambitions. The wiser bourgeoisie, despite contrary noise, view such a possibility or other changes with might break up the two-party, Republican and Democratic, system, with equality. In fact, such a shrewd political observer as Samuel G. Blythe foresees such a break-up in one more, maybe two elections.

Communists, surely, have no illusions about a Labor party (or do some of them still have?). The Labor opponents of revolution, the middle class and the

bourgeoisie—all view such a party as a bulwark against effective class struggle and social revolution. The working class in the United States, which will move on both the social reformist and revolutionary fronts simultaneously, will more swiftly hereafter grasp political lessons, whether or not one of those lessons takes the form of the Labor party. Hence, in respect to the Labor party, it must be said that the last few years have witnessed changes in outlook about it.

But if the American workers have not reacted on the political, or more strictly, the parliamentary, field more in accordance with the acuteness of the economic conditions, they are preparing for class struggle on other fronts. None other than William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, speaks about economic struggles that will engage the workers on many and big fronts. It is not needed here to explain Green's role or his sudden espousal of the cause of militant labor struggle and a "new deal" for labor. That has been done already in the columns of the Militant. But it is noteworthy that Green has felt it necessary to give lip service so far to the pressure of the mass of the labor movement.

Even more important is the fact that the new program of the labor movement, with all the confusion and illusion still to be found, has begun to catch up with

10,000 Out in Briggs Auto Strike

(Continued from page 1)
they have not forgotten the machine gun fusillade of last spring when four workers were shot down in cold blood for demanding relief from Ford.

Of the same yarn is the fabrication that "You can't stop progress—our plants will be going again full tilt in a very short time." What is full tilt? Before the depression the capacity production of cars in the United States was 7,700,000 a year; the average yearly production was 4,500,000; the peak year of actual production was 1929 with 5,621,715. The latest figures for a full year during the depression give a production for 1932 of approximately 1,411,000 cars and trucks. This last figure is about 18.4 of capacity and 25.0 of the production of the peak year. Full tilt? Pap.

The A. F. of L. and the A. W. U.

This struggle seems to have been quite spontaneous in its beginnings. Certainly the A. F. of L. which has claimed jurisdiction over these fiercely exploited workers, was not on hand and has not offered even to help. It will be recalled that in 1926 the A. F. of L. asserted its intention of organizing the automobile industry. At that time seventeen crafts agreed to waive jurisdictional claims during the proposed campaign, but even with this enormous impetus to start the job no move whatever was made.

According to the Daily Worker, Ford's lay-off is a move to break the Briggs strike and prevent it from spreading to "his" own plants where strike sentiment was growing as a result of the activities of the A. W. U. Be that as it may the Murray Body men, like the Briggs strikers, are following the leadership of the militant A. W. U. (Daily Worker, Jan. 28). The Daily Worker also claims militant mass picketing:—"At the Mack Avenue plant the police attempted to drive the strikers away but failed because of the militant mass picketing. The A. W. U. is leading the strike." (Daily Worker, January 27).

The rumor was spread in the capitalist press that the Briggs workers adopted a resolution banning Communists

the new situation produced by American capitalism. In this new social program for official labor, which, besides industrial struggles, envisages also independent political action by the workers, is to be seen the positive side of the workers' reaction to the economic crisis. The negative side, the vote of labor in the November elections, has already been recorded—and, more important, is and will be rapidly forgotten in the natural course of the struggles of the working class with the employers and the government-al apparatus.

There need be no doubt that unorganized labor will be found ready to add its forces to organized labor in common struggle, and, indeed, to go beyond the official program in all respects. But that is not under discussion here. What is decisive and important is that the dialectics of the struggle are about to reconcile the seeming contradictions of the actions of the American working class on a higher plane of struggle and vision. While the election results are, therefore, extremely "disappointing" and this field of struggle is yet to be militantly invaded by the American workers, still they are not the final and only barometer. Behind the peaceful gesture of American labor at the ballot box, there is to be seen already the clenched fist about to do battle with his class enemy. The Communist party and the Communist Left Opposition must be prepared to assist and lead in the historic battles that will tend to change rapidly the face of American social and political life.

—MARTIN ABERN.

from participation in the strike, but the New York Times of Jan. 29 states that Phil Raymond, former Communist candidate for Mayor of Detroit, is taking an active part in the strike. Raymond stated that he was a representative of the A. W. U. and had been hired by the strikers to organize their forces.

The A. W. U. in existence now for several years, has yet to prove itself to the workers. This strike is its opportunity leadership of workers exploited by systems, unemployment, low wages, speed-up, and all the refinements characteristic of Ford's "progress." With the auto workers out on strike and the momentum of the mass movement, the workers will quickly sense and follow a responsible leadership which really means to achieve an industrial union for mass blows against the dead hand of trustified competition in the auto industry.

—MARTIN BEARDSLEE.

Mooney Congress

(Continued from page 1)
freedom. No. The language of the call precludes any such idea. There is also the fact that the date is set for April and May. Mooney chose this time knowing that a hearing in the Superior Court on the last count in the original indictment against him and Billings is scheduled for February 11. The dates alone speak volumes.

But what Mooney's move does mean is that he considers the apathy of the Communists no means of solving the problem of his freedom. And we must acknowledge that he is correct. Our failure to act is a disgrace. But for that we are not to blame. The Stalinists, as we have pointed out, must answer to the class for this.

At the Chicago Conference everything will again favor the Communists. Mooney's call insures that no liberal-socialist-Wobblie clique will bar them. It lays the basis for a class struggle fight. Chicago is the scene of the recent gigantic united front of socialist and Communist workers for relief. The traditions of that struggle and the fighting role of the Communists will stand them in good stead at the coming conference. It will give them a sympathetic hearing and following.

Lastly, there is the half-truth that the party and the I.L.D. are making. Hacker admitted at a meeting last Sunday that the line of the I.L.D. in the Mooney fight had been sectarian. And Frank Spector writes in the February issue of the Labor Defender: "At the bottom of our failure to develop a broad united front has nearly always been the sectarian attitude on our part." This does not trace the root of the trouble to the soil from which spring these weeds of policy—the theory of social-Fascism. But it is the beginning of wisdom.

If the party members will raise their voices and demand a full accounting instead of this half-way apology (which is accompanied by the usual benedictions of the line and the criticisms of the execution) they can make this turn a genuine one. They must insist that they enter the Chicago conference prepared to work with the other groups represented there, not giving up for a minute their independent role as the vanguard of the class and their right to criticism of their opponents. With a correct policy on the question of the united front and the capital of Mooney's call, plus their splendid record in the relief demonstrations the Communists can win the leadership of the movement and raise the struggle to new heights.

This can very well be the impetus which the class needs to resist the onslaughts of the bosses. Mooney has correctly insisted that the struggle for his freedom is inextricably bound up with the fight of the class against its capitalist masters. That is how we approach the problem, too. Everything now depends on the party. The Left Opposition will be present to raise its voice for Mooney's freedom and Communism, and work energetically in the movement.

—T. STAMM.

Left Opposition Grows in China

PEIPING.—

About a month ago we received comrade L. D.'s first letter. About two weeks ago we received his second letter together with yours. The Russian texts have been translated into Chinese and circulated among the revolutionary masses. We are very happy to have these new, precious writings.

Before September 18, 1931, the date of the invasion of Japanese imperialism of last year, the Left Opposition in Northern China was mainly occupied with theoretical questions. After the "invasion" our comrades appeared here and there in the leadership of the movement. Our political program was widely carried out. And we truly became "the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese C. P." as the Stalinists put it.

When the anti-Japanese imperialist sentiment was raging the majority of the Stalinist comrades co-operated with us. Only when the anti-imperialist movement receded did the bureaucratic Stalinist leaders find us "the most dangerous enemy". At the same time they spread more illusions about the peasants' "Red Army" among the masses, while they continued their course along the road of bureaucratic adventurism.

A certain number of the new generation have joined the L. O. and fought energetically for it. Not long before the arrest of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu we gained more militants for the Marxist-Leninist Fighting Club. This club was formerly semi-party in character and was composed mostly of members emerging from the Stalin clique. But now they fully accepted the ideas of the International Left Opposition under Trotsky's leadership and declared their allegiance

to the official Left Opposition. They were earnestly welcomed, and are now working for the Left Opposition as a new force.

Despite the blow of comrade Chen Du Hsiu's arrest the work of the Left Opposition took a step forward. More public meetings and debates on theoretical and current political problems were held. More inner discussion was carried on. More members willingly went to work in the workers' districts. More pamphlets and papers were written and distributed. Larger masses were aroused under the Opposition's program. More money was collected.

But we must recognize that this is far from enough. In every respect we must make greater efforts to catch up with the objective needs and become strong enough to correct the wrong course of the Stalinists. We are now working under tremendous physical difficulties but we are sure that "the greater the effort the less the difficulty" is true.

As to our relations with you we must say that we owe you very much and expect much more from you! The scattered copies of the Militant that we received enabled us to learn a great deal about the experiences of the International Left Opposition and lessen our mistakes.

Our organ is called the Vanguard. We have now published six issues. Besides this we have a workers' newspaper which is a weekly and a student weekly, four issues of which have been published. If you can find a Chinese comrade to translate them we will send you some copies.

—LEFT OPPOSITION OF NORTH CHINA.

Oppositionists Expelled from I.L.D.

YOUNGSTOWN.—

On December 29, four workers were admitted to the I.L.D. here in Youngstown. Three of us entered as Left Oppositionists. Our purpose as we stated at the time of our admission was to help in building up the I.L.D. as a weapon of defense against the capitalist class.

About a week ago we met the section organizer of the I.L.D. on the street. She told us that the four of us were expelled from the I.L.D. in our absence, without a hearing and an opportunity to defend ourselves before the membership. When we asked her what the charges were, she said: "Because of being renegades and counter-revolutionists." That is because we are Left Oppositionists. The fourth worker is comrade Love, a foundation member of the party in Youngstown, now sympathetic to the Lovestone group.

On Friday, January 27, we went to the general membership meeting to ask the comrades whether what the section organizer had told us was true, and to demand that we be given our rights as workers to be heard in our defense. The bureaucrats tried to get around this elementary workers' right by ruling that the I.L.D. meeting was a closed meeting and telling all those who were not members to leave. Two workers who had come to the meeting to join protested.

The membership saw the sense of their protest and our demand. Together with them we succeeded in getting the question on the agenda. At this point Rogers, section organizer of the party, left the meeting and went into the cellar.

After a discussion conducted, surprisingly enough, in a comradely spirit, we came to the vote. There were about

eighteen members present. The chairman who, as far as bureaucratic procedure is concerned has nothing to learn from John L. Lewis, counted nine votes for our expulsion. And that, as far as he was concerned, was the end of the matter. Despite our protests no vote against was taken; nor were the abstentions recorded.

The Left Opposition comrades rose and left demonstratively. Love remained declaring that he was a member of the I.L.D. and would not be expelled by such bureaucratic procedure. The bureaucrats attacked him. The noise of the fight reached us on the street. We rushed back to separate the comrades and prevent the interference of the police.

The workers in the hall were decidedly against this disgraceful scene. Their interference, however, was temporarily postponed by the sudden appearance of Rogers. He rushed in and drew a murderous wood scraper from his coat. Brandishing this he made for the Left Opposition comrades. He might have killed us had not the workers, alarmed by this lunatic, forced him to curb his lust. "Comrades of the party," he shouted, "throw them out." The workers anxious to put an end to the whole business threw us out.

But this is no solution. The workers must understand that it is not the Left Opposition that must be thrown out but the managerial bureaucrats. The Left Opposition will continue to press forward in Youngstown, as elsewhere, with the ideas of Marxism. Not all the murderous bureaucrats in the Stalinist apparatus can stifle the voice of the proletarian revolutionists. We will return to the I.L.D. and the party.

—S. F.

The "Save The Militant" Drive

To date our comrades and friends have responded to our appeals with the following amounts:

NEW YORK:

M. Beardslee	\$ 5.00
J. Cannatta	1.00
M. C.	1.00
J. P. Cannon	2.00
H. Capelis	5.00
A. Caldis	1.00
J. Carmody	1.00
D. Colay	1.00
G. Compton	2.00
F. Charles	3.00
L. Basky	2.50
B. Eckstadt	5.00
J. Gordon	5.00
M. Glee	.50
A. Katsikas	2.00
M. Kent	2.00
W. Kitt	3.50
A. Marcus	5.00
L. Miller	4.00
H. Milton	1.00
J. Marsh	.50
J. Poulos	4.00
H. Ross	1.00
A. Robin	1.00
G. Saul	4.25
M. Sterling	5.00
P. Schulman	5.00
R. Spiegala	8.00
T. Stamm	1.25
Unser Kamf	5.00
F. Victor	2.00
A. Weaver	23.00

CHICAGO:

Friends of the Militant Club	6.50
South Side Group	7.00

MINNEAPOLIS:

Minneapolis Br.	10.00
Y. R. Dunne	1.00

CLEVELAND:

Cleveland Branch	2.25
J. Keller	1.00

BOSTON:

Boston Branch	20.00
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YOUNGSTOWN:

M. Koehler	2.00
E. Krusselbrink	1.00

A Friend	1.00
PHILADELPHIA:	
C. Katz	1.00
T. Wilson	5.00
L. Goodman	1.50

KANSAS CITY:

Kansas City Branch	2.00
A. Buehler	1.00

PITTSBURGH:

A. Oklin	1.00
J. Sifakis	1.50
C. Hinich	1.00
N. Liparis	.75
S. Rubinstein	.75
P. Vornas	2.00

NEW HAVEN:

G. Duell	2.50
S. Gendelman	1.00

MISCELLANEOUS:

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Minnetola, N. J.	5.00

Total \$189.75

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The Danger of Thermidor

An Analysis of the Significance of Stalin's Latest Speech

(Continued from page 1)

says, "to buy and sell at will." From whom and to whom? To and from the one who owns the right prices, whether it be the state, a private dealer, or a foreign capitalist. The peasant strike for the freedom of internal trade leads immediately to the demand for the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade. That is the logic of the mistakes of the five year plan.

In his speech Stalin gave the summary. As to this we shall speak in a separate article. But in planned economy the statistical balance sheet corresponds to the economic balance sheet only in case the plan is correct. A plan full of mistakes, on the contrary, can compromise or even annul the greatest successes. The five year plan has brought enormous gains in technique and in production. But its economic results are extraordinarily contradictory. As far as the political balance-sheet is concerned, it shows an open and very great deficit. But politics is condensed, concentrated economy. Politics is decisive. A socialist construction, which drives a wedge between the worker and the peasant and sows dissatisfaction among the proletariat is a lying construction. No figures can change this objective estimation. The real balance is not given on the pages of the newspapers, but in the fields of the peasants, in the barns of the kolkhozes, in the warehouses of the factories, in the dining-rooms of the workers and finally, in the heads of the workers and of the peasants.

Through all its zig-zags, its delays, its forward-leaps, bureaucratic Centrism has not strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, but on the contrary, has increased the danger of Thermidor. Only onwards can fear to name this result out loud. Facts are stronger than words. In order to struggle against imperialist facts, we must call them by their right names. We must also call those responsible by their names; Stalin and his clique.

Why do we speak precisely of Thermidor? Because it is the best known and most complete historical example of a masked counter-revolution which still contains the outward forms and the ritual of the revolution, but which already changes the class content of the state. Here the clever ones will interrupt us, to show their cleverness, "In 18th century France, it was a question of a bourgeois revolution, in 20th century Russia, of a proletarian revolution; social conditions have changed considerably, the world situation has changed, etc., etc." With such commonplace, any Philistine takes on an appearance of extraordinary profundity. For us too, the difference between the October revolution and the Jacobin revolution is no mystery. But that is no reason for turning one's back on history. Lenin wrote in 1903 that the Bolsheviks are Jacobins who are inseparably bound up with the working class. At that time I replied to Lenin explaining in detail the difference between Marxist and Jacobin. My remarks, correct in themselves, completely failed of their purpose. Lenin knew well that Marxist and Jacobin are not the same thing, but it was necessary for a definite reason for him to point out the features which they have in common. Without such methods one can learn absolutely nothing from history.

In the same sense in which Lenin called the Bolsheviks the proletarian Jacobins, we can detect in the reaction against the dictatorship of the proletariat, features of Thermidor. Not every counter-revolution can be compared with Thermidor neither; Kornilov, nor Koltchak, nor Lenin, nor Wrangel had anything in common with Thermidor. In all these cases it was a question of an armed struggle of capitalists and landowners to restore their domination. This danger was repulsed by the proletarian state. Can this danger rise up again? As an independent factor—scarcely. The Russian big bourgeoisie has been destroyed to the roots. The surviving remains could appear on the stage only as the tail-end of a foreign military intervention or of Thermidor.

Of all the past counter-revolutionary movements in the Soviet Union, the Kronstadt rebellion of March 1921 is the closest to Thermidor in type. All the proletarian elements of the Kronstadt garrison had been removed during the three preceding years for the purposes of Soviet construction and the civil war; the best of them had been destroyed. On the ships and in the barracks remained only the immature, half-starved peasant elements. Many of these sailors considered themselves as Bolsheviks, but they did not want the Communists; they were for the Soviets, but without Communists. It was the rebellion of the injured, dissatisfied peasantry, which had lost its patience, against the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the petty bourgeoisie had won, it would have shown its bankruptcy the next day, and its place could only have been taken by the big bourgeoisie. Under the conditions of the present day, that is, of the 20th and not of the 18th century, years would not have been necessary for this; months, even weeks, would have sufficed. The petty bourgeois counter-revolution, which still honestly regards itself as revolution, which does not want the domination of capitalism, but inevitably prepares it—that is Thermidor.

In the Soviet Union, only the peasantry can become a Thermidorian power. For this it is necessary that it seriously separate itself from the proletariat. The destruction of the normal relation between city and village, the administrative collectivization, the compulsory expropriation of agricultural products, confront the peasantry with the Soviet state now no less sharply than in the winter of 1920-21. It is true that the prole-

tarial is now numerically much stronger; therein lies the success of industrialization. But the proletariat is completely deprived of an active, watchful Party, capable of action. The apparent Party is without a Marxist leadership. On the other hand, the peasantry has acquired an organization for resistance against the Soviet state, in the form of the kolkhozes. The abolition of the "smychka" which was beginning to be formed, threatens to break the political alliance between proletariat and peasantry. Precisely therein lies the source of the danger of Thermidor.

We must not represent the matter to ourselves in such a way, that the break must be marked by a very exact social line; on the one side the peasants, on the other, the workers. The peasant masses surround and interlock with the proletariat from all sides. In the proletariat itself there are millions who have just come from the village. Finally, the open mistakes of the policies of the leadership, the shipwreck of bureaucratic adventurism, the absence of a clear orientation, the absolute choking-off of workers democracy—all this makes even the genuine worker accessible to the pressure of petty-bourgeois ideology. therein lies the second source of danger of Thermidor.

But we also must not think that the line of fracture will have to go somewhere between the party on the one hand, and the peasantry and a part of the working class on the other. No—the line of Thermidor would inevitably have to pass through the party itself. In his will, Lenin wrote, "Our party is supported by two classes. For this reason, an upset of its stability is possible, and if no agreement between both classes can exist, the breakdown of the party is inevitable.... In such a case, no measures could prevent a split (of the party—L. J.); but I confidently expect such a possibility will prove too remote, such an event too improbable, to need to be discussed." Lenin in those days expressed the certainty that ten to twenty years of correct policy toward the peasantry would assure the victory of the proletarian revolution on the world scale. Precisely for this reason he thought—and we all did too—that the perspectives of Thermidor were not only far off, but also highly improbable.

Of the ten to twenty years indicated by Lenin, ten have already passed. On the field of the international revolution, the counter-revolution during this period has reaped only defeats. Today, in spite of the exceptionally favorable objective conditions, Communism and consequently the international revolution is weaker than at the time when Lenin wrote his will. In addition, the danger of a split between the two classes on which the dictatorship in the USSR rests, has been extraordinarily acute.

In spite of the great difficulties, there is nothing in the economic situation of the country which cannot be repaired. But something is needed to do the repairing—a party is needed. But a party in the true sense of the word does not exist. There is an organization, which formally includes millions and millions of members and candidates. Both members and candidates have no rights. In the tight limits of the party there are in fact the terrorized elements of two parties, the proletarian and the Thermidorian. Above them rises the bureaucracy. It bears the responsibility for the mistakes in economic policy, for the undermining of the "smychka". It bears a still heavier responsibility for choking the party. At the same time, as through its policy it confronts hostilely the peasantry and the state, it has politically disarmed and split up the proletariat. Not only do the workers physically wander from one factory to another, but politically too they find no permanent place.

It would be false to assume that the line of the Thermidorian split must pass between the Stalinist apparatus and the

Right wing of the party. No—it must pass through the apparatus itself. What percentage of Bessedovsky's and Agabekov's does it contain? That, even the betrayers of tomorrow do not know. All depends on the relation of forces outside of the apparatus. It needs only a sufficient blow from the petty bourgeoisie for the bureaucratic Thermidorians to recognize themselves and to leap over the wall that separates them from the class enemy. Therein lies the third source of danger of Thermidor.

But, someone from the Stalinists or their admirers will say, "Don't you see that the C. C. is preparing to purge the party of the Right wingers? Just this proves that Stalin is taking measures against Thermidor." "No", we will answer, "the bureaucratic 'purging' only facilitates the work of Thermidor." The new purging, like all those that have preceded it in the course of the past ten years, will be directed primarily against the Left Opposition, and in general against the thinking and the most critical proletarian elements. In spite of the official slogan, "The main danger is to the Right"—Rykov too repeats this formulation now—prisons and places of exile are being filled primarily with Left Oppositionists. Still, even when the blows fall on the Right wing they do not strengthen the Party but weaken it. Among the Right wing, besides the truly Thermidorian elements, there are hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, who are profound enemies of a capitalist restoration, but who demand the revision of the whole policy from the standpoint of the working masses in city and village. The program of these Right wingers is confused. They can for a time support Thermidor; but they can also support the revivification of the party by the revolutionary way. The Stalinist bureaucracy prevents them from understanding the situation. Through its "purging" it endeavors first of all to choke off critical thinking. Thereby it only strengthens the Right wing.

And who will do the purging? In Paris, Bessedovsky led the commission that "purged" Rakovsky. Let us never forget this. Since then the demoralization of the apparatus has gone further. In all the letters which we receive from the USSR, the most tragic note is this: "No one has confidence in another; everyone is afraid that a class enemy with a party card is next to him." Louder than anyone else, the careerists, the adventurers, the Bessedovskys and the Agabekovs will shout about the necessity for a purging. But who will purge the party of these purgers? Not the apparatus, but only the irreconcilable enemies of the absolutism of the apparatus.

Is the situation hopeless? Such words do not belong to our vocabulary. The struggle will decide. On the side of the proletarian revolution, there are many historical possibilities, negative ones; the dreadful decay of capitalism, the raging quarrels of the imperialists, the bankruptcy of reformism, as well as positive ones: the hardened cadres of the Bolshevik-Leninists, understanding the course of development, clear perspectives. The struggle will decide. The danger has grown and has come nearer—that is absolutely unquestionable. But the poison of Thermidor carries within itself too the elements of the antidote. The more immediate and the nearer the danger, the stronger becomes the need of resistance. The more the Stalinist bureaucracy loses its head, and the more its omnipotence proves to be only apparent power, the louder will be the demands of the advanced workers for a Bolshevik leadership.

The last speech of Stalin—we come back to this—means a turn to the Right. Every phrase of his bureaucratic boasting is only a concealed recognition of the falsehood of the whole "general line", which has brought the dictatorship nearer to Thermidor. The diseases and dangers will be treated by Stalin through a new bureaucratic zig-zag amidst redoubled bureaucratic terror. A redoubled struggle against Stalinism will be our answer.

Prinkipo, January 11, 1933

—LEON TROTSKY.

Hitler in Power; Civil War Starts

(Continued from page 1)

Hitler today is in a better position than the Hitler of several months ago. Hitler out of office has only his own forces at his disposal, the "illegal" detachments of black reaction. Hitler in office has the opportunity of strengthening the inchoate mass of demoralized petty bourgeoisie, students, and duped proletarians who compose his forces. Hitler in office has the opportunity of really creating a powerful military force. It is not yet too late to smash Hitler and Fascism—only renegades and scoundrels will speak that way to the still undetected working class of Germany. The decisive battle is still ahead. But it is now clear beyond dispute that the warnings of the International Left Opposition, the demand it made that Hitlerism be smashed before it reached the seats of power—were justified a thousand times over. Had the slogan of the Left Opposition for a genuine united front of the Communists, socialists and the trade unions, been realized in life at the right time, many, many months ago, the Fascist monster would have been crushed like an eggshell and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat would have been far ahead on the road to victory.

Who bears the responsibility for the rise to power of Fascism? It is high time to draw the balance sheet and draw it completely.

Above all and in the first place, the leadership of the yellow social democracy. The course embarked upon in August 1914 has been crowned with the triumph of Hitlerism. It is the social democracy which first turned the masses into the slaughter house of the world war in the name of the imperialist fatherland. It is the social democracy, which defended the monarchy until the last moment, when Scheidemann proclaimed the republic from the balcony of the Reichstag only in order to restrain the forces of the social revolution. It is the social democracy which sent Noske to Kiel to prevent the insurrectionary sailors from proclaiming the Red republic. It is in the name of the social democracy that Noske the Bloodhound martyred the Berlin working class during the heroic days of the Spartacist uprising in 1919. It is the social democracy which sent Goering to slaughter the workers of Central Germany in 1921. It is the social democracy which joined with the reaction in 1923 to strangle the rising revolutionary movement in Saxony and Thuringia.

It is the social democracy which dragged its followers down to the lowest depths of degradation, giving active or "tolerant" support to one reactionary regime after another. It is the social democracy which made possible Brüning of the Emergency Decrees. It is the social democracy which dragged the workers into the shameful policy of the "lesser evil", during which it seated in the presidential chair the present patron of Hitler—Paul von Hindenburg, generalissimo of the Kaiser's imperial armies during the war, and candidate of the social democratic "Iron Front", "bulwark of the Republic against Fascism" in 1931.

At every stage of its development in the past years, the social democracy paved the road for the march to power of Fascism, by dividing the ranks of the working class, by tying it to the chariot of the bourgeoisie, by bringing demoralization and confusion into the proletariat, by weakening it physically and morally so that its power of resistance to Fascism was appreciably lessened. Hitler will reward it for its services with the same contemptuous kick which its Italian colleagues received from Mussolini for their equally invaluable services to Fascism.

Stalinist Blunders

But the social democracy has not been the only force in the ranks of the proletariat that has served the interests of Fascism. It must be said straight out that without the criminal blundering of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International and of the German Com-

Fate of World Revolution in Balance

munist Party, the Fascist hordes would not today be in the favorable position they actually occupy. The party had the matchless opportunity of mobilizing the masses of the German proletariat around the militant banner of the class struggle. It stubbornly refused to seize the opportunity. The Left Opposition was the very first to sound the alarm signal that Fascism threatened, that it had to be crushed by the united front of all the workers' organizations. We demanded that the Communist party initiate the movement for a real united front of all the workers to smash the Brown Shirts. Our demands fell on the deaf ears of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The latter operated on the theory of the "third period" and "social Fascism". No better assistance could have been offered to the Fascists on the one hand, and the Social democratic leaders on the other. Instead of building a solid front with their class brothers in the social democracy, the Communists were forced by the Stalinist leadership to enter into an indecent nationalistic competition with the Nazis.

The party reconstructed its program to read a "program of national and social emancipation". It allowed itself to be poisoned by the "national-Bolshevism" and anti-Semitism of the Lieutenant Scherfingers. It alienated itself from the socialist masses by its criminal support of the Fascist referendum in Prussia. While the Fascists were gaining victory after victory, the party confined itself to the sterile ultimatum policy of demanding that the socialist workers concede in advance the leadership of the Communist party or else there would be no united front. The minds of the class conscious militants were hopelessly befuddled by the irresponsible Stalinist declarations that the Brüning regime was already the victory of Fascism, then, that the von Papen regime and finally the von Schleicher regime, were all the rule of the Fascism. In this manner, the vigilance of the proletariat was relaxed, its attention was diverted from the real danger, its strength was not mobilized and consolidated. When the elections showed a momentary decline of Fascism several months ago, the bureaucracy became intoxicated with its purely parliamentary successes and the parliamentary decline of the Nazis, and announced with smug self-contentment that the acute Fascist danger was at an end. The parliamentary crisis in the Stalinist ranks did not, in this case, rise above the level of their socialist brothers-under-the-skin.

The Maryland Leader, socialist organ, proclaimed in its headlines in November: "Hitler Through in Germany". The Stalinist press rang with the same refrain. At that time we warned the bureaucratic optimists in the columns of the Militant (November 12, 1932) not to "roar with vicarious pride over the party's gains in Germany as if the loss of two million Fascist votes and almost a million socialist votes had settled the whole problem". We emphasized how erroneous was the idea "that the Fascist danger to the German proletariat is now eliminated or even definitely on the decline. Such a conclusion can be drawn only by those for whom the class struggle begins at the ballot box and ends with a parliamentary mandate".

Unbelievable as it might appear, the Daily Worker, as late as last Monday, that is, on the very day of Hitler's appointment to the Chancellorship, declared that "the tactics pursued by von Schleicher of splitting the Hitler party, have also caused widespread disintegration in the ranks of the National Socialist party, with several of Hitler's chief lieutenants breaking away from their allegiance to him" (Our emphasis). Both Schleicher and von Papen did indeed negotiate with some of Hitler's lieuten-

ants, but only in the hope of drawing Hitler into a cabinet in an entirely subordinated position. Hitler was too wise to fall into the snare, and that is why all the "breaking away" of some lieutenants had no appreciable significance. The Daily Worker merely mistook Hitler's strength, his plan of campaign for the taking over of the government, for the "widespread disintegration" of Fascism! This is the way in which the Stalinists put the masses on the alert against the Fascist danger. This is how they refuted the thousand-times-over corroborated analyses of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition!

The news dispatches, which are so annoyingly inadequate and unclear, declare that the Communist and social democratic parties have formed a united front in Berlin, with eight socialists and seven Communists on the Committee of Action to resist Hitlerism; also, that the Communist party has issued the call for a general strike. It is still too early to comment on the exact nature or significance of these reports, for the superfluity and unreliability of the bourgeois press is only too well known.

United Front Imperative
But it is not too early to declare that unless a genuine united front of the Communist party, the social democracy, the socialist trade unions, the Reichsbanner and the Communist Red Front Fighters, is immediately formed, unless the Communists immediately take the initiative in calling for this united front and compel the social democratic leaders to enter into it—the results will be catastrophic not only for the German working class, but for the working class movement of the whole world, for the Communist International, and the Soviet Union!

A crushing defeat for the working class of Germany means a crushing defeat of the Communist party, for it is the first organization against which the attacks of the brigands of Hitler's shock troop detachments—assisted by the armed forces of the state—will be directed. A mortal blow at the German Communist Party, means the breaking of the backbone of the Communist International, and for this calamity we declare that the Stalinist leadership of the International will have been primarily responsible. A lasting triumph of Fascism in Germany, furthermore, is inconceivable without an armed attack upon the Soviet Union. Fascism in Germany can maintain itself in the face of chauvinist France only if it becomes the vanguard of the imperialist intervention against the arch-enemy of imperialism—the Soviet Union. The consequences of a Fascist triumph are thus, it is easy to see, of far-reaching historical import for the whole ensuing period.

That is why the Left Opposition cries out today more loudly than ever: The Communist International must speak out in the language of Lenin, in defense of the international proletarian revolution, in defense of the German working class. It must speak out for the mobilization of the world proletariat to crush the monster of Fascism in Germany. It must speak out to say how this is to be done, for it can be done successfully in only one way: by the establishment of a Leninist united front of the whole German proletariat.

To smash Fascism is an obligation and task of the workers everywhere. Upon the class conscious militants and the Communist workers in this country, devolves the solemn duty of joining with the Left Opposition to force that turn in party policy which is now so absolutely imperative, without which the worst calamities are ahead. Our call to the party to form the united front to smash Fascism before it took the governmental helm—was not heeded, and the proletariat in Germany and the rest of the world has been set back accordingly. Today again we repeat: It is not too late! But the time to act is now!

The fate of the German working class, of the Communist International, of the Soviet Union, of the world revolution, hangs in the balance!

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Shall the Revolutionary Students Be Organized Into Separate Movements

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

The existence for some time now of the National Students League in the United States, organized through the instrumentality of the Communist party and YCL, requires from the Left Opposition a fundamental statement of its attitude toward the NSL. Can the Communists stand by quietly when there is formed an independent students' organization, with its own programmatic policy? Moreover, can Communists assist in, and be responsible for, the formation of such independent student organizations?

The recent activities of the NSL and its assumption of various roles in the class struggle bring this question sharply to the forefront and demand a clear enunciation of policy on our part. The organization recently of the Students League of Canada only adds to the need for clarification on the question. The writer presents his views here in sketchy form in order to initiate a discussion which will speed the adoption of a position by the Left Opposition. Communists in principle, must oppose, in our opinion, the formation of an independent or separate organization of either the students or the intellectuals. This position, which has been the principle position of the Communists and the Young Communist International in theses adopted at the second congress of the Y. C. L., requires no revision today.

Role of Students

The students have no independent role

to play in society and require no separate organization. The division of the students may be roughly made into rich, middle class or petty-bourgeois and proletarian students. Even so, the particular social, economic and political positions of these groupings in society negate any idea that these groups can have an independent role in the class struggle as student groups. Our concern here is mainly with the proletarian students who have historically no interests separate and apart from the industrial proletariat, from the working class as such. The proletarian students to be at all effective in the labor movement, must link themselves organizationally and politically with the vanguard of the revolutionary movement—the Communist party and the YCL, and conduct such activities as they are able to on a Communist program. The Communist student would necessarily, therefore, direct his energies primarily among the proletarian students.

The matter becomes even clearer when it is seen that the National Students League and the Students League of Canada are not formed on the basis of a "broad" student organization which supposedly might appeal to all classes of students for the preservation of student rights and needs on the campus, or conduct "general propaganda" and education for liberal, socialist or revolutionary ideas. Both Student Leagues, on the contrary, recognize the weakness of such

a position and make their appeal on a "revolutionary" or even "Communist" basis. In fact, they regard themselves as Communist student organizations. The Spark, official organ of the Students League of Canada, is most clear and explicit on the matter of the character of its appeal to the student body. In the issue of December 1932, the Spark editorially says:

"...The majority of students...are not members of the proletariat, even though a good many come from working class homes. Because of this fact Marxism, however logical, can have no appeal to most university students for it is inimical to the interests of their class. Accordingly, the Students League has no illusions regarding the student body as a whole.... We only aim to attract the small number of students who see an identity between their interests and those of the working class and who are, therefore, willing to take an active part in the working class movement. After all, a few active members are far more valuable than a passive recognition of the validity of our views from the majority of the student body—and again on this latter score we have no illusions." (Our emphasis).

What the Spark says is correct. But if there is this identity of interests between the students minority, that is, the proletarian students and the workers, then why a separate organization? What are those special tasks of so-called revolutionary or Communist student organizations which cannot better and more correctly be performed in the revolutionary political organization of the youth—the Young Communist League? In

our opinion, none; and such an independent student organization can only lead to confusion and malpractices in the revolutionary movement, and bring about just the opposite results from those intended, as will be shown.

The Communist Left Opposition particularly has every reason to reject the organization of separate students organizations. The Left Opposition, in its condemnation of the Stalinists, has stated often, and correctly, its opposition in principle to the creation of so-called "anti-imperialist" Leagues, "peasants' parties," "workers and peasants parties," labor or Farmer-Labor parties, etc., etc. We condemn the formation of these bodies on the ground that they usurp, or attempt to, the role legitimately and necessarily belonging to the Communist party, and, further, that every concession to the formation and activity of such organizations brings successive betrayals of the working class, emasculates and caricatures the revolutionary position, and weakens or destroys the Communist party or YCL. In short, the theoretical position of the Left Opposition, based on historical experiences, refuses to attribute an independent or revolutionary role to such hodge-podge bodies. Our attitude toward the NSL and the Students League of Canada must flow clearly from our fundamental position to analogous organizations in other fields. In the case of an independent students organization, the issue is even plainer.

The Left Opposition contends that the role of a "peasants' party," an "anti-imperialist League," a "four class Kuo Min Tang," a Labor party, etc., proves in every case to be false to, a betrayal of,

and reactionary in relation to the working class as a whole, and also, thereby, to the Communists and their organizations, the C. P. and YCL. In such cases, where "independent" organizations like the NSL pretend to a "revolutionary", even Communist position, they place themselves directly in the road of the genuine revolutionization of the proletarian students who, if they accept the revolutionary, the Communist position, should join the organization of their class, the YCL, and function actively therein in their allotted tasks. Wittingly or otherwise, the "revolutionary" position of the NSL, sponsored and organized by the YCL, actually forms a bulwark against—and not a bridge to—students joining the YCL. Yet what is demanded of them in the way of profession of belief and activity in the NSL that is not demanded of them in the YCL—minus the discipline required of a member of the YCL? Little or nothing, under ordinary circumstances.

It is demonstrated, not merely in theory but by numerous practices, that when the students or intellectuals undertake tasks, in lieu of no objection by others, which are not theirs historically and which they cannot properly execute—they bungle the job badly, confuse and mislead the workers, ignore the revolutionary position and, by default, usurp the role which only a C. P. or YCL can undertake. They are not to blame, since no one says they may, and, worse yet, the Communists themselves urge them on in their false steps.

MARTIN ABBERN.

(To be continued)

How Far Will The Stalinists Go?

Close observation of the recent zig-zags in the party's united front policy would lead one to draw one of the following conclusions: 1. That the Stalinists have set themselves the task of deviating the united front tactic; 2. That the mad zig-zag results from utter confusion; 3. That they are caught in the contradiction of a fundamentally wrong course hitherto pursued. Discounting the first which would be true only if Stalinism had already severed its weak bonds with the working class one must accept the second and third explanation.

We, in Chicago, are rather fortunate in having been able to watch and in some cases participate in every shade of united front conference, from the ultra-Left sectarian, vest-pocket, united front "from below" species, to the ultra-Right opportunist policy in the present aldermanic election campaign. But our good fortune lies, perhaps, after all in being able to participate in the genuine united front movement which defeated the threatened 50 percent cut in unemployed relief.

The Change in Chicago

The Oct. 16th conference marked the first faltering step of the party, away from the "below" policy. Suddenly, out of the clear sky, amid the loud chanting of ultra-Left hymns "from below", the party found itself faced with the dilemma of either participating in the united front movement together with other ORGANIZATIONS and thus deviate from the line thus far followed, or boycott the impending united front of the Workers' League and the Workers' Committee and thus disgrace itself completely. It wisely chose to participate and later tried to justify itself by a process of rationalization. All at once the Stalinists decided to run the risk of staining their simon purity and sat at the same table with reformist leaders whom it had a moment ago stigmatized as "social-fascists". The victory won by this unity of action proved the correctness of the Left Opposition's position on the united front. But in no way can the success of the united front be credited to the party. The fact is that the party leaders were forced into the united front in the same way as were the socialist leaders. And it must also be remembered that if anyone came near wrecking the Conference, it was none other than the party's representative, Williamson, with his provocative speech, previously commented on in the Militant.

So great was the force of this united front that it shook the party out of its political lethargy and resulted in the Verblin-Williamson polemic in the December Communist. For the first time in years, were the pages of the Communist invaded by heterodox opinion. Verblin actually succeeded in setting forth his views which, while not drawing 100 percent political conclusions, nevertheless presented an essentially correct position on the united front. While Williamson and other party sages labored to refute Verblin and justify their own position,

The Swing to Opportunism in Chicago

The customary fervor was noticeably lacking. Certainly the "Leninist leadership" could not afford to have its infallibility questioned. Self-preservation still remains the first law of nature, politically as well as biologically.

Subsequent events seem to point however to the possibility that the first step away from the "below" policy in Chicago has resulted in a national turn. The recent call for a united front in New York seems to point in that direction. It is quite possible that the Stalinists have decided to scrap at least part of the "below" policy secretly and without the knowledge of the party membership and start a turn to the Right. If this be so then we have much to fear. Under the Stalinist leadership the party proceeds in its turns in a very similar fashion to that of the proverbial drunken sailor who, in attempting to make progress, reels and staggers from the wall on the one side of the road to the ditch on the other. The results of the 1928-29 turn are still fresh in our minds. There is no telling to what opportunist extremes the present Right turn will carry the party. In this respect recent experiences in Chicago are rather indicative.

Students Congress against War

That the "anti-war" adventure would turn out to be a great farce was evident from the start. In sheer despair over the utter impossibility of creating a single "below" united front, the International Stalinist leadership conceived the Amsterdam substitute which no sooner flickered up than it went up in smoke; but not before begetting the Chicago miscarriage in the form of the Student Congress. Engineered by the young Stalinists, this Congress carefully segregated the students from the working class youth. The YCL, with its formally "Communist" anti-war program was very conspicuous by not having even a single delegate, in spite of the fact that it was the YCL that really organized the whole thing. Instead they preferred to masquerade behind the Students League which, proceeding along pacifist lines to the last moment, was planning to organize a permanent anti-war organization using the Anti-Imperialist League as a model.

The intervention of the Left Opposition youth was the intervention of the subjective factor which prevented downright degeneration into pacifism and forced the adoption of a formally "correct" though still treacherously ambiguous resolution in the end. But our intervention was insufficient to make something decisive out of this Congress. In their haste to record another paper achievement, the young Stalinists and the old ones to for that matter, forgot to do a very simple thing: they com-

pletely forgot to raise a concrete issue for the united front. They came to the congress to work out an anti-war PROGRAM with the socialists and pacifists. The result of course was that no unity was achieved on any point. Like its deceased progenitor, this Congress gave up its ghost as soon as the last session was adjourned. The silence of the Stalinist press on the "achievements" of this Congress, is more eloquent than any words in proving their disappointment in the whole affair. From our standpoint, quick death is the best thing that could happen to an unnatural monstrosity of this sort.

The Aldermanic Elections

Having stumbled over the anti-war fiasco on the Right, does not seem to have dampened their spirits. On the contrary Stalinism in Chicago continues to career madly further to the Right, plunging into the swamp of opportunism up to the neck. Bourgeoisie tradition would have it, that in Chicago, Aldermanic candidates do not run on party tickets. In actual practice this is of course not followed and all candidates are supported by one party or the other. But suddenly the Communist party has voluntarily become the dupe of this parliamentary subterfuge.

Instead of running candidates on its own ticket in the various wards, the party has resorted to other measures. United front conference were called in some wards by some mysterious "united front of workingmen's organization" and anonymously in other wards to nominate a "workers' candidate". At these conferences, any worker regardless of his organizational affiliation who agrees to the proposed platform and received the majority of the votes of the delegates present, would stand as the candidate that the party would support. Unfortunately the platform consists entirely of minimum immediate demands on which a Socialist or any bourgeois demagogue could run just as well as a Communist.

In one ward on the South Side this almost came to pass. It happened that a bank clerk of a decidedly bourgeois turn of mind almost received the nomination. Had that happened, the Communist party would either have had to keep its promise and support a bourgeois candidate or break its "pledge" and place a Communist rival in the field. One may well shudder at the consequences of a consistent policy flowing from the party's premise.

Moreover, the policy seems to be to hide the face of the party as much as possible in the present campaign. In this connection, the following anecdote, related to the writer by a party sympathizer is of interest. This sympathizer was one night visited by a comrade which requested him to sign a petition for a "workers' candidate" for alderman. Upon inquiry as to the party affiliation of the candidate, the committee replied that he was not connected

with any political party. Asked specifically whether this candidate was a Communist, the committee emphatically denied it. Whereupon this sympathizer refused to give his signature. The following night another committee came to see him about signing for the same candidate. They behaved in exactly the same manner as the first committee, and again did not receive the man's signature. Only after inquiry among party members of his acquaintance, was the secret finally divulged to this man that the candidate is a Communist.

To such depths of parliamentary opportunism has the Stalinist leadership dragged the party—to a united Labor ticket forsooth. In vain it seems, did the Second Congress of the C. I. elaborate a thesis on Communist parliamentary tactics. In vain all the writings of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht against the parliamentary opportunism of the Second International. It is all lost on the Stalinists.

But after all the present tactics in Chicago differ from the tactics in the presidential election campaign only in degree. Whereas in the presidential elections the revolutionary aim of the party were carefully avoided and all emphasis laid on six badly chosen reformist demands; the Chicago campaign has gone to the extent of avoiding the open and clear mention of the party. And having gone to the limit to this extent, who knows where they will stop?

All the greater is the responsibility of the Left Opposition at this moment. All the greater must be our efforts to swing back the party to the correct path. A gigantic task no doubt. The coarse mocking voice of Stalin at the 15th Congress is heard across the years: "Just imagine a small boat which can hardly float on the surface of the sea... and imagine a splendid steamer which majestically cuts through the waves and advances with full confidence. What would you say if this small boat should come to save this huge steamer?" Laughter greeted this asinine humor. Laughter of officials who had ignorantly and bureaucratically sent away the trained helmsmen and navigators in a small boat together with the charts and compass. And this in the name of the passengers' interests. The "advance with full confidence" has now become a blind drift towards dangerous shoals. Only the intervention of the "small boat" can prevent political disaster on the reefs of opportunism.

Chicago, Ill. —N. SATIE.

THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

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Vol. 6, No. 5 Whole No. 152
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1933

Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

(Continued from last issue)

We pointed out that it was impossible for the students to play any independent role, but that it must lend its support to the revolutionary workers. This statement made a good impression upon the Communist delegates and threw the leaders of the congress into a state of horror. The corridor remarks on the "activity of the god-damn Trotskyites" began. The Stalinists considered giving the Opposition delegates the bum's rush out of the congress. We have no doubt as to the discomfort of the Stalinists. Our presence was unquestionably a thorn in their side and they would have preferred to refuse us admission. But in attempting to make the congress extremely broad (it could hardly have been broader) they could not very well raise the question of the admission of Oppositionists without at once causing a struggle on the floor. The Opposition was represented by thirteen regular delegates, (three sympathizers who were regular delegates) and four alternate delegates. This small group was the clearest political section of the congress.

The first act of the Opposition caucus was a proposal made to the NSL and the YCL for a joint caucus of the Left wing delegates to agree upon policy and present a united action against pacifism and socialism in the congress. Our aim was to fight for the acceptance of a Communist position on the part of the NSL delegates first and then to propose such a policy for adoption by the congress. Our proposal for a joint Left wing caucus was rejected by the Stalinists on the excuse that "it was decided not to hold any caucuses. This congress will not be run by any caucuses!" Actually of course, the refusal was because they would have nothing to do with the Opposition.

The congress divided into groupings at once (as if this was unavoidable). The outstanding tendencies were represented by Communism, socialism and pacifism. At times the struggle between these tendencies were extremely sharp, toward the close of the congress threatening on split. The important day of the congress was the second and final day, since at this session actual resolutions, program and organization would take place. The Opposition caucus in session the night before prepared a general resolution (See Militant No. 2, Vol. 6) on the struggle against war and appended to it one on the defense of the Soviet Union. We reiterated our position as embodied in the statements and added to it the practical proposals also. This resolution was presented to the resolutions committee.

The most important session of the congress was the report of the resolutions committee. Here the congress was presented with a number of minor resolutions that carried without any difficulties. Because no resolutions were prepared in advance, no program was worked up prior to the congress; all of that was done on the congress floor in the midst of the session. At this session the resolutions were run off the mimeograph and discussed simultaneously. With such organization no serious discussion could be held. A resolution supporting the pledge of Amsterdam carried. The Opposition delegates did not vote on this in line with the general position of the Opposition at Amsterdam. Similarly with the resolution on practical activity, we were prepared at a genuine conference to propose a minimum program of activity. For this congress our chief aim was to get the congress to adopt a correct resolution and to recognize that by itself it could do nothing; that it must follow the working class and adopt a program in accordance with revolutionary principles. There is no other way out on the question of war. That is why our resolution stress-

ed fundamentals above all. The surprise of the congress came with the presentation of the main resolution. This resolution, coming upon the pre-congress preparations, the attitude of the leaders of the congress, the early sessions of the congress, was a complete surprise because it marked a decisive change in the right direction. It must be said that in general (we are not concerned at the moment with the practical points contained at the end of the resolution upon which the opposition did not vote) this resolution was correct. It was correct in analyzing the question of war as the product of capitalism, the solution of which will come with the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society. It was correct in establishing (for the first time) that the students could not play an independent role but must join hands with the working class; it stressed the need of the defense of the Soviet Union; it came out against a permanent organization. The question immediately arises: how is it that the resolution was written in this manner, one which marked a complete right about face? I believe that the NSL was dominated by two factors: had the delegation of the pacifists and socialist been larger or equal to the Communist delegation the resolution would have conformed with the pre-congress preparations, it would have been an opportunist one. But in view of the overwhelming delegation of Communists and Communist sympathizers, the organizers of the congress felt at ease in the presentation of a revolutionary position. In addition, the Left Opposition, which had its material in the hands of all the delegates and put pressure upon the Communists, was a strong factor.

The efforts of the leaders of the NSL to laugh off the influence of the Opposition fails miserably when it is recalled how insistent they were in making clear that no resolutions were prepared beforehand, and in defending the whole pre-congress period. One must read the main resolution of the congress alongside a copy of the Opposition resolution to see how on the political questions, the similarity is marked. We insist that the resolutions committee which had no resolution of its own, plagiarized the resolution of the Opposition which was not read to the congress. The resolution did not contain every point of the Opposition resolution, but the main ones were present in it. Because of the manner in which the congress was proceeding the Opposition delegates felt that it was well-nigh impossible to read our resolution from the floor, and because of similarity of the main political views expressed in the congress resolution it was decided to withhold the struggle from the floor. However, several amendments were made by us. Our amendment to include unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in the main resolution was defeated primarily through the active intervention of the YCL delegates who feared that this would create unnecessary schisms in the congress. But a lengthy amendment presented by one of the Canadian delegates (Canadian Students League) taken from the resolution of the Opposition (See Militant, No. 2, Vol. 6, "The present world crisis... who alone can overthrow capitalism") was accepted by the congress. On the resolution calling for the recognition of the Soviet Union, an amendment introduced by an Opposition delegate for the issuance of the slogan of "economic collaboration with and the extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union" was rejected, once again, by the interference of the YCL delegates (the YCL delegates referred to, represented the National Students League).

(To be continued)
—ALBERT GLOTZER.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

It is a far cry from the peaceful, agitational phase of the Japanese labor movement at the time of the Russo-Japanese War to the necessarily stern and virile movement of the present time. At that time the Japanese Social Democrats wrote their famous greetings to the Russian comrades despite the reality of the imperialist war into which both governments had plunged the two nations. The Japanese workers, struggling against nationalist jingoism and capitalist imperialism, understood clearly the international aspect of their movement. Yet they had not advanced beyond the stage where they could say: "We are neither nihilists nor terrorists, but we are Social Democrats. We object absolutely to using military force in our fighting. We have to fight by peaceful means, by reason and speech." Lenin replied to these historic greetings in Iskra and his words stand out today, the day of open violence and organized terror against the Japanese workers, in startling boldness and with striking applicability: "Amid the jingoistic chorus of both countries, their voice sounds as a herald from that better world, which, though it exists today only in the mind of the class-conscious proletariat, will become a reality tomorrow. We do not know when that 'tomorrow' will come. But we, the Social Democrats the world over, are all working to bring it nearer and nearer. We are digging a grave for the miserable today—the present social order. We are organizing the forces which will finally bury it. Force against force, violence against violence! And in saying this we speak neither as nihilists, nor as terrorists... What is important for us is the feeling of solidarity, which the Japanese comrades have expressed in their message to us. We send them a hearty greeting. Down with militarism! Hail to the international social democracy!"

THE EPOCH OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

Ours is a stormy epoch, an epoch of profound upheavals. Capitalist civilization, its contradictions laid bare before the entire world, its component parts warring against each other, is bankrupt and threatens chaos unless the vanguard of the workers leads the proletariat along the only road out. But leadership is not a mechanical process, it is dynamic and creative and, after clear-

sighted analysis of each situation, it must carefully choose the proper weapons for the struggle.

THE GREAT OBSTACLE

The vanguard must know above all how to unite and rally the workers for the march to power. This road remains blocked and impassable so long as the majority of the working class remain under the deadening influence of the reformists and opportunists. Mere denouncing of these misleaders as social fascists, not only does not accomplish anything, but tends to alienate the masses still under the yoke of the reformists. Surely the Japanese Communists, the vanguard of a movement that has from the first shown itself sensitive to the bitter lessons of the international proletariat, have learned from the experience in China with Chiang Kai-Shek, the need for a separate, unified Communist party. But surely also they have learned from a study of the German situation for the past several years, the danger of alienating themselves from the masses, the aid given to the reformist leaders by the Stalinist blunders in united front tactics. In Japan the acuteness of the crisis, the crushing of workers and peasants under the heels of the imperialists, offers an unexampled opportunity to unite the workers in struggle. As in every country, the immediate demands must be for relief for the unemployed and the starving, then the workers must be rallied together to demand unemployment insurance. But particularly in Japan, the struggle for bread can be linked directly with the struggle for peace, against militarism. The workers and peasants starve while the government wastes huge sums to maintain an army of conquest. Remember the rice riots!

SPECIAL TASKS OF THE

JAPANESE PARTY

The Japanese face the task, as in no other country, of liberating women through organization, first in unions, then in the Party. Young girls and women form the majority of factory workers, the overwhelming majority of textile workers, Japanese women, like all women of the East, have been kept in virtual slavery in the home as well as in the shops and factories. There has been the duty of unquestioning obedience. It is of utmost significance that divorces in Japan are three times as great in number as in America, the

classic land of divorce. The reason for this is the wretched position of the woman in the home. Signs are not lacking that the working women of Japan are learning to throw in their lot with that of the organized workers. But organization of women kept in dormitories is necessarily difficult. All unions can surely be united in the fight against this vicious system which has actually been utilized on occasion to starve women into subjection where they have had the courage to strike.

THE ETA

The second special task of the Communists is to secure the cooperation of the outcaste Etas of Japan. The three million or so Etas have an organization of their own, the Suiseisha or Equality Society. This society with its 200,000 members played an important role in organizing the first labor party. The Etas, rough toilers, not afraid of violence, took a most active part in the rice riots of 1918. They live in separate villages generally shunned by the forces of law and order. The Communists must see to it that these sturdy outcasts are not misled into dissipating their energy entirely in a fight for social equality, important as such a fight is. The Etas are inevitably part of the working class and must be taught the importance of struggling for the interests of the entire working class. At the same time the other workers must prove their willingness to accept the Etas into their organizations on an equal footing.

THE ARMY

Conscription makes of the Japanese army essentially a peasant army with a peasant psychology. The army is at the same time the strength and the weakness of Japanese imperialism. The peasants are not suddenly metamorphosed in the army; they remain the potential rebellion. They cannot help but wonder at the contrast between the misery and starvation in the homes they have just left, and the care taken of their health and "welfare" in the army. As cannon-fodder they are evidently worth far more than as toilers on the land.

The army is the armed peasantry and workers. It is in this sense that Communists must propagandize the army, bringing home the meaning of the contrasts between civilian and military life, showing that the starvation at home is the direct result of the use of the army abroad. The Chinese comrades have in this respect a duty whose fulfillment may prove decisive. They must aid their Japanese comrades to spread Communist propaganda among the troops. It may well be that if the next phase of the Chinese revolution, resulting from the Japanese aggression, once more brings the Chinese proletariat in the arena of struggle. The red heat of the Chinese revolution will communicate its intensity to the Japanese army.

The soldier workers and peasants must be forewarned particularly against their use as tools to set up a Bonaparte to stave off the revolution. The military clan in Japan, the dictators to both the Emperor and the Shadow government ever since the Restoration, is ready to proclaim army rule at a moment's notice. The generals are not lacking in Bonapartist aspirations. The Machiavellian role of the military clique in keeping workers and peasants under the heavy yoke of exploitation by using a special (armed) part of the working class and peasantry, must be emphasized in soldier propaganda. Not Fascism is the danger in Japan but Bonapartism (military "mediation" between the classes) due to the special historic status of the generals. Bourgeois democracy has never been established in reality and hence need not be swept aside.

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION.

It is unthinkable that the present crisis in Japan can pass without profound changes. It is the extreme instability of Japanese economy that forces the army into Manchuria in search of desperate remedies. The war of conquest threatens to precipitate world war at any moment, on the one hand with the U. S., on the other with the USSR. To the revolutionist, it is utterly out of the question to think of helping to precipitate an imperialist war (between the U. S. and Japan) in order to avoid an attack on the Soviet Union, as has been in the minds of some. Just as inconceivable is it to think of any alliance between the U. S. and the USSR against Japan. Imperialism must be fought on all fronts, more especially on the home front. And if war nevertheless results, the Japanese workers long ago set an example of solidarity for all the world (of workers) to follow.

The revolutionary war out is only through the proletarian revolution. In Japan the situation is a rapidly-changing one. Under mass pressure, the capitalists, to save their own skins, may attempt to lead the workers and peasants against the militarists. The Communist must know in advance how to act in such an eventuality. If the capitalists are permitted to place themselves undisturbed at the head of the peasants, the revolution is doomed to failure. The Communists at the head of the proletariat must teach the peasants to carry out in actuality their real demands—to seize the land, to refuse to pay rents, to repudiate debts—and thus assure the "drone" phase of the revolution. But the proletariat must not stop there. It must, with the aid of the poor, overburdened petty bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international proletariat, beginning with the Russians, must help in this tremendous task.

THE END.

Pioneer Publishing Fund

This is a period of abrupt turns, says comrade Trotsky in the "Strategy". That is true in our publishing plans too. We were driving along the road of getting Soviet Economy out next. Now comes the German developments. The line of march must be changed. First on the agenda stands "The Only Road". All efforts now must be bent to get it out without delay. Already we have waited too long. That is not because of choice. Money was lacking. But in view of the burning urgency of the German situation the money must be raised. And it must be raised at once.

\$50 is the sum necessary. And it must be raised in the shortest possible time. Not next month, or at some vague future time but now! It is our duty to influence the course of the party in this desperate situation. We must act with decision and speed. That is why we ask that all our comrades and sympathizers make the necessary sacrifice to get the book out quickly.

Let the donations pour in. Let them take whatever size and form our comrades can manage. But let them come quickly. Speed is vital. Act quickly. Send funds to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Militant Builders

THE COPENHAGEN SPEECH

Do you know that the issue containing comrade Trotsky's speech to the social democratic students at Copenhagen was a political sensation? Requests for additional copies are coming in. We want to inform our comrades here that we under-

stand well the burning desire on the part of everyone who reads it to have every one else read it too. That will have to wait now until we get it out in pamphlet form. There are no more of the issue left.

But what is important at the moment now is: what have you done using the opportunity this speech created to get subs on the club plan? Not enough, according to the results that have come to hand. Lack of space forbids us from sermonizing on this theme. Let the records below speak for themselves. Cities and comrades who have improved their records are noted in bold type.

THE RECORD BY CITIES:

NEW YORK	65
Chicago	36
Minneapolis	22
PITTSBURGH	20
Philadelphia	15
Montreal	15
Toronto	10
Boston	10
New Castle, Pa.	8
Youngstown	8
Lynn, Mass.	5
St. Bend, Ind.	5
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain a report by comrade Cannon of the Gillespie conference of trade unions. Comrade Cannon was the principal speaker at the conference and a mass meeting which followed it.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

VOLUME VI, NO. 6 [WHOLE NO. 153]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

Why Is the Comintern Silent on Germany?

The Militant to Appear Three Times A Week During Drive!

The National Committee Issues A Call to Action to All!

CALL TO ACTION
To all branches, members, and supporters
of the Left Opposition.

Dear Comrades:
CONCENTRATE ALL ACTIVITY ON
THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN OF
THE LEAGUE!

The League is reacting to the German crisis with the greatest campaign in its history. It is precisely at the moment of sharp turns and world-shaking events, when the Centrist bureaucracy reveals its impotence and bankruptcy, that the Left Opposition must show its political initiative, its boldness, and its capacity to multiply its activities many fold. From this point of view the National Committee has already taken a number of decisive steps which are shaking the Communist movement in New York to its foundations.

The first of these actions, and the pivotal point of our campaign, is the decision to publish the MILITANT during the next month THREE TIMES A WEEK!

This decision was made with the greatest deliberation and sobriety and will be carried out in life. It is not a bluff or an empty gesture, and must in no case be so regarded by a single member of the organization. At the time of making the decision we had no money on hand—not a penny, in fact; nothing but pressing bills and obligations. Our resources for the execution of this ambitious plan consist exclusively in the burning world importance of the German crisis and the movement we shall create on the basis of that issue. That is enough.

The correctness of our decision from a practical as well as from a political standpoint was confirmed to the hilt at the magnificent mass meeting of the Left Opposition in New York Sunday. Never since the days following the Russian Bolshevik revolution has New York seen such a meeting—such unrestrained enthusiasm, such a stormy assertion of the spirit of proletarian internationalism. And what is no less significant—one could see by the size of the splendid audience, by its fervid demonstration of support of our campaign, how quickly the Left Opposition, if it acts boldly at the moment of great happenings, can bound forward and rally the Communist workers around its banner. The financial contributions alone—five and ten dol-

lar bills in the fourth year of the crisis!—registered a spirit of sacrifice that stops at nothing; a spirit that has not been seen in the years of Stalinist degeneration.

This glorious beginning of our great campaign filled us all with unbounded confidence that we can carry it through and fulfill our international duty in a manner worthy of a section of the International Left Opposition. The appearance of the MILITANT three times a week in this fateful period cannot fail to electrify the Communist workers, to shake them out of passivity and routine. It cannot fail to awaken them to an understanding that the defense of the German proletariat against the dreadful scourge of Fascism is a matter of days, perhaps of hours. This is our aim—to awaken the Communist workers. This is why we begin our campaign and center it around the triple editions of the MILITANT.

But the struggle of the Left Opposition will not be confined to the literary sphere. Our three-times-a-week MILITANT must be for us not merely the propagandist, but also the agitator and organizer of a great movement, as Lenin said a Communist paper should be. Mass meetings must be held everywhere. Workers meetings, shops, gatherings of every kind must be invaded boldly with the burning message of the Left Opposition on the German crisis. Every member of the organization, and every sympathetic worker, must be mobilized for daily activity to distribute the MILITANT. The whole revolutionary labor movement must be shaken from top to bottom with the message of internationalism.

And now the capacity of the Left Oppositionists for material sacrifices must really assert itself. We expect that every Bolshevik-Leninist will put his duty to the German revolution above every personal consideration and see to it that the funds necessary to assure the steady appearance of the MILITANT on the new schedule are forthcoming without delay. Do this, comrades, do everything, not tomorrow but today!

With Communist Greetings,
National Committee,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
JAMES P. CANNON,
National Secretary.

500 Workers Pack New York Hall To Hear Opposition on Germany

Despite the bitterly cold weather five hundred workers packed the largest meeting yet held by the Left Opposition in New York to hear our speakers in the Stuyvesant Casino present an analysis of the acute crisis in Germany today. With Martin Abern in the chair, the meeting got under way with a recounting by Max Shachtman of the role played in the victory of Fascism by the treachery of the social democracy, on the one hand, and on the other the criminal policy of blundering pursued by Stalinism in Germany. James P. Cannon dealt with the significance of Fascism, the imminent threat to the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The question of the united front of Communist and social democratic workers and their organizations, for the purpose of crushing Fascism was emphasized in the speeches and the summary. The intense interest of the audience may be gauged by the fact that more than 50 questions were sent up to the chairman by representatives of all tendencies. In summing up, Shachtman pointed out that it was impossible to reply to all the questions; when the proposal was put to call another meeting two weeks later, to discuss the German events further, it was enthusiastically endorsed. Despite this proposal, the floor was given to a spokesman for the official Communist party who offered a sad example of the mis-education of the Communist workers by Stalinism. Not only was a good collection taken, running close to \$100., but those in attendance, amongst them being several score party members and Lovestonite sympathizers, voted with enthusiastic unanimity (save for four contrary votes!) for the following resolution which was put for adoption:

This mass meeting of 500 workers assembled at Stuyvesant Casino at the call of the Communist League of America (Opposition), raises its voice in vigorous condemnation of a regime of Fascism in Germany and declares its unyielding solidarity with the struggle of the German working class against the Hitlerist monster. We appeal urgently to the Communist party and the Communist International to take cognizance of the critical situation and fulfill its responsibility by leading the German working class to the victorious struggle against Fascism, employing the tactic of the united front as it has been expounded by Lenin and after him by the International Left Opposition.

We appeal to the Communist Party of the United States to initiate at once a series of huge united front demonstrations against the Hitler regime and to demand of the Socialist party and the trade unions that they take part in this single united front movement of the American workers in solidarity with the embattled proletariat of Germany.

Long live the united front of the working class!
Down with the Fascist murderers!
Long live the German proletarian revolution!

Now more than ever we demand the return to the Soviet Union and to the party of Leon Trolsky and Christian Rakovsky, the leaders of the International Left Opposition and the proletarian world revolution!

(Six votes were cast against this resolution by show of hands, whereas the rest of the several hundreds present voted enthusiastically for it.)

Opposition at Gillespie

League's View Triumphs at Progressive Miners Conference

170 delegates, more than a half of whom came from the locals of the Progressive Miners of America, assembled at the conference in Gillespie, Illinois, on January 29 in response to the call of the Gillespie Trades and Labor Council to discuss the project of a new federation of labor. The representation at the conference and the sentiments expressed by the great majority of the delegates gave a most emphatic confirmation to the estimate which the Militant had made of the new movement and of the proposal to organize a new trade union center. The conference revealed most convincingly that the organizational basis for a new general labor movement is by no means sufficient at the present time, and the project was taken off the agenda. Instead of that, a realistic program of agitation to coordinate the work of militants inside and outside the A. F. of L. was adopted.

A Mistake Avoided
This outcome of the conference should be a matter of great satisfaction to the militants throughout the country who warmly support the new rise of the progressive miners' movement and who feared that it might handicap itself at the beginning by a dangerous mistake. At the same time, both by its size and by its spirit, the conference refuted those conservative and sterile formalists, such as the Right wing Communists, who look upon the Progressive Miners organiza-

tion as simply another unfortunate split. The conception of the Stalinists that Progressive Miners of America is just another edition of the Lewis type of union could likewise find nothing to nourish it at the Gillespie conference.

The P. M. of A., whose locals furnished the driving force and the bulk of the delegates at the Gillespie Conference, is a movement pulsing with life. It is calling out new resources of proletarian energy and militancy, new hope and vision. In the course of epic struggles it is throwing up a cadre of new leaders from among the young miners who, if they still lack experience and ease of orientation in complicated problems, are by that uncorrupted and unspolied by the deadening routine, conservatism, and treachery of the old bureaucracy. Behind them is a surging militant rank and file. From all these aspects one who looks at the Gillespie conference with a clear eye can see that although it could not constitute the basis for a new labor federation, it did nevertheless, represent a significant step on the path of a regenerated labor movement, and contained forces which are destined to be a dynamic factor in advancing that movement.

The program adopted by the conference tallied very closely with that of the advanced Left wing labor elements nearly everywhere. Industrial unionism, shorter work day, unemployment insur-

Hitlerites Move Forward; Communists Mark Time

Nine days have passed since the Austrian adventurer, Hitler, was appointed Chancellor of the German Republic by the social democratic "Bulwark against Fascism" President Paul von Hindenburg. To sum up this brief period into which so much has been condensed, we must say:

The forces of reaction, and primarily the forces of Fascism have been enormously strengthened and consolidated, become more insolent and audacious.

The forces of proletarian resistance to the triumph of Fascism have not yet rallied into serried ranks. The social democracy still plays its treacherous role of "watchful waiting", which is synonymous with a passivity that plays into the hands of a relentlessly advancing Fascist. The Communists have not yet been able to stir out of that impotence with which the pernicious policy of sectarianism paralyzes it.

In a word, right in the midst of a situation where days are substituted for months and years, where hours count in place of days, the Fascists are gaining in strength and strategic position, while the Communists, who alone can lead a genuine struggle to smash the brown-shirted monster, are marking time, demoralized and not knowing in which direction to move.

The Comintern is Silent!

And above everything else, with nine precious, crucial, fateful days already gone by, the general staff of the world revolution, the leadership of the revolutionary movement, the Executive Committee of the Communist International—IS SILENT! Instead of guidance to the Communists and the militant working class of Germany in this zero hour—the Communist International preserves an ominous silence. Instead of a ringing call to arms, which the Communist International is duty-bound to issue at such a moment—Moscow is as silent as the grave. Instead of a flaming appeal to the workers of the whole world for solidarity action with the hard-pressed German proletariat, the International Stalinist staff maintains—what milder term can be applied?—a criminal and treacherous silence!

What is happening? What should have happened?

The minute Hitler was appointed Chancellor, and took the first real steps to establish the genuine Fascist dictatorship of blood and iron, the working class should have replied, with the same unanimity it dis-

played during the days of the Kapp putsch, by a general strike. But the German working class could not declare this general strike without a leadership to organize and direct it. The social democracy wants no militant struggle which may lead to the triumph of Bolshevism; true to its role, it continues to hold the restless masses in check. The Communist party could not call the strike, or more exactly, its call met with no response from the bulk of the working class. And for cause: the ultimatum policy of the party in the past, the demand it made that the workers of all tendencies first recognize its leadership, has not increased its hold over the organized, socialist, workers. The general strike could not be on the order of the day because the party had not energetically pursued the policy of the united front which would have made possible the mobilization of the masses around a concrete program of struggle. Result: the first call for a general strike issued by the Communist party ended in a fiasco, for the masses did not respond. In this way the Communist party, and by the same token, the German proletariat, is paying heavily for the blunders and crimes of Stalinism.

The Hitler regime has been quick in press its advantage. Its aim is: weaken the proletariat further, bleed it slowly by the dirk and the bludgeon, exhaust it and distract its attention with parliamentary maneuvers, press harder on the institutions of the proletariat, and then deliver the final blows with drawn saber, torch and machine gun. How has it proceeded?

Fascist Advances

One: the Reichstag has been dissolved and elections set for March 5. Will the elections decide the question of Fascism, of power? Preposterous! The beginnings of that decision are being made right now on the streets of Germany. Hitler has no illusions about the possibilities of ruling by a constitutional 51 percent majority in the Reichstag. But he loses nothing by distracting attention from the decisive extra-parliamentary field and centering it upon the illusory parliamentary elections. On the contrary, by this procedure he gains valuable time in which to consolidate his positions.

Two: The Prussian Diet has been dissolved, and the elections also set for March 5. The arbitrariness of the dissolution is only a foretaste of bloody (Continued on page 4)

How We Plan «New Militant»

The decision to increase the frequency of appearance of the MILITANT to three times a week, is the biggest step forward yet taken by the Left Opposition in this country. That it is being taken at the moment when the situation in Germany—the key to the international situation—is reaching its most crucial stage, with long-lasting consequences for the whole revolutionary and labor movements, is of the utmost significance. The official Stalinist press is dealing with the latest development in Germany as if it were some chance episode, of no considerable importance to the proletariat in this country. The MILITANT intends to break down this despicable national narrow-mindedness, this blindness to the historical events passing right before our eyes, and to fulfill the role of the revolutionary newspaper by stimulating the internationalist spirit of the American working class.

Despite the enormous burden we are undertaking to carry, we feel confident that the response to our initiative will be broad enough to enable us to go through with the enterprise. We have made all the technical arrangements. And the first issue of the three-times-a-week MILITANT will appear on next Monday morning, February 13, 1933.

The MILITANT will continue with the same format, although the number of pages will be cut down from four to two. In addition, to improve the looks of the paper and increase the amount of material that is to go into each issue, we have decided to change the number of columns to the page from six, as at present, to seven.

Above all, we are determined to make the MILITANT available to every worker. Therefore, we are changing the price of each copy of the MILITANT.

From Five Cents to One Cent

We are so confident that a larger circulation will immediately be obtained for the new MILITANT during the period of the German crisis, that we calculate on the additional numbers sold covering the deficit involved in reducing the price of each copy so drastically.

The new MILITANT will go to press on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday nights, and appear for sale, at least in New York and vicinity, on MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY MORNINGS!

To carry on during this period, we need two things above all. One: generous financial support—it is the German revolution and the world proletarian cause which is involved and we feel that we are in a position to make the most imperative demands for financial assistance from every militant worker and sympathizer.

Two: technical assistance in the office. We will have an enormous task of mailing and distributing to do, and every offer of help will be gratefully appreciated. Come immediately to the office in ask for the comrade in charge of this work, Martin Abern.

All comrades and friends—help put this historic drive over the top! Without your help, our difficulties multiply. With your cooperation, we are assured of a powerful advance!

Oehler Starts National Tour On Germany

In the campaign of the Communist League on the German crisis comrade Hugo Oehler will begin a speaking tour at Utica, New York on Friday, February 17. All energy must be concentrated to arrange big mass meetings on the occasion of comrade Oehler's visit. Action is the slogan of the hour. There is no time to rearrange dates. All readers take notice of the meetings in the various cities on the following schedule:

Utica, N. Y.—Feb. 17
Buffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feb. 19
New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20
Youngstown, O.—Feb. 21
Cleveland, O.—Feb. 22
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 28
Kansas City—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6

BRONX MASS
MEETING

The CRISIS in GERMANY

SPEAKER:
James P. Cannon

Hollywood Gardens
836 PROSPECT AVE., Near 161st St.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1933, 3 P. M.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Letters from Militants

Miners' Women on the March

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

Dressed in white uniforms, ten thousand Illinois coal diggers' militant wives, mothers and sweethearts staged a colorful demonstration of working class power and solidarity through the state capitol's busy thoroughfare, voicing protest against the fourth year of the hunger era.

Mass delegations from fifty-one mine towns were prompt in their response to the call of their executives to assemble here January 28 to take up the fight of the Progressive Miners of America on four burning issues: Namely, unemployment insurance, increase in state aid, restoration of civil rights and against the sales tax.

Marching eight abreast in disciplined formation, the huge army of women stirred to ecstasy the thousands of coal miners who flanked the streets all along the road of march.

Five miners' bands led the mess of women in the one hour march from the State Arsenal to the Capitol.

Loyal rank and file miners from the fighting Springfield district, along with large committees from all over the state, were at hand to spur the women on to struggle against the intolerable conditions of unemployment.

At the head of the inspiring multitudes was Agnes Burns Wieck, commanding the organized from delegations through fifty-one branch presidents. Along side of her were Celine Burrell, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mrs. Leon Beson, Vice-President, of the Illinois Women's Auxiliary.

Preceding the state officers was the Gillespie-Bend-Wilsonville fifty piece band forming the vanguard of the white army of marching women. Next in line, faithfully trudging along, was "Mother" McKeever, unmindful of her 75 years. Then came the widows of the Mowesqua miners dressed in black mourning, further symbolizing the woes and tortures of that section of humanity that choke deep under in producing society's basic fuel. Broad smiling faces regained their seriousness and hats were removed as the bereaved women of Mowesqua marched solemnly by. Their heads were drooped in sadness and tears were visible.

Next in line came the families of the martyrs of the Progressive Miners of America, Mrs. Andrew Gynnes, Mrs. Joe Colbert and Albin Cumerlatto along with his daughters and son. Those who gave their loved ones for the cause were highly honored by the whole gathering of women fighters. Deeply written from one column of the march to the other were signs of worry and desperation steeled by a solid phalanx of organization.

The first delegation to lead the parade was the women of Springfield who were honored to first position because of the affair being held in their home city. Several hundred were numbered following a large banner proclaiming: "12 mines work under P. M. of A. contract and peace to Springfield. Why not Peabody?"

Next in line were the other auxiliaries from the Springfield district—Riverton, Virden, Dawson, Williamsville, Witt, Nokomis, Gerard Panama, Thayer, Divernon, Auburn, Pawnee—marching at a steady gait, headed by banners describing the names of their towns.

Then came the large Gillespie group followed by the Bend school band and their home town auxiliary. Bend with a large banner proclaimed: "Bend Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America. 610 members strong." Next in line were the mass groups from Mt. Olive, Carleville, Stanton, Wilsonville, White City, Livingston and Williams.

The towns of Hillsboro, followed by the Tovey band, then Taylorville, Langleyville, Bulpitt, Stonington, Kincaid, Tovey, Panna and Decatur came next. The enthusiasm of the miners' women from the midland territory was visibly undiminished as they confidently marched behind their sisters from every nook and corner of the state.

The northern district with Peoria, Esat Peoria, Farmington, Galesburg, St. David, Cuba and Norris were also present, raising their banners high to the world that was out to watch them.

The Belleville territory with its numerous, sturdy German women were next in line. Banners on which were inscribed Belleville, O'Fallon, Marissa, Breese, Pocahtones, Coulterville. Tilden boomed over the heads of different groupings.

Last but not least were the courageous mining women of southern Illinois who braved threats and intimidations to join their sisters of the north. Du Quoin and Dowell, new allies of the Progressive Miners of America, were present. Then came groups of women representing auxiliaries from bloody Franklin county. It takes a man with a mighty heart to be an active Progressive down in that land of terror, but here we had delegations from West Frankfort, Ziegler, Buckner and Christopher. The writers are proud to belong to the great cause of the Progressive movement. A defiant smile gleams from their faces as they take their places side by side with the new champions of labor.

"We saw Edmondson peering from the side of an auto," said one Franklin county woman. "He looked like he was going to faint." Edmondson is the renegade of the rank and file movement who is employed as the leading terrorist of Franklin county by Walker and Lewis. It was a sorrowful day for the reactionary fakers of the old United Mine Workers of America.

The last column having passed the towering statue of Abraham Lincoln, the

women began to break from their lines, filling the entrances of the state Capitol. The curious and interested masses that flanked the streets started to move towards the steps of the Capitol. Bands incessantly played their many stirring tunes.

After the singing and band concerts had abated, Agnes Wieck called her executive board together and along with the fifty-one branch presidents, the committee representing the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America, made their way through the immense crowd to present to the chief executive of Illinois, Governor Horner, the demands of their organization.

The reception room of the Governor was taxed to capacity. The hallways were jammed with miners' wives. State Highway Patrolmen, one with a tear gas gun, were standing in strategic positions. Plain clothes men were milling around somewhat uneasily. We later learned that the day previous a large delegation of unemployed workers had entered the state capitol to petition for unemployment relief and had been unmercifully clubbed by the police. Possibly this caused the uneasiness. A few representatives of the Progressive Miners of America who had remained at the side of the women's committee throughout the whole demonstration were eyed suspiciously. At Mrs. Wieck's suggestion, the Governor agreed to meet the entire delegation in the reception room.

The Governor was finally met by the women's committee. Mrs. Wieck then read to him their statement in behalf of the housewives of Illinois' mining fields—those who often must make "moss" solely from the flour that is labeled "American Red Cross". The statement was tersely written, it rang with the tone of resentment against impoverishment of the workers' dependant upon coal for an existence.

The following immediate demands were presented by the Auxiliary here:

1. For restoration of civil liberties in coal fields.
2. For increased and more equitable distribution of State Aid.
3. For unemployment insurance paid by industry and state.
4. For defeat of the State sales tax.

That night the members of the Women's Auxiliary, Progressive Miners of America, jammed the main floor and balconies of the huge state arsenal to listen to the report of their delegation.

The report on the conference with the Governor was made by Agnes Burns Wieck. Following the report, a grand ball was held celebrating the tremendous organizational success that the women marchers had made. Proceeds from this affair will go to the Mowesqua victims and the Springfield unemployed miners who are still on strike against the Peabody Coal Company.

Until early morning, tractions, buses, autos and trucks continued to roll, transporting the greatest gathering of working women in the history of the American labor movement. The precision, discipline and spirit of the women marchers was highly commendable. The militant members of the Women's Auxiliary gathered in Springfield to wage the struggle against hunger at the very doors of the representatives of the government. Success of their fight, however, will depend largely upon the degree of organization that will be exerted to change the evils responsible for starvation amidst plenty. Back to mine towns, through the Progressive Miners of America, through their own organized efforts, utilizing every possible economic and political instrument at their command, the Women's Auxiliary will be ultimately triumphant in the war to make labor safe from hunger.

—A MINER.

I.L.G.W.U. Leaders Seek to Corral Youth

At the call of the Dressmakers' Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a conference of "radical youth" groups was held in New York, February 3, to aid the union in its organizational drive. Representatives of the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Inter-Collegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Lovestonette youth, the Young Circle League and the Vanguard (anarchist) group had a short while previously participated in a pre-conference to arrange for this conference. The Left Opposition youth—the Spartacus Youth Club—was not invited to either gathering. It had an observer at the conference.

After the chairman explained the purpose of the meeting, Max Bluestein, manager of the Joint Board, spoke in glowing terms of the history of the union and the need of the cooperation of the youth assembled to help the union organize the dressmakers. Following this, representatives of the youth groups present spoke.

The YPSL, LID and Young Circle League pledged their support and readiness "to take orders". The speaker for the Lovestonettes endorsed the campaign and spoke for a "clean, fighting, militant union" which would fight racketeering and organize the youth in the trade. The chairman, an official in the union, greeted this mild and meaningless speech. The spokesman of the Vanguard (anarchist) group launched into an attack upon the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the ILGWU, and their sell-out policies and agreements. He exposed by direct references, fake agreements made in the dress and cloak industry in New York by the ILGWU. He protested at the original refusal of the officials of the ILGWU to invite the youth of the CPLA and the Left Opposition to the conference. They had,

My Daughter's Suicide

Open Letter On Stalin's Role in the Death of Zinaida Volkov

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE C. C. OF THE C. P. OF THE USSR.
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE USSR.
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE C. C. OF THE C. P. OF THE USSR.

I deem it necessary to inform you how and why my daughter committed suicide.

At the close of 1930, upon my request, you authorized my tubercular daughter, Zinaida Volkov, to come to Turkey temporarily with her five year old son Weeswood, for treatment. I did not suppose that behind this liberalism of Stalin lurked a mental reservation. My daughter arrived here in January 1931 with a pneumothorax in both lungs. After a ten months sojourn in Turkey we finally obtained—despite the constant resistance of the Soviet foreign representatives permission for her to go to Germany for treatment. The child remained temporarily with us in Turkey so as not to burden the invalid. After some time the German physicians thought it possible to remove the pneumothorax. The invalid began to recover and dreamed only of returning with her child to Russia where her daughter and her husband, who is a Bolshevik-Leninist held to exile by Stalin, remained.

On the twentieth of February 1932 you published a decree by which not only my wife, my son and I, but also my daughter Zinaida Volkov, was deprived of Soviet citizenship. In the foreign land where you gave her permission to go with a Soviet passport my daughter occupied herself only with her treatment. She did not, and because of her health, could not take any part in political life. She avoided anything that might throw the shade of a "suspicion" upon her. Depriving her of her citizenship was only a wretched and stupid act of vengeance against me. For her, this act of personal vengeance meant a break with her little daughter, her husband, her fiancée and all her customary life. Her mental condition, already disturbed without that by the death of her younger sister, by her own illness, received a fresh blow all the more atrocious as it was quite surprising and not provoked in any way by her. The psychiatrists unanimously declared that only a return to her normal environment, with her family, and her work could save her. But your decree of the twentieth of February of 1932 removed precisely this possibility of saving her. All other attempts, as you know, have remained in vain.

German physicians insisted that at least her son be brought to her as quickly as possible; in that they still saw the chance of restoring the moral equilibrium of the mother. But as the six-year old child was equally deprived of Soviet citizenship the difficulties of his departure from Constantinople to Berlin were multi-

plied. A half year passed in constant but fruitless efforts in several European countries. Only my unforeseen trip to Copenhagen gave us the opportunity to bring the child to Europe. With the greatest difficulty he made the trip to Berlin in six weeks. He was hardly near his mother for a week when Oen. Schleicher's police in collusion with the Stalinist agents decided to expel my daughter from Berlin. Where? To Turkey? To the Island of Prinkipo? But the child needed to attend school and my daughter needed continuous medical attention under conditions of family life bear this new blow. On the fifth of January she asphyxiated herself with gas. She was thirty years old.

In 1928 my younger daughter Nina, whose husband has been locked up in solitary prison by Stalin for five years, was bedridden and then taken to the hospital for a short time after my exile to Alma Ata. They found her with galloping consumption. A purely personal letter, without the least relation to politics, which was addressed to me, was held up by you for seventy days so that my answer did not find her alive. She died at the age of 26.

During my stay in Copenhagen, where my wife began a treatment for a serious illness and where I prepared myself to begin a treatment, Stalin, through Tass agency, issued the lying denunciation to the European police that a "Trotskyist conference" was meeting to Copenhagen! That was enough to have the Danish social-democratic government do Stalin the favor of expelling me with feverish haste, interrupting the necessary treatments for my wife. But in this case, as in many others, Stalin's unity with the capitalist police at least had a political aim. The persecution of my daughter was devoid of even a shade of political sense. Depriving her of Soviet citizenship—a loss of her only hope to return to a normal environment and to recovery—finally her expulsion from Berlin (a service indisputably rendered to Stalin by the German police), are acts without a political aim for miserable and stupid revenge and nothing else. My daughter was pretty clear about her position. She understood that she could receive no safety at the hands of the European police, persecuting her at the request of Stalin. Conscious of that, her death followed on the fifth of January. Such a death is called "voluntary". No, it was not voluntary. Stalin imposed this death upon her. I limit myself to this information without drawing conclusions. The time will come for this subject. The regenerated party will do it.

Prinkipo, January 11, 1933

—LEON TROTSKY.

LEON TROTSKY

STALIN'S DENIAL

I am not in possession of the "Bolshevik" with the denial of Stalin of the article "With Both Hands". The semi-official communication of the "Berliner Tageblatt", however, suffices to give one an adequate picture of this denial.

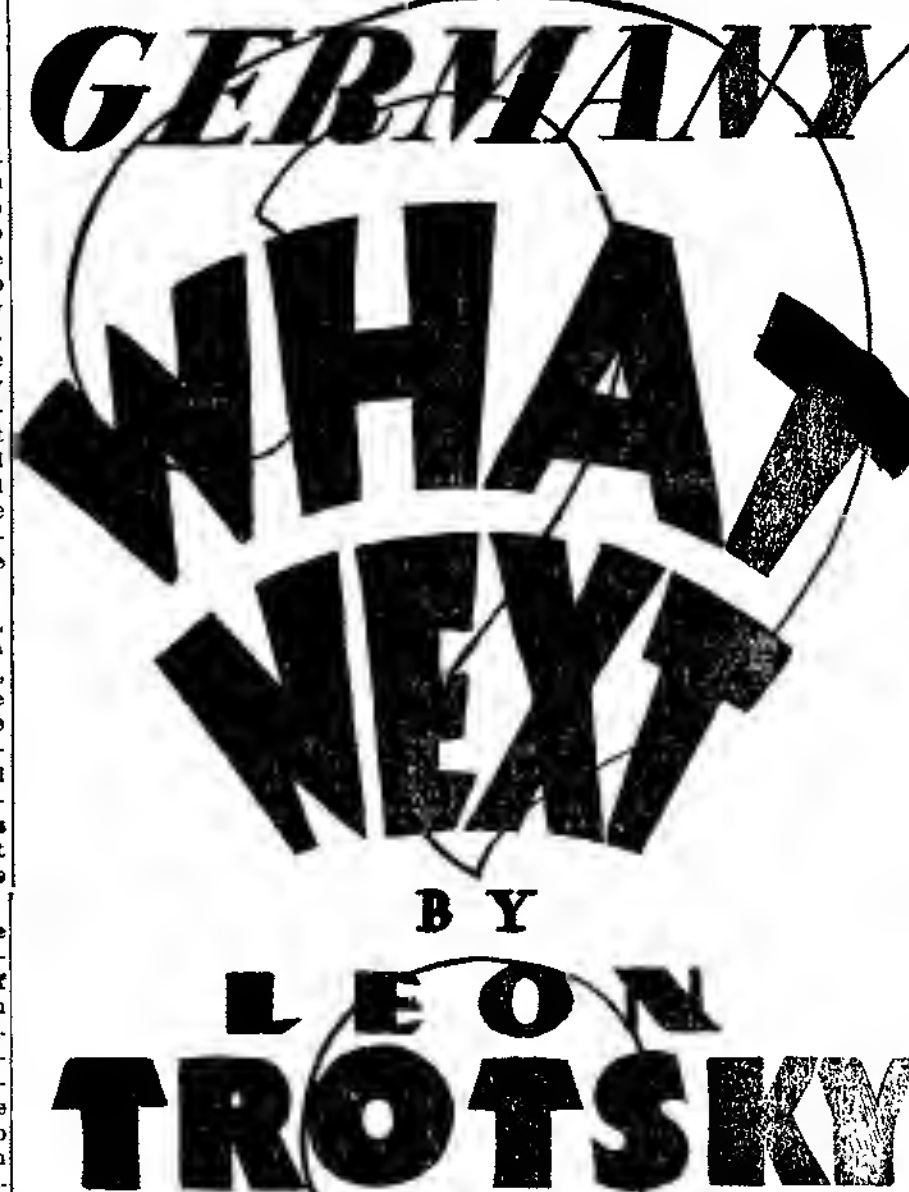
Stalin did not react to Campbell's book until the Left Opposition seized upon it. Didn't Stalin deem the book sufficiently important? Yet he did grant Campbell an interview which, according to the report of the American, lasted until the early hours of the morning and, according to Stalin's denial, lasted "no more" than two hours. Even two hours are enough to confirm the importance of this conversation. Campbell received the

stenographic report of this interview: Stalin confirms this. Campbell is no journalist but an agrarian big bourgeoisie. Is it possible that Stalin took no notice of this man's book? Out of the question. The Press Bureau must have furnished him with the most important excerpts, especially those which concern Stalin himself, immediately after the appearance of the book. Nevertheless, Stalin was silent. The article in the "Bulletin of the Russian Opposition" first loosened his tongue. Therein is to be found the measure of value of Stalin's denial.

In 1925, when his policy aimed completely at the capitalist farmer, that is, at the Kulak, Stalin went so far as to have secret designs on the necessity of denationalizing the land. He arranged for himself an interview by Soviet journalists. One of the questions (dictated by Stalin himself) read, if it would not be advisable in the interest of peasant agriculture to hand over to every individual farmer the land tilled by him, for a period of ten years. Stalin's answer was: "Even for forty years." At the same time, the Georgian People's Commissar for Agriculture, after an interview with Stalin in the Caucasus, brought in a formal legislative project for the denationalization of the land. The Left Opposition unfolded a violent protest campaign against it. In this connection, it referred back to the already partially forgotten interview on the suspension of the nationalization of the land "for forty years". Stalin found it necessary to start the retreat. He simply declared that the journalists had "wrongly" understood him. But as to why he had remained silent about the, printed interview for several months, he could make no answer.

In 1928, Stalin prepared the entrance of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International. In the new edition of the membership books of the Russian trade unions, the passage concerning adherence to the Red International of Labor Unions was simply stricken out. At the same time, Kaganovich delivered a speech in Kharkov, naturally in agreement with Stalin, in favor of entrance into the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The Left Opposition once more raised its voice in vigorous protest. Stalin retreated. The new text of the membership books was explained away as a "misunderstanding". Kaganovich declared that the stenographer in Kharkov had bungled the meaning of his speech. The Kharkov Oppositionists, however, established the fact that the stenographic report had been carefully corrected by Kaganovich himself.

Back in 1930, Stalin, in conversations



192 Pages

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PUBLISHERS

The Capitulation of Roman Well and Co.

The International Stalinist press (in this country, the *Freiheit*), is celebrating a new "victory". Messrs. Roman Well and his handful of followers in the Left Opposition in Germany have broken away from the organization and have started on the thorny path to Canossa to capitulate to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Seizing upon the article "With Both Hands", in which Stalin's treacherous interview with Mr. Thomas Campbell was so thoroughly exposed, the Well clique found a pretext for their renegacy from the International Left Opposition. It proceeded to issue a "special issue" of the organ of the German Opposition, "Die Permanente Revolution", which is a forgery from beginning to end. The regular edition of "Die Permanente Revolution" is still in the hands of the Left Opposition, as is the bulk of the membership which is repudiating the turncoats. The Well forgery is not only different in format and in masthead, but by its very contents, reveals that it could not possibly have been issued by the German Left Opposition. The latest issue of our German brother organ, which has just been received, confirms the obvious impression of a fraud created when the Well sheet first arrived here.

The rejoicing of the *Freiheit*, which announces gleefully that the "Trotskyist group to Germany has announced its own dissolution", is due to be short-lived, for it is based upon sheer falsehood.

Every edition of capitulationism thus far has sung the same song at the beginning. Zinoviev broke with the Opposition because "Trotsky had broken from the principles of the Opposition platform"; to defend the Opposition platform more ardently, Zinoviev rushed right into the arms of Stalin and Co. Radek, Smilga, and Preobrazhensky also found grace in the Stalinist bureaucracy by discovering that "Trotsky had broken from the principles of the Opposition platform". The third and most vulgar edition of the capitulators—Roman Well and his coterie—have crawled into the Stalinist camp under the same smoke screen: They, and not the International Left Opposition, are the true defenders of Bolshevism, the loyal supporters of the Comintern and the world revolution; therefore, capitulate to the Stalin faction!

In the declarations published in the confessions, launched the argument: "The Comintern represents nothing and it ekes out its existence only because of our support." But the moment when Lominadze, in struggle against Stalin, threw up to him the opinion he had vouchsafed, Stalin had no difficulty in repudiating his own words.

So it is not for the first time Stalin, under the attack of the Left Opposition, has resorted to a denial of his own affirmations. One can say that this procedure is part of the iron arsenal of his policy. At every new zig-zag, he moves cautiously, sends up trial balloons, frequently has others send them up, but holds open the possibility of a retreat as long as he can. To repudiate one of his own declarations has never offered him any difficulties.

Besides, the conversation with Emil Ludwig—published by Stalin himself—differs in no essential from the denied conversation with Campbell. And what is more important: the denial does not alter by one iota either the Kellogg Pact policy or the tactic of Stalin-Litvinov in Geneva. And this is what's important. Prinkipo, January 14, 1933.

—LEON TROTSKY.

forged edition of "Die Permanente Revolution", the turncoats complain that none of Trotsky's analyses of the situation in Russia, Spain or Germany have stood the test of events (Stalin's have, you see!). "National Socialism has received powerful blows, the Communist party has considerable successes to record. Nothing has remained of the perspective of the 'unconditional and immediate uprising of the National Socialists'. The conception was and is correct that Fascism to Germany cannot come to power until it has assured itself along the road of coalition of decisive positions in the state apparatus. Even if the Fascist danger is not yet (!) over with, one thing is plain, that in the given situation it is in decline and the revolutionary proletariat has come ahead."

Two days after this declaration was received in New York, Hitler was made Chancellor of the Republic and the Fascist bands started their reign of terror with renewed vigor and violence!

For the capitulators, the Stalin faction does not represent Centrism, because, you see, Lenin spoke of Centrism only in connection with the social democracy! For the capitulators, the united front with the social democracy is inadmissible, because, you see, the social democracy is led by traitors! For the capitulators, the Left Opposition has no right to existence, because, you see, it is a small group; the German Communist Party has gained votes in the last elections; the 12th Plenum of Manuilsky and Co., "put into the foreground with Bolshevik determination the mass work in all reformist organizations". Finally, there is no "internal democracy"—the faction of Stalinist bureaucracy!

The Left Opposition, neither in Germany nor internationally, does not capitulate. It leaves that role to miserable turncoats who cannot distinguish between revolutionary internationalism and national Communism, who mix up the Stalinist faction of bureaucratic degeneration with the Party and Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky, who identify the interests of the ruling clique in the Russian party with the interests of the Russian and world revolution; who cannot distinguish between the German worker-Communists and the corrupt Thaelmann regime; who wince under the pressure of the party bureaucracy, and, not having the intrinsigence, the steadfastness, the endurance, the fierce loyalty to the revolution and its principles that distinguish the Bolshevik from the camp-follower of the revolution—run to beg for mercy and a tiny place in the sun of that bureaucracy.

The Well capitulation is an episode in the life of the Bolshevik-Leninists, not the first and not the last in the long struggle for revolutionary victory. But nothing more than an episode. We move forward over the corpses of these political suicides.

Tenacity, tenacity, tenacity! Bolshevik-Leninists, forward!

UNEMPLOYMENT

and the

AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

by

ARNE SWARECK

24 PAGES

FIVE CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

The Record Speaks!

Centrism Month by Month...

THE SAME BLOODHOUNDS

"We must show that the social Fascist Party Councils and functionaries in the factories are the agents of the blood-stained Noske-Severing-Zoergel policy... that they are just the same bloodhounds as the Noskes, Severings or Zoergels."

—Rote Fahne, end of 1929.

"MANY COMRADES..."

"Many comrades see nothing at all except social Fascism, even in things that have not the slightest to do with Fascism. For many comrades there are no longer any social democrats and any social democracy, but only social Fascists and social Fascism. Workers, ordinary workers, who have nothing more to do with Fascism than that they have voted social democratic, are designated as social Fascists."

—Remmele, Die Internationale, No. 5-6, 1930.

THE SLOGAN OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

"Drive the social Fascists out of the factories, out of the employment bureaus, out of the trade schools!"

—Junge Garde, end of 1929.

THE SLOGAN OF THE YOUNG PIONEERS

"Beat the smallest Zoergels out of the schools and playgrounds!"

—Die Trommel, end of 1929.

THE "RED" FACTORY COUNCILS ON PAPER

"The Factory Council elections in which the Communist Party of Germany came forward for the first time in the sharpest struggle against reformism as the bearer of the united front of the organized and unorganized, became a triumphal march in the most important industrial fields and large factories. The labor masses elected countless Red Factory Councils under the banner of the struggle against the state power, the employers and reformism."

—Wedding Congress, C. P. G., June 1929.

THE "RED" FACTORY COUNCILS IN REALITY

"As a result of the defective contacts of the Red Factory Councils with the workers of their factory, it was possible to eliminate a number of Red Factory Councils without any struggle or protest action of the plants... In many cases, Red Factory Councils did not stand their ground and capitulated before the sharpened pressure of the common enemy: employer, reformist bureaucracy and state apparatus. Their work was in no way distinguished from the policy of the reformists, or else they remained in complete passivity."

—Congress of the Trade Union

Opposition of the C. P. G., Nov. 1929.

MUEZENBERG ON THE UNITED FRONT

"A temporary, or even an alliance, or even a bloc joint operation in individual actions between the Communist party and the Social Democratic party in Germany against National Socialism, would forever discredit the Communist party among the broad masses of the workers, toiling peasants and middle strata, and draw it into decline."

—Willi Muezenberg, February 1, 1932.

A THOUSAND TIMES LESSER EVIL

"A social democratic coalition government, confronted with a non-combatant split-up, confused proletariat would be a thousand times greater evil than an open Fascist dictatorship, against which would appear a class conscious proletariat, resolved upon struggle, united in its mass."

Der Propagandist, September 1931.

THE "OFFENSIVE" BEGAN IN 1929

"The working masses, who a year ago still hesitantly set themselves in motion with dull, ponderous steps, are marching today under the blaring fanfare of the proletarian offensive against the capitalist system."

—Rote Fahne, May 1, 1929.

AGAIN: THE "OFFENSIVE" IN 1929!

"The relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has changed fundamentally. The working class is striving forward from the defensive to the offensive... In the Berlin May struggles, broad masses stepped beyond the framework of bourgeois legality, offered resistance to the police action and opened up the political-revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state power... The Berlin May struggles constitute a turning point in the political development in Germany."

—Theses, Wedding Congress, C. P. G., 1929.

ILLUSIONS ABOUT DISTINCTIONS

"On the basis of the social Fascist evolution of the lower cadres of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the illusions of the working class are being destroyed in the belief that there is a distinction between the leadership of the SDPG and the lower cadre of functionaries of the SDPO."

—Theses of Wedding Congress, C. P. G., 1929.

FASCISM BROUGHT TO A STANDSTILL... IN 1930

"No wonder that all this affects the National Socialist worker elements like a cold douche. They are beginning to feel that they have gotten enough from Hugenberg and Lüttich... On the land, particularly where the agricultural proletariat found a resolute leader in the Communist party, the advance of the Swastika has been brought to a standstill in recent months."

—Rote Fahne, May 9, 1930.

(Two days later, the elections took place in Gotha (Thuringia) where the Nazis topped the Communists, and increased their December 1929 vote of 5,193 to 6,136.)

FASCIST RULE SET UP... IN 1930

"The well-fed, fat, the accused secretaries and functionaries of the social Fascist party apparatus, want the civil war and a bloodbath which will exceed all the preceding shameful deeds of Noske and Zoergel. This is no longer of preparation, but the beginning of Fascist rule in Germany, set up with the bloody hands of the Social Democratic Party."

—Rote Fahne, January 17, 1930.

LATER, HEINZ NEUMANN WAS THE SCAPOGAT

"Today the slogan of the people's revolution is a central, comprehensive propaganda slogan, the main strategic goal to which we are leading the masses along the line of our social and national emancipation program."

—Ernst Thaelmann, January 1931.

"The slogan of the people's revolution was a correct slogan and remains a necessary slogan."

—Thaelmann, Central Committee Plenum, February 1932.

WHO WAS GUILTY OF UNDERESTIMATION?

"We assert it openly: For a long time we underestimated the danger of the National Socialist movement. It is high time to catch up, to exterminate the weaknesses and to conclude the real fighting proletarian united front against Fascism, a front of all workers regard-

less of party under our relationship."

—Saechsische Arbeiter Zeitung (C. P. G.), June 23, 1930.

AFTER SOCIAL FASCISM—"BRUENING FASCISM"

"Hindenburg's black Chancellor yesterday declared the Fascist financial dictatorship with the aid of article 48."

—Rote Fahne, March 17, 1930.

MORE "BRUENING FASCISM"

Communist Deputy Neubauer in the Reichstag: "What is taking place in Germany now is nothing but the desire to heal the deep-seated wounds of capitalism with the methods of Fascism... This means nothing else than that the system of terroristic Fascism is to take the place of the so-called democratic system."

—Rote Fahne, July 15, 1930.

HITLER'S GREATEST DAY—IN 1930

"After the September 1930 elections: 'Last night was Herr Hitler's greatest day', but the so-called beginning of victory of the Nazis is the beginning of their end."

—Rote Fahne, September 15, 1930.

MORE BUREAUCRATIC OPTIMISM

"The 14th of September was the high point of the National Socialist movement in Germany. What comes after this can only be decline and fall."

—Rote Fahne, September 16, 1930.

FASCISM "AGAIN" AT A STANDSTILL (1931!)

"The party succeeded, by a resolute offensive, in bringing the desultory advance of National Fascism to a standstill."

—Communist Party of Germany, Political Bureau decision, September 24, 1931.

"LET THEM COME TO POWER"

"If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away... They will come to grief more speedily than any other government."

—Remmele in Reichstag, Rote Fahne, October 18, 1931.

THE GREAT LEADER SPEAKS...

"The fact that, for example, in our revolutionary trade union work, united front offers could be made from above to district trade union leaderships or other instances of the reformist bureaucracy (Ruhr district), also shows that our principled struggle against the social democracy was not conducted resolutely enough to make such mistakes impossible."

—Thaelmann, Die Internationale, No. 11-12, 1931.

VON FAPEN IS ALSO FASCISM...

"Before all, we must make it clear to the social democratic workers that what we have today is the Fascist dictatorship... The same holds for the illusion that the S. D. P. G. or the General German Trade Union Alliance are also organizations of the anti-Fascist struggle. Whoever would aim to build on the idea that by 'appeals' to the SDPG or other reformist organizations, a struggle would come about, would disarm the proletariat."

—Rote Fahne, July 26, 1932

Central Committee Statement.

DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM REAL FASCISM

"The Fascist overturn in Prussia on July 26 was possible only because the

Fascist Papen government knew that the leaders of the trade unions would exert the full power of the apparatus to prevent the mass strike movement."

—Walter Ulbricht, Rote Fahne, August 25, 1932.

Sandino Passes...

The report that the petty bourgeois Nicaraguan general Augusto Sandino has made his peace with the puppet government of American imperialism, reconciling himself with the gang which was lifted into power by the bayonet of the U. S. Marine Corps, will come as a surprise only to those who attributed to the Central American general a revolutionary stature which he never attained, nor ever could have. From the beginning, his Stalinist Comintern bent all its energies to conduct an international advertising campaign for Sandino which was not one whit better or more justified than the campaign carried on by the Kuo Min Tern for Chiang Kai-Shek and company. Communists from Mexico and Central America were sent into Sandino's army, not to act like proletarian revolutionists, but as aides-de-camp to Sandino.

Sandino was touted everywhere by the official Communist apparatus. Like dozens of others of the same stripe, he was one of the big leaders and "attractions" in the Hippodromes conducted by Willi Muezenberg for the Comintern. Sandino was one of the "revolutionary leaders in the struggle against imperialism" at the Congresses and on the directing committees of the World League Against Imperialism. At the abominable massacre at Amsterdam recently, where adventurers, reformists, and pseudo-Communists gathered to "fight against war" and "defend the Soviet Union", Sandino was among the most prominent, even though he was absent. Just a few weeks before his open capitulation to the Nicaraguan agents of American imperialism, the Amsterdam Committee of Muezenberg, Stalin and Co. announced in its press releases that General Sandino had been selected to represent Nicaragua on the International Committee!

Like H. G. Wells, Sandino must again be denounced by the Stalinist press as a "traitor". Traitor he is indeed, but largely in the sense that he too has served to throw light on the wretched policy pursued by the Comintern which leads the proletariat from one surprise to another, from defeat to defeat, to confusion and demoralization. Sandino's passing tears with it another piece of the veil that still covers the nudity of the Stalinist faction.

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THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1933
Vol. 6, No. 6 Whole No. 153

Stalinist Policies Throw Food Workers Union Into Serious Crisis

It is impossible to understand the present crisis in the Food Workers' Industrial Union and its effects upon the membership without tracing its causes to the past and bringing into the open the crimes and errors committed by the party and union leadership under the Lovestonite and present regimes.

The Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers was under party control for many years. Its main activities were confined exclusively to the hotels and restaurants. More than once the leadership rejected the proposal to undertake an organizational drive among the cafeteria workers on the grounds that the masses were to be found among the hotel workers. What happened in the spring of 1929 when these same people, without exception, were in favor of a general strike in the New York cafeterias, and at that, with no preparation at all? Did the leadership realize that their previous position was incorrect? No. Far from it. As we will prove, this sudden change was based upon the interests of its faction.

The Lovestonite faction was then in the leadership of the party and the union. A party convention was to take place during that time. Lovestone, in order to "strengthen" his prestige before the convention suddenly "discovered" the necessity for mass work. Secret meetings were immediately arranged by those members of the leading fraction who supported Lovestone. They decided to sell the union building located at 133 W. 15th St., and declare a general strike in the garment section. On the eve of March 18th, I was informed by a comrade that such a meeting was to take place. When I entered the meeting Bert Miller was reading the following decision of the District Executive Committee: the strike was to take place not later than April 4th; preparations were not necessary; it was sufficient merely to place pickets before the cafeterias; the needle trade workers will not patronize them and the bosses will thereby be compelled to settle with the union.

No arguments were strong enough to make them change their decision, for, as mentioned above the strike was to serve as a weapon for the Lovestonites in the convention. I immediately appealed to the Central Executive Committee against the District E. C. decision. I pointed out that "no matter how great the support of the needle trade workers it is entirely incorrect to declare a strike without the strikers. Such a decision will play into the hands of A. F. of L. bureaucracy, who, in order to cover up their treacherous role of serving as a scab agency against the strikers, will claim jurisdiction over this territory. In view of this it is urgent to propose a united front with the A. F. of L. unions. Particularly at this time when the masses are in revolt against their officials. By their refusal we will, to a large extent, be able to prevent them from playing the role of scab agents during the strike." (I am reminded that during this period, A. F. of L. locals No. 1 and 719 issued leaflets urging cafeteria workers to join the union.)

Comrade Foster, to whom I also gave a copy of my appeal, told me that my position was correct, but that at the present time, due to the situation in the party, it was impossible to change the decisions of the District E. C. in any way.

On March 16, the first leaflet was issued to the cafeteria workers, calling them out on strike. Eighteen days later, on April 14, the general strike was declared in the garment center. As a first step, "pulling committees" composed of party members and sympathizers were organized. The duties of these committees were to pull the workers from their jobs while picketing was being organized in front of the cafeterias. In several cases workers were actually forced to leave their jobs. Such actions are justifiable, in any case, against strike breakers, in any strike. But in this instance the workers were not even aware that a strike had been called. In spite of the lack of preparations for the strike hundreds of workers, driven by the unbearable and slavish conditions in the cafeterias, responded to the strike call.

Although we have described, in previous articles in the Militant, the heroism displayed by the workers in the 1929 cafeteria strike, it is not out of place to repeat that it will remain one of the greatest struggles in the history of the labor movement in New York City. Though hundreds of workers were arrested and jailed, time and again, their fighting spirit could not be broken. They courageously fought the brutal, vicious attacks of the gangsters and the police. Injunctions issued against them were torn up and thrown in the faces of the bosses and the police. Such was the prevailing spirit among the strikers during the first 5 or 6 weeks of the strike.

Without the knowledge of the leading fraction, not to speak of the general fraction, the officials of the union, together with Lifschitz, Lovestone's lieutenant, who was local secretary of the T. U. E. L. at the time, settled up some of the shops where all of the scabs remained on the job. They also agreed upon the ten hour instead of eight hour day. This was done in spite of the promises and guarantees made to the strikers every evening in the strike halls. In speeches at these meetings, they said, they would not settle with any shop until all the demands were met. The clandestine settlement of Lifschitz and Co. was enough to demoralize even the most militant strikers.

A few days later the majority of the striking workers left the organization in deep disgust. This event marked a decisive turn in the strike. Following that, only two workers, with the exception of

a few militants, could be obtained for picketing. Attempts were made to dramatize the strike. Demonstrations were organized by party members and sympathizers together with the YCL and the Pioneers. An airplane was hired to spread leaflets all over the city. More than \$65,000 was spent in a period of three months. But all was in vain. If a few more shops were later compelled to settle with the union it was on the same basis as mentioned above.

The situation became much worse because the union failed to protect those workers sent out as extras during rush hours. They were refused employment by the bosses because of their reputation as militant strikers. This helped to disrupt the unity of the employed and unemployed, which unfortunately, to this very day has not been corrected.

It is significant to point out the opportunist policies of the union during the feverish wave of the strike, with regard to injunctions. L. Oak, the publicity agent for the strike, reported to the capitalist press that the union defied and would continue to defy the injunctions issued by the capitalist courts. The officials of the union issued a statement to the press, pointing out that the report—that the union would defy injunctions—was not the position of the union; that this was written by the publicity agent without the knowledge of the leadership. For this deed the publicity agent was removed from his post. This statement by the union was demanded by the lawyer who claimed that it would give him better grounds in his fight against injunctions in the courts. This demand is, of course, in accord with a lawyer's business. But for a militant organization whose membership defies injunctions it is a ruinous and extremely opportunistic course. But this was not accidental for the leadership. It coincided fully with the general line pursued by them during that period.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Boston Activities

BOSTON.—On January 13 comrade A. Konikov debated Louis Marcus of the Socialist party on the subject "Socialism versus Communism". Louis Marcus versus Communism! Louis Marcus was a comrade at the S. P. headquarters and is considered the local theoretician of the S. P. There were about seventy socialists and five sympathizers of the Left Opposition present. Each speaker had thirty minutes and then the floor was thrown open to general discussion and questions before a rebuttal of ten minutes by the speakers. The discussion period showed that comrade Konikov had done a good job. The younger workers particularly had it in for the socialist speaker. After the meeting some of these young militants invited comrade Konikov to go with them for coffee and there they discussed their problems with her very frankly.

The debate was a huge success from our point of view. Each sympathizer of the Left Opposition became a center of a group of S. P. members after the meeting. They wanted to know more about the Opposition. Many Militants were sold and given away. The big hugs of the S. P. were conspicuous by their absence, apparently not approving of this debate. However, the younger element wants another debate and this has been arranged for Thursday, February 2, at 8 P. M. at 6 Byron St. Glen Trimble will represent the Socialist position.

On January 22, comrade W. Konikov spoke before the Independent Workers' Circle, Branch 27 on What the Left Opposition Stands For. Thirty members and a few visitors were present. The question period showed that the majority of those present had a clear idea of the Left Opposition and are sympathetic. After the meeting one member discussed the possibility of joining the Opposition with comrade Konikov. Several copies of the Militant and Kampf were sold.

On January 24, comrade W. Konikov spoke in Lynn before the Lynn unemployed Council on the subject "A Doctor Looks at Unemployment." An audience of sixty members were present and asked many questions. Many of the comrades' wives were present and after the meeting arrangements were made for a lecture by comrade A. Konikov. Credit for these meetings must be given to comrade Cooperstein who alone represents the Opposition in Lynn.

In our last report we spoke of the Social Science Club (an organization for Marxian study which began with a course on Elements of Marxian Economics in November). The first quarterly meeting of the club was held on Jan. 10. About fifty members were present and comrade W. Konikov gave a lecture on "Communism versus Socialism." Following the meeting he was invited to give the same lecture for a Ypsel organization in one of the suburbs of Boston. Two classes were organized. One, on the "Three Internationals" by comrade A. Konikov meets in Tremont Temple, Room A, every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Visitors are welcome. Seventeen members have enrolled for this course and several visitors have attended the first two meetings. The other course is a repetition of Elements of Marxian Economics, this time given by comrade W. Konikov. Ten members are taking this course which includes a careful study of the first volume of Marx's "Capital". This course meets every Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. at 11 Keswick St.

—C. S.

Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

(Continued from previous issue)
We must ask, naturally, if the initiators of the congress feared presenting a Communist position of the question of war, prior to the congress, and even if it is true that pressure was put on them and that a majority of delegates were Communists, were they not afraid then of driving away the pacifists? What was the attitude of the Pacifists and Socialists? Both saw that the Communists were the overwhelming majority of the congress. The pacifists expressed themselves as follows: We want a practical program of work when we get back to the campus. We are not concerned with your resolutions since you will adopt them, anyway, notwithstanding what we say. Go ahead, we will wait for a practical resolution. The Socialists were similarly unconcerned. It is clear again, that you cannot play around with the question of program. The policy of playing hide and seek with pacifists and liberals and socialists is a fatal one and even more fatal is the one to attempt to unite on the basis of a liquidation of principle which the Communists came very near doing, completely. As such they maintained a minimum political correctness as expressed in the main resolution.

The congress was thrown into a crisis when a member of the YCL introduced a motion to condemn the betrayal of the 2nd International during the war. The Socialist delegation quite sharply objected and stated that they would leave the congress if this resolution carried. They were not opposed to condemning those leaders of the 2nd International who betrayed the working class during the war, but insisted that all those who

betrayed the proletariat during the war be similarly condemned, and they specifically named Foster and Cochran. This motion was changed to conform to the proposal and attitude of the Socialists and carried. Upon the passage of another motion calling for support of the Amsterdam Congress in the form of the American Committee against War, the Socialists ceased to participate in the congress because, said they, the passage of this motion signified accepting the attacks against the 2nd International contained in the decisions of Amsterdam, which they as Socialists could not accept. The discussion was extremely heated and indicated a split situation.

The split situation became evident upon the election of an executive committee to carry through the decisions of the Congress. The Socialists declined to accept because of the passage of the above-mentioned resolution. The Pacifists would not accept unless the Socialists did. Pleas for unity came from all sides of the hall and upon those pleas a YCL member introduced a motion to rescind the motion upon which the socialists broke from the conference. In spite of the Opposition of Henderson and a large section of the delegates, this motion carried and the Socialists remained and were accepted on the Committee.

An amusing incident took place which indicated just how the Socialists and pacifists were actually fooled by the character of the congress. The pacifists declared that all tendencies must be represented on the Committee. If only NSL members were on the Committee with pacifists, that would mean that the committee would be primarily Com-

munist with no other representation. They demanded that on this committee there must be socialists in addition to pacifists in order to make a united front committee that would consist of all three tendencies. In spite of the efforts of the leaders of the NSL, the Party and YCL, all through the pre-congress period, to hide and cover up their Communist color, the NSL in the congress was synonymous to Communism in the eyes of the pacifists and socialists, and they conducted themselves accordingly. When acceptances were taken up for the executive committee each delegate was to answer in addition to his school organization, his political affiliation. The YCL members of the NSL in accepting on the committee replied: member of the NSL; the socialists answered: League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist. The pacifist answer in reply declared himself member of the NSL and Communist. When this roll was taken again the YCL members continued to hide their identity which was clear to all. On this round comrade Galtman announced that he was a Left Oppositionist much to the dismay of the YCL.

Thus the congress ended. What did it actually accomplish? It gathered together a number of students from various parts of the country to decide upon holding meetings on the campus to declare against war and militarism, to fight against the ROTC, to propagate and agitate against war. It is now almost a month since the congress ended. For all practical purposes the congress might not have existed. The ripples caused by it, have like those of Amsterdam, settled into a dead calm. The criticisms that we made prior to the congress, and at the congress through the speeches of our comrades remain correct and real to this day. The weak-

ness of the congress are to be sought in its political character. It was separated, in spite of everything from the working class. It was not based upon reality. There were no worker delegates to give character to the congress. The attempt to transform the political nature of the congress toward its close only brought confusion among the delegates. Those Communist delegates who argued so vehemently against the position of the Opposition had later to defend the main political contentions of the Opposition against the attacks of the pacifists and socialists. The congress itself vindicated every criticism that the Opposition made. It was false to hold such a conference before a working class movement on a united front basis existed, to fight on concrete issues. If such a proletarian organization had been in existence, it might have been possible to organize a student movement that would attach itself to such a workers' movement. As it is the congress remains suspended in mid-air trying to find a place for itself. That the congress changed many of its plans is true. But the original sin remains.

The responsibility for the whole affair falls upon the shoulders of the Party and the YCL. To be more precise upon the Communist International under the aegis of Stalinist revision of Communist policies. The Party was represented officially by Browder in the form of a speech. The YCL was absent, just as it was absent at the New York conference last summer. The criminal attempt made to hide the face of Communism resulted in confusion and error. The future of the committee elected by the congress is dubious. What shall be its mission? How will it carry through the struggle against war? Under the circumstances it can do nothing but disavow of itself.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Opposition at Gillespie

League's Views Triumph at Progressive Miners Conference

(Continued from page 1)

ance, trade union democracy, abolition of high wages for officials, class-struggle policies, relentless fight against labor leaders—all of these and similar demands, which are becoming the fighting program of insurgent workers in every section of the labor movement in all parts of the country, found their place also in the program of the Gillespie Conference. In this fact is to be seen the basis for the eventual fusion of the Illinois movement with similar movements in other parts of the country into a single national formation. For various reasons this necessary unification of the scattered insurgent elements on a national scale remains to be realized. An organization, or a group of organizations, with sufficient stability and influence to attract the other scattered movements around it is one of the elements still lacking for this national concentration. The Gillespie conference and the forces represented in it could not yet serve this purpose. But the dynamic potentialities of a great role are there. The developments of the Progressive Miners in Illinois in the coming months may have a decisive bearing, not only the mining situation but also upon the whole Left wing and progressive labor movement of the entire country.

The Progressive Miners Organization

The importance and significance of the Gillespie conference derives primarily from the participation of the Progressive Miners of America. Not only from the top but also from the bottom, from the local unions, the fighting Illinois miners came to rub shoulders with the delegates of other trades and take counsel with them. Here is a heartening sign, one of many signs, that the P. M. A. stands higher and sees farther than the previous district formation of insurgent miners. Still going through its own first birth pangs as a union, the P. M. A. already looks beyond the borders of its own industry and seeks alliance with the workers of other trades. And the participation of the rank and file, through delegates from the local unions, shows very clearly, the genuine mass impulse behind the movement.

But if the domination of the conference by the Progressive Miners was the strength of the conference, then, in another sense of the word, it was also its weakness. The other delegations came from the small local craft unions and central bodies in the Illinois mining towns, and from Left wing groups which are still in the stage of propaganda rather than stable union organization. Such a combination can and should work out a common program of agitation. But, on such a basis there can be no serious talk of a new labor federation.

The prospects of the new union represented at Gillespie are the prospects, first and foremost, of the Progressive Miners of America. If this new union survives the test of fire in the coming months, and consolidates its organization more firmly in the struggle against the operators and the UMW, it will by that fact lay a big section of the foundations of the new unionism. If the PMA goes down in the fight and loses its organization base the new union movement will receive the heaviest blow.

In other articles the specific tasks and problems of the PMA, and its prospects for expansion into a wider field will be considered. In our opinion the Progressive Miners' movement in Illinois occupies at the present movement the key position in the unfolding of a new progressive sweep in the labor movement on a national scale. For that reason it deserves the closest attention of all those elements and tendencies which strive, or pretend to strive, in one way or another, to break the labor movement out of the paralyzing grip of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. And by the same token the worth of these various tendencies in the field of trade unionism can be judged most concretely by their attitude toward the activities and problems of the PMA, and especially by the answers they give to the questions which haven't been answered yet.

From this point of view it is interesting to note the position taken on the Gillespie Conference by the various political groups. The Socialists, the CP, the Lovestones, the Stalinists and the Left Opposition—all of them reacted to the Gillespie Conference. But the only group that gave a clear and definite answer beforehand, and had its position confirmed to the letter by the experience of the conference itself, was the Communist Left Opposition.

That wing of the S. P. which trails along with the Progressive Miners, and fattens itself parasitically on the blunders and crimes of the leadership of the official Communist party, had nothing to say, and no advice to offer, about the project of a new federation of labor before the conference. As with the formation of the PMA itself, these parasites wait to see what luck the miners have with their ventures. If a given undertaking fails they wash their hands of it; if it succeeds and sweeps a mass movement with it, they trail along and exploit it. And all the time they maintain a solidarity within one party with the Hillquits who support Lewis and all the other black reactionaries.

The CP, which recommends itself as the center and leader of the progressive labor movement, also showed the quality of its leadership in the matter of the Gillespie Conference. The recent issue of the *Labor Age* printed the call for the Gillespie Conference, with its announced intention of "formulating a new federation of labor," without saying definitely what it thought about the project. Were the Musteltes in favor of the proposal? Or against it? Or neu-

tral—you will look in vain for a categorical answer in their publication before the event. And it is on just such questions that clear and categorical answers are required. The comment of the *Labor Age* implies a certain support for the idea of a new federation of labor to be formed at the Gillespie Conference. But the door is left open to face the other way, if things go wrong and the miners involve themselves in a serious mistake. In this attitude the Musteltes ran true to form. In all their dabbling with the Illinois miners situation, they have never failed to show this policy of half-wayness by which they blunt the sharp edge of all the issues and muddle up the progressive movement from within. It is in the highest degree thanks to them that the Farrington-Howat betrayal was put over on the miners and the liberation movement against the Lewis bureaucracy was so long arrested and disoriented. Let the Illinois miners who retain some confidence in these pseudo-progressives, after all their experience, ask themselves why the CP did not take a clear position and warn them against premature and dangerous experiments with a new federation of labor. By what right can they claim to be leaders if they can't answer such questions, and answer them at the right time?

The Stalinist Position

The position of the Stalinist delegates in the Gillespie Conference was indeed a spectacle for gods and men. A half a dozen or so delegates from TUUL groups in Chicago came to the Gillespie Conference and gave the miners another occasion to scratch their heads in wonderment at this queer mélange of contradiction and inconsistency, this combination of adventurous leaps and panicky retreats, which goes by the name of the trade union policy of Stalinism. The conduct of the Stalinist delegates at the conference was indeed a humiliating confession of bankruptcy, and a complete repudiation of everything that have done on the trade union field in the disastrous years of the "third period".

If the trade union policy of a political group is any good it should reveal its strength precisely on such an occasion as the Gillespie Conference where workers' organizations are seeking an answer to new questions. Isn't that a fair test? The Left Opposition thought so, and that is why its representatives at the conference expounded their trade union policy, not in a new edition but in the old one. Nothing that we said or did there stood in contradiction to the standpoint we have taken in the whole course of the development of the progressive labor movement in recent years. We are quite willing for the militant miners to judge the trade union policy of the Left Opposition not only in the light of what we said at the conference but also in the light of what we said before the conference.

The Stalinists came to the conference under a heavy handicap. The best militants in the miners' organization were antagonistic to them, and for good reasons. The Stalinists fought the opposition movement in the UMW which laid the ground for the formation of the P. M. A. They fought the PMA which represented a mass movement and set up against it the National Miners Union which did not exist in Illinois. They set the TUUL up as a new labor center in 1929 and since that time have been characterizing all unions that did not affiliate with it as "company unions". If these policies had been confirmed as correct by the development of the movement itself, the Gillespie Conference was just the place to defend them and to make further proposals along the same lines. But there was the rub. The policies had been completely discredited in life and did not in any way fit the problem of the hour.

How did the Stalinist delegates get out of this contradiction between the whole policy of the recent years and the

concrete needs of the moment? Very simply. They made a complete right-about-face on everything. And they did this without previous announcement or warning in the Party press, without any acknowledgment of previous error; and they even kept, or tried to keep, straight faces through this bizarre performance. In the conference there were not a few conscious militants who follow all developments closely and take careful note of what each group and tendency stands for. But even these seasoned people, who were glad enough to see the old ruinous policies discarded bag and baggage, regarded the spectacle with a certain amount of amusement and incredulity, as one watches a circus performer going through flip-flops and wonders how he does it.

If the party stands for the formation of a new labor movement, and if the TUUL is in fact the new labor center, as they have maintained since 1929, then why not urge the Gillespie Conference to join the TUUL? That is certainly a logical conclusion—if the policy was a correct one. But the Stalinist delegates did not even mention the TUUL. More than that, they appeared there as the most vociferous opponents of any idea of the formation of a new general labor movement at the present time. They repeated all the arguments which the Left Opposition has been making on this question, the arguments which up till yesterday had been denounced as counter-revolutionary. They went further than that. In their disorderly retreat from the discredited policy of yesterday, they arrived at such a conservative position, they argued so passionately against the danger of premature splits in the A. F. of L. unions, that they found themselves a number of times in alliance with the extreme Right wing of the conference, with those who wanted only to let well enough alone and take no further progressive steps of any kind.

If the National Miners Union is the only organization of the progressive miners, and if the PMA is only an imitation of the Lewis union—as was maintained up till yesterday—then the Gillespie conference should have been made a forum for the advancement of this idea. But this policy had likewise gone to pieces on the rocks of reality. So... the National Miners Union was not mentioned by a single word. It is by such contradictions and zig-zags that the Stalinists have succeeded in discrediting the Communist party in the Illinois coal field and facilitating the revival of the socialist organization.

The Left Oppositionists who, by a consistently correct policy over a period of years, and by a loyal participation in the struggles, have gained a certain influence and prestige in the progressive miners movement of Illinois, have great and unique tasks before them. They have to lift up the banner of Communism which has been trampled in the mire and make the miners understand that the monstrous blunders and crimes of the recent years are not an expression of Communism but of the Stalinist perversion of it. In view of the annihilation of the Party organization in southern Illinois, they are obliged to fulfill the natural functions of the party; to conduct the direct struggle against the reformist elements for the decisive influence in the movement. They have to take upon themselves directly the initiative and the leading role in the organization of a strong Left wing which will steer the new movement firmly on the path of a class struggle policy. The destiny of the Progressive Miners movement of Illinois depends on this. And, conversely, the chances of an early revival of the Communist movement and organization among the miners, under the direct leadership of the Left Opposition, depends upon the complete identity of its own interests with the fundamental interests of the miners' movement. The Left Oppositionists at the Gillespie conference were animated by this fundamental conception and made it the starting point of new plans and new endeavors. Great things can follow.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

Shall the Revolutionary Students Be Organized Into Separate Movements

(Continued from last issue)

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

If there is any instance where only the Communists can lead effectively and correctly, it is in the struggle against capitalist militarism and imperialist war. Yet, witness the spectacle at the Barbusse Congress at Amsterdam when the Communist International abandoned its rightful role of leadership to the intellectuals! Comment here is superfluous; the *Militant* has dealt fully with this Congress and at the Student Conference Against War at Chicago, initiated by the NSL and the Communists, the Amsterdam spectacle was repeated in an even more grotesque manner. The YCL abandoned its field and the results of the Chicago Conference were—confusion, disorganization, perversion and misrepresentation of the revolutionary ways and means to combat imperialism war except as clarified by delegates and supporters of the Communist Left Opposition. (See the articles on the Chicago Student Conference in the *Militant* by Aderhabe and A. Glotzer for an analysis of this Conference). It was inevitable there, as at Amsterdam or wherever the same stunt is tried, that when the intellectuals or students took over the leadership in the anti-imperialist movement, the real basis of struggle against war was vitiated and the workers misled. The C. P. and YCL stood in the wings, behind the scenes, witnessing, approvingly, the spectacle and abandoned their leading role. Was the revolution-

ary student participating in such a conference doing his duty in attempting to lead this struggle against capitalist war? He thought so. But he was doomed to failure. Yet subordinate to, and a part of, the YCL, the revolutionary students could take a part, however small or large, in a united front movement against war on specific issues.

On other questions, the NSL has taken a position which on the one hand is correct and on the other, false. For instance, the "revolutionary" NSL endorsed the Communist party in the November elections: a correct action. But it motivated its support of the C. P., not on revolutionary class grounds, but on the fact that the C. P., of all political parties consulted, had alone taken a stand for the students on their specific problems of class fees, etc. How ridiculous for an organization presumably pivoting on a revolutionary axis! Why should any such confusion arise among revolutionary students? It shouldn't; the confusion is unnecessary and springs largely from the concept of an independent student role and the belief that revolutionary students should put forth more "palatable" or "adaptable" reasons for their revolutionary conclusions. This is the manner in which liberals and opportunists justify their stupidities or betrayals.

Yet, and this is another decisive factor, the Young Communist League, measured by its theoretical and organizational basis, is or should be a sufficiently

Germany: Why Is the Comintern Silent

(Continued from page 1)

tomorrow. Significant fact: in 1931, the Communist party criminally supported the Fascist popular referendum to dissolve the Prussian Diet, with its socialist-Centrist government, thus alienating the socialist workers from Communism and raising the prestige and strength of Fascism. Our violent condemnation of the policy of the so-called Red Referendum was met with the customary Stalinist abuse: the Trotskyists are agents of Braun and Brüning. In 1933, the same Prussian Diet is finally dissolved by the Fascists, not by referendum but by dictatorial decree. What position do the Stalinists take? If their policy in 1931 was good Bolshevism, and not a criminal adventure, it would be logical that this policy be crowned in 1933 by a vote in the Diet to dissolve it. But they acted in exactly the opposite way: the Communist fraction voted together with the social democrats and the Catholic Center against the dissolution of the Diet!

Three: The most drastic decree yet issued has been put into effect by von Hindenburg on the control of the press and public meetings. Any public meetings, for which 48 hours advance notice must be given in any case, may be forbidden "when danger to the public security is to be apprehended." Are the Nazis a danger to the public security? Of course not! But the Communists and the socialists manifestly are, above all and primarily the former, against whom the decree is particularly aimed. Meetings and demonstrations may be dissolved for any one of a dozen reasons, which means they may be dissolved (i. e., violently dispersed) without any reason at all being given. Any paper may be confiscated or suppressed for "inviting disobedience of the government or its instruments, for inviting or glorifying violence, for proposing a general strike or a strike in some vitally necessary industry, for defending or holding up to contempt the organs or institutions or leading officials of the government," etc., etc. For second offenses, papers may be suspended for from six to twelve months! Even public collections for party purposes "may be restricted or forbidden." In a word, the activities by word or deed of any militant working class organization, of the Communist party in particular, are currently circumscribed to the point where it is forced into a straitjacket.

As is known, the *Rote Fahne*, organ of the Communist party, together with several other party organs, has already been hit hard by suppression and confiscation. The central organ of the social democrats, *Vorwärts*, as well as other socialist papers, have met with a similar fate. The central headquarters of the Communist party in Berlin have already been raided. Meetings of workers are being forbidden or dispersed by force. The same measures employed by Mussolini on the road to establishing the black shirts in power, are being started with a vengeance by the Hitler bandits in Germany today.

The civil war has started in all earnest. We take some excerpts from a single issue of the *New York Times* (February 6, 1933):

"At midnight tonight reports from all over the country give this additional record—undoubtedly incomplete for the day—of the evil results of the violence attending these demonstrations. In Chemnitz, in a clash between socialists and Nazis, one socialist was killed and twelve wounded, five perhaps fatally. At Weizlar twenty were wounded in a similar disturbance. At Bochum, in a conflict between Nazis and Communists, a Nazi leader was killed and there were thirty-one arrests. In Munich, in a Nazi-Communist clash, three Nazis, a Communist, two policemen and a Reichsbanner man were wounded. In Stuttgart, in a row between Nazi storm troops and socialist Reichsbanner men, a Nazi was badly wounded... Joachim Matthes, 17 years old, was held tonight in Sinsfurt on a charge of murdering Mayor Hermann Kasten. The Mayor, who was

Communists, Socialists and Fascists in Civil War

also a Socialist Deputy in the Prussian Diet and the father of a family, was shot from behind while opening his garden gate. He died in a hospital... In Düsseldorf eight men were injured during clashes in various parts of the city, after four busloads of Nazis had been shot at from windows. Munich, Leipzig and Danzig also reported bloodshed...."

The civil war has started, but only started. The first bloody skirmishes already show what form it will take when it extends to the far vaster scale it must take on before the question: Fascism or Bolshevism, is definitely decided. The realities of the class struggle exclude the theories and practices of the Stalinists every day. If the theory of "social Fascism" was regarded with contempt and outraged feelings by the Italian socialist worker who remembered his Matteotti, it is now being cut to pieces by the Hitlerite knives sunk into the bodies of socialist workers in Germany. The murder of Mayor Kasten, the killing of dozens of other socialist proletarians and militants, these give also a death-blow in concrete to the theoretically untenable slogan of "social-Fascism". What is dissolved in Prussia, the social democracy does not call upon the workers to rise in protest, to act as a class. No, these contemptible Prussian democrats run to the Supreme Court at Leipzig to complain about Hindenburg's unconstitutional action!

More than that: the consoling theory is being seditiously spread in whispers in the ranks of the Communist party that, after all, it makes no difference to the proletariat whether it be Brüning or von Papen or von Schleicher or Hitler who is in power. For, you see, they all represent one and the same class, the bourgeoisie! This is a theory of cowards, criminals or confirmed idiots. How many party members have been taken in by this, by your leave, theory, cannot be estimated. Scores of them, however, have voiced it. We cannot conceive of a more signal service rendered to reaction than this theory. It is calculated to excuse the impotence of the Stalinists during the past period of the struggle, and also to justify the wretched passivity and bewilderment of the party chieftains in face of the crisis.

Is Fascism Different?

Is Fascism "different" from the "democratic" forms of bourgeois government?

Is it possible that a serious worker can even entertain such a question in the year 1933? Yes, both are the rule of the bourgeoisie. One by "democratic" means, by deception, by illusions, by "persuasive persuasion". The other, however, throws off all pretense and tolerates none of the bourgeois or proletarian democratic forms or institutions. Is the suppression of the socialist press only a little accidental joke of Hitler? Is the murdering of several socialist workers merely a regrettable mistake of the Fascists, or perhaps a Machiavellian plot to disprove the Stalinist theory of "social Fascism"? Has the history of Italian Fascism been forgotten already? Have we already forgotten these gruesome photographs, printed in their time in every labor paper, of workers massacred in Italian streets, of newspaper offices wrecked, of labor temples demolished, of every single institution and organization of the working class—reformist or revolutionary—destroyed with bestial ferocity? Of the trade unions smashed and the political parties driven underground and their leaders imprisoned and exiled and banished?

Whoever even hints to the working class that there is no real difference between the "democratic" rule of the bourgeoisie and the Fascist rule by torch and sword, that it is a matter of indifference to the proletariat, is playing the game to the best interests of Fascism! Whoever does not shout out loud to the workers of all groups and organizations that they must immediately form a powerful united front to crush Fascism before it

is in a position to crush the working class completely, is not a leader of the working class but an impostor who should be kicked into the obscurity where he belongs.

Can Fascism still be smashed? Yes. It should and could have been smashed months ago, before Hitler became Chancellor. Invaluable, irreplaceable time has already been lost, but it is not yet too late. Once organized into a powerful, united army, the million-headed German proletariat can sweep the Fascist ecum out of power and into oblivion. But this demands struggle, and united struggle, and whoever stands in the way is giving aid to Hitlerism.

The Socialist Leaders

Do the social democratic leaders want to fight? Yes, if they could be guaranteed that the masses, once set into real motion, will stop where the leaders want them to—i. e., at another socialist or revisionist ministry, let us say—and not go further along the road to proletarian power—the logical goal of such a mass movement. But there is no such guarantee, and the socialist leaders, well aware of it, prefer to restrain, hold back, check, soothe and give false consolation to the masses who follow them. When the Diet is dissolved in Prussia, the social democracy does not call upon the workers to rise in protest, to act as a class. No, these contemptible Prussian democrats run to the Supreme Court at Leipzig to complain about Hindenburg's unconstitutional action!

But the Communists? You read the *Daily Worker* in vain for an elucidation of the strategy and tactics of the German Communist Party in the present situation. There are whole days when the *Daily Worker* simply doesn't mention the German situation, for what does it amount to when compared with a meeting of the Independent Barbers' Union of Greater New York? And when it does refer to Germany, it contains badly rewritten accounts from the capitalist press, or else cables from the International Press Correspondence which are a disgrace to the Communist movement? What is the line of policy of the German Communist? What are they doing? What do they plan to do? What has happened with the call issued on the morrow of Hitler's appointment for a national general strike? About all of these vital questions, not one single word in the columns of the *Daily Worker*.

Here you have the German situation poised on the tip of a needle. The way it falls will decide for the next period the fate of all Europe, and consequently of the world revolution. The central organ of the American Communist Party deals with the whole situation as though it were reporting a local strike of third-rate significance!

But let not the *Daily Worker* be made the scapegoat for the Comintern. For it is the Comintern, we repeat, that is responsible for the unprecedented silence concerning the German events. Why? Why is no explanation given to the Communist workers about this silence? What is the position of the responsible leadership of the Communist International on the decisive events which are unfolding in Germany? What horrible calamity is Stalinism preparing for the international proletariat?

Plain words! That is what we demand!

Speak up now! Not after the event, not as a sermon for the dead, but as a battle cry and a line of march for the living.

For the real, Leninist united front! For a bloc between the Communist party, the Social Democracy, the Trade Unions, the Red Front Fighters, and the Reichsbanner, to march separately but to strike unitedly, to bring the Iron Front of the German proletariat down upon the skull of the Fascist beast!

Proletarian Communists, militants, workers! The decisive word lies with you now. Speak up so that the whole movement may hear and act—before this whole movement has been drowned in its own blood.

Wed., Feb. 8.

—M. S.

broad organization to include within it not only young workers, but also the revolutionary-minded students. The Communist Youth organization does not demand that young workers or students who desire to join it, shall be full-fledged Communists when they make application. It requires, and properly so, that those joining it shall be willing to learn to be Communists, in theory and through participation in the struggles of the workers. We speak here not of the caricature that the YCL in the United States, and elsewhere, has become, but of the foundation upon which the Young Communist International was erected and the manner the YCLs were expected actually to function. For such students who join the NSL today because of its revolutionary program, we have to say that their place is directly in the ranks of the Communist youth organization.

It is a totally false conception of bridge organizations and their functions to accept the formation of an independent students' organization as a part of that schema. An ILD, which defends class war victims irrespective of their political or economic views, is one thing. An independent students' body with a political program and functions is an altogether different matter. An ILD has an obviously legitimate function to perform. An independent students' organization can, and already has done great harm to the immediate and historical interests of the workers. That which tends to and does usurp the role of a revolutionary political party or YCL becomes a perversion of Marxist theory on the role of a Communist party. When the Stalinists aid in the formation of such bodies as the National Student League, workers and

peasants parties, Labor party, anti-imperialist Leagues, etc., they only further undermine the theoretical foundations of Marxism, and particularly the role of the C. P. and YCL. The NSL, in our opinion, is but another version or application of Stalinist theory, and as in the other cases it results only in additional blows delivered against the revolutionary movement. The Barbusse Conference and the American replicas of it are the demonstrations of how these blows are dealt.

But while the Left Opposition, hence, must stand opposed to the formation of independent students' organizations, and more so when they masquerade as "revolutionary" or "Communist", this by no means excludes work among the students. In whatever students' organizations exist, the Communist must build fractions, even as they do in trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers, and there seek to develop Communist influence and win the individual students to the revolutionary banner and organization. Even as anti-imperialist papers can be issued by the Communist without special anti-imperialist organizations, so can Communist student papers be issued to proclaim its cause for the workers and proletarian students.

Win Students on Communist Basis

Nor need there be any neglect of neutralizing or trying to win as allies to the proletarian cause the middle class or petty bourgeois students, in the same manner, relatively, as we seek to make allies of the poor and exploited farmers. But while we recognize the need to win such groups to accept the leadership of the proletariat and the Communists in the struggles against the bourgeoisie, yet

it is not for us to aid in the creation of organizations of the petty bourgeoisie of various descriptions. Bigger and more important tasks remain for the Communists. Wherever any organization exists, however, which contains workers and other elements upon whom we can exert influence, the Communists enter, build fractions and conduct their work accordingly. But certainly Communists can never think of relinquishing the role of leadership, politically or organizationally, to such elements; for they are historically unqualified to do so; they cannot serve with their confused and false programs, the interests of the working class and the vast mass of exploited. Trotsky points out in connection with the building of the Red Army: "The petty bourgeois intelligentsia could give the army a considerable number of lower officers, as they had done under czarism, but they could not create a commanding corps in their own image, for they had no image of their own." Likewise, by analogy, the Communists nowhere must concede leading historical roles to forces incapable of "creating a commanding corps." Wherever Stalinism has permitted them—and, worse, justified it—there have resulted debacles: in China on a tremendous world stage; in Amsterdam (Barbusse Congress) on a lesser, but still important scale; and in Chicago (Youth War Conference) on an illusory and comic scale.

In short, the Left Communists must come to the conclusion, in the writer's opinion, for the liquidation of the National Student League and similar creations, and insist that the Communist party and YCL take over the duties and role that properly belongs to them.

—MARTIN ABERN.



Opposition Demands United Front At Second Jobless Conference

LEAGUE REPRESENTATIVE PROPOSES UNITED FRONT
POLICY BE ADOPTED TOWARDS CONFERENCE FOR
UNEMPLOYMENT ORGANIZED BY SOCIALIST LEADERS

The second meeting of the unemployed front conference on unemployment in New York City was held on Sunday, February 5 at Irving Plaza. Only about one-half of the delegates who attended the first conference two weeks before were present at Sunday's meeting. A sag in the movement which followed from the incorrect policy of the leadership was to be noted, and the difficulties have become further complicated by the action of the Socialist party in calling a rival conference of labor organizations for February 25 at the Rand School Auditorium. The attitude to be taken toward this disruptive maneuver of the Socialist leaders was the most important question of policy under consideration at the Sunday conference.

On this point the entire discussion centered around the proposal of the executive committee for a boycott of the S. P. conference and on the one side, and a counter-proposal made by comrade Cannon in the name of the Left Opposition. Here again, as in the first conference, the fundamental questions of united front policy came to the fore. The elementary ideas of the Lenin tactic were again elucidated by the Left Opposition and once more the objections to them, which were laughed out of the Communist International over ten years ago, were solemnly repeated by the Stalinist spokesmen, Hatcher, Winters, Nesson, and others. The resolution of comrade Cannon, designed to frustrate the splitting tactics of the Socialist leaders and to organize a unity movement within their own ranks, reads as follows:

RESOLUTION

"Whereas, The Socialist Party of New York City, through its Labor Committee, has called a conference of workers' organizations on Unemployment for February 23, and has specified in its conference call the demands of 'unemployment insurance, the 5-day and 30-hour week and further unemployment relief' and

"Whereas, This committee stands for the united struggle of all workers and workers' organizations for immediate demands along these lines, therefore be it

"Resolved, that this committee, while proceeding with its own activities as laid down by the first conference, shall extend a written invitation to the conference of the socialists and the workers' organizations responding to their call, to join forces with us in a common struggle; that a delegation be sent to the conference to make this proposal; and that affiliated organizations of our committee be urged to send delegates to the socialist conference to support our unity proposal from the floor."

In speaking for the resolution, comrade Cannon said that the calling of the S. P. conference was a deliberate move to disrupt and split the movement and was designed at the same time to cover up their own lack of activity in the struggle for the unemployed. On this point there was no disagreement with the executive committee.

"The differences," said comrade Cannon, "arise in the field of tactics; but to frustrate the disruptive maneuvers of the Socialist leaders. In everything we do, we must bear in mind that they are influencing workers and workers' organizations whom we wish to draw into a united movement with us and without whom our movement will lack the necessary united strength. The appeal to the socialist workers to boycott the conference of their own organization and to come to us is incorrect. They are not ready to break with their own organization and to follow our leadership. But the most of them realize the need for a united movement and will support it. They are not convinced of the treacherous role of the Socialist leaders and will not be convinced merely by our denunciation. For this it is necessary to prove in the most concrete manner that the Socialist leaders sabotage and reject our fair and realistic proposals for a united conference and to this end, instead of boycotting the conference—which only plays the game of the disrupters and facilitates their splitting maneuvers—we should not only be sat-

Seek Freedom For Angelo Herndon

YOUNG NEGRO COMMUNIST IS
GIVEN 18 TO 20 YEARS IN
GEORGIA; NO BAIL GRANTED

One of the most heinous crimes yet committed by the white bourgeois ruling class of the South has come to light in the case of Angelo Herndon.

Coming on the heels of the violent attacks upon the share croppers' meetings at Camp Hill, Angelo Herndon, a young Negro Communist, was picked up in the chain gang state of the union, Georgia, and sentenced to from 18 to 20 years on the chain gang for no other "crime" than that of possessing "Communist literature on his person." The literature, as the defense has already been able to point out, is permitted by federal authorities to pass through the mail.

This act of panicky terror is a glaring reflection of the fear that the rising militancy and consciousness of those most oppressed Negro workers and farmers, is pouring into the hearts of the southern ruling class. More than that, the numerous examples of solidarity between black and white workers against their common enemy, the bosses, have been of no little consequence in increasing the bourgeois' terror. As was to be expected, the Negro politicians and misleaders of the Negro toilers placed the cart before the horse in their criticism of the Angelo case. To them it was not the ruling class of Georgia that was the real villain in the piece, but the Communist party which sent a young Negro worker to the South to—as they put it—sure death.

But has been denied Angelo Herndon, according to latest reports. The Negro and labor baiting South will try its utmost to put through another lynch verdict. The southern capitalist hyenas have not yet had their fill with the Scottsboro boys, the share croppers, the Cliff Jameses and the innumerable others. Only the mighty voice and actions of the entire working class of America, Negro as well as white, can put a stop to the lynch terror whether "legal" or "illegal," that is the common method of the capitalist South. The workers must resist.

De Valera Harnesses Discontent

De Valera, leader of Flannery's party of the petty bourgeoisie, triumphed in the general elections held recently in Ireland. He now has a free hand to reduce the wages of civil employees—the issue which precipitated the elections. Formerly De Valera had to rely on the Irish Labor Party for the continuation of his regime. The Labor Party, however, if it was to exist as a party, could not openly, at this stage of development in Ireland, support this.

None the less the Labor party will continue to support De Valera, as it has no definite policy of its own. In many instances it wants De Valera to have a free hand; in the matter of his fight to abolish the oath of allegiance to the King of England; retention of the land grant; the development of national industries; his hints of a fight for an independent republic.

Where De Valera is going to find a market for the products of "Irish national industries" he has not explained. The total imports of the Irish Free State dropped from \$201,821,000 in 1931 to \$171,118,000 in 1932. Exports fell from \$145,034,000 to \$103,102,000. This drop, coupled with a rising army of unemployed, conservatively estimated

Lacroix and Nin Arrested

Andres Nin, former secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions and a prominent leader of the Spanish Left Opposition since his expulsion from the Soviet Union by the Stalinist apparatus, was arrested in Barcelona a few weeks ago in a police raid upon his home. On December 27, the police perpetrated the same thing upon comrade Henri Lacroix. After being held for three days in the headquarters of the Special Police, they were transferred to the prison where it was made known that they were at the disposal of the military authorities of Andalusia.

After seven days in prison, comrade Lacroix was transferred to Alcazarras at the disposal of the military judge; but comrade Nin is now in prison in Barcelona, without any reason being given nor anyone officially informed as to his condition.

More than eight months ago, our comrade Maximo Gorky was imprisoned in Barcelona without any information given on his legal situation. Our comrade Basilio has been confined in Hadojos prison for five months and comrade Llerena, together with other comrades, are incarcerated in other prisons. Unlike the Stalinists, the Spanish bourgeoisie does not know that the "Trotskyists are counter-revolutionists."

Writer Exposes Stalinist Censor

GORKY'S MEMOIRS OF LENIN
FALSIFIED TO SUIT NEED
OF PARTY BUREAUCRACY

The latest instance of the rewriting of revolutionary history in the Soviet Union, is uncovered in the February 15, 1933 issue of the liberal journal "The New Republic," in a review by Edmund Wilson of "Days with Lenin" by Maxim Gorky. The English edition of the book has just been published by the Stalinist censor, International Publishers, and Wilson takes the petty forgery undertaken either by Gorky under pressure of the Stalinist censors, or by the censors themselves, for the purposes of the factional anti-Trotsky campaign which has been carrying on for a decade. That the latter is not in the least squeamish about resorting to forgery in this campaign is revealed by the following lengthy excerpt from the Wilson review:

"This memoir, first published in 1927, is a very much amplified and rewritten version of the magazine article published in 1924 at the time of Lenin's death. It is curious to see the passages which have been made in the change about Trotsky. Here is what Gorky in 1924 (translate from a French text):

"Yes, I have often heard him (Lenin) praise his comrades. And he knew how to do justice to the virtues of even those with whom I continued on page 2

Japan Rejects League 'Aid'

IMPERIALISTS JOCKEY FOR
POSITION U. S. INVOLVED:
SOVIETS ARE THREATENED

Will Japan break with the League of Nations? Will the League go to the full extent of condemning Japan as the aggressor in Manchuria and recommending some form of action against Japanese imperialism? Or is this merely a sham fight to mislead the workers of the world into believing that the League is really an international organization for preserving peace and outlawing war?

The struggle among the robber imperialist powers is far from being a sham. In this period of capitalist decay, every capitalist country fights desperately to maintain and expand its markets and its economic power at the expense of every other country. Japan's profound disturbance of the imperialist world's balance of economic power in the Far East, its closing of the Manchurian frontiers to all but its own exploitation, arouses the greatest alarm among the rival imperialist bandits.

U. S. Takes Up Challenge

The direct threat to Yankee "influence" in China does not go unchallenged. The naval war maneuvers in the Pacific, the landing of troops in Hawaii, the charting for naval development of the Aleutian Islands with a view to attack Japan from the North to avoid her submarine bases, the discussions by U. S. army officers in technical magazines of the best methods of mobilizing and coordinating war industries—these are real enough moves towards war. U. S. pressure on the League applied by means of the lever of war debts, supplements the concern of the other great powers directly over their own exclusion from Manchuria, possibly from China in the near future, and also over the possibility of the breakdown of the League which would mean a threat to the Versailles Treaty and perhaps a new shuffle of the cards in Europe.

In this sense, dictated by a desire for self-preservation and for maintaining the status quo, the League is not a threat to the U. S. and Japan while the War breaks out whenever the ultimate, irrepressible economic causes find open and sufficient expression in immediate causes. The basic conflict of our epoch is that between the two economic systems, the capitalist and the Communist, systems of relations that cannot possibly continue indefinitely to exist side by side. The ultimate causes of war between the capitalist powers and the Soviet Union, came into existence at the very birth of the proletarian revolution. Hitler in power in Germany will unquestionably precipitate immediate causes for this war. Already the German policy has changed with relation to Japan, a natural ally of Hitler in an anti-Soviet crusade. Hitler wants Japan to remain in Manchuria to be ready for invasion of the USSR. Hence, the German representative, von Koller's proposal in the League to the opposition for a "neutral" body in Manchuria withdrawn to fix a time for withdrawal of Japanese troops, just as at Shanghai.

The ultimate causes of war between the imperialists find expression in every daily newspaper. It is doubtful, however, whether the ruling classes of the capitalist nations will lose sight of their interests as a whole, as expressed in the absolutely fundamental antagonism to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to enter into conflicts that inevitably are secondary and can wait. In any case, even if war broke out between the imperialist U. S. and Japan, their differences could be and would be patched up at once (for later solving) in the event of an attack on the Soviet Union. The greedy calculating moves for greater advantage of the powers would not stop even during such a "holy" war, but would not only be all the more intensified.

The League, as the international mart for imperialist bargaining, is demanding its "price" from Japan for Manchuria. That price includes two guarantees: namely, that Japan halt where she is now without adding North China to her conquest, and that the Japanese generals must no longer "stall" in their implied promise to start the world conflagration by attack the Soviet Union. In that case there will be no break between the League and Japan.

Debate—Anarchism vs. Communism—Sunday, February 23, 8 P. M. at 227 E. 12th St. Spartacist Youth Club vs. Vanguard (Anarchist) Group.

Militant Now 3 Times a Week

Here is the first issue of the "New Militant", which we are undertaking to publish three times a week during the critical days of the German situation. The conversion of the Militant from a weekly into a three-times-a-week, even if at a reduced size, involves a tremendous physical and financial strain. But the immense importance of the stirring drama of the class war which is reaching its highest point in Germany at the present moment, makes it imperative that the Militant be in position to speak at least every second day instead of every week. The independence of the Stalinists makes the active intervention of the Left Opposition even more essential. We are anxious to continue the three-times-a-week at least for the coming month. We need the most generous financial assistance to achieve it. Will you help immediately? Our expenses are increasing during this campaign, but the income from the Militant is lowered in correspondence with the fact that the price for the paper has been lowered to make it available to every worker. Give donations! Spread the Militant! Remember that the new price is

ONE CENT A COPY

German Bourgeoisie Calls Fascism To Solve Economic Crisis Its Way

The political development of the class struggle which has brought Germany to the present period of crucial decisions, has been dialectically interwoven with the development of the economic crisis. Both have progressed by a series of sharp turns which have been prepared for by the conditions of the previous period of weeks or months.

The displacement of Brüning by Papen in June of last year, under conditions of sharp intensification of the crisis, meant that the German bourgeoisie could no longer use a regime whose ability to attack the working class was limited by the necessity of a measure of consideration for its social democratic allies.

Slight Rise Under Papen

The Papen regime from June to December was marked by two sets of developments, apparently contradictory but in reality growing out of each other. In the first place, the ability of the bourgeoisie to gain ground in Germany and internationally at the expense of the working class was expressed in the beginning of an improvement in industrial activity during this period—temporary, precarious, uneven, but nevertheless an unmistakable breathing-space in the development of the crisis. Prices began to rise, unemployment declined, coal and steel production rose, railroad freight traffic rose, building activity, foreign trade, decline in bankruptcies, all the indices of economic life showed the effects of returning "confidence."

continued on page 2

Hitler Lays New Trap for Workers

Aims to Distract Attention from Mass Struggle of Labor
By Parliamentary Deception of March 5; Social
Democrats Join in Dupery; Communists Still Tied
Hand and Foot by Rejection of United Front

Adolf Hitler has made his aims clear beyond mistake in the first programmatic speech to be delivered for the national elections to be held in Germany on March 5. "A fight against class warfare and a fight against Marxism," to go hand in hand with the destruction of the "parliamentary-democratic system." If there could ever be any doubts before about the deceptive character of the March elections to the Reichstag, they are now entirely eliminated.

The idea that the present Cabinet combination of the Fascist, nationalist and monarchist reaction will attain a "legal" parliamentary majority in the coming elections of sufficient weight to enable it to rule with a constitutional Reichstag foundation, is scouted even by the bourgeois commentators in the press. Even if the "stay at home" vote is brought out in its entirety, there is the slimmest possibility

chance that it will cast its vote so solidly as to make up the required millions for a Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen majority. Yesterday's speech of the monarchist leader, Alfred Hugenberg, not only tacitly acknowledges the unholyhood of this eventuality, but in the words of the World-Tribune correspondent (February 12), has "let the cat out of the bag by revealing that the government of national concentration...intends to govern in the future by dictatorship, regardless of the will of the people."

The Election Trap

Leaving aside for the moment the vain Hugenbergian dream of governing together with the Fascists—in view of the fact that the Fascists aim at complete hegemony, of the open rule by rifle and bayonet—the speeches of Hitler and Hugenberg make it as plain as a pikestaff that the axis of the whole situation revolves not around the deliberate illusion of a sham parliamentary struggle, but on the extra-parliamentary battle of the class struggle.

That the social democratic leaders, who fear the unleashing of the militant class movement more than anything else, should seek to drive the workers into the trap, goes without saying. The present position of the social democracy of Germany is most crassly and stupidly stated by the yellow socialists of New York in the leading editorial of the Jewish Forward of February 3:

"Hitler's authority will help the Hitlerists' precocious little in this case, for everybody knows that Hitler has not become a Nazi. He designated Hitler as Chancellor because Hitler represents the largest party in the country. But he has not given him the slightest dictatorial power. On the contrary, Hitler has put into Hitler's cabinet a majority of ministers who are indeed reactionaries but at the same time bitter opponents of Hitler's program and he also secured himself against the rule for very long against the will of the Reichstag. What will happen further, nobody knows. Most likely, however, Hitler has not violated the Constitution. And Hitler is not yet a dictator." (Our emphasis.)

Everybody has his role. That of the social democracy is base treason.

What is C. P. Doing?

And the Communist party? A position of naive hopeless confusion, irresolution and hopelessness in the midst of a situation that cries out for clarity, determination and audacity, can hardly be imagined. The parliamentary elections as the axis of the struggle, constitute an enormous and treacherous swindle. What is the party doing to counteract it? There is only one thing that it can and must do: organize the genuine united front of all workers' organizations to launch the general strike, to mobilize the concerted strength of the German proletariat to crush Fascism. Is the party doing this? It has not even begun, for to begin it is imperative to throw overboard all the disastrous policies of yesterday which have rendered the party so impotent in the struggle. In the face of everything that has happened, the party still continues with its pernicious chatter about the "proletarian united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany" (Inprecorr, No. 4), which is the old unitarist policy: Socialists workers, recognize our leadership in advance or else there will be no united front!

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Uprising Threatens Machado

Armed insurrection against "Butcher" Machado has again threatened to break out in Cuba and various guerrilla bands of workers, peasants, American adventurers and filibusters appear to have commenced operations in various parts of the island.

At last it appears that the comic opera "Tropical Mussolini" is on his last legs. Machado for eight years has done his best to advance the financial interests of Wall St. and himself through the most intensive exploitation of the Cuban labor movement and the amassing of an enormous personal fortune.

The Machado regime, by the most brutal repressive measures, carried through against all political and class opponents with little or no pretence of legality. Instead of playing his enemies against one another he has succeeded in uniting them all against his regime, depending for his support on a strong bureaucratic governmental apparatus, a pampered military and police force and American imperialism which, through ambassador Gruggenheim and in the interests of the sugar trust, he held the economic life-strings of the island. Now, however, even those Wall Street financial circles whose interests he has been so willing in his

own brutal, blundering fashion, have withdrawn their support and thrown their weight into the scales against him.

Machado Position Untenable

Machado's position has become untenable with the whole social basis of his rule swept from under him. The brutal methods of violence and terror have been counter-balanced by the desperation of the masses suffering the effects of the sharpest economic crisis in the country's history. The Cuban working class, nourished by revolutionary and anti-imperialist traditions and led largely by Communists and syndicalists, has at no time abandoned its opposition to the regime and has managed, in spite of the murder, imprisonment and exile of its strongest cadres, to keep alive in the masses the spirit of proletarian struggle. The suppression of the workers' and students' movements, the indecision and cowardice of the petty-bourgeois oppositionists, and the ever-present threat of American intervention under the Platt Amendment are important factors that have served to prolong a situation that would not be otherwise possible.

The antecedents of the bourgeois revolutionary leaders indicate the road they are likely to follow. Wall Street financial circles whose interests he has been so willing in his

own brutal, blundering fashion, have withdrawn their support and thrown their weight into the scales against him.

Catastrophe Threatens

The Fascists are already in power, but they have far from consolidated it. They have not yet even taken over the whole power. And this circumstance still gives the German proletariat time enough to act decisively enough to destroy the brown-shirted monster. The attainment of this end lies through the united front of the Communist party, the trade unions, the Social Democratic party, the Reichsbanner and the Red Front Fighters, which the former must immediately initiate.

Sunday, Feb. 12

—M. S.

B'KLYN MASS
MEETING

The CRISIS in GERMANY

SPEAKERS:
James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman

Labor Lyceum
940 WILLOUGHBY AVE.,
BROOKLYN N. Y.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Bourgeoisie Calls on Fascism

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF HITLER REGIME IS FINAL EFFORT OF RULING CLASSES TO SETTLE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ITS OWN WAY

continued from page 1

ness and self-assertiveness of the masses, and the appearance of signs of disintegration within its reserve troops, the Fascists. It is no longer disposed to gamble on the possibility of a return of profits and prosperity through those means of attack on the working class which are compatible with the existence of powerful mass organizations, parties, press and labor unions. The bourgeoisie is preparing to strike a decisive blow, and the present period of the Hitler-Papen regime gives its time for preparation.

A sharp revival of business activity and prosperity falling from Heaven might dispose it again to postpone the decisive conflict; but we see no evidence that this is likely. On the contrary, a renewed wave of sharpening of the economic crisis, breaking through the present stagnation spell, might well cause it to cut short its preliminaries and open the period of high tension of class war by a frontal Fascist attack on the organizations of the working class.

Bourgeoisie Forced to Change

The change of mask was executed in the first week of December. If the improvement in business had gone further and lifted German economy from the crisis into a depression period with a clear way out in prospect; if the reformist leaders of labor had shown their ability to hold the masses in line with the policy of the "social general"—Schneider might be in power yet.

But the improvement in business activity in Germany appears to have reached a stalemate. Tied hand and foot to the imperialism of America, England and France by bonds of financial dependence, unable to expand its foreign trade with the colonial countries and with Soviet Russia (on capitalist terms), thrown back on its impoverished internal market and on the collapse of European countries which are continually strangling foreign trade tighter and tighter, the temporary stabilization initiated by the limited recovery last year is unable to lift itself from an extremely low level. Car-loadings are declining again; the slight reported fall in unemployment is not enough to make up for the real increases in the number of unemployed who no longer are reported; the surpluses of exports over imports are barely enough to pay for interest on Germany's foreign loans.

At the same time, the reformist leaders are no longer able to deliver their working class following to the bourgeoisie, as promised. In spite of all the false tactics of the Stalinists, the "social Fascists", the refusal to propose a serious united front from organization to organization, the "united front from below"—the elementary movement of the working class of Germany to the banner of international Communism is undeniable. On the parliamentary field, in the elections to shop committees in the factories (where the Communist party has been outstandingly weak compared to its support among the unemployed), in the direction of strikes, the reformists have been losing ground.

The bourgeoisie has waited—and it has seen. It has seen the rising danger to its class domination from the growing aggressive-

ness and self-assertiveness of the masses, and the appearance of signs of disintegration within its reserve troops, the Fascists. It is no longer disposed to gamble on the possibility of a return of profits and prosperity through those means of attack on the working class which are compatible with the existence of powerful mass organizations, parties, press and labor unions. The bourgeoisie is preparing to strike a decisive blow, and the present period of the Hitler-Papen regime gives its time for preparation.

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—B. J. FIELD.

Writer Exposes Stalinist Censor

continued from page 1

he was supposed to be personally unsympathetic.

"Surprised by the flattering appreciation he showed for one of them, I remarked that a good many people might be amazed by it."

"Yes, yes, I know. They tell a lot of lies about my relations with him. Yes, they tell a lot of lies—and especially about me and Trotsky."

"Rounding on the table, he declared: 'Show me another man who could organize in a year an armed revolutionary army and win the respect of military experts besides. We've got that man. We've got everything. And so we'll do wonders.' 'Here is the later version, published after Trotsky had been banished:'

"Yes, he often praised the comrades in my hearing, even those with whom he was not personally in sympathy. Lenin knew how to appreciate their energy. I was very surprised at his high appreciation of L. D. Trotsky's organizing abilities. V. Ilyitch noticed my surprise."

"Yes, I know there are lying rumors about my attitude to him. But what is, is, and what isn't, isn't—I know also. He was able to get me to organize the military experts."

"After a pause, he added in a lower tone, and rather sadly: 'And yet he isn't one of us. With us, but not of us. He is ambitious. There is something of Lassalle in him, something which isn't good.'"

"It looks as if the Stalin censorship has here come into play. Either Gorky was moved to write what he had written of Lenin's appreciation of Trotsky or the censor made him cut it out. The paragraph about organizing the army looks in the second version as if it had been telescoped."—Edmund Wilson.

A Pen Picture by John Reed

C. G. RAKOVSKY

In the lexicon of the Stalinist press, comrade Christian G. Rakovsky, leader of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, Left Opposition, is a "counter-revolutionist". For several years now, this great revolutionary has been kept in exile in Siberia by the Stalinist machine, his health undermined and his life in danger. We reprint here from the old organ of the American Left wing, "Revolutionary Age" of January 26, 1919, an interesting pen picture of our great comrade, written by John Reed.

For two months in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government at Petrograd I worked side by side with Rakovsky. He was editing a daily paper in Rumanian, which was distributed not only in the ranks of the Rumanian army but also to the Transylvanian soldiers of the Austrian army. He made frequent trips to the south of Russia, where he secretly crossed the Rumanian lines and traveled incognito through his own country, spreading revolutionary doctrines at the risk of his life.

In December 1917, when the Soviet Government signed an armistice with Germany and Austria, Rumanian refused to participate. The Russian troops on the Rumanian front obeyed orders from Petrograd and entertained at headquarters a German and Austrian delegation. The Rumanian Government arrested this delegation, and upon the protest of the Russians, surrounded them with Rumanian troops and fired on them with artillery. The Russian soldiers had to cut their way by force through the Rumanian lines back to Russia, losing many men.

The consequences were swift. Trotsky ordered the immediate arrest of the Rumanian minister at Petrograd. The next day Allied and neutral ambassadors demanded his liberation. This was granted.

ed, but the Soviet government ordered that the Rumanian diplomatic mission should leave Russia within ten hours.

"That afternoon I was in the office of Zalkind, Assistant Commissaire of Foreign Affairs. In one corner were five or six red guards and sailors drinking tea around a battered samovar. At the side of the room Rakovsky sat at a table, writing furiously. Entered a veteran in the old-time resplendent livery of the czar. He has a card, it read: 'Mr. A. First secretary of the Rumanian Embassy to Russia.' 'Show him in,' said Zalkind. There appeared a dapper youth in frock coat, silk hat, gloves and stick. He surveyed the room with uneasiness mingled with contempt. Zalkind, wearing peasant boots and an old uniform without insignia, came forward to meet him. 'What can I do for you, sir?' he asked courteously. 'This is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,' asked the secretary. 'We have received an order emanating from somewhere that the Rumanian Embassy must leave Russia within ten hours. We have a right to do. Our office is scattered to the winds. It will take at least three days—'Zalkind smiled in the friendliest way. 'With that, Mr. Secretary, I have nothing to do. You must address yourself to our Commissaire for Rumanian Affairs. Allow me, comrade Rakovsky.'"

Rakovsky, from his seat, dignified and suave. He bowed the Secretary went pale and dropped his gloves. "I am extremely sorry to be unable to accommodate you, Mr. Secretary," said Rakovsky very politely. "The last time I was officially in your country I was compelled to leave in two hours and a half. We give the ambassador an hour, and by that we recognize that he is four times as important as I. Good afternoon!"

—JOHN REED.

PUBLISHING FUND

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

In a week to ten days two new pamphlets will be off the press. **SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER AND THE EXPULSION OF ZINOVIEV**

The first to go to press and the first to be ready will be comrade Trotsky's analysis of the situation in Soviet economy on the eve of the second five year plan; and the significance of the second expulsion of Zinoviev. It will be a seventy-two page pamphlet uniform in size with **Unemployment and the American Working Class** by comrade Swaback and will sell for ten cents. Postage will be one cent extra per copy.

IN DEFENSE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Following immediately upon the heels of the Soviet Economy pamphlet will be comrade Trotsky's speech to the social democratic students at Copenhagen. This will run to forty-eight pages and will be uniform in size with the others.

It will sell for five cents. Postage will be one cent extra per copy. The minimum number of copies per sale is five.

Orders for both pamphlets may be sent in now. In fact such orders will make easier the work of bringing them out.

THE PUBLISHING LOAN FUND

This stroke of publishing activities was made possible by the generosity of one sympathizer in New York who has made us a loan of thirty-five dollars for this purpose. That is how the loan fund ideas is catching on. Again we ask our friends and sympathizers to come forward, now more than ever, to help us spread the ideas of revolutionary internationalism by donating and lending us money to bring out this literature. Who will be the next to respond? Just as we go to press we are in receipt of a \$3 donation from comrade Handy of Philadelphia for the publication of the defense of the October Revolution.

Capitalist Chain Gang Exposures

"I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang" is a picture based on the book by Burns, the book itself, the publicity in the newspapers at the time of his struggle against extradition, the case of the fourteen year old New Jersey lad, and before these the publicity connected with the Florida sweat box torture-murder case, have aroused a widespread interest in the boss class weapon of persecution and exploitation—the chain gang.

But this should not be of fleeting interest to serious-minded workers, though indeed it is to the interests of the channels of information of the bourgeoisie, the theatres and newspapers to so handle it. So as to extract as much cash as possible from the theatre-goers they present the dramatic phases only, leaving out the social meaning of the chain gangs, the political uses the southern bourgeois make of it, and the historical roots of the chain gang penal institution.

What is outstandingly false in the whole "exposure" of the chain gang is the impression created by the bourgeoisie that they are for the abolition of the chain gang. Only a Communist party with organizational strength in the Southern states, too, building weapons of working class solidarity and wielding them against such boss class weapons of division, is capable of

carrying on a fight for the abolition of the chain gang.

There is still another tremendously important criticism of the present chain gang propaganda of the bosses they leave out of it, as if there were no connection between them, the Negro question. Why, it was first initiated in the early part of the Reconstruction Period in the city of Raleigh, N. C. as a means of re-enslaving the freed slaves! Negroes were their first victims. And only a very few years ago before the Communists brought the Negro question to the forefront and when the bourgeois chain gang propaganda was put out for only sectional consumption in the Carolinian Chain Gang, appealing to a racial prejudice, apologized for the State's maintenance of this horrible institution by referring to "the presence of the Negro in large numbers."

In that same Southern state, in 1929, three-fourths of the convicts were white yet two-thirds of those in chain gangs were colored. I have no doubt that North Carolina has been and is quite representative of the Southern States as a whole in this respect.

It is when the chain gang is presented as a phase of the Negro question that one grasps its social significance. It is a boss class

Opposition at Jobless Meet

continued from page 1

Socialist conference with a direct request to bring the two conferences together into a single movement, it will provide the necessary platform for the delegates within the conference who really stand for unity. It will deprive the Socialist leaders of all plausible excuses to continue the disruption and the splitting of the movement. Under such conditions the conscientious Socialist workers who want unity in the fight for bread will see their leaders put to the test and will be able to judge them accordingly. There is every reason to count upon a strong support for our proposals in the Socialist conference if we proceed in this way. We must remember that we are in the fourth year of the crisis and the hungry masses are in no mood to tolerate those who stand in the way of a united struggle."

Stalinists Oppose United Front

The resolution of the Left Opposition was opposed by the Stalinists in the conference. Hathaway, bringing with the assurance and wisdom of a Lenin school graduate, explained that it would be wrong to strengthen the Socialist party by sending delegates to the conference. In precisely what manner a delegation committed to fight for unity in the S. P. conference would in any way "strengthen" the Socialist leaders in their splitting policy was not revealed by Hathaway. Nessin remarked that "Delegate Cannon's proposal to send our delegates to the S. P. conference is in reality a proposal to build up the S. P. conference and to become the tail-end of it." There is one thing to be said for the viewpoint of Hathaway and Nessin: It has been tried before. This idea motivated the boycott of "company unions" on the ground that we must not build them up. But what has been the result of this policy? Did it not prove to be the best of all possible schemes to secure the position of the reactionary bureaucrats?

In the voting on the resolution of the Left Opposition, twelve votes were recorded for it and twenty-eight against.

Another discussion arose over the motion to put the name of the

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 7 (Whole No. 154)

Single copy: one cent. Bundle rates on application.

weapon of persecution and exploitation wielded to help perpetuate racial antagonism in America, to foster working class division along racial lines which is a barrier to an organized working class in the South, to maintain a caste system. The present bourgeois propagandists who have stirred up an interest in the chain gang leave out these essential considerations simply because they are not interested in its abolition. They do a certain amount of exposing of the justice of their own class because the certain amount of exposing they do constitutes an opiate to put the workers to sleep.

More and more countries in the South are adopting the policy of having more road work done by convicts. Other than road work is being done by convicts—quarrying, mining, snow shoveling, cleaning of County courtyards, etc. The United States Department of Justice has adopted the policy and is carrying out the practice of working Federal prisoners in chain gangs in Army camps. And the North is moving in the direction of the South in this respect. The three so-called "cantonnments" for prisoners in New York State, established in 1930, resemble chain gangs to no small extent. Through the Middle and Southwest, prisoners are fined and forced to work out their fines on the county roads. The "Industrial Worker" a few months back reported an even closer resemblance to the regular Southern chain gang system having been put into practice in the state of Washington.

There is every reason to believe that unless the workers, as a class, struggle against this boss class weapon of oppression there will be no effective struggle carried on against it, for the chain gang has too many features that recommend it to the present ruling class. First of all, the work done by prisoners is worth something—not to the prisoners. Secondly, it does not impose upon the government the necessity of building so many jails when numerous thousands of workers are being pushed into crime because of growing unemployment and starvation. Thirdly, it punishes and gives authority to punish more severely than the punishment publicly announced by the Judge. In the chain gang the excuse that "he tried to escape" may be the only public indication of the actual death penalty, whereas the nominal sentence announced in the court and in the newspapers may have been "ten days on the road"—a fact that the bosses will keep in mind when it comes to able organizers and revolutionists.

—GEORGE J. SAUL.

Revolt Threatens Machado in Cuba

continued from page 1

ing the period of his presidency, Mario Menocal, the leader of the present revolt was a recognized collaborator and instrument of the sugar interests.

The workers, who have suffered most from the Machado tyranny, and by whose exertions combined with those of the bourgeois opposition and the sugar trust, the regime is now due to fall, must not be off their guard. At the very least, the legality of their organizations must be secured, together with the right to free assembly lifting of the censorship over the press and mails, and freedom for all class war and political prisoners. Should the workers' movement really gain in strength, circumstances will warrant the demand for nationalization of the sugar industry that constitutes the principal industry of the island. But an attempt at actual seizure of the sugar mills, which would inevitably entail an armed proletarian insurrection for the seizure of political power also, would be premature from both objective and subjective considerations of the present situation.

—ROSALIO NEGRETE.

Left Opposition Gives Estimate of Spanish Anarchist Putschism

Recent events have demonstrated anew that our labor movement is already directly confronted with the proletarian revolution, which until recently appeared remote. The attempts of the bourgeoisie to characterize these movements, as if they were completely distinct from the general evolution of the proletariat after the Republican experience, and as if they constituted the last manifestations of an attitude about to disappear, are futile. The bourgeoisie also sought to portray the insurrection of Figols in the same way. But it has been seen that as soon as the labor movement again commenced to show signs of life, after the Figols affair, it immediately entered into an insurrectionary act, which aside from being a calamitous abortion, demonstrated indubitably all the emptiness and absolute lack of revolutionary criticism of the anarchists. The proletarian revolution, which at the time of the advent of the republic, was believed postponable to the remote future, figures today on the agenda for the whole revolutionary working class camp.

But this evolution of the proletariat requires as a complement new arms and new instruments, which can assure an upward march and victory. The last insurrection has been added to the whole catastrophic series of anarchistic experiments which have cost the workers movement of our country so dearly. The anarchist insurrection was the wildest imaginable sort of an

FROM THE MILITANTS

In the Spirit of Stalin's Letter

CLEVELAND — Last Saturday night a liberal sympathizer of the USSR, Ella Winters (Mrs. Lincoln Steffens), spoke in the auditorium of the Women's City Club under the auspices of the "Friends of the Soviet Union". After the lecture there were many questions from the floor, a good number of them relating to Trotsky and to his status in the Soviet Union.

In reply to a question as to what the children are taught in the Soviet schools about the USSR, Ella Winters (Mrs. Lincoln Steffens) replied that Soviet textbooks do not even mention his role in the October insurrection or in the civil war. She had asked a Soviet professor if this were not... falsifying history (these are her own words). The gentleman in question replied: "True, it is falsifying history, but it is a means to an end. To teach the truth about Trotsky would revive dangerous sentiments for the leader of the Left Opposition and disturb the great work of socialist construction that is going on. In order not to obstruct this great end falsification is justified." And he assured Mrs. Steffens that in a few years, after socialism is secured, this will all be rectified and Trotsky will again be given his due place in Soviet history. The true facts, objectivity in the science of history has—so to speak—only been temporarily suspended, not eliminated. Of course, all for the good of the cause....

"And this, my friends," the worthy lady concluded with approval, "is the realistic way in which the Soviets approach the problem."

A comrade asked the speaker how such an explanation can be reconciled with the scientific, Marxian foundation of Soviet society—which requires at all times, objectivity and the truth—recalling that the central organ of the Bolshevik party itself bears the name "Pravda", that is, "Truth". The speaker replied that she could not answer that question. Besides, she did not wish to go into "inner-party politics".

This blunt explanation of Mrs. Steffens deserves an evaluation. Unless she lied, it is also the explanation of Soviet pedagogues. Of course the explanation is quite in line with the Stalin regime and is no doubt in the "spirit of comrade Stalin's letter", which, the Daily Worker cynically tells us, represents Marxism or Leninism of the present period, the one of completing the "first phase of Communism (socialism)". But why is falsification so readily endorsed by people who are associated here in America with muckraking liberalism and what does this endorsement mean?

That the American muckrakers were not to be taken very seriously became obvious during the last war, when the whole pack of them jumped on the Wilson bandwagon. Can these same people be trusted as "Friends of the Soviet Union"? These people always, or nearly always have good intentions. We will not dispute that. But will not these "good intentions" which paved their way to Wilsonian jingoism betray them also when the Soviet Union is really in danger, when more is required of them than uncritical and meaningless praise for the actual successes of socialist construction in the USSR? The light-minded endorsement of Mrs. Steffens of what she bluntly calls "falsification of history" cannot but make us sceptical with regard to the actual value of her role as a "Friend of the Soviet Union". What the Soviet Union, what the working class at the head of it, needs most and at all times, Lenin—following the scientific approach of Marxism—always stressed: is the truth, the objective facts. Support for the working class which

is not based upon a sympathy with the actual facts, with a thorough examination of them, is extremely questionable, is superficial and because of this superficiality, unreliable when a real test of conviction has to be withstood, in times of crisis. And that is when real friends of the Soviet Union are actually needed. —GORDON.

Fight for United Front in Boston

BOSTON.—The Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union called a conference to protest against Governor Ely's attempt to abolish the labor laws of Mass.

Seventy delegates from thirty organizations, sixty-two branches were present. They consisted of four A. F. of L. locals, Workmen's Circle branches Communist League of America (Opp.); Communist party; Left wing clubs, schools, IWO, TUUL, a few shops, and the ILD.

It was supposed to be a united front conference of all labor organizations. The party representative talked a lot about unity but did not forget to make plain the kind of unity they mean—unity with the workers not with the leaders.

A resolution was adopted for a program of action: (1) A United Front State Conference to enforce the existing labor laws and improve them (2) A demonstration in front of the state house where a committee will present a list of demands adopted at the conference. A plan of action committee consisting of one delegate of each organization was elected. The delegate of the Communist League of America (Opp.), Jennie Chiplovitz, spoke on the resolution and made another proposal to call a real united front of all labor and political organizations not only of the individual workers and individual locals, but also the central bodies. She pointed out the importance of the conference and the necessity of including all the workers as long as these reactionary leaders have a following of thousands of workers who still believe in them. We must find a way of reaching them. We must see that the united front does not remain on paper, but is effective. Therefore we must call the leaders and the organizations as well as the individual workers.

There was applause by those workers that were not quite aware that they must not applaud a Trotskyist. No one attacked or spoke in favor of the proposal. The party spokesmen did not want to give the Opposition credit for the proposal; so they were silent. But unless they call a genuine united front conference, this one will have the same results as all the other abortive party conferences.

—JENNIE CHIPLOVITZ.

De Valera Forms Gov't.

continued from page 1

The Communist international has neglected the fight of the Irish workers and peasants. True, they have their Friends of the Soviet Union—but a revolutionary party to come before the Irish masses exposing De Valera and all other fakers they have failed to organize up till now. The Irish Workers Voice about a month ago announced that the C. I. was undertaking the formation of an Irish section in February. If this is not a rumor or paper revolution of the familiar Stalinist variety we will be among the first to greet the organized vanguard of the Irish toiling masses.

The active collaboration of the British party is absolutely necessary in carrying out this task. The interests of the Irish and British masses are historically and inseparably interwoven.—JACK CARMODY

setback. The confusion and revolutionary hysteria of the anarchists negates all the possibilities of advance. The proletariat which in all other countries, has by now separated itself from anarchism still has this task before it in Spain. This is a question of life or death for the revolutionary movement. Anarchism is not, nor can it be, capable of leading the proletariat to victory.

What has been the attitude of the anarchists towards the Republic? When they had power in their hands, illudion with the regime, they permitted the bourgeoisie to wrest every position from them, giving it the possibility of establishing a repressive apparatus which today directs all its fire against the proletariat. When they became "disillusioned" with the Republic, the anarchists went into a revolutionary hysteria, and they now propose behind the backs of the working class to do what they did not know how to accomplish when they had power; seize the power from the bourgeoisie. The anarchists hope to accomplish by the bold stroke of a daring minority that which must be done by the united efforts of the great masses.

After this and former experiences can anarchism be an orientating and directing force for the proletariat? No. As far as we have advanced in the revolution, anarchism has not directed anything but has been a plaything of events. It is inevitable and unavoidable that the great exploited masses should suffer delusions when confronted with a bourgeois regime (because of its ability to deceive the masses in the world); but a vanguard of the

proletariat cannot today harbor illusions about a bourgeois republic. And those who, like the anarchists, have suffered these delusions, which have cost the working class so dearly, are not the proletarian vanguard but the playthings of events. The anarchists of every tendency, have, during the change of regime, dedicated themselves to stupefying the proletarian consciousness, slipping into the most vulgar republicanism. The early republicanism of the anarchists, like their later impotent radicalism, are a necessary consequence of their nullity as a revolutionary tendency.

In our previous political resolution, published in *Communismo* (No. 19), we pointed out, on the one hand, the formidable strikes which were approaching, and on the other, the deplorable state of division within the trade union movement, and particularly of the National Confederation of Labor (C. N. T.). Consequently, we pointed out as the first step, the strengthening and unification of the trade union cadres, without which the prospect of strikes were bound to be a clamorous failure. The Iberian Anarchist Federation (F. A. I.) did not see the necessity of this; the more isolated anarchism was, the farther removed from "corrupting elements", so much farther off were the probabilities of victory for the revolution. In this manner, such a conflict as the railway strike, which stands definitely on the agenda, is saved from defeat by being prevented from taking place. The reformists betray the demands of the railroad workers; but the revolutionaries do not know how to organize the strike. The conflict has been in this state since 1930.

To be continued

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Published thrice weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, NO. 8 [WHOLE NO. 155]

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1933

PRICE 1 CENT

Hitler Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany! Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!

Hitler has taken another big step in the consolidation of exclusive Fascist domination of Germany. The social democrats whose policy of toleration to Brüning and von Schleicher and outright support for Hindenburg paved the way to the triumph of Hitler, is being repaid by the latter with a brutal kick in the face. The Fascist Minister of the Interior for Prussia, Captain Goering, has just removed more than a score of officials, the majority of them social democrats. Among those who were dismissed are to be found three provincial government presidents, three vice-presidents and more than ten police chiefs. All of them have been replaced by members of the Fascist party.

Symbolic and significantly characteristic is the removal of the notorious social democrat Carl Zoergel, who became so odious to the working class of Berlin while police chief of that city; he has now been removed from office as police chief of Dortmund to which he was shifted from Berlin

when the von Papen cabinet was established last year. Several days ago it will be remembered, the social democratic bloodhound, Gustav Noske, was removed as the administrative head of Hanover. Such key cities of Prussia as Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Wiesbaden, Bochum, Halle, Hanover, Dortmund, Cassel and Frankfurt-am-Main were included in the sweeping Fascist clean-up. The social democrats now have not a single supreme government president or police chief in any part of Prussia. The Berlin correspondent of the New York Sun (2-14-1933) points out with an acumen which the Stalinists would do well to emulate that "Just as the Fascist party in Italy gradually took over the civil service and became undistinguishable from the Government itself, so the Nazis here hope slowly to undermine and eventually take over the entire government structure. . . . The Nazi move is especially notable in police circles."

A two-year old child should be able to understand Hitler's tactics.

Contrary to the infinitely stupid assertions of the Stalinists concerning the Fascist essence of social democracy—which do not improve by repetition in the face of obvious facts—there is a sharp antagonism between the social democracy and Fascism. Hitler is trying every single day to prove to the Stalinist blockheads that while the social democrats are the principal prop of the "democratic" form of bourgeois rule, it becomes not merely superfluous but a direct hindrance to the bourgeoisie when it seeks to abolish all democratic forms and institutions and to rule by naked force, by the sword and the torch, in a word, by Fascist dictatorship.

This is why the Fascists attack not only the revolutionary wing of the labor movement, the Communists, but also seek to annihilate the points of support of the social democracy. If the eloquent experience of Italian Fascism were not sufficient to make this clear, the first couple of weeks of Hitler as Chancellor should serve to enlighten

even the most backward. But the Stalinist leaders of the Communist party continue with incredible obstinacy to prattle about "social fascism" and the "united front from below". In its leading editorial on Tuesday, the Daily Worker still advances the fantastic theory that Hitler is still weakening and that the Communist party is advancing all along the line. . . . because of its parliamentary successes. The parliamentary successes of the party do indeed show the willingness of the workers to fight Fascism; the spontaneous united actions of socialist and Communist workers show it still more clearly. But now less than ever are purely parliamentary successes a sound gauge. The crucial hour demands the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the whole German proletariat to crush Fascism before it entrenches itself too solidly. And this is just where the impotence of the official party and its leadership shows itself so strikingly. Where is the movement for the assembling of the factory coun-

cils and the unemployed on a national scale to prepare for the general strike of all the workers? Where is the organized movement of the workers to defend themselves against the growing encroachments of the brown-shirted bandits? To content oneself with the empty boasts about election victories of yesterday, is simply light-headed bureaucratic self-satisfaction or treachery!

The only road for the German working class at the present moment is the united front of all the working class organizations. The party bureaucracy stands in the way of the united front. It is sacrificing the interests of the German working class, of the world revolution, of the Communist International for the sake of preserving the theory of infallibility of the Stalinist leadership of preserving the bureaucratic, ultimatum formula of the "united front from below" which divides socialist from Communist workers instead of uniting them.

The Stalinist leaders write about

Germany in the Daily Worker as if there were years of preparation ahead of them. To read their contributions, one would imagine that the Communist party is going to continue winning over ten socialist workers here and ten there until the social democracy is dissolved, after which it will be the turn of the Fascists to feel the heat of the proletarian. What better service could be done to Fascism? It is not wasting a moment. It is taking advantage of the passivity of the Stalinists and the craven capitulation of the social democratic leaders, to strengthen its own position. It is laying hands upon every strategic post, especially upon those which control the armed forces.

We say openly: The refusal to mobilize the genuine united front of all the workers' organizations IMMEDIATELY, is downright treason to the German proletariat!

The revolting chatter of the Stalinists about their election successes and the "united front from below" will not help them to conceal this terrible fact. Now is the

time! The Stalinists are playing with the situation! Tomorrow the individual workers who have been cut down by the Fascist thugs will be multiplied a thousand times, and under conditions not half so favorable to the workers of Germany as are the conditions of struggle at the present time.

The failure to organize the united front is only another way of capitulating to Fascism without a serious struggle. Hitler is well aware of this. Hitler knows his road and he follows it relentlessly. The working class must understand its own position and act resolutely too. It is all-powerful and invincible if it only unites its arms and strikes with determination. Those who stand in the way of this unity will hear a horrible responsibility for the impending catastrophe!

Let the Communist workers reflect—and act speedily. Let them demand an immediate reckoning from the self-satisfied bureaucrats who remain passive while the enemy prepares its death-blow! Tues., Feb. 14, 1933. —M. S.

Scottsboro Frame-Up Laid Bare

CHARGE OF "RAPE" PROVES TO BE UNFOUNDED; LETTER OF GIRL NOW PUBLISHED

A startling revelation which lays bare the whole rotten basis of the frame-up against the nine Scottsboro Negro lads convicted on a fraudulent charge of "rape" in a trial atmosphere charged with a lynching spirit, was made yesterday with the publication of a letter by Ruby Bates, one of the alleged victims of the act. The letter was written over a year ago and fell into the hands of the police of Huntsville, Ala. Every effort of the attorneys for the International Labor Defense to get hold of the letter were unavailing during the trial, the prosecutors being well aware of the telling effect which the presentation of the letter would have. It was only a few days ago that an order for delivery of the letter was obtained in connection with the demand for a writ of habeas corpus to secure the release on bail of Roy Wright, 14-year old defendant whose hearing ended in a mistrial.

Text of Bates Letter
The full text of the letter by Ruby Bates to her sweetheart Earl Streetman, is as follows:

"January 5, 1932.
"Huntsville, Ala.
"215 Connelly Aty.

"Dearest Earl:
"I want to make a statement to you Mary Sanders is a goodam lie about those Negroes jassing me those policemen made me tell a lie that is my statement because I want to clear my self that is all too if you want to believe me ok, if not that is ok, you will be sorry some day if you had to stay in jail with 8 eight Negroes you would tell a lie two those Negroes did not touch me or those white Boys I hope you will believe me the law doot. I love you better than Mary does or any body else in the world that's why I am telling you of this thing I was drunk at the time and did not know what I was doing I know it was wrong too let those Negroes die on account of me I hope you will believe my statement because it is the gods truth I hope you will believe me I was jazed but those White Boys jazed me I wish those Negroes are not burnt on account of me it is those White Boys fault that is my statement and that is all I know I hope you tell the law hope you will answer.

"Jan. 5, 1932
"Huntsville, Ala.
"215 Connelly Aty.

"P. S. This is one time that I might tell a lie But it is the truth so god help me. Ruby Bates."

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Hitler Threat to Soviet Union

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT CONTRADICTIONS IN POLITICS OF HITLERISM DRIVES IT TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THE OTHER IMPERIALISTS FOR AN ASSAULT UPON SOVIET UNION

Hitler, unlike von Papen, has never made public his economic program. This alone is sufficient reason for thinking that it may not be "fit to print" before a movement of infuriated petty bourgeois. But his entire demagoguery has centered around a number of slogans based on the crushing of the German petty bourgeoisie by the forces of world economy. Among them figured: the smashing of the Versailles Treaty and unending hostility to France, the "hereditary foe"; the liberation of the Polish Corridor; the breaking of the "slavery of interest", meaning America and England, as the chief creditors. Nothing was said about Soviet Russia.

Yet it is clear that what he does say contradicts the economic fundamentals of the class which supports him, and what he does not say constitutes by itself a most important program.

A basic element in the relation of the heavy industry of the Ruhr in Germany, with France, is the fact that France has more iron ore than it needs and not enough coal, while Germany can export coal but needs iron ore. In the planned socialist economy of a future Soviet United States of Europe, this fact would have no more importance than the fact that in Soviet Russia the richest coal deposits are in the Don Basin and the richest ore in Siberia. But under a capitalist economy, this means that the heavy industry of Germany and that of France are forced to act together, sometimes locked in a deadly struggle, sometimes in diplomatic agreements and international cartels which are made by each party with the intention of cheating the other.

Before the war, there was the classic case of the two brothers, both armies since the war, the heret of Wendel and Francois de Wendel, one sitting in the German Reichstag, the other in the French Chambre de Deputes, realizing their own private united front of Franco-German capitalism during the war, the rich Briey ore basin of Lorraine was untouched by artillery from either side, on orders from the High Commands of both armies; since the war, the Loucheur-Rathenau agreements, the combination of German technology and French capital, the numerous cartel agreements to restrict production and raise prices in coal, steel, potash, glass, chemicals, cement and others, have shown how well German capitalism understands on which side its bread is buttered, no matter how it thunders against France in public. Hugenberg himself, a raging "Franzosenfresser" (Frenchman-eater) in his newspapers, is not above bringing his patriotic Ufa film company into an international agreement with the hated foe for dividing up territory, limiting production,

It is no accident that Papen addressed the Lausanne Conference in French, a conciliatory act that not even the apostles of internationalism such as Brüning or even Stresemann would have dared. Now Germany is looking toward France for a huge loan with which to finance its recovery and expansion program.

But if Germany, with or without Hitler, remains tied to France, it cannot attack Poland, or take any serious steps to end the international disgrace of the Polish Corridor which drives a wedge between two halves of East Prussia from Poland to the sea. It can subsidize inflammatory articles against Poland, it can sit around the green table of diplomacy with the Poles, but it cannot take a decisive step against France's great bulwark in the East.

Dependence on Foreign Bankers
Nor are things any better with the "breaking of the slavery of interest". At the very moment when Hitler was made Chancellor, a committee of foreign and notably American bankers, the forefront of the hated slavery, was quietly dickering with German bankers to how rapidly they could take their funds out of Germany, and in what form, so as further to weaken the financial and currency situation of Germany and increase its financial dependence on America, England and France.

Germany pays abroad about \$250,000,000 a year in interest. This means that unless it obtains through its foreign trade, tourist traffic, etc., at least that much in return.

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OPEN FORUM

"WHAT NEXT IN THE NEEDLE TRADES"

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RIGHT AND LEFT UNION The Policy of the Left Opposition

Speaker:

J. P. CANNON

Friday, 8 P. M., FEBRUARY 17th

126 East 16th Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Oehler Tour this Week

Comrade Hugo Oehler, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will open his National tour to arouse all class conscious workers to the danger of Fascism in Germany, in Utica on Friday, February 17. Comrade Oehler's tour of all the important cities must be met with big mass meetings to awaken and call to action every thinking worker. The

Nazis Murder 11 Workers

The assassin hands of the murderous Fascist counter-revolution have spilled the blood of more than a score of German workers leaving about as many dead in their wake, over the week-end. The Nazi lust for the blood of the "Marxists" knows no bounds. Their determination to exterminate the revolutionary working class is paralleled only by the savagery of their anti-semitic—the Huns.

In the cities of Hisleben, Bochum, Strassfurt, Dessau, Dortmund, Stuttgart, Breslau and, Bensheim innumerable individuals have gone to their graves—victims of Fascist gunplay. The Hitlerists have commenced a violent civil war. It will not terminate until either these brown shirted hordes eradicate the organizations of the German proletariat or they find themselves under the tombstone they are preparing for those who will not rest silent under their blows. The skirmishes cited above are only small harbingers of the gigantic battles and blood baths that are yet to come—in the not too distant future.

The same news reports apprise us of the fact that in the above mentioned city of Hisleben, which is 110 miles from Berlin, a fierce encounter occurred between Nazi's and Communists which was provoked by the former. They gave the cynical excuse for their premeditated attack—a Nazi troop was fired at from Communist headquarters. The Brown Shirts stormed the same building wrecking everything they could lay their hands on. A fight ensued, the Communists heroically protecting their headquarters. The result of this battle were three persons killed and fifteen injured. The capitalist press does not state whether they were Nazi's or Communists.

This first onslaught on Communist headquarters is symptomatic from two angles. First it demonstrates the cowardice of the Fascist hordes. Instead of attacking a party building in Berlin—they wouldn't get off so easily there—they choose a small city of some 25,000 for their murderous assault. Secondly, if we can judge by the Italian experience, discussed in another part of this issue, this incident in Hisleben is one of the beginnings of the German Fascists "march on Rome".

dates cannot be changed. Members and sympathizers please take note of the schedule:

Utica, N. Y.—Feb. 17
Ruffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feb. 19
New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20
Youngstown, Ohio—Feb. 21
Cleveland, Ohio—Feb. 22
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6

Fascism: Italian and German

COMPARISON BETWEEN ITALIAN FASCISM OF 1920 AND THE HITLERITE MOVEMENT OF TODAY SHOWS POSSIBILITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-MOVEMENT OF PROLETARIAT

The naming of Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich cannot but call to mind the events which more than ten years ago led in Italy to the "March on Rome".

Between these two historic facts there are common features and striking analogies, which, altogether separated by a good decade and although products of countries very different from the point of view of their economic structures, their industrial development and in the specific gravity of the proletariat in relation to the other classes.

The first common characteristic is the Fascist movement itself. De-classed and shattered sections of the urban bourgeoisie, middle and petty; middle and small peasants; the backward proletariat; these are the Fascist masses whether in Italy or in Germany. The masses who protest, who revolt against the economic ruin of which they are the victims or which threatens them. The masses who by their social position "distrust" the proletariat and "hate" the bourgeoisie; who constantly dream of the creation of a society of "social justice" in which they hold the balance, but who in reality, follow either behind the proletariat or the bourgeoisie according to the relation of forces which obtain in favor of one or the other of the two fundamental classes in society.

The Fascist Supporters
The second common characteristic, in Italy as in Germany, is that the Fascist movement has been created, financed and groomed for the administration of affairs, at the head of the government by the big bourgeoisie and the big agrarians.

Despite its social demagoguery and its anti-proletarian philosophy, the Fascist movement does not come to power as a force opposed to the big bourgeoisie, to the plutocracy but as its representative, as its manager of the defense of the interests of same the bourgeoisie class.

The bourgeoisie is entirely conscious of this. Because of this the General Confederation of Italian Industry laid out 30 million lire for the financing of the preparation and the execution of the March on Rome only. And for the same reasons, the decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie placed Hitler at the head of the government. Hitler in the Chancellorship does not mean the installation in power of wild bands against the bourgeoisie, but signifies a different and extraordinarily more efficacious utilization of these hands by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and against these very social layers which constitute the backbone of the Fascist movement. The whole policy of the Italian Fascist government for more than ten years proves it. It is also proved by the whole policy of the government presided over by Hitler.

As to the analogies of the situa-

tion ten years ago in Italy and the present situation in Germany, compare the tactic of the German Catholic Center with that of the Italian social democracy, the ephemeral cabinets of Von Papen with that of Facta and the fact that the Hitler Government, as well as that of Mussolini originates as an extra-parliamentary government, but also one comprising elements foreign to the Fascist party.

But if there are essential points of comparison and analogies there are also considerable differences.

These differences will unquestionably be utilized by the social democracy and by the Stalinist apparatus in order subsequently to beat the retreat without giving battle, basing themselves either upon the Tolstoyan illusion of weakening the enemy by refusing to fight or on that of "saving the party" legally by refusing to accept the "provocation".

But these differences can and should be utilized in another manner by the proletariat. For they are nearly all unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and favorable to revolutionary proletarian action.

Differences in Situations

The greatest difference, the essential difference between the two situations of the March on Rome and the elevation of Hitler to the Chancellorship is that in Germany the forces of the proletariat are almost intact. They are certainly weak, they are partly demoralized

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Millions to Be Jobless Permanently

ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED WILL REMAIN, ADMITS HEAD OF A. F. OF L., WM. GREEN

All the capitalist bombast about an early economic revival has burst like a pricked balloon. Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor has announced that the unemployment figures now stand at the appalling total of 12,000,000 and that between the months of December and January alone, more than 200,000 were laid off. And Bill Green is hardly given to exaggeration. On the contrary the number of jobless must far exceed his estimate.

The meaning of this statement is quite clear. More than 25 percent of those listed by the census as gainfully employed are now pounding the pavement and lining up at soup kitchens and breadlines. About as many workers do not receive more than part time employment. And if we add to these their wives and children there more than 50,000,000 human beings are standing on the brink of starvation in plentiful America. All of the employment schemes, all of the panaceas of the pot-bellied politicians all of the promises of the "captains of industry" have gone up in smoke. The working class is re-

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Suspend 19 C.C.N.Y. Students

As the aftermath of a meeting of City College students held a few months ago in defiance of the instructions of school authorities, at which a protest was made against the despotic inroads made upon the rights of the students, nineteen of the latter have been suspended from the College by the Board of Higher Education.

At the beginning of the last semester, in September, the City College of New York dismissed from its faculty Oakley Johnson, an instructor in English. The expulsion aroused wide spread student protest. The issue transcended the expulsion of a professor. It followed in a long series of suppressions of academic freedom in the school. Consistently the college administration had clamped down upon the militants within the school. The dismissal of Johnson, known for his Communist sympathies, meant also the suppression of the Liberal Club, of which he was faculty advisor.

To demonstrate against this expulsion of Johnson, as well as against the many infractions of students' rights, a "trial" of Dr. Robinson, president of the college, and Dr. Linehan, director of the

evening session—the division in which Johnson was an instructor—was held at the Central Opera House. Before the meeting the authorities, who were to be "indicted" on a number of counts, threatened any student with administrative action if he participated. Notwithstanding, several hundred students appeared to hear the testimony of other students and raise their voices in protest.

The news of the Board's act came during examinations at a time when students are most likely to be inactive. But this will soon be remedied. For now, with the opening of the new school semester, a movement against the suppressions is already in progress. Once before, a mass student protest reinstated suspended students (most recently, nine who had participated in the Johnson fight). This may well happen again. The outcome in large measure depends upon the policy of the National Student League. If it properly organizes a united front of student organizations and does not offend against a bloc with the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, success is to a great extent assured.

—M.

B'KLYN MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

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Max Shachtman
Chairman, Martin Abern

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Hitler Threat o Soviet Union

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT CONTRADICTIONS IN POLITICS OF
HITLERISM DRIVES IT TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THE OTHER
IMPERIALISTS FOR AN ASSAULT UPON SOVIET UNION

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gold every year, it will either have to stop paying interest abroad, or for a short time dip into its gold reserves until they are exhausted. Until the world crisis, this problem was not seriously faced in Germany. They were borrowing money freely, and it imports were more than exports they would pay the difference, as well as reparations, with new loans. But when new loans were unobtainable as the crisis came on, they had to choose—stop paying interest or force exports up and imports down, until a surplus of exports was created out of which interest could be met.

The patriotic German ruling classes have not hesitated an instant. They have squeezed wages down and kept prices up through a series of devices—high tariffs, quota restrictions on imports, etc. The standard of living of the German working class has been cut and cut again, its power to buy foreign foodstuffs and materials has been slashed, but German exports have been kept up. Wheat costs 2-1/2 to 3 times as much as in Berlin as in Chicago, but the feudal landlords who support Hitler clamor for still more protection.

And what does Hitler say? "We must be self-sufficient; we must grow enough food to feed ourselves." In other words, we must support the German feudal landowner at the expense of the belly of the German worker. And at the same time we must keep up German exports so as to obtain enough gold from foreign countries to meet the

demands of foreign and principally American creditors.

Danger to Soviets

But if Hitler cannot get the support of France, England and America except by continuing their imperialist exploitation of Germany, there is another field on which he can offer them a tempting prize for joint exploitation—the imperialist conquest of Russia. The whole logic of his position—the inability to solve internal problems, the necessity of leaning on foreign imperialism while demagogically pretending to expose it—forces him toward war on the Soviet Union.

And the Soviet Union itself? Durand reports in the New York Times, without contradiction, that the Soviets feel that Hitler's coming to power will not interfere with the Five Year Plan. This is based on the hope that Hitler will prefer the peaceful and limited profits of trade with the Soviet foreign trade monopoly to the desperate gamble of war. But the hope is vain and illusory. Hitler has no way out except the steady mobilization of his forces, morally sanctioned and materially financed by international imperialism, for a military assault upon the Soviet Union. It is from German Fascism that emanates the most acute danger to the Soviet Union.

The defense of the German working class against Hitler is the immediate task in the defense of the Soviet Union. To the international aid of the imperialists to Fascism must be opposed the international solidarity of the proletariat to the German working class.

—B. J. FIELD.

Fascism: Italian and German

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by the treason of the social democracy and by the pernicious Stalinist policy which is leading to treason. But the forces of the proletariat, in their entirety, are not played out.

In Italy, Fascism made its "March on Rome" after two years of civil war in the interior of the country. The buildings of the workers' organizations were plundered, razed, demolished in the course of the punitive expeditions, the local and district leaders were banished or shot by the Fascist detachments. The resistance of the workers, the agricultural laborers and the small "red" peasants was broken in the course of two years of devastation, arson and massacre.

In October 1922, the Italian proletariat which two years previously had occupied the factories, was powerless before the combination of the legal and extra-legal repression, after having resisted the thousands of assaults of the Fascist bands, arms in hand and after having inscribed the days of Trieste, Bari, Parma, Rome and other cities on its banner.

The German proletariat has not suffered all that. It is still strong; it lacks only a leadership able to utilize this force to defend itself and wipe out the enemy. The German proletariat is five times as numerous as the Italian proletariat. Its Communist party groups the majority of votes in this predominantly workers' Berlin where the Hitler regime, unlike that of Mussolini in bureaucratic Rome, gives the impression of a beleaguered government.

The false policy of the Centrist faction in the leadership of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Germany has brought the party to a state of impotence and to a capitulation before the foe. On the 20th of July the party capitulated before the coup d'état of Von Papen in Prussia; the party was unable to utilize the respite given it by the internal dissensions of the bourgeoisie which manifested itself by its trampling upon Hitler since the

summer, the party capitulated before the "provocation" of a Fascist demonstration in Buelowplatz, and it is capitulating today in face of the constitution of the Hitler cabinet. And everywhere and always it has capitulated without being able to engage in struggle. This is the balance-sheet of the Stalinist policy in Germany. An end to this policy and the struggle, the victorious struggle of the proletariat against Fascism is still possible.

Two years after being installed in power, Italian Fascism found itself at the brink of the abyss, after the assassination of Matteotti. The roots of German Fascism in the people, that is to say, in the ranks of the proletariat are no deeper than those of Italian Fascism. But to sever these roots, to defeat Fascism is not possible without returning to the policy which the Left Opposition has advocated for years under the ridicule and the threats of the Stalinist faction, super-revolutionary in times of calm, and forced by its policy to capitulate at the decisive turns of the revolution!

Jobless Army to Be Permanent

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duced to beggary, extending its hands for alms to the charity institutions of the country. Such is the balance sheet of four years of capitalist crisis. Such is the privation into which capitalism drives the masses.

But if millions are idle and hungry, if millions still working have their wages cut to the bone, the prospect for future employment is slim. The black scene of permanent joblessness has become a grim reality. Bill Green says in the same article that "hundreds of thousands of jobs have been completely eliminated during the depression." And further that if the work week were universally shortened to 30 hours, we could put

class black and white alike. The conferences, however, are not adequate, for in the past they have been confined largely to the Left wing elements and their immediate supporters. With the impetus which the campaign should gain from the recent exposure, the field is wide open for the establishment of the broadest united front movement to force the freedom of the Scottsboro victims of lynching justice. As in the case with the Mooney movement as conceived by Tom Mooney himself, the Scottsboro movement must be built upon the support of every working class organization in the country which can now be rallied to break down the walls and bars which keep these innocent Negro boys imprisoned and in danger of their lives.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
WEDNESDAY, February 15, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 8 (Whole No. 155)
Single copy: one cent. Bundle rates on application.

A Letter from Shanghai

SHANGHAI.—During the last four years, betrayals have been the order of the day in the Chinese party. Many of our comrades have been arrested and murdered by Chiang Kai-Shek. In nine cases out of ten they have been betrayed by our own members. For example: in the Stalinist faction, Yang Pai, the most famous leader of the Chinese peasant movement; Yang Yung, one of the leaders of the Canton insurrection; Shian Tsong Pa, secretary of the Central Committee of the party for many years; these, and many other of our leaders have been arrested and assassinated. In the Left Opposition, we have had three betrayals on the part of our own members. The first time was in 1931, when eight of our Central Committee members were imprisoned; the most recent occasion was last in October at which time the lives of Chen Du-Hsiu and nine other comrades were placed at the mercy of the butchers of the Chinese proletariat.

Most of the traitors are ranks and file members of the Chinese Communist Party but some of them are from the leading cadres, who have spent years in revolutionary struggle under the banner of Communism and were distinguished for their heroism and trustworthiness. Many of them are petty bourgeois intellectuals who had or had not been trained in Moscow, some are lumpen-proletarians who hid in the party for many years under the guise of workers, while yet others are true industrial workers, such as Siu Si Gang who recently capitulated to the Kuo Min Tang.

Siu Si Gang whom I knew well was a cotton mill worker of Shanghai, who early joined the Communist movement. As a delegate he attended the Sixth Congress of the Chinese C. P. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and of the party's political bureau; secretary of the Provincial Executive Committee for Kiang-Su, (in which Shanghai is located), and secretary of the Chinese Trade Union Federation. He was valiant and personally honest but recently capitulated to the Kuo Min Tang. Whether or not he was responsible for the arrest of any of the comrades in the Stalinist faction, I do not know, but he published in the bourgeois newspaper Ta-Kung-Pao, an article entitled "To all the Comrades of the Communist Party." In this article he described how the "Red Army" movement murdered peasants, destroyed villages and caused painful sufferings to the peasantry, how the slogan "For a General Strike!" and "For the armed insurrection in the cities!" issued by the Stalinists, killed thousands of good comrades in the urban centers. He further described how the conflicts among the Stalinists developed: how Li Li San by unfair methods excluded him from the Provincial Executive Committee of Kiang-Su) how Miff ordered Chen Shio Yu and his other agents

to work 6,600,000 of the unemployed. In other words even this optimistic calculation would leave approximately five and a half million workers permanently without jobs. How can the bankruptcy of this system be more glaringly exposed than by the fact that it has cast millions of willing and able-bodied slaves on the scrap heap. Their freedom to starve is now complete.

What is to be done about it? What action shall the proletariat take to ameliorate its wretched conditions? Green proposes the six hour day—five days a week. Yes, that is one of the objects the labor movement must strive and struggle for. But, certainly, Green's advocacy of it does not bring this change one step nearer. For him it is merely a plausible theory which he was forced to accept at the insistence and discontent of the rank and file. And in spite of his bold threats this labor scare and his cohorts will never spur the ranks of labor into action—and it is only by struggle that it can be obtained. They are too closely bound up with capitalism to think of striking it such a heavy blow. We must advance towards these demands: the thirty hour week; unemployment insurance; credits to Soviet Russia, in active combat against the capitalist class and all their agents in the ranks of labor.

But the curse of unemployment, which has come to stay can never be obliterated until the system that produces it is banished from the face of the earth. According to Green, in 1929—boom times, mind you—there were over two millions out of work. After this crisis has spent itself on the backs of the workers there will be nearly 6,000,000 out of jobs. When will this end? It will end when the American proletarian revolution buries capitalism into the limbo of history.

—CLARKE.

A bill is pending before Congress empowering the President to declare an embargo on arms shipments to foreign countries. The liberal Nation welcomes this move as a safeguard for peace. We have no such illusions. It will be used only in order to foster the interests of American imperialism. And then—we opine—as the first step towards war.

THE EMBARGO OF ARMS

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Stalinist Confusion

«Daily Worker» on the German Crisis

In its issue of February 6 under the caption "What's Happening in Germany?" (first page next to masthead), the *Daily Worker* states: "You won't know if you read the lies dished out by the capitalist press. Only the *Daily Worker* gives a true picture of the stirring events in Germany and rallies the American workers to support the German workers' fight against Fascist dictatorship. Support the *Daily Worker's* drive for funds! In that same issue there is but one paragraph on the German events!"

Two days later, the *Daily* began the publication of an article from the *Communist International* on "The Communist Party of Germany Takes the Offensive." This article written during the regime of von Papen, is a glaring exposure of the false course of the German party in the past period.

Fascism is an accomplished fact, according to its analyses. "The Fascist dictatorship, which was established after July 20th, (that is by Von Papen's coup d'état) is attempting to rally the forces of the counter revolution." According to these "theoreticians" writing several months ago, "we now see an unceasing wave of economic struggles, the extreme political sharpening of the economic struggle of the proletariat, the defeat of Fascism and social democracy, and the big success of the Communist party in the new parliamentary election." (Our emphasis). Such was the optimistic prattle propounded by the Stalinists! And the *Daily* repeats it several days after Hitler's coming to power!

But more. After falsely characterizing the Von Papen regime as a Fascist dictatorship, just as the *Rote Fahne* called the Brüning government, Fascist—thus confusing the German workers as to the specific task of Von Papen—the article states: "The task of the Communist Party of Germany is to smash Li Li San's domination, taking over the control himself. He then finished with the questions: 'Is the Chinese party really a political party of the proletariat or for gathering rubles? Who cares for the wives and children of the murdered comrades? After being imprisoned or living their lives the shameless fellows, linked the names of these martyrs to all sorts of atrocious crimes. What traitors and reactionaries! Is there really any utility in striving unto death for such a cruel, criminal Communist party?'"

Under the constant and cruel pressure of the Kuo Min Tang's white terror, the petty bourgeois elements lose their revolutionary patience; personal financial difficulties weaken their powers of resistance to bourgeois temptations. The worker-comrades, painfully demoralized by the internal conflict of the Stalinist faction, again and again deceived and disappointed by the blind and hypocritical policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, are unable to find the way to the correct policy. The seemingly endless counter-revolutionary period and the opportunist policy of the Stalinists are the reasons why betrayals are so prevalent in the Chinese party. The Stalinists have organized a gun squad to fight against

it but to no avail. The only remedy is for the Stalinists to give up their opportunist policy and follow the policies that comrade Trotsky points out to us and which truly teach the worker and non-worker comrades to understand present conditions and future developments.

Shanghai C. C. C.

FROM TINKER TO EVERS TO CHANCE

"The 12th Plenum of our Party clearly established that the resolution of the 14th Plenum of the Party remains the basic guide for examining the work of the Party in carrying out the line of the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The 16th Plenum of the Party established that since the 15th Plenum, the Party has begun to understand the line of the 14th Plenum resolution, and established that earnest beginnings have been made to carry it out in life" (*Daily Worker*, 2-13-33). Following the party and Comintern Plenums is like hunting for a way out of a maze; they run like the famous ball—from Tinker to Evers to Chance!

Left Opposition Gives Estimate of Spanish Anarchist Putschism

(Continued from last issue)

Instead of conducting a campaign for drawing closer to the railway workers of the General Union of Workers (U. G. T.)—who are the majority—for "taking advantage of the discontent produced by the monstrously cynical policy of the socialists, the C. N. T. makes impossible all reconciliation by proposing to go on strike under the slogan of the establishment of libertarian Communism. If the socialist workers could be mobilized under this slogan they would not be in the U. G. T. Without the support of the workers of the U. G. T., no railway strike nor any other great strike is possible. The railway strike (like any other) must be organized on the basis of the concrete demands of the railway workers. The anarchists wanted to throw themselves into this adventure while the organization was in straits.

But if anarchism—and this too must be stated—has reached such a state of development in this period, in spite of its historic failures in the Spanish workers movement, it is because the proletariat has found, so to speak, the doorway to Communism closed. This responsibility rests entirely upon the Communist party. The palpable sympathy with which the proletariat regarded the Communists, even within the net of anarchism, in the C. N. T., was transformed into hatred as soon as the party led by an irresponsible bureaucracy entered upon the scene. The crimes of the trade union policy, dividing the movement at a time when it was most necessary to unite it;

unprecedented defamation and frantic speculation, widened the breach between the party and the masses in the Confederation, even more so, if such were possible, than from the socialist masses. On the eve of the latest events, the C. P., instead of acting as an orientating force and as the proletarian vanguard, dedicated itself to the sad role of a third party in the discord, stimulating putschism. The pretended "betrayals of the anarchist leaders" which were daily proclaimed in the party press could only produce an effect contrary to that desired, if they had any effect at all. And all this, in order to bring forth the proposition of "united front from below", inviting the Confederationists and the socialists to unite with the party "over the heads" of their respective organizations.

The revolutionary workers movement, situated, on the one hand, in the midst of syndicalist reformism (which in practice is no better than the vile reformism of the socialists), and on the other hand faced with an opportunist and irresponsible Communist party, could only react in a growth of anarchism the latter at least expressed the revolutionary spirit of rebellion.

The crisis of the Communist movement could not but inevitably reflect itself upon the backwardness of the labor movement, during the course of the revolution in our country. Events are demonstrating that the Spanish proletariat is again falling into its most deplorable errors, because, due to the internal crisis, the Communist,

GERMAN CAMPAIGN

500 Gather for Bronx Meeting

Five hundred workers packed the Hollywood Gardens in the Bronx to the "standing room only" point to hear the speakers of the Left Opposition present its point of view on the present situation in Germany and remained until after midnight to hear our rebuttal of the Stalinist standpoint presented in the discussion. The meeting was not only significant from the point of view of the gratifying large attendance at the first indoor meeting ever held by us in the Bronx, but also by the fact that for the first time to our knowledge, the more than 100 party members present requested that an official representative of the party be given the floor to speak on the party point of view.

Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon, under the chairmanship of Murty Abern, gave a rounded presentation of our standpoint, tracing the development of Fascism in Germany, exposing the treacherous complicity of the social democracy and the criminal blundering of the Stalinists. The scores of Communist party workers were deeply impressed with the irrefutable facts which were hammered home by the Opposition speakers. In the discussion, the chair gladly gave the floor to the official representative of the party, comrade Louis Sass, organizer of the Bronx section of the party, and Jorga, member of the Section Executive Committee.

"The party speakers sought to defend the *Daily Worker's* neglect of the German situation by pointing to the importance of the rent strikes, as well as to defend the Stalinist theory of the united front from below. In the rebuttal, Shachtman showed how the Communist workers were thereby being forced to play the old opportunist game of counterposing the daily questions of immediate struggle to the fundamental principle questions of the revolution to the detriment of the latter. For almost an hour he spoke on the traditional standpoint of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the united front and repeated the alarm which the International Left Opposition is raising on the crisis in Germany.

Not only was a good collection taken and a large amount of literature sold, but numerous contacts with party members were established on the occasion of this first presentation of the Bronx by the Opposition, the party felt itself compelled to "counteract the influence of the Trotskyists" by issuing a leaflet announcing that the noted Stalinist theoretician, Sam Don, would speak the following week for the party in the Bronx—not on the German situation but on the "decomposition" of the Trotskyists! The fraudulent accounts about the "dissolution" of the German Opposition were, incidentally, thoroughly exposed on the platform by Shachtman, who produced the German Opposition organ to show that the Stalinist-financed sheet of the capitalists, Roman Well and Co., was a forgery.

Another mass meeting in the Bronx was announced on the spot for Sunday, February 26, 1933 on What Does the Left Opposition Stand For? The intense interest of the workers who listened carefully for several hours indicates that the Opposition is gaining a solid foothold in the Bronx which is making the Stalinist bureaucrats—who are so demoralized at the present moment—increasingly uncomfortable.

Successful German Meet in Philly

The Philadelphia Branch reacted quickly to the ascension of Hitler to power in Germany. It arranged a meeting on "What Next in Germany" with comrade Cannon as the main speaker on Thursday, February 9th at Grand Fraternity Hall. It marked the biggest meeting ever held by the Left Opposition in Philly. An audience of over 75 people, predominately Communist workers, crowded the room. They enthusiastically followed our speakers analysis until midnight.

The audience showed its sympathy and support with the decisive program of action of the Left Opposition by making a generous contribution (\$11.00) for the tri-weekly *Militant* and purchases of Trotsky's "What Next" and other Communist literature. Many questions pertinent to the subject were asked, indicating the intense interest of the audience.

"The greatest horror was expressed not only by the socialists present, but by Communist workers and Party members at the idea of the revolutionary internationalist role of the Red Army. They conceived of it not as an organ of the international working class but rather as a national Russian body. What a demoralizing effect the years of Stalinist miseducation has had on the ranks. Give full credit for it to the reactionary utopian idea of a classless society in one country.

If after comrade Cannon's main delivery, Stalin could still get a round of applause when a questioner preferred the former's leadership to that of comrade Trotsky; there was surely very little left of it after the speakers answer to the questions and discussions. Comrade Cannon gave a definite program of action to defeat German Fascism, whose function and counter-revolutionary perspective he analyzed. The responsibility of the treacherous social democracy and the stupid policies of Stalinism for the rise of Fascism and the weakening of the proletariat before Hitler was clearly depicted.

The meeting made a deep impression upon all present. Announcement of our meeting, the rousing propaganda of the *Militant* and the League, our stinging criticism is having its effect. It has led to a demand for a discussion on the German crisis in the Party units and I. L. D. branches. And more, the Philadelphia district of the Communist party is arranging a protest meeting on next Monday night, February 13 at Grand Manor Hall, 911 W. Gerard Ave. It is miserably inadequate. But support it comrades, workers and friends. Demand what the situation demands of us—mass united front demonstrations against German Fascism. Party members, comrades—you must raise your voices against the false orientation of Stalin and for the tactic of Lenin, the united working class front. Support the German masses in their revolutionary struggles.

—L. GOODMAN.

"NEW MILITANT" SELLS WELL

The first issue of the "New Militant" to be issued three times a week at one cent a copy, gained an exceptionally enthusiastic response from the New York militants (we have not yet heard from out of town, of course). In a couple of hours, comrades Jim Carr and Herbert Capella sold some two hundred copies on 14th Street in New York, near the headquarters. Other centers were also covered. Let us hear reports from everywhere—brief and to the point.

party has not yet been able to point the way out. The course of the revolution depends upon whether or not the crisis within the Communist movement is surmounted. The results of the anarchist policy cannot come as a surprise to any Communist, because we cannot entertain illusions concerning the role of anarchism. The Communists must derive as the most important lesson that the disastrous Stalinist policy shares in the responsibility for this situation. A united Communist party capable of fulfilling its role is the necessary condition for the rectification of past errors and the opening of a new perspective for the labor movement. Our reintegration into the party would be the most important step on the road to unification on the basis of the Communist International. No principled unity of heterogeneous groups is possible. Only on the basis of the C. L. can unity be achieved. The struggle to change the policy of the party must be linked with the struggle for unification which will bring to an end the paralyzing and brutalizing reign of bureaucratism.

The last insurrection, which should logically mark the death of anarchism, opens to the Communists the possibility of rectifying their past errors and of carrying out the policy which they should have pursued from the beginning; a policy of trade union unity, strengthening the C. N. T., the problem of converting the C. N. T. into the great revolutionary trade union center, which the proletariat needs, forces itself relentlessly to the fore.

Of late the C. N. T. being under the control of the F. A. I., not only the unions influenced by the Communists, but also those influenced by the reformist syndicalism of the group of "the thirty"

were excluded. The C. N. T. is, then, in a complete state of division and reorganization is necessary. If the Communist party continues the same policy of division and remains on the outskirts, the change which is due to take place in the C. N. T. will redound to the benefit of the reformists. Then one will be able to say that the latest events have represented a serious retrogression. The decadence of anarchism which will inevitably take place, should be accompanied by a growth of Communism and a strengthening of the trade union cadres. If such is not the case the possibility will remain always open for the recuperation of anarchism and will signify, for the moment, an important advance for the bourgeoisie.

The Law of Associations of the 8th of April, which the government has been unable to enforce, but whose repeal, on the other hand, has not been possible, is awaiting the moment when weakness of the proletariat will permit it to become effective. The convocation of a national congress of the C. N. T. at which the excluded unions, the autonomous unions or unions belonging to another center may attend, is the only means of terminating the anarchist hegemony in the C. N. T., of fortifying the revolutionary trade union movement and of presenting a front to reaction.

Long experience with confusion and adventures has again confirmed that without a class party no revolution is possible; that the proletariat can only triumph with audacity and caution.

Against repression and reaction! For a national congress of the C. N. T. For Communist unity!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST LEFT.

Scottsboro Frame-Up Is Uncovered

continued from page 1

This letter alone blows up the whole base frame-up. The contention of the prosecutor was that Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, who were hobnobing their way in freights through the South dressed in men's clothes and in the company of a group of white boys, had been attacked by the nine Negro boys who were subsequently taken from the train by the authorities. The letter of the Bates girl proves that nothing of the sort was done by any of the Negro boys, who were simply picked up by the police and sent to trial on the bourgeois southern theory that Negroes are congenital rapists for whom even a mock trial is a waste of time.

United Movement Imperative

It is now clear beyond even the shadow of a doubt that the militant fight undertaken for the 9 victims by the Communists and the International Labor Defense stood on a solid foundation. The special conferences now being called by the latter organization deserve the widest support of every action of the labor movement for the cause of the Scottsboro boys is the cause of the whole working

**WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE**

THE MILITANT



Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Published thrice weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class matter, November 25, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 9 [WHOLE NO. 156] NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

Fascists In Complete Control of Police

Smash Hitler

**German Left Opposition Appeals
for United Proletarian Resistance**

HITLER IS CHANCELLOR!

Workers, do you know what that means? It means complete starvation and loss of all rights, it means the destruction of all the active elements of the proletariat! After the speeches of the Nazi leader, there can be no doubt of this. Hitler's program is the complete smashing of all the political and trade-union organizations of the working class, to clear the way for a still more monstrous impoverishment of the working class. The aim of his foreign policy is war with Soviet Russia. If Hitler succeeds in carrying through his aims this would mean an unprecedented defeat for the international proletariat, "for Germany is not only Germany, but the heart of Europe."

Do not console yourselves with the nonsense that Hitler will soon be played out. No understanding this clearly—now is the time to tackle him!

Either Hitler will now establish his power, or the proletariat will overthrow him and clear the road for the dictatorship of the working class.

At this time, to wait any longer, as the Social Democratic party proposes, is lunacy. It is a crime. It means to let Hitler establish himself in his new official positions, it means to play the very last cards into his hand, and with that, to lead directly to the defeat of the working class.

Hitler must be overthrown, Fascism must be struck down. The Fascist government of civil war can be overthrown, however, not by parliamentary votes of "no confidence," but only by the extra-parliamentary mass struggle.

The General Strike

But how can we achieve this action? We must create the prerequisites—the closing of the ranks. It is not enough to call for the general strike, as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has done up to now. The situation demands today of the Communist party an open offer to the leaders of the Social Democratic party and the General German Trade Union Federation. A concrete program of struggle must be proposed, the leadership of the Social Democratic party and of the General German Trade Union Federation must be called upon to negotiate in the open before the workers, in order—maintaining the political independence of the participating organizations—without delay to

Create Common Organs of Struggle

on a National and Local Scale and throw into the fight the concentrated forces of the proletariat.

The goal of the struggle is:
Overthrow the Hitler Government!
Disarm the brown murder bands!
Defend all working-class organizations and their property!
Defend the democratic rights of the proletariat!

The means of struggle is the general strike, but this can lead to victory only if the leadership of the struggle and the proletariat are fully aware than the fight against the brown murder bands must be carried with even "harder weapons."

We must not wait, we must hit out!

Comrades of the Social Democratic party! Protest, compel the immediate acceptance of the struggle, break the sabotage of your leaders! Comrades of the Communist party! For two and a half years we "Trotskyists" have been proposing a Leninist united front policy to smash Fascism, whose perspectives we have correctly drawn. Through the fault of the Stalinist leadership, the Central Committee, much time has been lost. Even now reformism has its determining influence on the decisive part of the German working class. It is still possible, at the eleventh hour, to organize resistance through a Leninist united front policy and lead the proletariat to victory. The proletariat still has its organizations! In its hands are the levers of economic life. The others have only bayonets. The Bolsheviks, too, defeated Kornilov at the last minute!

All forces together! No weariness, no hesitation!

A solid front of all workers' organizations for the united front organs of the working class!

A general strike till the overthrow of the dictatorship of hunger, war, of the murder of workers!

For the defense of the political rights of the working class!

For the defense of party and trade-union buildings and of the workers' press!

For the defense of the Communist Party of Germany!

Against the waning of the people's substance on the corrupt barons of the Eastern Relief and the boxes of heavy industry!

For workers' control of production!

For a decent wage!

The Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany

Governor Strikes at Ill. Miners

**ILLUSIONS ABOUT HORNER
SHATTERED BY MEMORANDUM AIMED AT P. M. OF A.**

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Many Illinois miners and among them quite a few of the Progressive Miners of America leaders thought that they would get "justice" when they voted and helped to elect Henry Horner of the Democratic party as Governor of Illinois. But this ancient, myopic, self-hypnotism is fast fading as the miners see in action the true role of Horner in their struggle against the Lewis Walker-Peabody Coal Co. machine. Gov. Horner, the Democrat, like the late Gov. Emmerson, the Republican, is taking all steps possible to prevent the miners from building the Progressive Miners of America and improving their conditions.

Gov. Horner is developing a strong policy—that is, a crushing policy against the P. M. A. With the breaking off of negotiations between the P. M. A. and the U. M. W. A. officials and the coal operators which Gov. Horner called and after admitting that he was unable to compel the P. M. A. officials to accept "arbitration," Gov. Horner made the following stipulation in his "memorandum" to the miners of Illinois:

"That each of the two unions having contracts with the operators should be permitted without interference by the other to continue work under these contracts until at least April 1, 1933. In other words, where one local union has a contract with an operator of a certain mine in this State, the officials and members of the rival organization refrain from any effort to cause a cessation of work at that mine, or to prevent the fulfillment of that contract."

This is word for word what the Lewis-Walker machine, the agents of the Peabody Coal Co. asked for in their letter of proposals under date of January 26 to Gov. Horner. The Progressive Miners of America demanded that a referendum vote be taken to decide which organization the miners of Illinois wished to recognize. But this would be self-determination! The Illinois miners, like the Philippine miners, are not yet ready for self-determination, maybe twelve years from today, etc., thus the State Government, acting in its true role as the executive committee of the employing class, through its mouthpiece Gov. Horner, spiritualizes.

The "memorandum" further states:

"No non-residents of the county who seek to enter the county for the purpose of agitating the present controversy will be permitted to do so. Inflammatory agitation will be considered improper and in violation of the public peace."

Every eight year old child of the Illinois miners knows what this means. It is to prevent the P. M. A. from carrying on its relief work, holding demonstrations and

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Party Must Act Now!

Hitler Acts with Ruthless Determination to Crush Labor Movement; Stalinists Persist in Opposition to United Front

The work of establishing the complete domination of Fascism in Germany is being carried out at a speed which leaves even the bourgeois press gasping. The proposed elections on March 5 are assuming an increasingly deceptive and ludicrous character in face of the fact that the Hitlerites are concentrating every instrument of force and violence in their own hands so that regardless of the balloting, the power will remain in their hands.

The press reports the following highly significant facts:

1. All political demonstrations and even ordinary meetings are to be "policed" by Nazi storm troops and members of the Stahlhelm, the regular police being merely held in reserve. Not even Mussolini was able to attain such a measure before he took over the power completely.

Red Meetings Forbidden

2. All meetings at which constructive work of the government is to be dissolved on the spot.

3. "Communist demonstrations," according to the Berlin correspondent of the Times (2-16-33), "are to be forbidden altogether, and even the meetings of disguised Marxists—evidently meaning Socialists—are to be prevented. On the other hand, arrangements must be made to facilitate Nazi demonstrations in Communist districts."

4. "The Nationalist Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," continues the correspondent, "published an obviously inspired statement to the effect that a general arming of Nazi storm troops was not under consideration, but that 'in an emergency' there might be afforded legal means whereby these and the Stahlhelm men might be called on to relieve the police by the extension of auxiliary services. Further confirmation is scarcely necessary."

5. "Under the new German regime the police force itself is being transformed. Following up the removals of the von Papen regime, the acting Prussian Ministry today cleaned out the very last Socialist police heads in the State and replaced them with National Socialists or Nationalists. The entire police administration is now in the hands of the Hitlerites and supporters of Dr. Alfred Hugenberg."

"As for the newspapers, which the Tagesspiegel's evening publication, and the Socialist Vorwaerts were both suppressed today on the allegation that they had criticized the police in connection with Sunday's rioting in the Saxon mining town of Eiselen, where several hundred unemployed Nazis wrecked a Communist bookshop and gymnasium...."

In these measures are to be found the first earnest beginnings of the extermination of every working class organization, every democratic and working class right achieved in the course of decades of struggle. Where Mussolini waited many long months after seizing power before he was ready to make the Communist party illegal, Hitler, confronted with a stronger working class and the necessity of acting with dispatch is compelled to proceed with far greater speed and violence. The dismemberment and demolition of the working class and its movements is Hitler's prerequisite to the consolidation of Fascist power.

Trotsky's Forecast

"He wants to lure his antagonists with the long-run perspective of the parliamentary growth of the Nazis in order to catch them napping and to deal them a death blow at the right moment," wrote Leon Trotsky more than 15 months ago. "It is quite possible that Hitler's courtesies to democratic parliamentarism may, moreover, help to set up some sort of coalition in the immediate future in which the Fascists will obtain the most important posts and employ them in turn for their coup d'Etat."

This strikingly confirmed forecast of comrade Trotsky is now corroborated all over again by the events of the last few days. "It can now be stated on the best of authority," the Berlin correspondent of the London Times declares, "that the Nazi parties in the present Nazi

Nationalist alliance are avowedly working to establish the nationalistic State—by which their followers certainly understand the 'Hitler State'—prospective of opposition, and expect to realize their ambition in the immediate future. They are prepared, and readily admit this, to employ all the means which the possession of power gives them. The result of the elections March 5 and the prospect of Parliamentary opposition play no deterrent part in their calculations."

From the pen of the bourgeois correspondent we thus have a confirmation of the warning we issued last Monday: "The parliamentary elections as the axis of the struggle, constitute an enormous and treacherous swindle."

In this swindle which is leading the German working class blindfolded and hands bound to be slaughtered by the Fascist henchmen, the German social democracy is playing its traditionally promising part. To employ the classic expression of the Ilipio Turati, the late leader of the Italian socialist party, the German social democracy "have the courage to be cowards."

The million-headed masses which follow behind the banner of the social democratic party and the trade unions, are not being mobilized to strike down the Fascist beast with their mighty fists. They are being drugged with the fatal illusion that the field of battle is the ballot box of March 5. But that is precisely wherein lies the role of the social democratic leaders: To unleash a genuine mass movement of militant struggle against Fascism—they realize—may set into motion such a powerful force as the Weelses, Stumpfers and Hilderfings will not be able to check "at the right moment," which will exceed the narrow boundaries of the fight to preserve the democratic rights and institutions of the German proletariat and pass over to the struggle for the dictatorship of the working class.

All the more reason, therefore, why the Communists must take

the initiative in establishing a genuine united front movement of all the workers and their organizations, which will sweep out of power not merely the Fascist form of capitalist rule in Germany but, forging ahead, will smash the last obstacle on the road to a Soviet Germany. The opportunities offered the Communists by the present situation are matchless in their possibilities. But are they taking advantage of them? Not in the least! They continue to repeat the old, worn-out, discredited and bankrupt formulae which have brought about the present impotence of the official Communist party in Germany.

For the first week and more after Hitler was named Chancellor, the official party press in this country was as silent as the tomb. It confined itself to a few news dispatches culled from the capitalist press or sent by the imprecator. Commentary on the program or tactics of the German Communists was not to be found. And this for the simple reason that the Stalinists were taken altogether by surprise by the event. They were completely bewildered and dumb-founded and impotent.

Stalinist Silence "Broken"

"The hammer blows of the Militant and the Left Opposition finally made a breach in this silence. For the past few days the Daily Worker has been forced to speak about the German situation at some length. But it still remains bewildered and bankrupt. It can do little more than repeat the dull and empty twaddle about the 'united front from below' and 'social fascism' and—now that the well-known 'friend of the Soviet Union' Robert Minor has been made editor—to overflow with bile and impotent fury against the 'Trotskyists'."

To attack our absolutely unassailable position, the Stalinist scribbles must resort to the most puerile falsehoods and misrepresentations. They quote with approval

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Japs Plan to Extend Conquest

**MANCHURIAN INVASION TO BE
EXTENDED FURTHER
SPITE OTHER POWERS**

The Japanese generals refuse to be checked by the League of Nations. The goal of their ambitious for many a long time, is too close to their grasp to allow it to be snatched away again. Far from giving up Manchuria, the Japanese imperials plan to extend their conquest and "regulate" it by improving the mercenary Manchukuo, Henry Fu Li, former boy emperor of China. He will make a bid for the throne of North China at Peking, the Japs supplying the necessary bayonets. Let too League summarize, set the U. S. marriage—it is now or never for the hand of the Far East.

The Imperial Diet at Tokyo has given its blessing to the pathos undertaking "pacifying" Japan by conquering China, the League of Nations, and a quarter million yen, and approved in order to finance an other year of aggression in Asia. Direct outflows of 30 percent of this swollen sum are made to the army and navy. The fact that this sum of money cannot be collected in taxation and therefore that the fiscal policy means inevitably greater inflation of the currency than has already occurred, does not disturb the running class, for the devastating effects of such inflation will be shifted on to the backs of the workers and peasants. Financing the war in China can be accomplished only by intensifying exploitation at home.

If the capitalists have any misgivings as to the ultimate outcome of a break with Europe and America, they will have to keep mum for the present, the generals are in the saddle. Nevertheless the Tokyo stock market registers the fears of the less blood-thirsty section of finance imperialism. Stocks and bonds have tumbled, revealing the Achilles heel of Japanese economy, the lack of adequate finances, one of the first blows to be delivered by the League and the U. S. at Japan, if the imminent clamping down on loans. It remains to be seen, even then, whether France will abide by such a decision.

"The Japanese threaten to shut the door of Manchurian trade for the rest of the world if further pressure for their withdrawal is applied. The imperialist powers have had too much experience with their own method of handling conquered territory, for them to waste any feeling over this threat. Manchuria has been closed to all but Japan since its occupation. American business has reconciled itself to this fact and has turned to the Yangtze Valley for its future Chinese market."

Meanwhile the U. S. government, the political committee of American finance capital, does not sit twiddling its thumbs. It is utilizing the debt tangle to the utmost as may be witnessed by the activities of the League, and particularly of England. It is intriguing with its dollars in China, goading the treacherous Kuo Min Tang on to some semblance of resistance to further Japanese encroachment.

By the irony of history, it may come about that the League of Nations, which at its very inception sent invading armies into Soviet Russia to help suppress the revolution, will be split asunder by its own internal imperialist contradictions before accomplishing its major objective, the isolation and suppression of the Soviets. It seems almost fantastic that the U. S. should grant recognition to the Soviet Union because of "common interests" against Japan. And yet this is taking place before our eyes. That this recognition should result, as Radak planned, in an alliance against Japan of the most reactionary and the most advanced countries, that is, however, still unthinkable. Not so long as the Soviets still represent the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Scott Hearings who predict such an event, are merely predicting with-out realizing it, the downfall of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—J. W.

The Dollar Props Up Hitler America and the Fascist Danger

The sharpening class relations in Germany have reached the point of civil war. This is posing in the most acute fashion the analyses and programs of the factions of the Communist International. This analysis must flow from the fact that the weight of the contradictions of world capitalism finds their most difficult relationship in Germany, revealing it as the weakest link in the world capitalist chain.

Our victory over Fascism in this situation depends upon the ability and action of the Communists in presenting the correct program for the situation in Germany.

The gigantic antagonisms between imperialism, which have been intensified since the last world war, finds their deepest expression in Germany. The interests of the world imperialists are bound up with the interests of the German bourgeoisie in their struggle against the proletariat. If American and other imperialists leave Germany to her own fate in the German extension of the October revolution, the door would be left open for the deepening of internal difficulties and convulsions at home. Across this contradiction between the imperialist powers themselves runs the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union. These contradictions are tied up in one knot in the present German situation.

To untie this knot, means to answer the burning question of class relations in the interest of the working class. Hitler and Fascism answers this question in the most clear cut fashion for the bourgeoisie, even though they show great signs of weakness and confusion. For this Fascist shortcoming, the errors of Stalinism have more than compensated. Fascism has already one foot over the threshold of state power and the Stalinist straitjacket is hindering the free action of the vanguard of the working class. Hitler undoes the Reichstag, the Prussian Diet and Nazi parties in the present Nazi

see to it now and elections he will see that the Communists and all other workers' organizations are not able to participate according to their parliamentary strength and thereby insure a "legal" victory of Fascism.

Social Democracy has not outlived its usefulness for the ruling class, it cannot adequately serve the interest of the capitalists in the immediate acute situation but it can and does constitute an active reserve force ready to serve its master as a moment's notice. Social democracy can only be shattered by a proper united front tactics in order to win the worker socialist from the leaders, thereby the base upon which the social chauvinist and "Iron Front" fighters rest can be torn away.

One force that is at present in the background, but which has weight of first magnitude in Germany, is American imperialism. During and since the last world war and since the last war it has been the stabilizing center of world capitalism against the revolutionary struggles for power of the proletariat. A working agreement between German Fascism and American imperialism is necessary for capitalism to utilize the Fascist hordes against the working class and the Soviet Union.

America's participation in the last world war on the side of the imperialist rivals of Germany was of decisive importance in the defeat of Germany. It was second in importance only to the effects of the October revolution upon the German working class in the 1918 revolution which overthrew the Kaiser. American capital, in the form of war loans and war equipment, gave the necessary impetus to the tired and shattered armies fighting Germany. American post-war loans continued this necessary prop in deciding European foreign markets for American production.

—HUGO OEHLEH.

War on for Control of Leticia

Open warfare has at last broken out between Peru and Colombia for control of the small Amazon port of Leticia. It is possible that this conflict together with that between Paraguay and Bolivia for possession of the Gran Chaco, may develop into a continent-wide war, with British and American imperialism supporting the opposing sides.

The official Communist party press in its estimation of the situation assumes that there are already two clearly defined blocs of Latin American lackey governments service to the interests of British and American imperialism respectively. It is however pure light-mindedness to jump at conclusions after the fashion of the Daily Worker experts who analyze every Latin American problem regardless of its complexity, according to the magic formula wherein British imperialism unconditionally supports one side while Wall Street has all its stakes on the other.

there is very deep social and political unrest in Peru. One of Sanchez Cerro's reasons for the present war, was to utilize an appeal to national patriotism as a counterbalance to the forces and tendencies aimed at the overthrow of his regime. But the Peruvian dictatorship is playing with fire; anything short of a quick decisive victory, and that is unlikely, certainly a revolutionary overturn in the near future. The petty bourgeois A. P. R. A. which opposed Sanchez Cerro in the last elections, and which together with the Communist party, was recently involved in a series of minor uprisings which culminated in the "putsch" at Trujillo last fall have already convened a number of protest demonstrations against the war, resulting in clashes between the workers and the armed forces of the government and in numerous arrests.

—ROSALIO NEGRETTE.

OPEN FORUM

"WHAT NEXT IN THE NEEOLE TRADES"

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RIGHT AND LEFT UNION

The Policy of the Left Opposition
Speaker:
J. P. CANNON
Friday, 8 P. M., FEBRUARY 17th
126 East 16th Street,
ADMISSION: 15c

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Oehler Tour this Week

We have already announced the tour of comrade Hugo Oehler on the present situation in Germany and the program of the Left Opposition on this vital question confronting the international proletariat. Below is specific information on the dates and places of the meetings:

UTICA, N. Y.
Friday, Feb. 17
LABOR LYCEUM
131 Washington St.
Buffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
PITTSBURGH, PA.
Sunday, Feb. 19—8 P. M.
IRENE KAUFMAN
SETTLEMENT
1530 Center Ave.
New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
Tuesday, Feb. 21—8 P. M.
CENTRAL AUDITORIUM
225 W. Boardman St.
CLEVELAND, OHIO
Wednesday, Feb. 22
PAINTERS HALL
3030 Euclid Ave.
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
Dayton, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5

Unrest in Peru
While an insane war hysteria appears at the moment to dominate the mass psychology in Colombia,

Homeless Youth to be Militarised

\$20,000,000 APPROPRIATED TO SEND YOUNG WORKERS INTO MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS

The U. S. Senate has decided to militarize the homeless youth of the nation. By its bill, passed Monday by a unanimous vote, it has placed the destitute and hungry youth, who total more than 400,000, on the basis of forced conscription to military training camps. The minimum service required in these camps is six months.

Thus the impotent Senate has reacted to one of the most vital and desperate problems created by American capitalism. These young workers, whose life is one of hunted wandering, whose head is a box car and whose food consists of the miserable slop handed out in salubrious army joints, and who are a prey to sexual degeneracy and petty thievery of all description—they are the grist of the mill of capitalist civilization. Thrown to the surface by four years of capitalist crisis, they reflect the profound derangement, the wretched conditions thrust upon the proletariat home by continued unemployment and dependence upon the handouts of charity institutions. The bourgeois sycophants are

caught in their own mesh. They howled about Communism "breaking up the family" and never before has such a wholesale disruption of family life been evident as in the "paradise" of American capitalism. They gloated over the "despotic" rule in Soviet Russia. But the workers state has eradicated this left-over of the civil war, by absorbing them into the industry and life of the nation. In America, where there has been no civil war they swarm the countryside in hundreds of thousands.

And what do the solons of bourgeois law and order propose to do about the problem? Do they intend to give these young workers jobs, to give them unemployment insurance, to place them in trade schools so they can later be absorbed in industry? It could hardly be expected. The boss class wants these jobless youth for its industrial reserve army. It wants these unemployed youth to constitute a threat at the factory gates so that wages may be constantly dragged down. It wants them to serve as scabs in the great strike battles that are yet to come. It wants these youngsters to augment its militia for use against the internal enemy—the starving working class and to provide cannon fodder for its "foreign" wars that impend. Above all it fears the danger these discontented youths constitute to their personal pocketbooks, in the way of petty larceny on a wholesale scale and the organization of a section of them into a militant youth movement which will strike not at the pocketbooks but at the source of capitalist income—the expropriation of the mines the mills, and the factories.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TREACHERY IN GERMANY TAKEN FROM ITS OWN AUTHENTIC RECORDS, WRITINGS, SPEECHES, NEWSPAPERS, WHICH SHOW HOW IT SOLD PROLETARIAT TO BOURGEOISIE

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR

"On July 31, at 8 p. m., the War Ministry issued in No. 64 gAI the following communication to the General Command, etc.: According to a reliable report the Social Democratic Party has the firm intention of conducting itself in a manner as befits every German under the present conditions. I consider it my duty to call attention to this so that the military commanders may take it into consideration when adopting measures."

Report of Count Montgelas in the First Investigation Committee, Volume 2, page 74.

ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND

"For our people and its free future, much if not everything is at stake in a victory of Russian despotism which is stained with the blood of the best among its own people. It is necessary to ward off this danger, to guarantee the culture and the independence of our country. In the hour of danger we do not leave our own fate to the mercy of the enemy. We feel ourselves to be in harmony with the International which has at all times recognized the right of every people to national independence and self defense, just as we condemn in agreement with every war of conquest. Guided by these principles, we approve the required war credits."

Declaration of the Social Democratic Reichstag Fraction on August 4, 1914.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY

"As soon as the monarchy fulfills the wishes of the people, the ground is removed from under all Republican agitation. The question: monarchy or republic? would then be much less of a theme for discussion than it is at present. And every probability indicates that this is what is coming. Even if there are still difficulties to overcome, they will be—presumably in the shortest period of time—overcome without a trace of a violent upheaval and without the overthrow of the monarchy."

—Vorwarts, April 3, 1917.

NEVER AGAINST THE MONARCHY

"An anti-monarchist propaganda, a positive republican activity, was never conducted by the social democracy, because this question appeared to us up to a certain time to be secondary. The imputation that the social democracy wanted or prepared the November revolution."

...social democratic leaders. Those who stand in the road of the German proletariat's struggle to smash Fascism—must be swept aside!"

Thursday, Feb. 16, 1933. —M. S.

100 at B'klyn Meet

The third meeting in its campaign on the German situation was held by the N. Y. branch of the Left Opposition in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Williamsburg. About 100 workers came for the first time to listen to the call to action of the Left Opposition on the menace of Hitlerism in Germany. The speakers of the evening, comrades Shachtman and Cannon gave a lucid explanation of the situation in Germany and the grave dangers that threaten the Communist movement of the whole world.

This rally in Williamsburg marks the first meeting the Left Opposition has held in that district.

The Relief March in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—The leadership of the Communist party in Dist. 9 is carrying out the "circular" instructions for "state relief marches." Cripple as it is with the Stalin line and its consequences in the past struggles the party stumbles and fails into creating a movement that resembles Loveston's and Pat Devine's "genuine labor party." Rather than come out in its own name and call upon the trade unions, the Socialist party, the Farmer-Labor party, the co-operators for a minimum class program, the party crawls into the shelter of its own "third period" auxiliaries, and through them calls a state relief march for the unemployed of the former Minneapolis Building Trades "Left wing" with a few innovations from the program of its own unemployed and farmers' organization. A real movement for a Leninist united front to meet the dire need of the unemployed in the bankrupt cities and counties would get a popular response from the masses regardless of the attitude of the reformist leaders.

The movement is called the Workers and Farmers Relief Committee. No pretense is made to define its united front character. The Left Opposition delegates to the Minneapolis conference for this movement were not sent because they are "counter-revolutionary." A typical A. F. of L. bureaucrats' "tag rule" was administered by a blushing workers chairman to prevent discussion on the motion to unseat the Communist League delegation. The narrow basis for the march is supplemented by the widest, loosest and most meaning-

less form of representation of the workers. The appeal says "call mass meetings in your towns and elect delegates." In the Minneapolis conference there was one trade union and the party membership and its closest sympathizers represented eleven times over (through auxiliaries). The name, the structure, the content of the movement is nothing but the forces of the official party, with its own workers' and farmers' organization. The party, the leader of the working class, should boldly carry out its task of discrediting and unmasking the whole fallacy of the theory of two-class parties instead of competing with the F. L. P. with its own two-class party. Behind the sham of the Farmer Labor Party lurk a multitude of opportunist misleaders of the working class. We must expose and not compete with them.

Despite the crudity of organization and shortcomings in policy, the movement and march will have a considerable following on the day of the march. The workers will come, look on and go away. It is the only action of a militant class character for the unemployed this winter. The Left Opposition supports the movement and shall participate in it. It will criticize its errors and wrong orientation as we do in this article. We sound the call for the worker Communists to take stock of the wrong policy of their leadership and organize with the Left Opposition to correct it.

—CLEM FORSEN.

tion, is a ridiculous, stupid life of our opponents for agitational purposes."

—Philip Scheidemann, Berlin, June 1922.

(On December 5, 1922, in the trial against his assassins, Scheidemann declared that he requested from Prince Max von Baden the retirement of Wilhelm II "in order to save the monarchy.")

WAR TO THE LAST MINUTE

"So long as the peace negotiations have not yet begun and hostilities continue, the defense force of the German people must be unfolded to the highest conceivable degree. The transition from a war to a peace footing is also from a military standpoint a psychologically dangerous moment. We go to the people which stacks its arms five minutes too early! The unfolding of the national defense force also demands, however, the preservation of order in the interior."

—Vorwarts, October 3, 1918.

THE MONARCHY MUST REMAIN

"Had we at that time seen the possibility of transforming Germany into a republic, we should not have delayed for an instant to unfurl the republican banner and to enter into struggle for it. But up to this time we have not seen this possibility and we do not see it today. But this demands first of all the preservation of the present state form, the monarchy."

—Mannheimer Volksstimme, Nov. 8, 1918.

THE PACT WITH THE CAPITALISTS

"In the Right socialist trade union leaders, the Legiens, Leiparts, Schlickes and consorts, the employers found allies to save capital from the threatening revolution. On November 15, 1918, six days after the 9th of November, after the day of the revolution, the labor collaboration between the employers and the Right socialist trade union leaders was concluded. Thus the Christian leaders once allied themselves with the mighty in Rome jointly to suppress the betrayed people."

—Arthur Crispin, Chairman of the Independent S. D. P., July 20, 1919.

KAUTSKY AND HAASE ON RUSSIA

"Continuation of the discussion on Germany's attitude to the Soviet Republic: Haase advises to proceed dilatorily. Kautsky joins in with Haase; the decision must

be postponed. The Soviet government will not last very much longer but will be liquidated in a few weeks."

—Minutes of Session of Council of People's Commissioners, Nov. 19, 1918.

THE JUDAS ROLE OF THE SOCIALISTS

"The massacres of revolutionary workers in Berlin, Munich, Bremen, the Ruhr district and Upper Silesia, in hundreds of other German cities will be an everlasting monument of shame to the Right wing socialist-bourgeois overlords."

—Arthur Crispin, Freiheit, November 1919.

NOSKE THE BLOODHOUND

"I attacked even though I knew that I would be dragged through the revolutionary history of Germany as a bloodhound. I carried out this bloody work out of serious consciousness of duty. At that time I said to myself: somebody must do the job, and it is clear to me that this means for me that I shall have to run through the German revolution like a bloodhound."

—Gustav Noske, Weimar Congress of S. D. P., Minutes, page 202.

INCITEMENT TO MURDER ROSA AND KARL

"Hundreds of corpses in a row. 'Proletarians!' 'Karl, Rosa, Radek and Co.' 'Not one of them is there!' 'Proletarians!'"

—Zickler in the Vorwarts, January 13, 1919.

(The next day, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered.)

NOSKE'S TWO GREAT DEEDS

"I have accomplished two great deeds which I am proud of, and they are the liberation of the country from Bolshevism and the keeping of Hanover in Prussia."

—Noske, Hanover Parliament, May 1924.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS ON NOSKE-GALLIFET

"Noske directed the bloody suppression in Berlin and Bernhard carried it out: Theris and Gallifet, or still better: two Gallifets. Noske remains to this day a member of the Second International. To restore the unity of the great family of labor the violator of its name must be driven out."

—Ligue, central organ of the S. P. of France, Sept. 25, 1919.

Governor Strikes Blow at Ill. Miners

continued from page 1

meetings, carrying on organizational work and building their union, in a word, it denies the P. M. A. members their rights as workers. Further the "memorandum" states: "No private citizens in the county should be allowed to carry arms, or should have them under their control." Who are the private citizens, say for instance in Christian county? Mostly the striking coal-miners. On the one hand while all the private citizens have had their homes raided and disarmed by the State Militia; on the other hand, the Peabody gunmen and strikebreakers have free excess to all the guns that they need. The striking miners are not even to be allowed the right to protect their homes from the attacks of drunken imported strikebreakers.

Then as a further onslaught on the P. M. A. the State senate last week appropriated \$100,000 for the use of the State Militia in Christian County for their continued stay. Already over \$150,000 have been exhausted by the State Militia that is stationed in Christian Co. for the purpose of clubbing, gassing, murdering and starving the striking miners back to work under the company union of Lewis and Co. When the Unemployed Councils held their State convention in Springfield and they sent a delegation to Gov. Hornor instead of giving the P. M. A. a referendum vote that they asked for is going to have a State Legislature commission from the house and senate investigate the conditions in Franklin county. In the language of the miners, Hornor is going to put on a "white-wash-squad" to white-wash everything and make everything rosy for the Lewis-Walker-Peabody machine. But the miners, too, are realizing that real progress can be made only in a struggle against the whole capitalist system.

—JOS. ANGELO.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

Friday, February 17, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 9 (Whole No. 156)

Single copy: one cent. Bundle rates on application.

BUILD THE MILITANT

This is the time to do it, comrades! Every shoulder to the wheel! The Militant plays a great historical role. It was never needed more than now, in these fateful days. Now is the time to spread it, to build up its circulation.

We are glad to record gratifying results for the last couple of weeks. Since the drive started we received about two hundred new subs through the Club Plan and the prepaid sub-cards. At the same time new subscriptions are on the increase at the regular subscription rate.

Looking over the record by cities we see Pittsburgh, Montreal and Toronto rushing to the front. Of course, New York stands at the head of the list but at the rate some of our branches are progressing, its place of honor will be seriously contested in the near future. Toronto just made its immediate goal fifty new subs. And the way it is rushing ahead, that goal will be reached soon.

As to the individual record, comrade Capelis felt quite sure to remain in first place. Well, comrade Capelis, look at the column and better get busy with renewed vigor. A number of comrades begin to press you.

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Super-Exploitation in So. Illinois Drives Miners to A Militant Revolt

Why did the revolt of the militants among the soft coal miners take on clear-cut organizational features in Illinois, and particularly in Southern Illinois? What are the objective features of the situation in that territory, with which revolutionary labor policy will have to reckon?

Analysis of the statistics published by the government leads to the following conclusions:

1. In Illinois, capitalist exploitation of the coal miner has gone further in many respects than in any other state in the union, and this is particularly true of the Southern Illinois field.

2. The concentration of capital is proportionately greater in Illinois, and the necessity of concentration of the workers' forces is correspondingly most urgent.

3. The increased efficiency of exploitation in Illinois has led to shorter working time and lower earning power for the miners. The effect on wages will be discussed separately.

Man Production High

We use as the index of exploitation of mine labor, the production of coal in tons per man per day. For the United States as a whole this averages about 5 tons; for the State of Illinois, 6.42 tons. The Southern Illinois counties run above the average for the state—Macoupin County (in which Gillespie is located) reported 7.01 tons, Montgomery County 6.73, Christian County 7.74 (in which the fighting centering around Taylorville took place).

These figures represent not only super-exploitation of labor but also the presence of large aggregations of capital able to conduct a powerful and vicious attack against the miners. Class 1A mines, (producing over half a billion tons a year each), produce a larger part of the total output in Illinois than in any other state—33.3 percent against an average for the United States of 27.7 percent.

Within the state of Illinois, the concentration is shown by the following comparison: The whole state has 506 mines, of which 113 are in the southern district. The total production of the state in 1930 was 53,000,000 tons, of which 24,000,000 were produced in the Southern district. In other words, 22 percent of the state's mines produced 45 percent of the state's coal.

That the process of concentration of capital and mechanization has gone further in Illinois than anywhere else in the country is shown by the fact that in 1930, a total of 22,803,000 tons of coal was produced in Illinois by loading machines, or handled on pit-car loaders and conveyors. The nearest state to it in mechanization, Pennsylvania, produced only 7,035,000 tons by these methods, and the entire mechanized output of the country amounted to 46,824,000 tons.

In Illinois, 48 percent of the coal mined is loaded mechanically, against 10 percent for the entire country.

Modern Machinery Used

Illinois also leads the country in strip-coal mining, that is, the extraction of coal by steam or electric shovels from an open cut after stripping off the overlying earth. This method of mining, using shovels that cost half-a-million dollars apiece, leads to the greatest concentration of capital, as in the United Electric Coal Co.'s operation in Duquoin County in Southern Illinois, and at the same time to the most intense exploitation of labor with production running 14 tons per man per day.

Strip-mined coal in Illinois in 1930 amounted to 6,116,415 tons, or 31 percent of all the strip-mined coal of the United States. In Illinois each shovel averaged 105,000 tons a year, against 58,000 for the whole country.

But all this concentration of capital, mechanization, and rationalization has improved the efficiency of utilization of capital, not of labor. On the contrary, the coal miner in Illinois has had more irregular employment than the miner in any of the other big coal-mining states.

West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Illinois produce among them 80 percent of the country's total soft coal output. In West Virginia, the average number of days worked in 1930 per mine was 201, in Kentucky 187, in Pennsylvania (soft coal) 198—in Illinois it was 156 days in the year.

In Illinois, 97 percent of the miners work eight hours a day; the average for the whole country is less than 90 percent.

Yet in spite of this fact, the production per man per day in Illinois is among the highest in the whole country.

Evidently the tactics of the mine operators are to drive the men as hard as possible for the day's pay, while giving them fewer days of work in the year than any other big coal producing state.

No wonder one of the major grievances of the Illinois miners has been the killing pace of mechanization, as carried out by the capitalists for the benefit of the big corporations who control coal mining in the State of Illinois.

The struggle of the coal miners for a decent living wage and decent working conditions is carried on in Illinois on a higher plane of technical and economic exploitation, and against a more concentrated and powerful class opponent than in the rest of the United States.

The class organizations of the workers on the economic front, the trade unions, face the problems of organization and struggle on a higher plane and with greater sharpness, and their mass basis must become both broader and deeper to enable them to fulfill their urgent tasks.

—B. J. FIELD.

Strike at Foltis Fisher

The workers in three of the Foltis-Fisher cafeterias have been locked out by the slave-driving bosses for refusing to invest a part of their money, slashed to the company's stock. This is just another trick to cut wages by disguising it under another name. The workers have responded by militant picketing of these cafeterias under the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union. The lock-out, which has been converted into a strike, is meeting with warm sympathy among the workers of the other Foltis-Fisher cafeterias. There is a great probability that the strike will extend its scope. More power to the movement! The Left Opposition will stand solidly behind it.

Our comrade, James Gordon is chairman of the strike committee and is taking a very active part in all the work of the strike. But we can say at the outset that the strike will be hampered if it limits its supporters to those who stand in the good graces of the Stalinist faction. We refer to the case of comrade Petrus, a well known food worker militant, who was barred from participation in the strike because he is a "Trotskyite." Such methods, copied from the A. F. of L. fakery, will not help the strike. On the contrary, the road to victory for the strike lies in broadening its basis to all workers regardless of political affiliation.

TOM MANN FREED

"Tom Mann, veteran leader of the British revolutionary movement, has been released from prison. He was jailed by the MacDonald government for his activities in leading the unemployed movement against the cut in the dole.

1 CENT
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COPY

THE MILITANT

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 10 [WHOLE NO. 157] NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

To Delay Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal

How Can Fascism Be Smashed in Germany

By Leon Trotsky

We reprint here a section from "The Workers' United Front Against Fascism" which, although written on December 8, 1931, is of intense importance right now.

The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses and Hilferdings prefer, in the last analysis, Fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers. Today this is not yet the case. Today the social democracy as a whole, with all its internal antagonisms, is forced into sharp conflict with the Fascists. It is our task to take advantage of this conflict and not to unite the antagonists against us.

The front must be directed against Fascism. And this common front of direct struggle against Fascism, embracing the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the struggle against the social democracy directed as a flank attack but no less effective for that.

It is necessary to show by deeds a complete readiness to make a bloc with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a bloc. To say to the social democratic workers: "Cast your leaders aside and join our 'non-party' united front," means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. We must understand how to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is the struggle against Fascism.

There are ample doubts as to whether the social democratic workers who are prepared to fight hand in hand with the Communist workers against the Fascists, regardless of the desires or even against the desires of the social democratic organizations. With such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish the closest possible contact. At the present time, however, they are not great in number. The German worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of the social democratic workers will fight against the Fascists, but—for the present at least—only together with their organizations. This stage cannot be skipped. We must help the social democratic workers in action—in this new and extraordinary situation—to test the value of their organizations and leaders at this time, when it is a matter of life and death for the working class.

We Must Force the Social Democracy into a Bloc Against the Fascists

The trouble is that in the Central Committee of the Communist party there are many frightened opportunists. They have heard that opportunism consists of a love for blocs, and that is why they are against blocs. They do not understand the difference between, let us say, a parliamentary agreement and an ever-so-modest agreement for struggle in a strike or in defense of workers' printshops against Fascist bands.

Election agreements, parliamentary compromises concluded between the revolutionary party and the social democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the social democracy. Practical agreements for mass action, for purposes of struggle are always useful to the revolutionary party. The Anglo-Russian Committee was an impermissible type of bloc of two leaderships on one common political platform, vague, deceptive, binding no one to any action at all. The maintenance of this bloc at the time of the General Strike, when the General Council assumed the role of strike-breaker, signified, on the part of the Stalinists, a policy of betrayal.

No common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike, and when to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzesinsky. On one condition, not to bind one's own hands.

It is necessary, without any delay, finally to elaborate a practical system of measures—not with the aim of merely "exposing" the social democracy (before the Communists), but with the aim of actual struggle against Fascism. The question of factory de-

fense organizations, of unhampered activity on the part of the factory councils, the inviolability of the workers' organizations and institutions, the question of arsenals that may be seized by the Fascists, the question of measures in the case of an emergency, that is, of the coordination of the actions of the Communist and the social democratic divisions in the struggle, etc., etc., must be dealt with in this program.

In the struggle against Fascism, the factory councils occupy a tremendously important position. Here a particularly precise program of action is necessary. Every factory must become an anti-Fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions. It is necessary to have a map of the Fascist barracks and all other Fascist strongholds, in every city and in every district. The Fascists are attempting to encircle the revolutionary strongholds. The encirclers must be encircled. On this basis,

(Continued on Page 2)

Hesitation at This Time Is a Crime!

The most urgent need in Germany today is clarity. Half-way measures, confusion, ambiguity, twistings and turnings—these are fatal to the proletarian movement which needs a clear line of action, clearly expressed and clearly followed through.

The only road to the smashing of Fascism is the united front of the German working class. Everybody now acknowledges this in words—the Communists. The Left Opposition differs from the Stalinists not only by the fact that the latter have a wrong position on the question of the united front, but that they introduce a maximum of confusion into the minds of the working class precisely at the moment when a maximum of clarity is imperative if the German proletariat is not to be delivered to the Fascist butchers bound hand and foot.

Opposition's Stand

What does the Left Opposition advocate? Nothing more or less than the policy jointly advocated by Lenin and Trotsky in the early years of the Comintern, applied to the present German situation. The

proletariat is divided into two main camps: reformism (social democratic) and revolution (Communist). Each of these camps is organized into distinct parties, with millions of followers. Fascism threatens to exterminate both of them, the revolutionary section first and the reformist section after it—at times the order of annihilation is not even separated and both suffer from the same blows at the same time. The whole working class is imbued with a deep, irreconcilable hatred of Fascism. It wants to fight it, regardless of which camp in the labor movement it is attached to at the moment. The Communists have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole; they are only its most advanced section. It devolves upon them, therefore, to take the initiative in mobilizing the whole class for a struggle to the bitter end to crush Fascism.

The socialist workers do not yet believe in the need of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is essentially why they are still in the social democracy (we leave aside for the moment the fact that Stalinist blunders help to keep them there) and are not yet prepared to fight for a Bolshevik revolution. They are prepared to go along even with the Bolsheviks to fight the common enemy of Fascism. The Communists must make it possible for them to ally themselves with the Communist workers in the fight. This can be done at the present time by an alliance between the Communist party and the Social Democratic party to which the socialist workers are still attached. The latter will be broken away from their treacherous leaders in the course of this joint struggle, for we proceed from the theory that the socialist leaders will try to curb the movement, to emasculate it, to make rotten compromises with the enemy—in short, to render the movement ineffective and to stop it half way along the road. The socialist workers do not yet realize fully the role of their leaders. They will realize it in the process of the struggle—by their own experience. We proceed further from the idea that the Communists are so superior not only in their

strategic goal but also in their tactics for the every day and immediate questions, that by experience the workers will realize further that the Communists are their only true and effective leaders.

Providing that the Communists retain their independence, their own banners, their right to free criticism of their temporary allies—they have nothing to fear from the alliance (i. e., from the united front) with the social democracy. Those who have a secret fear that the social democratic leaders are somehow superior, are opposed to such a united front. But the true Communists have nothing in the world to fear from a counterposing of their policy and leadership in the united front to those of the social democracy. They know which will triumph. They have confidence in themselves and in the sound class consciousness of the masses.

The Stalinist Position

What do the Stalinists advocate? The "united front from below" under "revolutionary leadership". This is a recruiting campaign for the party, but not the united front.

(Continued on Page 2)

League Obeys U.S.A. In Move Against Japan

The League's voluminous report on Japanese aggression in China gives the clearest evidence of America's dominating world position. In no single respect does the League's position differ from the one enunciated by Secretary Stimson on several occasions. It can be said that the interests of the great powers, in this instance, coincide with the interests of U. S. imperialism and are in opposition to those of Japan. This is true but does not negate American dominance.

The League demands Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria, but also requires that China grant autonomy to the three provinces. The report gives recognition also to Japan's special interests in Manchuria. Thus the League grants to Japan its right to a "sphere of influence" in North China but it is not ready to see this sphere turned into an outright colony. Diplomacy works only through quid pro quo—through concessions or payments made for services rendered. At the moment, America has more to offer the League than Japan. The

price demanded from Japan—at least on the Soviet Union—has been deferred too long to suit the League. Furthermore instead of marching further North, Japan has set her face South in China, much to the League's chagrin. Thus the report states: "Early in January, 1933, occurred the serious incidents at Shanhai-kwan, situated at the extremity of the Great Wall, half-way between Peking and Mukden. This city has always been regarded as of great strategic importance. It is on the route followed by invaders who, coming from Manchuria, wish to penetrate into what is now the province of Hopei. Moreover, from Hopei is the easiest route into Jehol..."

"International Cooperation"

The League, in short, cannot possibly allow vast sections of China to become Japanese colonies. It proposes international cooperation in Chinese reconstruction—since the present position in Shanghai in China is an obstacle to friendship with Japan and an anxiety to the rest of the world (as the maintenance of peace in the Far East is a matter of international concern) and since the conditions enumerated above cannot be fulfilled without a strong central government in China, the final requisite for a satisfactory solution is temporary cooperation in the internal reconstruction of China, as suggested by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Last there we are due as to the League's great altruism in desiring its hegemony rather than Japan's in the "maintenance of peace" (no doubt by gunboat practice on the shores of the Yangtze) we are given the spectacle of the strengthening of the Chinese central government by the extension of the rights of extraterritoriality for three years to England, the U. S. and France. Naming announced the abrogation of these rights in January 1930, and again in January 1931. But under cover of the present situation the powers (not the League, but the "powers" in the League!) have forced this concession as part payment for their stand against Japan.

The reason why Japan never formally declared war on China is that no "strong central government" in fact no government at all, exists in China, according to the Japanese generals whose sole desire is, of course, the maintenance of law and order so that civilization may survive. "All the Chinese soldiers are bandits," say the official Japanese spokesmen. One wonders whether Washington is capable of wincing at the indecent use of American diplomatic language. The League is in full accord with Japan's views on China, but prefers, strangely enough, its own methods and interests for carving China to suit the powers.

BULLETIN

Germany, official organ of the Catholic Center Party and personal organ of Heinrich Brüning during his Chancellorship (which the Stalinists announced in its time as the "Fascist dictatorship"), has just been suppressed by the Hitler regime for printing its own election manifesto. The 300 other Prussian organs of the Center party are similarly threatened. The terror regime of the Nazis now extends over a wide front. Fascism cannot really triumph without crushing even the most innocuous bourgeois "democratic" institutions.

A class on the history and principles of the International Left Opposition will begin this Wednesday evening, February 22, 1933, at the International Workers' School, 126 East 16th Street, at 8 P. M. The class will run for eight sessions, every Wednesday evening, with Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant, as lecturer. Admission to each session is fifteen cents; the full course is \$1.00.

Quits "Anti-War" Group

GEITMAN DENOUNCES BARBUSSE MASQUERADE IMPOSED UPON LEFT STUDENTS AT CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON WAR PROBLEM; DEMANDS DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE

In a signed statement presented to the permanent committee formed at the so-called united front anti-war conference of the students in Chicago, Manny Geitman, member of the Communist League of America (Opposition) who was elected to the committee at the conference, presented his resignation, declining to allow the name of the Left Opposition to be used as a cover for the Stalin-Barbusse masquerade.

We give here some excerpts taken from the statement which he presented to the committee:

At the Chicago Students' Congress against War I was accepted in permanent continuations committee. This however I did not do on the basis of the program there adopted. My purpose was to present and defend the Communist position, more particularly the proposals made by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in statement and resolution at the conference, I find it necessary to resign from the Committee for the following reasons:

From its very inception the congress could promise nothing so far as the proper position on the struggle against war was concerned. That is, it could promise nothing but confusion. Repeating the fiasco at Amsterdam last summer the call, instigated by the National Student League as the other had been by the Communist International, went out in the name of a series of individuals, teachers and students, who represented no one but themselves. Thus no organized bodies which could pledge their support in the carrying out of the conference decisions assured the conference of success in its achievements.

Several other errors were manifested in the formation, deliberations and consequences of the congress. Most notably, a misunderstanding of the united front tactic was shown. Though the conference in its resolutions does somewhere state that it is a united front of action, the distinction was not at any time clearly marked. In fact the entire affair was oriented to the contrary, to a united front on propaganda; that is, to agitate against imperialism in general, rather than to jointly conduct specific activities. Consequently...

OPEN FORUM

BONAPARTISM AND THERMIDOR
THE CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, February 24, 8 P. M.

126 East 16th Street,
ADMISSION: 15c

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Appeal for Aid to Readers

The following appeal was issued today by the national office of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to all the readers of THE MILITANT:

German Meetings

Oehler Tour:
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
Tuesday, Feb. 21—8 P. M.
CENTRAL AUDITORIUM
225 W. Boardman St.
CLEVELAND, OHIO
Wednesday, Feb. 22
PAINTER'S HALL
2080 Euclid Ave.
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27

MINNEAPOLIS MASS MEETING

The Minneapolis branch of the Communist League of America has organized a mass meeting to be held Thursday, February 23, 1933 on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. The meeting is to be held in the Mayor's reception room, Court House, and the speakers are Carl Skoglund and Vincent R. Dunne. Nyles B. Dunne will act as chairman. Admission is free and all workers are cordially invited.

ABERN TO SPEAK IN BOSTON

Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is scheduled to speak at a number of meetings now being arranged by the Boston branch of the Opposition on the significance of the crisis in Germany. Comrade Abern will speak in Boston, Peabody and in all probability one more locality. The meetings will be held on March 3, 4, and 5, 1933. Further details will appear in the coming issues of the Militant.

Boston I.L.D. Expels Two

I. L. D. BUREAUCRATS EXPEL TWO ACTIVE MILITANTS ON FRAME-UP CHARGE OF "STEALING MAILING LIST"; REAL REASON SHOWN TO BE THAT THEY ARE OPPOSITIONISTS

The I. L. D. is proceeding well in its work of unification. As a step in this direction it has expelled two of the most active members of the Boston district of its organization. Comrades Charlotte Shecht and William Konikov, whose activities for the I. L. D. are well known to all the members of their branch, were thrown out in typically Stalinist manner—on trumped-up charges. The local bureaucracy of the Boston section fearing the criticism of these comrades and fearing the spread of those Communist ideas which would build the I. L. D. as a real mass organization and thereby expose the true character of these self-appointed "leaders" excluded comrades Shecht and Konikov on flagrantly falsified grounds so as to cover up the splinter's character of their action.

The District Executive Committee of the New England District in its statement on the expulsion of the two comrades makes the following charges:

"This investigation and the meetings brought out that Shecht and Konikov had stolen the membership list and records of the Sacco-

Vanzetti Branch (Boston) and used this list to circulate the branch membership with the Trotskyite paper, the Militant. The actions of Shecht for the last few months have been to disrupt the work of the I. L. D. constantly trying to cause dissatisfaction among I. L. D. members with the I. L. D., trying to substitute educational work for mass activity, utilizing I. L. D. meetings and conferences for securing contacts and in an attempt to pit members of the I. L. D. against decisions and against the I. L. D. National and District leadership. Konikov joined the branch only recently. Konikov's action consisted according to his own statement: 'I am sending out these things (The Militant and notices of meetings), ... etc., etc., ad nauseum. From the nature of these charges, on the basis of past experience, it is not difficult to see into this very apparent frame-up. The statement of the expelled comrades confirms our suspicion. Their statement is a smashing reply to the lies of the I. L. D. bureaucrats. Concerning the alleged theft of the mailing list the prosecutors were forced to

(Continued on Page 2)

Lynching Campaign Against Zangara

The jackal press has let loose a veritable furor against the would-be-killer of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This same ruling class to which the death of hundreds of workers and their families by starvation is just a daily event, which murders workers on the picket without an afterthought, which sent millions of young workers to the slaughter house of the world war with equanimity sets up a lynching howl against Zangara—a product of the international proletarian movement, it is the Left Opposition alone that sounds the alarm, explains and interprets the events and shows the Communist workers the way to their international duty. Every dollar that is contributed to support the three-week publication of the Militant is a weight in the scale for the German working class. Your contribution now, at this critical moment, is of a hundred-fold greater importance than at ordinary times.

We ask you to give a special contribution to the Militant. Your help is desperately needed and will be especially appreciated now.

Yours fraternally,
J. P. Cannon
Secretary.

USE THIS BLANK

The Militant
126 East 16th Street
Enclosed herewith is \$..... as a special contribution to help publish the Militant three times a week during the German crisis.

Name

Address

City

Undoubtedly, the master class will try to utilize this event to stir up an "anti-red" hysteria or some sort of a drive against the foreign-born revolutionary workers. But our position is clear. The capitalist class cannot mask the private into which it has driven the masses by a "red herring" of this kind. Our fight will go on to the end.

—G. C.

2 Expelled From I.L.D.

(Continued from Page 1)

admit that out of the 100 names only 15 were circulated with the Militant and that these lists were stolen in November. The reply of the comrades things the accusation into the teeth of the deprived Stalinists. (1) How does it happen that out of the 100 names only 15 were circulated? (2) That in the same month sixty-five Militants were circulated? (3) Of these 65 names about two-thirds were scattered as far as New Hampshire (The I. L. D. branch list included only Boston names). (4) These 65 names received the Militant beginning with August, three months before the alleged theft. (5) Comrade Konikoff offered the Executive the privilege of examining his mailing lists. Naturally they did nothing about it. The facts speak for themselves. But what is the real reason for the expulsion? We quote their statement:

"They had let us into the I. L. D. as known members of the Opposition. We had done everything that the officialdom let us do to support I.L.D. activities. Comrade Schechet, particularly had put so much energy into the I.L.D. work that the comrades were talking about it."

She was active in canvassing in the Negro section; in obtaining support of A. F. of L. and I. W. O. locals for the I.L.D. The John Reed Branch elected her to its Executive Committee. And this comrade is called a disrupter and an enemy of the working class! The statement continues further: "The real immediate reason for our expulsion can be traced to a recent visit of comrade Biedenkapp when he spoke at the District Conference. He depicted the sad condition of the I.L.D. and of course like all bureaucrats blamed it on the membership."

At a meeting of the bureau of the Moscow Committee they decided to construct an "ice-house" on the Red Square. They called in about thirty experts for this subject. After lengthy examination they decided to build it. The experts left, they went on to the second point on the agenda. Suddenly Kaganovich came (always late). He interrupted the speaker and asked what they had decided on the first point. Having learned that they had decided to build, Kaganovich answered: "This is foolishness," and proposed not to build the ice-house. The proposal was unanimously accepted, even though they had previously (after three hours of discussion) accepted the opposite proposal.

Unfortunately, one must say, that despite the grave dangers threatening the proletarian state, the Stalinist bureaucracy has remained true to itself. The last plenum of the C. C. and the new expulsions from the Party (Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc.) demonstrates that they have decided to persevere in their ignorance. The plenum confirmed the absolute correctness of the line of the leadership. The cause of the cracks in the execution of the economic plan, the disorganization of monetary circulation and all the colossal difficulties which threaten, these are, according to them, bad execution of the instructions and of the plan. The executives are responsible for it, the workers, and not the false line. On the necessity of a change of regime, under which even a good idea, a correct instruction takes on an astonishing malformation in its realization, under which party thought is completely strangled—not a word on this. The answer to the growing discontent of the ranks of the Party and the "middle" section of the apparatus is more expulsions from the party, more arrests, more exiling of Bolsheviks.

—TANOV.
Moscow—Early October, 1932.

CHARLOTTE SCHECHET,
WILLIAM M. KONIKOV.

GOOD SALES IN BOSTON
The Boston comrades write: "We sold yesterday 20 Militants at a Forum where Mause spoke and we gave 30 away free. We are delighted with the good work done in New York."

German Opposition Overwhelmingly Against the Handful of Capitulators

BERLIN.—The Stalinist assertion that the German Left Opposition has disintegrated, supported by the forgery of an issue of the "Permanent Revolution", the organ of the German Left Opposition, is refuted by the action of the branches of the German Opposition with respect to the handful of capitulators who made the forgery possible.

The following branches, in resolutions addressed to the German National Committee, have either demanded the exclusion of the capitulators, R. Well, Senin, etc., or expressed their solidarity with the decisions of the National Committee:

Koenigsberg, Benliten, Bautzen, Dresden, Bruchsal, Karlsruhe, Kaiserslautern, Mainz, Neustadt a. H., Mannheim, Frankfurt, Cologne, Gelsenkirchen, Essen, Solingen, Erkenschwick, Remscheid, I. I. I., Berlin, Orlanburg, Birkenwerder, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Bielefeld.

For reasons that will be readily understood we do not enumerate the inner-party fractions.

In Leipzig, where the capitulators were able to gather only 26 signatures, the most inactive part of the organization capitulated. Two-thirds of the group stands with us.

Bruchsal of which the capitulators wrote that it would "probably" join them, and which alone has more members than the capitulators are able to show "signatures", stands unanimously with the National Committee. Not a vote was

A Letter from the U.S.S.R.

We hear the name of Trotsky more and more often. They fear to speak of him, only a remark is thrown out, then passing quickly to another subject they return to it. Among the old party cadres no one believes in "this counter-revolutionary character." They remember Trotsky's ability to speak, to explain. They recall the civil war, where and how Trotsky spoke. In these same circles, they speak of Rakovsky with respect. "Unfortunately, he is in Siberia!" They inquire, "What is Trotsky doing, what has he written, has he an organization?" There is very little information on the work of the Left Opposition abroad.

An old party member said: "Surely Lenin would not be angry with me if I take off Stalin's portrait which is hung near his place in its stead Trotsky's. We need Hlych (this is very frequent). One often hears from an average functionary: 'It will be better if Trotsky returns.' Others add with fright: 'If he returns they will shoot us by the thousands.'"

If the old party cadres conduct themselves towards Trotsky and Rakovsky in this manner, it is quite another matter among the youth. They know only Stalin.

Piatnitsky recently spoke at the "Society of Old Bolsheviks". In his speech he sounded a strongly epistolary note to Fascism. Fascism is vanquished. But the center is Poland. The revolution is closer there than anywhere else. This epistolary note displeased many. They have no perspective. The C. I. is subordinated to the interests of the Foreign Affairs Department.

At a meeting of the bureau of the Moscow Committee they decided to construct an "ice-house" on the Red Square. They called in about thirty experts for this subject. After lengthy examination they decided to build it. The experts left, they went on to the second point on the agenda. Suddenly Kaganovich came (always late). He interrupted the speaker and asked what they had decided on the first point. Having learned that they had decided to build, Kaganovich answered: "This is foolishness," and proposed not to build the ice-house. The proposal was unanimously accepted, even though they had previously (after three hours of discussion) accepted the opposite proposal.

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—TANOV.
Moscow—Early October, 1932.

CHARLOTTE SCHECHET,
WILLIAM M. KONIKOV.

given there for Well and Co. In Ilamburg only the daughter of Fritz Buchner (Leipzig) voted for the "program" of the capitulators. Well and Senin fled in obtaining ten telegraphic signatures. It is a swindle to say that Well, Senin, etc., constituted the majority of the National Committee. Of twelve members of the National Committee only three stood on the side of Well.

It is also a swindle to say that they had a majority for their platform on the editorial staff of the "Permanent Revolution".

Lovestone and the Capitulators

The current number of the Lovestone paper, which appeared after our exposure of the forged issue of "The Permanent Revolution", published by the Well group of capitulators which makes the exposure of "ignorance" untenable—unsmilingly reports that "the group 'Die Permanente Revolution' has capitulated and gone back to the official C.P.G. The last issue of its organ contained a full page appeal for unconditional return to the party!" This leaves the "International Left Opposition" without a sign in Germany." Even if the American left wing (which Lovestone also unsmilingly reports to have 900 members) can only publish its paper once a month, this is hardly a reason why deliberate falsehoods should be repeated.

The Right wing is not "without a group in Germany," as we know; that is, it has remaining in its ranks those who have not yet joined

How Can Fascism Be Smashed?

(Continued from Page 1)

an agreement with the social democratic and trade union organizations is not only permissible, but a duty. To reject this for reasons of "principle" (in reality because of bureaucratic stupidity, or what is still worse, because of cowardice) is to give direct and immediate aid to Fascism.

A practical program of agreements with the social democratic workers was proposed by us as far back as September 1930. (The Turn in the Comintern and the Situation in Germany, published by The Militant), that is, a year and a quarter ago. What has the leadership undertaken in this direction. Next to nothing. The Central Committee of the Communist party has taken up everything except that which constitutes its direct task. How much valuable, irrefragable time has been lost! As a matter of fact, not much time is left. The program of action must be strictly practical, strictly objective, to the point, without any of those artificial "claims" without any reservations, so that every average social democratic worker can say to himself: What the Communists propose is completely indispensable for the struggle against Fascism. On this basis, we must pull the social democratic workers along with us by our example, and criticize their leaders who will inevitably serve as a check and a brake. Only in this way is victory possible.

A Good Quotation from Lenin

The present day epigones, that is, the thoroughly bad disciples of Lenin, like to cover up their shortcomings on every occasion that offers itself with quotations—often entirely irrelevant. For Marxists, the question is not decided by a quotation but by means of the correct method. If one is guided by correct methods, it is not hard also to find suitable quotations. After I had drawn the above analogy with the Kornilov insurrection, I said to myself: We can probably find a theoretical elucidation of our bloc with the capitulators in the struggle against Kornilov, in Lenin. And here is what I actually found in the second part of Vol. XIV of the Russian edition, in a letter of Lenin to the Central Committee, written at the beginning of September, 1917:

"Even at the present time, we are not duty-bound to support the Kerensky government. That would be unprincipled. It is asked: then we are not to fight against Kornilov? Of course we are. But that is not one and the same thing. There is a limit to this; it is being transgressed by many Bolsheviks who fall into 'conciliationism' and allow themselves to be driven by the current of events."

"We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, but we do not support Kerensky, but we are uncovering his weaknesses. The distinction is rather delicate, but highly important, and must not be forgotten."

"What does the change of our tactics consist of after the Kornilov insurrection?"

"In this, that we are varying the forms of struggle against Kerensky. Without diminishing our hostility to him even by one single note, without taking back one word from what we have said against him, without giving up the task of overwhelming Kerensky, we say: We must calculate the moment, we will not overthrow Kerensky at present. We approach the question of the struggle against him differently: by explaining the weaknesses and vacillations of Kerensky to the people (who are fighting against Kornilov)."

We are proposing nothing different. Complete independence of the Communist organization and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the social democracy and the trade unions. Only contemptible opportunists can allow the freedom of the Communist party to be limited (for example, like entrance into the Kuo Min Tang). We are not of their number."

No retraction of our criticism of the social democracy. No forgetting of all that has been. The whole historical reckoning, including the reckoning for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, will be presented at the proper time, just as the Russian Bolsheviks finally presented a general reckoning to the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists for the baiting, calumny, imprisonment and murder of workers, soldiers and peasants.

But we presented our general reckoning to them two months after we had utilized the partial reckon-

ing between Kerensky and Kornilov, between the "democrats" and the Fascists—in order to drive back the Fascists all the more certainly. Only thanks to this circumstance were we victorious.

When the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany adopts the position expressed in the quotation from Lenin cited above, the entire approach to the social democratic masses and the trade union organizations will change at once: instead of the articles and speeches which are convincing only to those people who are already convinced without them, the agitators will find a common language with new hundreds of thousands and millions of workers.

The differentiation within the social democracy will proceed at an increased pace. The Fascists will soon feel that their task does not at all consist merely of defeating Bruening, Braun and Wels, but of taking up the open struggle against the whole working class. On this plane, a profound differentiation will inevitably be produced within Fascism. Only by this road is victory possible.

But it is necessary to desire this victory. In the meantime, there are among the Communist officials not a few cowardly careerists and fakers whose little posts, whose incomes and more than that,—whose hides, are dear to them. These creatures are very much inclined to spout ultra-right phrases beneath which is concealed a wretched and contemptible fatalism. "Without a victory over the social democracy, we cannot battle against Fascism!" say such terrible revisionists, and for this reason... they get their passports ready.

Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions; you cannot leave for any place; there are not enough passports for you. Should Fascism come to power, it will rule over your skills and spines like a terrible tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only a fighting unity with the social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left!

December 8, 1931.

—L. TROTSKY.

To Delay the Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal

(Continued from Page 1)

It is precisely because the social-

ist masses are not yet ready to

accept in advance the leadership of

the Communist party that they

have till now remained with the

social democracy. The problem is

how to win them away from the

petty bourgeois socialist camp. The

Stalinist slogan assumes that this

problem has already been solved!

The "united front from below" is

postulated on the theory of "social

Fascism" which dissolves the sharp

distinction between the extreme

"democratic" wing of the bourgeois

and the extreme Fascist anti-

democratic wing at the other ex-

treme. What this theory has in

common with Marxism, or even

with the simple and known facts

of the class struggle, remains un-

discovered to the present day. At

all events, on the basis of this

theory the Stalinists refuse to make

a bloc with the social democratic

party, or to approach it officially

with a concrete proposal for tem-

porary united front on concrete

questions. Those who like ourselves

even propose such a united front,

automatically become, according to

the Stalinists, social Fascists, or

better yet, the counter-revolution-

ary vanguard of social Fascism.

This can be read any day in the

week in the Daily Worker, in the

Communist International, and so

forth.

At the recently concluded 12th

Plenum of the Executive Commitee

of the Comintern, the leader

of the German party Thaelmann,

fulminated for hours against the

proposal for a united front with

the social democracy to smash

Hitlerism. "Our party leadership

set its face severely against the

attitude which found its expression

in an article entitled 'Change of

System'.... The tactical conclusions

which have been drawn from the

false estimation of the role of the

S. P. D. in the above-mentioned

article, are substantially on a par

with the proposals of the Berlin

district leadership—proposals which

were made to the Social Democratic

Party with a view to the holding

of joint demonstrations, and which

were rightly rejected by the Cen-

tral Committee of our party, and

corrected in the case of Berlin.

"The article contains among

other things the following passage:

... But above all, the demand of

the Berlin-Brandenburg district

leadership to the 'Iron Front'

movement to hold a joint demon-

stration against Fascism, is most

appropriate here."

"In this we see the continuation

of the false judgment of the role

of the S. P. D. The proposal made

by the leaders of the Berlin Dis-

trict of the Social Democratic Party

but who are quite ready to join the

Stalin faction on the "proper terms".

In Czechoslovakia, too, the Right

wing is not "without a group,"

only its group is now part of the

Czech social democracy. As for

Lovestone, as is known, his fierce

attachment to principle would never

permit him to capitulate to the

Stalinists. Really—just try

him and see. Just try him. Or,

ask Gtlow....

of the Social Democratic Party but

who are quite ready to join the

Stalin faction on the "proper terms".

In Czechoslovakia, too, the Right

wing is not "without a group,"

only its group is now part of the

Czech social democracy. As for

ing between Kerensky and Korn-

ilov, between the "democrats" and

the Fascists—in order to drive

back the Fascists all the more cer-

tainly. Only thanks to this cir-

cumstance were we victorious.

When the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of Germany

adopts the position expressed in

the quotation from Lenin cited

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social democratic masses and the

trade union organizations will

change at once: instead of the ar-

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December 8, 1931.

—L. TROTSKY.

of the Social Democratic Party but

who are quite ready to join the



SPEAKERS:
James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman

Hollywood Gardens
896 Prospect Ave.
Sunday, February 26, at 2:30 P. M.
ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Revolution Only Way

(Continued from Page 1)

ment raised its taxes again and again, and used the money to "relieve" capitalists who wanted to unload their stocks or to engage in a profitable bankruptcy. The North German Lloyd, Darmstädter Bank, Disconto Bank, Nordwille and a host of other financial scandals were "solved" by having the German government compensate the capitalists who were threatened with loss. The big German steel trust, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, is now about 30 percent owned by the government because Brüning's finance Minister bought them at three times the market price from a petrole industrialist who threatened to sell them to France if his terms were not accepted.

In all these ways the German people have been plundered for the benefit of their own capitalists and also for that of their new foreign masters. The accumulation and combination of the two burdens has brought forth the sharpest class of class interests.

The big bourgeoisie, in addition to fighting for its own privileges, will also struggle to keep intact its alliance with foreign capital at the cost of the German masses, supporting itself on the power of foreign imperialism while at the same time frantically pounding the nationalist drum. The situation has a certain analogy with that of the Russian capitalists before the revolution, in respect to their leaning on foreign capital, although this was even more true of Russia.

Role of Petty Bourgeoisie
The petty bourgeoisie, on the other hand, tries to make a distinction between its domestic oppressors and its foreign ones. It is not convinced that its future lies with the proletariat, because of the lack of a clear-cut program and the powerful, united and growing proletarian force in Germany. It therefore turns to its domestic bourgeoisie, and under the pressure of its chauvinistic prejudices and narrowness, brought to a white heat by the bellows of Fascist propaganda, it turns its hate against "foreign", including Jewish, capital, in the first instance, and is content with vague demagogic promises as to what Fascism will do to its fellow-German capitalists.

The working class, on the other hand, cannot make any distinction between the two. In 1917 the Bolsheviks struggled both against the influence of foreign capital and reflected in the alliance of Russia with England and France in the imperialist war, and against their "own" capitalism in the civil war. Only through putting itself at the head of the nation, through settling accounts with its own capitalism, through installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, will the German working class impose its own class interests, which will also

be those of the Socialist nation, on the foreign imperialist powers. To submerge its own class interests in those of the nation, to pose the struggle for the dictatorship and for the ultimate Socialist State as a struggle for "national liberation", is in effect to capitulate to the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, with its creation of supposed "national" interests which stand above the tasks of the proletariat as a separate class. The Bolsheviks settled their accounts with their own capitalism and installed the dictatorship of the proletariat in October, three months later they broke the financial bonds of Anglo-French imperialism through the repudiation of the Czarist debt and in another two months, through the peace of Brest-Litovsk, achieved the real liberation of Russia from foreign imperialism and its war.

—B. J. FIELD.

Nearing Breaking Point in China

(Continued from Page 1)

paper adds: "Japan today is the third naval power in the world. She is, perhaps, the second military power. In combined naval and military force she is second to none. It is impossible to attain such a position in the world without being regarded with a certain amount of awe and apprehension."

American Apprehensions
The apprehension of their American business rivals has indeed been aroused. Hence, the U. S. government gives tacit encouragement to American citizens not to buy Japanese silks. Mrs. Hoover ostentatiously takes to wearing cotton gowns. American merchants call in their credits from Japan. American banks refrain from granting loans to Japanese applicants, etc. Is it a shrewd guess to interpret the flurry in the Japanese stock market recently as the dumping of Japanese stocks and bonds by American holders? But these measures are not the major ones. The main steps are pressure applied through American influence and power in Europe, and—transfer for an indefinite period of the American navy to the Pacific.

The Balkanization of Manchuria goes on apace nevertheless, with Japan throwing its armies into Jehol. The League promulgates a verbose document of inanities whose meaning, as given by the diplomats themselves, amounts to informing China that she has the League's permission to fight back the Japanese invasion. But Japan is insured how to taking "advice" from the League on Manchuria. Her big navy is proof against such "advice!" —J. W.

Comrade James Gordon is a member of the central strike committee and is active participating in the Politz-Fisher strike. He is not the chairman of the strike committee as was erroneously reported in a recent issue of the *Militant*. An article on the strike and the situation in the Food Workers Union will appear in the next issue of the *Militant*.

America's Role in Germany

The Threat of Imperialist War

A Fascist victory and the defeat of the German proletariat would lay the basis for ironing out the most pressing contradictions standing in the way of the imperialist war on the Soviet Union. Fascist Germany and American capital, with the other imperialists, would transform their economic war into a military war against the Soviet Union, using Fascism as the spearhead of attack. In the post-war period, defeated Germany stood in the way of a well organized international operation and direct attack upon the Soviet Union. A Fascist Germany eliminates the sharpest expression of this contradiction. This does not mean that a social democracy is just that many degrees better when it rules. It means that the position of class relations is to that degree different. The position of the working class and its party is different. Social democracy drugs the proletariat. Fascism annihilates its organizations.

Italian Fascism has the most agreeable relationship with American imperialism. Italian Fascism does not rest upon the same economic base that a victorious German Fascism would have. The White Terror government of Hungary after the Hungarian revolution, as well as other White Terror governments of the Balkans, have the best of relations with the American imperialists. But Fascist Italy and all of these White Terror Governments cannot disorganize the world working class to the same degree that German Fascism in the event of victory, could. The economic base below these forces is different.

The Stalinists consider Mussolini in Italy or Pilsudsky in Poland as just another form of bourgeois rule, and then conclude that Fascism in Germany would be similar. Such governments are indeed a form of bourgeois rule.

But from the class point of view there is a vast difference between social democracy and Fascism. And one must add to this, that with the Fascist variety of bourgeois rule there are differences and more pressing dangers. Fascism in Germany would make Fascism in Italy look like child's play. Because **WORLD CAPITALISM** is in a more critical situation, Fascism

Program of Action Against Fascism Proposed Year Ago by German Left

(The consistency of the policy of the international Left Opposition for the situation in Germany, as well as the fact that its policy has been confirmed with striking accuracy by events, is shown by our reprint below of the open letter sent by our German comrades to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany more than a year ago. It was the Left Opposition which at that time—and for some time before that—sounded the alarm signal against the Fascist danger and called upon the party to initiate the united front movement against the Nazis. The failure of the Communist Party leaders to adopt this course finally resulted in the present dangerous position into which the party and the working class have been forced. In essence, the proposals made below not only continue to hold good today, but are an imperatively necessary prerequisite to the launching of the movement that will exterminate the burlesque of Hitlerism.—Ed.)

To the Central Committee of the C. P. G.
Dear comrades:
Victory is possible, victory is probable, everything must be done to assure it. Only in this manner can revolutionists pose the question in the present situation.

The question of the victory over Fascism in Germany is also the question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., regardless of whether it is considered from the economic, the political or the purely military point of view. But that means that so as to be able to assure the future of socialist economy in the U. S. S. R., the Soviet Union must stake all of its forces on the victory over Fascism of the European revolution, with which it is inseparably linked. This alone can be the strategic line of the Communist party.

The C. P. must adopt a position of departure that rests upon irre-

conciliable and ruthless struggle against Fascism, for the purpose of destroying Fascism in the inevitable, open struggle and for the conquest of power.

The united revolutionary class action of the proletariat must be organized against the victory of Fascism.

This can be realized only when all revolutionary forces, no matter in what camp they stand at the moment, unite for this common action which stands on the order of the day. We know full well that the premises for such an action are highly unfavorable. But in spite of this, the C. P. G., as the historically chosen organization must in view of the seriousness of the situation make the attempt to realize a genuine fighting unity of the working class.

To this end we submit the following proposals:

The C. P. G. is immediately to approach all political groups, trade unions and workers' organizations who declare themselves prepared to fight against Fascism with the aim of a common appeal for the formation of a Joint Council of Action against Fascism. This appeal must contain:

1. The creation of Committees of Action consisting of representatives of factories, trade unions, political groups and other workers' organizations. It is of the greatest importance, that all the existing tendencies in the revolutionary working class of each locality be represented in the Committees of Action.
2. The Joint Council of Action is to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action in the entire country, which is to meet in the shortest possible time. This congress is to represent the proletariat concentrated against the concentration of the reactionaries.
3. The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian

counter-parliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra-parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.

4. The congress must solve three tasks:

- (a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hitler and his henchmen;
- (b) the formation of one common non-party workers' defense corps;
- (c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

Under a correct leadership, such a defense action contains all the necessary elements with which to lead the proletariat, in view of the objective possibilities described above, not only against Fascism, but to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

Such a policy is possible only after a radical change in the course of the party. The experiences of the French Communist Party speak an unequivocal language. Despite the "third period", despite the ultra-Left trade union tactic, despite "social Fascism" and similar slogans, the party has been forced by the pressure of objective conditions and partly also on the basis of sound proposals made by the Left Opposition to change its course radically. (See the proposal to the Socialist Party of France for common action on the second ballot, the Preliminary Congress for the establishment of trade union unity.)

It is high time to draw the consequences in Germany and to reestablish the unity of all genuine Communists.
We declare emphatically that, despite profound differences in a whole series of questions, we will support with our innermost convictions, every step undertaken by the party in this direction with all our strength and that we are completely and entirely at the service of the party in any instance whatsoever.

The Left Opposition of the C. P. G. (Bolshevik-Leninists)
The National Committee.

Fascists Command Police: Shoot the Reds

(Continued from Page 1)

the masses and prevent them from really fighting Fascism. How does it retain this hold? Precisely by means of its sham, verbal, opposition. How can this hold over the socialist masses be broken by the Communists in the shortest possible time—and time is just what is decisive in Germany now? By forcing these socialist leaders to reveal in action that their opposition is a sham. How is this to be done? By demanding of their leaders that they translate their verbosity into deeds, that they show what their words are worth by joining with the Communist party in a united front on a concrete program of action to smash Fascism.

The socialist masses say to themselves: My leaders, my organization has taken a stand against Fascism. They speak against it. They call for struggle against it. The Communist party must say to the Social Democratic party: You say you want to fight Fascism. We do, also. It is not a matter of mutual confidence, for we haven't a particle of it where you are concerned. But the masses want a united fight against Fascism. We are ready. We demand that you join us in this fight. Then let the masses judge who really is fighting in their interests. We will march with our own banners (directed against the Fascists, and also against yourselves!), retain our independence and our criticisms. Talk is cheap; let us—and the workers who still follow you—see what your deeds are.

The socialist workers will then say: The Communists really want a united fight against Fascism. It is a proletarian question with them and not merely a purely party question. We will demand that our leaders accept the Communist proposal for a united front. If our leaders refuse, we shall know that the Communists were not mistaken in their appraisal of the role of Wels and Hitlering. If our leaders accept, we will see in the course of the united front struggle whether or not the Communists are right in their assertions that Wels and the other leaders will play the role of a brake on the movement and will betray us at the crucial moment.

We Have All to Gain
The Communists will say to themselves: We have nothing to fear. Once a mass movement is really set in motion, we have confidence that our leadership and policies are superior to those of the social democracy. In the course of the fight, the workers will see with their own eyes. They will be able to compare the two and judge for themselves. We will gain in the end, which means the working class and the proletarian

revolution will gain. For by retaining our independence and not relenting an iota in our criticism of the social democracy, we will not be helping perpetuate the illusions spread by the socialist leaders. On the contrary, by a firm, clear policy, we will be helping to destroy these illusions in the minds of the million-headed socialist masses. With united efforts we will smash Fascism, our main foe. But such a movement will be set in motion that—providing we are not stupid—we shall be able to push it further along the correct road, to the formation of Soviets as the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, to the final

settlement of accounts with the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg whom we know (the socialist masses do not yet know it, or not with sufficient clarity) will try to stab the movement in the back when it becomes dangerous to them.

These simple ideas, which Lenin and Trotsky tried to hammer into the heads of the opportunists and ultra-Leftists in 1921 and 1922, must become the policy of the party. The vapors of all the "specialists" and "theoreticians" of the Stalinist cut lead only to impotence and confusion. It is high time to call them to a halt!

Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1933. —M. S.

Opposition in Davenport

Davenport, Iowa.—The branch of the Left Opposition in Davenport is making very substantial headway. We have had to increase our Forum to every week as the response among the workers has been tremendous. It takes place every Wednesday. We get anywhere from 60 to 80 workers depending on the kind of a speaker that we have.

Our class on the fundamentals of Communism has been progressing very well and is about finished. We will begin a new class soon. A class will start the first Monday in March on elementary Marxian economics and will take place every first and third Monday of each month. Our class on fundamentals of Communism meets every Friday.

Wednesday, February 8 the Left Opposition opened its headquarters and book store, class room combined. In spite of the zero weather (22 degree below zero) that evening we had forty-five to fifty present.

February 15 the open forum was turned over to the unemployed and a Union of Unemployed was organized, due to the fact that the Unemployed Council in this city is ill defined and isolated. Without any leaders or advertising fifty workers showed up at the meeting. Forty-three organized and joined the Union of Unemployed.

In the last couple of months six new members joined the Left Opposition, which makes this branch now a total membership of ten.

Comrade Brady of Chicago lectured here on Elementary Marxian for three consecutive days and we had an attendance of about an average of twelve regularly attending each day. We are holding aside from our regular forums special meetings such as this.

On February 17 Gerry Allard of

GERMAN CAMPAIGN

Chicago Advances With Campaign

Chicago.—Chicago's reaction to the German campaign of the Left Opposition was immediate. The meeting to organize the campaign was held last night with members of Spartacus Youth Club, Unser Kampf Club (Left Opposition) and a few party comrades in attendance. The enthusiasm of the comrades was manifest throughout the meeting. Many speakers took the floor with suggestions on how best to carry on the campaign in Chicago.

The most important point on the agenda was the assignment of comrades to sell the new three-week *Militant* before workers' organizations and meetings. Practically the whole city will be covered in the next few weeks with the message of the Left Opposition to the German events. The Chicago workers that have already been contacted through our German campaign are applauding the efforts of the Communist Left to raise the German Communist Party from its Stalinist political stupor.

In the meantime the effects of the campaign are making themselves felt within the ranks of the party itself. The frightened party bureaucrats have not organized any mass meetings on Germany yet. The Chicago organization of the Left Opposition however, is holding a mass meeting in the "Loop" at Redder Hall, Sunday, the 19th, another the following Sunday, Feb. 26, 3 P. M. at Division and Western (Mirror Hall) with comrade Hugo Oehler as main speaker. Our South Side group will organize a meeting on the South Side very shortly.

—J. GIGANTI.

200 SOLD IN FEW HOURS
In a few hours, comrade Jim Carr of the New York branch sold 200 copies of the "New Militant" at a cent a copy in the 14th Street vicinity. Other comrades have sold from 50 to 150 copies in a few hours. The absorbing interest with which the militants are following our paper in these crucial hours is a guarantee of the advance of the Left Opposition.

HUNDREDS SOLD IN N. Y.
Nat Levine, Left Opposition sympathizer in New York, sold 117 copies of the *Militant* on the preceding Friday and 200 copies on the following Sunday in front of the Labor Temple. He reports wide interest in the three-times-a-week *Militant* and its efforts to present thoroughly the situation in Germany. Mac Cudde, another sympathizer, has also been active in the sale of the *Militant* and in the securing of subscriptions.

—S. G.

S.L.P. Treachery In Springfield

Springfield, Ill.—The Socialist Labor Party of Springfield, "like the Poles Leaders of old have become a strategic post of peculiar strength for the pariticate and of mischief for the proletariat... the work of enslaving and slowly degrading the working class"—to quote Daniel DeLeon.

The issue in the Illinois miners struggle is clear. On the one side, you have the whole machinery of the capitalist class; on the other side you have the working-class, and it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to give the keenest support and to stand on the side of the workers whenever a strike or any other conflict for improved conditions of labor occurs either as a spontaneous action of the workers or as a result of action taken by a labor organization. And by doing this the class conscious workers do not for a minute lose sight of the revolutionary goal.

But the Socialist Labor Party of Springfield at its recent meeting by a majority vote decided to become scabs, to help the Lewis-Peabody machine defeat the Progressive Miners of America and to force the miners back under the conditions of the coal operators.

And so, with the exception of two rank and file members who tore up their party cards in the face of these labor-fakers, Fred Koch, Lawrence Lamb, A. J. DeWitt, Fritoff and Joe Brown, these staunch S. L. P. members went back to scab in a body under the Lewis-Peabody company union. And this isn't all. Fred Koch, former national organizer and the apex of the S. L. P. in the state of Illinois, takes his young son and this youth is introduced and initiated to all the chicanery in the art of being a professional strikebreaker by his SLP father as his first job.

Lawrence Lamb, another old "DeLeonite", like a good flunkie, turns over to the Lewis gang all the material property which belonged to over six hundred rank and file members who broke away from the Lewis machine and joined the Progressive Miners of America.

A. J. DeWitt, the secretary of the Springfield branch of the SLP wrote to his two brothers in Harco, Illinois, to come to Springfield and help break the P. M. A. His two brothers came to Springfield and got jobs as strikebreakers at one of the Peabody mines. Then one night after a so-called union meeting of the UMWA which was held in the wash-house at the mine and which was presided over by the mine superintendent and at which there was plenty of booze, the two brothers started out for their hotel in an automobile and on the hard road got into a wreck and both were killed. Truly, the Springfield SLP has become an gut filled full of a lot of excretion.

Pledge Solidarity at Cleveland Meet

Cleveland.—At a big demonstration called by the Unemployed Council on Market Square (West Side) today, workers protesting against Mayor Miller's "plan" for forced labor and demanding cash relief from the city-controlled Associated Charities, also echoed the cry for solidarity with the German proletariat faced with the attempt of the Fascist Hitler regime to exterminate their organizations, to suppress their military and to prepare Germany for a spearhead position in an imperialist aggression against the workers' fatherland—the USSR.

On the march to the Square and at the demonstration, prominent banners were displayed linking the struggle of the unemployed with the fight against German Fascism, with such slogans as: "In Cleveland Miller wants Forced Labor, in Germany Hitler!" "Long Live the International Solidarity of the German and American Workers against Forced Labor, against Hitler and Fascism!"

On the Square, after speeches by unemployed militants and party members, comrade Sam Gordon of the Left Opposition was asked by party workers and sympathizers to address the crowd. In a short, but impassioned speech, the comrade from the Left Opposition sounded the call for active support of the German proletariat in their desperate struggle against the Hitler hordes. He showed the relation between the struggle of the American unemployed and the German workers, pointing out the meaning of Hitler's coming into power, showing the danger of a Fascist German attack against the Soviet Union. Exposing the role of the yellow German social democracy in paving the road for Fascism he continued with an explanation of the need for the immediate establishment of a united front against the Hitler hordes which the Communist party alone can do by directly challenging the social democratic fakers to join in the fight, in this way showing the way out to the socialist workers and arousing their pressure against the leadership. He called upon the workers present to demand that the Communist party take this course and ended up with a cheer for the International solidarity of the working class in the struggle against hunger, war and Hitlerism. The speech was greeted with a good round of applause.

A march followed to the headquarters of the Associated Charities at which a Committee of unemployed presented demands.

—S. G.

All this recalls an incident. About a month before the recent national presidential election, the SLP called a mass meeting in Springfield. The members of the Left Opposition present at that meeting exposed these labor fakers as agents of the bosses. These same SLP fakers threatened to throw the members of the Left Opposition out of the meeting hall, because they insisted on their right to defend Communism. But the SLPers were prevented from doing this because of the militancy of the workers present. Since that meeting and this latest betrayal, the workers that were present at that meeting have become fully convinced that the position that the Left Opposition took against these labor fakers is correct.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Komkow. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

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Vol. VI, No. 11 (Whole No. 158)
Wednesday, February 22, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year,
Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

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Published 3 times a week, Monday,
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Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World,
Unite!Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1925 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 12 [WHOLE NO. 159] NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

Leon Trotsky Analyzes German Situation

The Camp of Counter-Revolution

The shifts in government since Brüning's time show how rapid and hollow is the universal philosophy of Fascism (but and dried Fascism, national Fascism, social Fascism, Left social Fascism) which the Stalinists slap over everything and everybody, excepting themselves only. The upper crust of the possessors is much too small in numbers and much too hated by the people to be able to rule in their own name. They require a screen—the traditional monarchic ("Will of God"); the liberal-parliamentarian ("Sovereignty of the People"); the Bonapartist ("The Impartial Arbitrator"); or, finally, the Fascist ("The Anger of the People"). War and revolution have taken the monarchs from them. Thanks to the reformists, they have maintained themselves on the crutches of democracy, for fourteen years. When, under the pressure of class contradictions, the parliament split asunder, they attempted to hide behind the President's back. There came the chapter of Bonapartism, i. e., the bureaucratic-police government which is raised over society and which maintains itself on the relative equilibrium between the two opposing camps.

Passing through the transitional governments of Brüning and Papen, Bonapartism assumed its purest form in the person of General Schleicher—but only in order to disclose in him its insolvency. Hostile, doubtful, or alarmed, all classes viewed this enigmatical political figure that resembled nothing so much as a question mark with the epaulettes of a general. But the chief cause for Schleicher's failure, and, incidentally, for his preceding successes as well, lay not within himself; Bonapartism cannot attain stability so long as the camp of revolution and the camp of counter-revolution have not measured their forces in battle. Concurrently, the frightful industrial and agrarian crisis that hangs over the country like a nightmare does not facilitate Bonapartism tight-rope balancing. True, at first sight, the passivity of the proletariat facilitated in the highest degree the tasks of "The Social General". But, it turned out otherwise; precisely this passivity weakened the hoop of fear that binds together the possessing classes, bringing out into the open the antagonisms that tear their apart.

Economically, German rural economy leads a parasitic existence, and it is a heavy ball and chain on the feet of industry. But the concentrated social basis of the industrial bourgeoisie turns into political necessity the preservation of "national" agriculture, i. e., the class of junkers and rich farmers along with all the strata that are dependent on them for this policy. Bismarck laid the foundation, finally binding the agrarians and the industrialists together by military victories, gold indemnity, high profits and the fear of the proletariat. But Bismarck's time have passed into eternity. Present-day Germany spends from victories but from defeat. France pays her no indemnity but she pays France. Decaying capitalism supplies no profits opens up no perspectives. Nothing cements together the possessing classes except their fear of the workers. However, the German proletariat—for which its leadership is entirely to blame—remained paralyzed in the most critical period—and the antagonisms between the possessing classes broke out into the open. With the Left camp eventually passive the "Social General" fell under the blows from the Right.

When this happened, the upper crust of the possessing class took its governmental balance: on the debit side—a split in their own

rank; among the assets—an octogenarian Field Marshall. What more remained? Nothing, except for Hugenberg. Whereas Schleicher personified the unadulterated idea of Bonapartism, Hugenberg personifies in himself the chemically pure idea of property. The General was coy, refusing to reply to the question which is better, Capitalism or Socialism; Hugenberg makes no bones about announcing that there is nothing better than an East Prussian Junker on the throne. The most rooted, the most ponderous, and the most entrenched form of property is private ownership of land. If economically, German agriculture is the kept whore of industry, then it is most proper that no other than Hugenberg himself should be at the head of the political struggle of the possessors against the people. Thus the regime of the supreme judge of arbitration, who was raised above all classes and parties, has been brought smack up to the supremacy of the German Nationalist Party, the most self-seeking and greedy clique of proprietors. Hugenberg's government represents the quintessence of social parasitism. But just because of this, when it came, necessary, in its pure state, it became impossible. Hugenberg requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser, and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Nazi. If one cannot obtain the sanction of the highest heavenly powers

German Class Struggle and Collaboration with U.S.S.R.

What is to be Germany's road out of the crisis? To this fundamental question every party representing the leadership of a distinct class must be prepared with its own answer. Since the contradiction between the isolated proletarian state, the Soviet Union, and the capitalist world is the outstanding contradiction of the present stage of decadent capitalism, the attitude of the German parties to Soviet Russia is an integral part of their position as answers to the basic questions of German economy.

The attitude of the big bourgeoisie is clear. It wants to reduce Soviet Russia to the state of a colony, through the usual processes of imperialist conquest and exploitation. They want to continue the line of the pre-war Hohenzollern regime, which led to colonial expansion in Africa and China, and to hardly less concealed subjugation of Turkey and part of the Balkans. Since Germany reached its first working agreement with the Soviet Union at Rapallo in 1922, the big bourgeoisie has been steadily pushing forward the idea that Germany must compensate itself in Russia for the losses of its pre-war colonies, and the expulsion of German capital from Turkey.

Preparing for War

This means war—of this there can be no doubt. Therefore the German big bourgeoisie is preparing to break up all organizations and forces within Germany which would be capable of resisting a war of imperialist aggression. The social democracy can no longer be counted upon to carry the working masses with it as it did in 1914. Not that the leadership of the social democracy is any better now than it was then. The existence of the Communist party, its mass following, and the enormous organization, at present which it would exert upon the social democratic masses in the event of war, make it unsafe for the big bourgeoisie to count too much on the support of the social democracy. It must crush social democracy as well as Communism if it is to prepare for the next war.

For this reason the big bourgeoisie is being forced to form a close alliance with Fascism, representing the mass organization of the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Not only must it form an alliance, but also put itself at the head of it, and in practice carry through its program as that of Fascism.

The petty bourgeoisie in imperialist conquest, its own program,

First Article After Hitler's Appointment as Chancellor
By Leon Trotsky

through the monarchy for the property owners, there remains the sanction of the reactionary and unbridled rabble.

The investiture of Hitler with power served a two-fold purpose: first, to decorate the camarilla of property owners with the leaders of "national movement"; and secondly, to place the fighting forces of Fascism at the direct disposal of the proprietors.

It was not with a light heart that the high and mighty clique made a deal with the madolous Fascists. There are too many, all too many fists behind the unbridled upstarts; and therein lies the dangerous side of the brown allies, but in that very same thing is also their fundamental, more exactly, their only advantage. And this is the advantage that decides, for such are the times now that there is no guaranteeing property except with fists. There is no way of getting around without the Nazis. But it is likewise impossible to give over to them the actual power; today, the threat on the part of the proletariat is not so laette that



the higher-ups should consciously provoke a civil war with problematic outcome. It is to this new stage in the development of the social crisis in Germany that the new governmental combination corresponds, in which the military and economic posts remain in the hands of the masters, while the pious are assigned decorative or second rate posts. The unofficial but all the more actual function of the Fascist ministers is to bind the revolution with terror. However, the oppression and annihilation of the proletariat vanguard the Fasc-

ists must achieve not otherwise than within the limits set by the representatives of the agrarians and the industrialists. Such is the plan. But how will its execution turn out?

The government of Hugenberg-Hitler includes within itself a complex system of contradictions; between the traditional representatives of large capital, on the one side, and the patented representatives of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie, on the other. The combination is extremely unstable. In its present form it will not long endure. What will come in its place in the event of its collapse? In view of the fact that the chief instruments of power are not in Hitler's hands, and since the latter has simply demonstrated that alongside with the hatred to the proletariat there is deeply ingrained in his bone the awe before the possessing classes and their institutions, it is impossible to exclude absolutely the possibility that the social tops, in case of a break with

the Nazis, will attempt once again to take to the road of presidential Bonapartism. However, the probability of such a variation, which, theretofore, could have only an episodic character, is extremely slight. Incommensurably much more probable is the further development of the crisis to the side of Fascism. Hitler, in the character of Chancellor, is such a direct and open challenge addressed to the proletariat that a mass reaction, in the worst instance, a series of disparate reactions, is absolutely inevitable. And this will suffice to push the Fascists into the foremost places, displacing their much too corrupt mentors. But on one condition: if the Fascists themselves remain on their feet.

The assumption of power by Hitler is undoubtedly a fearful blow for the working class. But this is still not a decisive or an irrevocable defeat. The enemy, who might have been crushed while he was only striving upwards, has occupied today an entire series of commanding posts. This allows his side a great advantage, but there has been no battle as yet. The occupation of advantageous positions decides nothing by itself, what do decide are the living forces.

The Reichswehr and the police, the Steel Helmets, and the storm troops of the Nazis represent in themselves three independent "armies" in the service of the possessing classes. But from the very meaning of the present governmental combination these armies are

not united within a single hand. The Reichswehr, to say nothing of the Steel Helmets, is not in Hitler's hands. His own armed forces represent a problematic quality which is still to be verified. His millions of reserves are human rubbish. In order to conquer complete power Hitler must provoke a semblance of civil war (he, himself, is afraid of an out and out civil war). His substantial colleagues in the ministry at whose disposal are the Reichswehr and the Steel Helmets would prefer to strangle the proletariat by "peaceful" measures. They are much less inclined to provoke a minor civil war for fear of a big one. In this manner there remains no short distance from the ministry headed by the Fascist Chancellor to the complete victory of Fascism. This means that there is still time at the disposal of the "revolutionary" camp. How much? It cannot be computed beforehand. Battles alone can measure its duration.

The Camp of the Proletariat

When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most improved prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure for the organization of the Third International. When the bourgeoisie invites it to lower, the social democracy casts its vote for the capitalist regime. The social democracy tolerates (suffers) any bourgeois government but tolerates the social democracy, but even when completely discarded from power, the social democracy continues to support bourgeois society, recommending to the workers that they conserve their forces for battles, for which it is prepared never to issue a call. By paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the social democracy provides bourgeois society with an opportunity to remain alive under conditions of living, thus turning Fascism into a political necessity. The very call of Hitler to power emanates from the Hohenzollern Field Marshal who had been elected by the votes of social democratic workers! The political chain that leads from Weis to Hitler has quite a personal character which can be gathered from inspection. There can be no two views upon this score among Marxists. But what's in question is not how to expand the political situation but how to transform it in a revolutionary manner.

The guilt of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not in that it is "irreconcilable" is politically impotent. From the fact that Bolshevism under the leadership of Lenin proved victorious in Russia, the Stalinist bureaucracy deduces that it is the " duty " of the German proletariat to rally around Thaelmann. Its ultimatum reads,—"unless the German workers accept beforehand, a priori, and without reservations, the Communist leadership they must not so much as dare think of serious battles. The Stalinists express it differently. But all oratorical tricks, restrictions, and crumpled tricks exchange nothing in the fundamental character of bureaucratic ultimatum, which helped the social democracy to bribe Germany to Hitler.

The history of the German working class from 1914 represents the most tragic page of modern history. What shocking betrayals by its historical party, the social democracy! What ineptitude and what impotence of its revolutionary wing! But there is no need for going so far back. For the past two or three years of the Fascist upsurge, the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy represented in itself nothing else but a chain of crimes which literally saved reformism, and thereby prepared for the subsequent successes of Fascism. At this moment, when the enemy has

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OPEN FORUM

CRISIS IN MANCHURIA
DANGER OF A NEW
WORLD WAR

Speaker:

JACK WEBER

Friday, February 24, 8 P. M.

126 East 16th Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

N. Y. Br. Communist League of
America (Opposition)

Japan Defies Other Imperialist Powers in China

If the world had any illusions that Japanese imperialism had actually relinquished its twenty-one demands forced on China in 1915 those illusions are by now completely dispelled. Japan is staking out on subjugating China before that nation can be unified, whether under bourgeois or proletarian hegemony. If the bourgeoisie succeeded in unifying China with the aid of American dollars it would mean the ultimate "peaceful penetration" of U. S. finance-capital and the ousting of both England and Japan from the Chinese market.

English capitalism, badly damaged by the war and no longer dominant on the international market, is not averse to seeing America become involved in war with Japan. Hence the attitude of the English government, reflected in the London Times, that the League has "done its part" and now countries with interests in the Far East (read America) "must themselves decide what policy is most likely to conduce to the early restoration of peaceful conditions," etc. However the English press is likely to change its tune as soon as British interests in China are themselves directly threatened.

This threat to the other imperialist powers will not be long in the making. For the Japanese generals, following a schedule prepared long in advance, have given due notice of their next move; namely, an advance on Peiping and

Tientsin. Of course, this new invasion is purely "defensive"; to oust Chang Hsueh-liang from North China so that his armies cannot attack the Japanese, and also to protect Japanese nationals from the reeling Jehol armies. As the comments on the League's Report made public by the Japanese diplomats state: "Japan is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in the Far East" and she "intends to deal with China with the utmost good-will and forbearance!"

Meantime Jehol is being "mopped up" with Manchuria completely in the hands of the Japanese army, perhaps the profits of the South Manchuria Railroad will be once more restored. Those profits began to decline alarmingly when the Chinese, with the aid of British and American capital, particularly the latter, began to build a unified network of railroads running North and South through Manchuria from Aigun on the Amur to Huiyao. This city on the sea coast south of Dairen, was intended by the Chinese to compete with that Japanese terminal of the South Manchuria Railroad. Although the Chinese network was never completed, it had already begun to divert traffic from the Japanese-controlled road. The Japanese protested at this outrageous violation of "treaties" with China in which the latter had promised not to build parallel, competing railroads to the South Manchurian. This

was one of the more immediate causes of the present campaign. The Japanese generals made it their first objective to gain the important strategic railroads on the Chinese territory. Thus they have just occupied Peipiao, a railroad in the Jehol coal mining region. Huiyao will divert no more trade from Dairen if the Japanese can help it.

But the Japanese army will not stop even in Peiping and Tientsin it all goes well. The twenty-one demands attempted to set up four spheres of influence: Shantung, Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, Liaoning leased territory, and the Yangtze iron region. The campaign may yet develop along the Yangtze River.

But a campaign South of the great wall will inevitably involve international "incidents". Just as the murder of Captain Nakamura gave the Japs a pretext in 1931, so some similar occurrence may precipitate the world war that is brewing. For Japan this will not come unexpectedly. Having asked on the frontispiece of a new book "The Army Manual", under a picture of the yawning muzzle of a great American field-piece, "Which way is this pointed?" Japanese imperialism answers by laying in supplies of cotton and iron for a long war. With Manchuria to supply food and ore the generals say they can "face the world".

—J. W.

BRONX MASS What the Left Opposition Stands For
MEETING

Sponsor: Communist League of America (Opposition)

SPEAKERS:
James P. Cannon
Max ShachtmanHollywood Gardens
896 Prospect Ave.
Sunday, February 26, at 2:30 P. M.
ADMISSION: 15c

Leon Trotsky Analyzes the Hitler Regime

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already occupied important commanding posts, the question inevitably arises. Is it not too late to call for a regrouping of forces in order to repel the enemy? But first we must answer here another question, what does "too late" mean in the given instance? Must this be understood to mean that even the boldest turn about face on the road of revolutionary policy is no longer capable of radically changing the correlation of hope of achieving the necessary turn? These are two different questions.

Is It Too Late to Act?

We have in effect given an answer to the first already in what was said above. Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler, he requires a long number of months—and what critical months!—in order to establish the hegemony of Fascism. If one takes into consideration the sharpness of the economic and political situation, the ominous character of the danger the proletariat is right up against, the frightful alarm of the workers, their numerousness, their exasperation, the presence of experienced fighting elements in their ranks, and the incomparable capacity of the German workers for organization and discipline, then the answer is clear: during those months which are needed by the Fascists to break down internal and external barriers and to entrench their dictatorship, the proletariat under correct leadership can come to power two and three times over again.

Two and a half years ago the Left Opposition insistently proposed that all the institutions and organizations of the Communist party from the Central Executive Committee to the smallest provincial nucleus should immediately turn to the parallel social democratic organizations with the concrete proposal for mutual action against the impending suppression of proletarian democracy. Had a struggle against the Nazis been built on this basis Hitler would not be Chancellor today and the Communist party would be occupying the leading place within the working class. But there is no return to the past. The consequences of the mistakes that have been perpetrated have succeeded in becoming

political facts and compose at present a part of the objective background. The situation must be taken as it has been composed. It never need have been as bad as it is. But it is not hopeless. A political turn about face—but a real one, a bold one, an open one, one that is thought out from all sides—can completely save the situation and open up the road to victory.

Hitler needs time. A revival of trade and industry, should such become a fact, would not at all signify the strengthening of Fascism against the proletariat. Under the least betterment of the conjuncture, capital, which has been famished for profits, will feel the acute need for peace in the factories, and this will at once shift the correlation of forces in favor of the workers. In order that the economic struggle should from the very first steps merge with the political struggle, it is urgent that the Communists be at their posts, i. e., in the factories and within the trade unions. The social democratic leaders have announced that they desire an accord with Communist workers. Very well. Let the 300,000 workers who belong to the Red Trade Union Organization catch up the reforms on their own words and turn to the General German Trade Union Federation with the proposal to enter immediately into the free trade unions, as a fraction. One such step will bring a change into the self-esteem of the workers, and therefore into the entire political background.

Turn Depends On Party

However, is the turn itself possible? That is what the task reduces itself to at the present moment. The vulgarizers of Marx, gravitating towards fatalism, observe as a rule nothing on the political arena save objective causes. But, in effect, the more acute the class struggle becomes, the closer it draws to a catastrophe, the more it draws the key to the entire situation is entrusted to a given party and its leadership. At this moment the question is posed in this manner: if in its time the Stalinist bureaucracy has kept hard fast on the road of dullylitted ultimatum, despite the pressure of, say, ten political atmospheres, will it be capable of withstanding a pressure ten times greater, of one hundred atmospheres?

But maybe the masses will go into action of themselves, overturning the barriers of the apparatus after the manner in which the transport strike broke out in Berlin in November 1932? There is no ground, of course, for considering the spontaneous movement of the masses as being excluded. In order to become effective it must on this occasion surpass the Berlin strike, a hundred or two hundred-fold in scope. The German proletariat is sufficiently powerful in order to sweep into such a movement even if hindered from above. But spontaneous movements are precisely so called because they originate without leadership. Whereas, our question touches the problem of what the party should do in order to give impetus to the mass movement, in order to help it attain its sweep, in order to take its place at the head and guarantee it victory.

Today's telegrams have brought news of a general strike in Luebeck in answer to the arrest of a social democratic official. This fact, if true, does not in the least rehabilitate the social democratic bureaucracy. But it inevitably condemns the Stalinists along with their theory of social Fascism. Only the development and the sharpening of the antagonism between the National Socialists and the social democrats can bring the Communists, after all the mistakes that were made, from out of isolation and open the road to revolution. But one must not hinder but assist this process which is ingrained in the logic of the relations themselves. The road to this lies through the bold policy of a united front.

Elections Can Decide

Nothing. The March elections, at which the social democracy will clutch in order to paralyze the energy of the workers will in themselves resolve nothing, of course. If no major events occur up to the elections, which will transfer the question to another plane, then the Communist party should automatically receive an increase in votes. It will be incomprehensibly greater if the Communist party will this very day take upon itself the initiative for a defensive united front. Yes, today the matters deal with defense! But the Communist party can ruin it.

self, if, in the wake of the social democracy, even though in different terms, it turns its electioneering agitation into a purely parliamentary hullabaloo. Into a means of distracting the attention of the masses from their present impotence and from their preparing for the defense. The bold policy of the united front is at this moment the only correct basis for the election campaign as well.

Again, are there enough forces in the Communist party for the turn? Will the Communist workers have enough energy and resolution to help the pressure of one hundred atmospheric skulls? No matter how offensive such an acknowledgment may be, that is precisely how the question is posed at present.

The above lines were written when we learned, after the inevitable delay, from the German newspapers, that Moscow at last has given the signal for alarm to the C. R. C. of the German Communist Party: the time has come for an accord with the social democracy. No confirmation of this news is at hand but it smacks of the truth: ever, the Stalinist bureaucracy commands a turn about face only after the events deal the working class (in the U. S. S. R. in China, in England, in Germany) a blow on the head. When the Fascist Chancellor trains his machine guns at the temples of the proletariat bound hand and foot, then and only then is the presidium of the Comintern struck with an inspiration: the time has come to untie the ropes.

Party Democracy and the Turn

It goes without saying that the Left Opposition will take its stand with both feet on the ground of this belated acknowledgment and will try to squeeze from it everything that is possible for the victory of the proletariat. But while so doing, the Left Opposition will not for a moment forget that the turn of the Comintern is a purely empirical zigzag, performed in the due course of panic. The individuals who equated social democracy with Fascism are capable in the process of struggle with Fascism, of going over into idealization of the social democracy. We must vigilantly keep watch to preserve the complete political independence

of Communism; to coordinate the blows organizationally, but not to mix the banners; to maintain absolute loyalty in our relations with our ally but to keep an eye on him, as our enemy of tomorrow.

Should the Stalinist faction really put in effect the turn that is dictated by every phase of the situation, the Left Opposition, of course, will take its place in the common ranks of battle. But the confidence of the masses in this turn will be all the greater the more democratically it is achieved. The Stalinist speeches or manifestos of the Central Executive Committee are much too little for the present sweep of events. What is needed is the voice of the party. There is no other way of returning the confidence of the party in itself, and of deepening the confidence of the workers in the party! The Congress must take place within two or three weeks, not later than the opening of the Reichstag (if the Reichstag will be convened at all).

The program of action is clear and simple: Immediate proposal to all social democratic organizations from top to bottom of a united defensive front.

Immediate proposal to the General German Trade Union Federation to admit the Red Trade Union Organization into the trade unions.

Immediate preparation for an emergency party congress.

What is at stake is the head of the working class, the head of the Communist International and let us not forget it—the head of the Soviet Republic! In the light of recent events and against the background of the tragic mistakes of the Stalinists, the anecdote of the capitalization of Well and others is comparable to the appearance of clowns in Shakespeare's tragedies. These gentlemen announced yesterday that (a) the danger of Fascism is liquidated, thanks to the correct policy of the party; (b) the policy of the united front, permissible in the past, from now on is become counter-revolutionary. On the day after these confessions Hitler assumed power and Stalin announced that the policy of the united front, counter-revolutionary in the past, from now on becomes necessary.

Prinkipo, February 5, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Oppositionist Beaten In Cleveland

Cleveland.—The readers of the Militant will recall the activity of the Left Opposition in Cleveland on the German situation and the speech comrade Sam Gordon made at the party demonstration in that city on the danger of German Fascism to the American workers. This has struck fear into the hearts of the local bureaucrats who have replied in their well known educational manner—by slugging Gordon.

Since the Left Opposition German campaign began Gordon has been active in spreading his ideas, massing contacts with party members and distributing Militants and recently leading advertising comrade Hugo Oehler's meeting in Cleveland. The bureaucrats began to take alarm. Gordon was spotted by the bureaucrats at the City Central Council of the Unemployed on Saturday. All regular procedure was broken off and a sudden attack was launched against the Left Opposition organizer. Misquotations from the Militant, personal attacks and all the rest of the Stalinist rignarole were bandied about in order to expel comrade Gordon from the meeting. He was not given the chance to defend himself on the pretext that he would be given the opportunity to do so, at the black committee, where he is a member. The motion for excluding Gordon from the meeting passed. About five comrades the only ones who knew (Gordon, abstained from voting. Anna (Indiana local bureaucrat, and Leonard Patterson, Negro organizer from N. Y. led this railroad action.

On Monday, February 20, the black committee met. The meeting was crowded with strange faces—obviously called down by the Stalinists. A functionary, Berndt, started the meeting by attacking Gordon without any delay. First the usual boka about the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" then Gordon is not "just a rank and file Trotskyist". Finally the real reason for the bureaucrats' venom—Gordon had raised the German issue and had spoiled (how?) their pure and simple Hitler demonstration, raised the workers out of the rut of Stalinist opportunism and awakened them to international consciousness.

Gordon was given no chance to defend himself. Upon a signal from the party bureaucrat (Berndt), a young careerist by the name of Fred Dell pounced upon him, unleashing a premeditated attack from all sides. Comrade Gordon was absolutely alone in the affray. His nose was battered and his eye blacked. In this manner are the Cleveland bureaucrats educating the proletariat.

This great apprehension on the part of the party bureaucrats indicates the great interest of the party members in Germany and the platform of the Left Opposition on this question. A good crowd is expected for comrade Oehler's meeting.

—C. G.

Youngstown Proposes United Front

Youngstown.—The following self-explanatory letter has been sent by the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to the Communist party organization:

Section Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A., Youngstown Section.

Dear comrades: The party press has recently come out with news of a turn toward a broader united front in the unemployed movement. The Daily Worker of January 11 writes: "The need for united action of all workers of all shades of opinion and of whatever organization is desperate." Everyone of us will agree with this. The especially poor showing that we all made when the hospitalization question on the budget came up before the City Council shows that this turn is even more desperately needed in Youngstown. We welcome this turn as a great step forward for the party and the whole working class movement and hope to see it carried through successfully here as well.

Since the Unemployed Councils in this city are in particularly poor shape, it becomes first of all necessary to rebuild these. We know that the party forces are small and as yet inadequate for the great amount of work at hand. We know that every available force is needed for the work. To this end we offer every one of our small group to carry out any task assigned to us in this desperately needed united action of the unemployed, in a disciplined manner. Of course, we reserve for ourselves the right of criticism, but we declare ourselves always ready to come to an agreement with you as to the time and place of criticism.

Every hand is needed. That is clear to all. We of the Left Opposition are only a small group in this town, to be sure. But we want to be and can be of aid to the party in this important turn. It is up to you to decide.

Hoping that you will give this letter the serious attention it requires.

With Communist greetings,

Youngstown Branch, Communist League of America

(Opposition)

Secretary,

WHY IS THE COMINTERN STILL SILENT ABOUT THE ACUTE CRISIS IN GERMANY?

Musteites Exclude Oppositionists

Youngstown.—Recent Youngstown papers reported that efforts were being made to unite the Austintown and Smith Township Unemployment Leagues with the local Independent Club as the first step in a movement to create a large city-county unemployed organization. A meeting to consider these plans was to be held at the Independent Club on Sunday afternoon. But newspaper publicity had apparently frightened some of the I. C. members, for whoever possessed the keys to the club headquarters did not appear.

The few members of the I. C. present were invited to attend a discussion meeting at the home of one of the League officers, Perkins. The latter had failed to answer an inquiry of mine dated November 21, so I knew that if possible he and other followers of Muste would endeavor to exclude me from this meeting as Musteites have done with other Communists in St. Louis and other cities. But I managed to go to Perkins' home with a militant worker from the I. C. Before entering, Perkins asked my name. I gave it to him and he immediately seemed perplexed and said, "A Communist?" Before I had more than answered him the militant worker asked, "What's your name?" "What's wrong? Are you afraid of Communists?" They are just like other workers." "No," Perkins replied. "But I don't like the dirty lies they tell in the Daily Worker!" So we followed him into his home.

While we were finding places Perkins must have put the leading League members wise to my identity. For the meeting had no more than started with a roll call of those present than the chairman asked me pointedly, "And whom do you represent?" "The Communist League of America and a group of sympathetic unemployed workers," I replied. He grunted, cleared his throat and announced, "You men know our attitude in regard to Communists. What shall we do?" And then followed one of the emptiest discussions I have ever heard as to why I should be excluded from the meeting. The Daily Worker told lies; Communists vilified Muste. They couldn't work with Communists, and besides this was a "secret" meeting and they didn't want a word of it to get in the Communist press.

I tried to point out the general difference between a Stalinist C. P. member and a Left Oppositionist, and refused to be held responsible for the mistakes of the Party. As a worker interested in the building of a united unemployed council I asked to be permitted to remain. Some fool grabbed on to the word "council" and exclaimed, "You want to build a Council and we want to build a League! We can't agree!" The discussion proceeded fruitlessly; they were determined to get me out at all costs. So I proposed that a vote be taken as to whether or not I could remain without voice or vote. I was told that I couldn't make a motion and some one moved that I be invited to attend an open meeting of the Austintown League on Wednesday night. This passed, and a motion to evict me was made and voted upon. The members of the I. C. were bewildered, but two sturdy workers both voted and spoke in favor of my remaining even though I was a Communist. The League functionaries all voted against it and succeeded in getting a few rank-and-file inexperienced members of the I. C. to vote with them. Perkins and his clique wouldn't permit me to leave the house until I had given up a list of names which I had copied down during the roll call.

But we will get in contact with the workers in the Leagues and the I. C. in spite of such nonsensical intrigues and obstructions! We will help to build a united local unemployed organization that will function with workers' democracy and not according to the whims of bureaucrats. FOR A UNITED FRONT OF ALL UNEMPLOYED WORKERS! —N.

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING

Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak under the auspices of the League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, February 26, 1933, 2 P. M. on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. Admission to the meeting is free and all miners and other workers are cordially invited to attend. The meeting will be held at the Workers' Circle Hall, 69 S. Hancock Street.

Oehler Tour:

Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6, etc.

ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Konikow. All workers are urged to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

Militant Correspondent Reports On Events After Hitler Took Power

(Continued from Page 1)

ocrats, Reichs-banner people and trade unionists instinctively unite and fight shoulder to shoulder. Numerous are the accounts brought by our comrades of workers everywhere asking: "Why do we not build the united front?" Liberal bourgeois papers reprint letters from workers posing this question. But—and that is the crucial question—the leaders, Stalinists, Socialists and trade union bureaucrats refuse to realize the united front from organization to organization.

The workers are still sadly bewildered. But it is not so in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The present situation found them quite well prepared. The forces on that side of the barricade were not taken by surprise. They decided quickly for the Fascists precisely out of fear of the growing misery and discontent of the working masses. Economic developments within the Reich continued to present their protracted black picture. Unemployment was on the increase. The official figures of January 15, 1933 gives the numbers of 5,985,000. This accounts only for those officially registered who receive unemployment insurance, but not of those not registered or the part time workers. In reality the total figure is much higher. The emergency decrees had already helped to reduce further the working class level and increase its discontent. The Communists had gained in the last elections. The Schleicher government, evidently despite its good intentions, could not consolidate the Bonapartist regime. Its prospects of maintaining capitalist rule and avoid civil war diminished. The bourgeoisie called upon its last reserve—the Fascist hordes.

Against the dangers of a growing working class threat the capitalist solidarity extends beyond the national boundaries, not even taking cognizance of such distinctions as former "mortal enemies." And so also in this case, the change in Germany produced its echo in France. The "Paris Solr" of Jan. 31 commented: "Hitler in power! This news would a few months ago have produced the effects of a bombshell. Today it reverberates but there is not much detonation." This bourgeois paper is fully conscious that the imperialist road now leads through the Fascist regime toward a united front against the growing threat of the German revolutionary workers. True, there is the Versailles Treaty standing a little in the way. But such matters can be adjusted to enable the German and the French bourgeoisie to work hand in hand, in this manner the first steps toward forging the spearhead of the army of intervention against the U. S. S. R. are being taken. That is the very heart of the question of a possible final conquest of power in Germany by the Fascist bandits. Finally that much at least seems to have dawned upon *l'Humanite* (the French party daily). It did mention that danger in one of its recent issues. But in face of that recognition it demonstrates its utter helplessness, its paralysis.

Stunned by the false concepts of Stalinism it cannot show the way, it can only repeat what in view of the concrete needs of the situation becomes a mere abstract commonplace. It repeats the slogans of downing Fascism and of the united front from below.

The Issue is Now to Be Settled by the Means of Civil War

The Fascist government does not at all hide its objectives. Hitler's very first ministerial address to the public declared: "The greatest actual danger is the danger of Communism... Bolshevism would spell disaster not only to Germany but to the entire world. The national government is determined to defend Germany against Bolshevism, against anarchy and against the scourge of the class struggle." That the C. P. is the vanguard of the working class the Fascist leaders fully understand. But the full scope of their objectives became further clarified by Hitler's election campaign address of February 8. He declared in his usual bravado style, but now with a more sinister suaveness: "I shall not resign my function until I am fully convinced that my mission is accomplished. That within less than ten years Marxism shall no longer exist in Germany." Such are the threats of extermination of every section of every vestige of the working class movement, for in their usage of the term Marxism the Fascists include the Social Democrats and even the reformist trade unions. Yes, precisely that is the mission of Fascism. German capitalism, the weakest link in the imperialist chain, in the throes of the decay of

the system as a whole, has decided to settle the issue by civil war in the hope of thereby accomplishing the destruction of the working class movement in order to maintain itself in power. For that aim Fascism is the instrument.

Quick in its actions—one has followed the other in rapid succession—in the attempt it is making to consolidate its position, the Reichstag was dissolved without even being permitted the opportunity to convene. The new elections will take place, not after the usual sixty days, but within one month, on March 5. The important positions under the ministry of the interior, particularly those of chiefs of police, are being filled by Fascists. Several issues of the *Rote Fahne* have been seized. A press censorship decree is issued giving the chief of police the authority to prohibit any paper which advocates a general strike, or strikes of any kind, or prints what is called "deliberate misinformation." All city councils (German municipalities) throughout Prussia are dissolved and new elections set for March 12. The Prussian state government, the Braun cabinet, which had only a shadow existence, is unconcernedly and completely dissolved, prepare the road for dissolution of the Landtag despite its majority opposition. Even bourgeois democracy due to its flexibility, still has a certain usefulness—Dissolve by decrees, get new elections with all the machinery of suppression in readiness so as to obtain a voting strength which can furnish a mask of authority. That is to be preparatory to the final coup d'Etat. These are parts of the immediate strategy of the Fascist government. (To be continued)

—ARNE SVABECK.

CHICAGO COMPLAINS!

Rebecca Sacherow of the Chicago branch writes: "Our German campaign is going over big here. The Militants are eagerly awaited by all of us here and all our sympathizers are offering to help distribute them where they will do the most good. Last night we had a general membership meeting of all our sympathetic organizations and everyone volunteered to do his share. One party member was present and he took a bundle of the papers for distribution within the party." "We were," adds Sacherow, "short of our requirements; Chicago is complaining that it doesn't receive enough copies of the 'new Militant' to go around!"

Pose Problem of Germany-U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 1)

United States. The foreign trade interests of the agrarian-capitalist bloc are, in a limited way, being subordinated to its interest in protecting the productivity of domestic capitalist agriculture.

Line of Big Bourgeoisie

But this policy can be carried through only in a limited way; the broad policy runs in the exactly opposite direction. The whole line of the big bourgeoisie since the crisis has been to stimulate foreign trade at the expense of the internal market. The methods of high prices and low wages, of dumping in export market, of liberal credits backed up by the Reichsbank and in the last analysis by the taxing power of the government—these have resulted in a surplus of exports over imports since the crisis, while during the period of stabilization German imports were higher than its exports. In other words, German capitalism has looked for the way out of the crisis abroad, while decrying the petty bourgeois masses with the Fascist slogan of self-sufficiency. Foreign markets are being closed tighter by tariff walls and other restrictions. The last unspoken plank in its platform is the imperialist subjugation and exploitation of Russia.

The social democracy attempts to hold on the bourgeois "internationalism" of the manufacturer and banker-liberals. The removal of restrictions on foreign trade, development of markets abroad without political interference, unhampered movement of capital over national boundaries—the typical

New York Courses Start

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS—THE MOVEMENTS AND THE MEN

On Sunday, February 26, comrade Cannon will give the first of his series of eight popular lectures for workers. The title of the first lecture is Terence V. Powderly, the "Grand Master Workman" of the Knights of Labor. The following lectures will take place on successive Sundays. Lectures may be taken singly if comrades are unable to take the series. The course

is \$1. Single lectures are \$15.

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

On Wednesday, March 1, comrade Schachtman will give the second lecture in the series on the History and Principles of the L. O. The title of this lecture is "The German October and the Fifth Congress of the Comintern". These lectures also may be taken singly by those who missed the first lecture. Single lectures are 15 cents.

—B. J. FIELD

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
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Vol. VI, No. 12 (Whole No. 159)
Friday, February 24, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

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Published 3 times a week, Monday,
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VOLUME VI, NO. 13 [WHOLE NO. 160] NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1933 PRICE 1 CENTHitlerites Shut Down Headquarters of The Communist Party
Why Does the Communist International Continue Its Silence About Germany?

Differing from their Italian prototypes only in the greater speed with which they are succeeding in consolidating their power, the Nazi gangs in Germany have now additional measures to insure execution of their murder program against the working class. After having instructed the police to suppress all anti-Fascist meetings with the aid of the brown-shirts and Steel Helmets, a new order has been issued by Captain Goering, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, commanding the arming of the Nazi storm troops and the members of the Steel Helmets for use as "auxiliary police." The training of the latter has already begun and they have already been officially reviewed by government authorities as part of the government's forces. The suppression of meetings of Communists and social democrats is being carried out without the slightest camouflage. In Berlin, the social democratic Reichsbanner has been forbidden to hold a demonstration "on the ground that it would collide with Nazi arrangements." In Altona, the Nazi storm troops are to parade openly in the streets, this time not merely with the official approval of the authorities, and under police protection, but the formal announcement that the most rigorous measures will be adopted to suppress any counter-demonstration. At Cologne—a socialist meetings "are to be permitted only if no Communists happen to be present." In this Fascist order is contained an acknowledgement of the fear experienced by the Nazis when faced with the prospect of united demonstrations and action of the German working class, both of the Communist and social democratic camp.

In addition, the radio, a government monopoly from which the Communists were excluded in the past, has now been allocated entirely for the use of the Nazis and the Nationalists, so that not only the Communists and the social democrats are to be deprived of its use, but even the Catholic Center party and the People's party are headed by the deceased Dr. Stresemann.

Party Quarters Raided
To top this record of a couple of days of intensive Fascist activity in Germany, it is to be noted the fact that not only was the huge Communist party meeting in Berlin broken up by the police, but the headquarters of the Communist party, the famous Karl Liebknecht House, was broken into by squads of police, literature and other party property confiscated, and a police-guard left in charge of the building. One day later (Saturday), the police announced the discovery "of subterranean vaults containing tons of treasonable printed matter and labyrinths of underground passages providing secret exits." One of the first moves following this raid, has been the government order forbidding the Communist party to collect money publicly. All these moves are only the flank attacks, the preliminary skirmishes, in the plan of battle of the Fascists to harass and weaken the party sufficiently to be able to give it the final blow that will drive it out of existence.

It is not to these events, however, that the center of attention should be directed. What the Fascists are now doing and what they intend to do tomorrow—that we were able to forecast without difficulty and we did forecast it. Far exceeding this aspect of the German situation in importance, remains the state of paralysis of the proletariat which makes possible the murderous advance of the Nazis. The Berlin correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Frederick T. H. H. H., an observer who reveals an unusually lucid understanding of what is happening, makes the following comment on the government order to arm the Fascists to help the police against the Left wing: "The growing excesses of the Left radicals are purely mythical. Neither the Communists nor any other radicals of the Left have dared to make the slightest demonstration for weeks. Virtually all 'excesses' and disturbances have originated from Nazi sources."

In a word, the Fascists are not merely very much on the offensive, but the working class has not yet even organized its defensive!

ities are encountering at the present time less resistance than did Mussolini's Black Shirts either before their march on Rome or after the installation of the Fascists in power!

The working class, which is showing such an unmistakable desire to initiate its own movement to crush the Nazis, is being kept in a state of impotence from two sides. The social democracy, at a moment when the proletariat should be aroused and every instrument of struggle put into its hands, is dragging the working class just at the time when the Fascist knife is descending upon its body.

Stampfer's Interview
In the interview with the press, the editor of the central organ of the social democracy, Herr Friedrich Stampfer declared, according to the *Heald-Tribune* (2-24-1933), that his party was not very much worried about the possibilities enjoyed by the Fascists or remaining long in power. From his interview, we extract the following items, characteristically significant!

"The German working class is not very strong as an attacking force, but put it on the defensive and it is unconquerable. . . . On July 20 last, when the Braun government was deposed in Prussia, the Communists urged us to call a general strike. We were convinced, how-

ever, that a general strike would lead inevitably to a conflict which could only end to the disadvantage of the workers. . . . We socialists cannot be revolutionary, or militant, at the present time, as many for-

ign observers seem to expect. The time may come, indeed, and that before long, when things will come to a head and the trade unions will cease to put up passively with political developments, as they have for

two generations, but the socialists will not accelerate such a development. . . . The endeavors of the socialist leaders to organize even a temporary tactical alliance with the Communists have failed completely

ification due to the march of history, this is still the doctrine of the League. It must be recalled further that the first League Peace Conference was initiated by another 'czar, Nicholas II, in 1908; that finally, the League was constituted by the most reactionary imperialist diplomats after a robbers' world war. China is still in the throes of revolution, halted but for a moment. The League and the Japanese call this intense and profound movement of the Chinese masses that is forcing the submerged workers and peasants out to the stage of history, nothing but "chaos" and "anarchy." In reality this places China outside the pale of the League. And that is the complete tenor of Matsukawa's speech of withdrawal from the League. That speech is the declaration, if it still needed any declaration, that it is "open season" for the robber imperialists in China. "That (lack of unity) is one reason why China is unable to defend itself today, unable to rid itself as it desires, of foreign military forces stationed in and about the treaty ports and of foreign vessels that ply the Yangtze River. These forces are not only Japanese. They are British, American, French, Italian and others. . . . Less than five years ago a portion of these forces, British and American, had to go into action at Nanking." In short, says Japan, let us make no bones about the matter, we are doing precisely what you would like to do, but we are doing it first.

The attitude of British capitalism at this juncture is superbly stated by Winston Churchill who tells America that she will have to pull her own chestnuts out of the fire. "Even if foreign countries engaged in a war there is no reason why a wise, honorable foreign policy should not enable us to stand aside." That is to say let the U. S.

Militant Sales In Sharp Rise

The sales of the *Militant* in New York are mounting with unusual speed. The campaign of the Left Opposition on the German situation has encountered the greatest interest and support of any movement yet set on foot by us in this country. The previous issue of the *Militant*, containing the article on the German situation by comrade Trotsky, was sold on the streets, like the issues before it, by members and sympathizers of the League. In New York, we sold one thousand copies of this issue in one day, in addition to the copies which go regularly to subscribers and those which are bought on the newsstands. Comrade Spithals sold 181 copies; Sammy Sold 179; comrade Levine, a sympathizer, sold 170 copies and Jim Carr sold upwards of a hundred. In addition fifty copies of the latest pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, containing his Copenhagen speech in defense of the Russian Revolution, were also sold on the streets in one day at five cents a copy. The whole New York branch of the League is enthusiastically and successfully engaged in the drive, with every comrade at his post.

Two Negroes Lynched In South

White women in the South are not protected against those who "prey on women," such as the famous "Lone Wolf" who operated in New Orleans the same as he did in New York, any more than women are protected anywhere else under capitalism. They are forced into prostitution with low wages, unemployment, general economic uncertainty even more than in many other places. Certainly their outlook for "happy marriages" is very slim. The truth is that the evil of the South is a thin cloak that covers not only the bosses' excuses for lynching Negroes, but also the worst kind of degeneration of women in the Southern States.

Not only are Negro women outside the pale of Southern chivalry; they are often the victims of this weapon the bosses wield, and one inquires of those who maintain this sex angle, if lynching is to protect white women from being raped by Negroes, why are Negro women also the victims of this weapon? In 1710 there were 50,000 Negroes in the country; 220,000 in 1750; 740,000 at the time of the Revolutionary War, of which 700,000 were

Japan Widens Attack On North China

The hypocrisy of the imperialist League of Nations in its attitude towards China stands recorded in every speech of the "statesmen." The League was founded for the maintenance of a robbers' status quo and for the crushing of the Soviet Union, these two aims going necessarily hand in hand. It is worth recalling for a moment the historic antecedents of the present League.

Its prototype was the Holy Alliance initiated by Czar Alexander. The clearest expression of that alliance was given in the Protocol of Troppau in 1820. The advance of "democracy" had not yet made mandatory care in the wording of documents. That protocol stated, "If owing to such (revolutions), immediate danger threatens other states, the Powers bind themselves by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty state to the bosom of the Great Alliance." With the necessary modification due to the march of history, this is still the doctrine of the League. It must be recalled further that the first League Peace Conference was initiated by another 'czar, Nicholas II, in 1908; that finally, the League was constituted by the most reactionary imperialist diplomats after a robbers' world war. China is still in the throes of revolution, halted but for a moment. The League and the Japanese call this intense and profound movement of the Chinese masses that is forcing the submerged workers and peasants out to the stage of history, nothing but "chaos" and "anarchy." In reality this places China outside the pale of the League. And that is the complete tenor of Matsukawa's speech of withdrawal from the League. That speech is the declaration, if it still needed any declaration, that it is "open season" for the robber imperialists in China. "That (lack of unity) is one reason why China is unable to defend itself today, unable to rid itself as it desires, of foreign military forces stationed in and about the treaty ports and of foreign vessels that ply the Yangtze River. These forces are not only Japanese. They are British, American, French, Italian and others. . . . Less than five years ago a portion of these forces, British and American, had to go into action at Nanking." In short, says Japan, let us make no bones about the matter, we are doing precisely what you would like to do, but we are doing it first.

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Japan Widens Attack On North China

and Japan ruin each other while we keep the arena from becoming a free-for-all. Churchill goes on, after stating that the League cannot force England into a war: "The first duty of British statesmen is to make sure we are not drawn into any war, and it is only their second (!) duty to try to prevent others from fighting or to try to end their quarrels. . . . We do not want to throw away our old friendship with Japan." Churchill tells Japan plainly that she has a perfectly free hand in China so far as England is concerned. In fact he compares directly what Japan is doing in China with what England herself is engaged in carrying out in India. And indeed the comparison is most apt!

Meantime the League begins a new tune on the arms embargo. Such an embargo would hardly be worth the paper to record it. No

(Continued on Page 2)

Intensive Exploitation of the German Workers is Prospect Under Hitler

The present situation in German economy presents new contradictions every day. Unemployment has been increasing, and the export surplus has fallen to the lowest figure in three years; yet prices of commodities and securities keep advancing. The latter fact is especially interesting as it shows the opinion which the German bourgeoisie itself has, and is willing to back with money, in the speculative markets, of its immediate future.

The contradictions reflect the fact that Germany is now in a critical position, in which the next few weeks or months may impress their character on years to come. If Hitler wins full power, he will open a period of the most intensive exploitation of German labor with a view to squeezing out the maximum profits possible under the situation of the general world crisis of capitalism intensified by a cyclical crisis of unheard-of intensity. If an effective united front between Communist and reformist workers through their organizations is formed, it may well not only defeat Hitler and reestablish the rights of the workers under the bourgeois democracy of the Weimar republic, but sweep on beyond these limits and open a period of revolutionary crisis on the way to the seizure of power.

In such a transitional stage as the present in Germany, economic life reflects not only echoes of the immediately preceding past but anticipations of the new. The increase in unemployment reflects the

... We socialists realize that we have a formidable task ahead of us, but we do not view the situation in any spirit of depression or fatalism. Fascism stands no chance or gaining a foothold in a nation like Germany that has a certain level of political culture, owing to the resistance that will be forthcoming from the workers."

"That the socialist leaders 'cannot be revolutionary, or militant', and will not go, goes without saying. Exceeding even their fear of fascism, as their rear that the masses may unfold such a movement as will lead to the revolutionary victory of the proletariat, that the socialists have endeavored to make an alliance with the Communists, is just as much of a naïveté as is the contention of the socialists that they stand for the 'united front from below' with the workers, but not with the organizations. The social democrats have indeed demanded a 'united front' with the Communists, but on the little condition that the Communists dissolve themselves! What else is the meaning of the socialist demand that in this 'united front' the Communists refrain from criticism of the policies and conduct of the social democratic leaders?"

The current issue of the American socialist New Leader boasts that

(Continued on Page 2)

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7 Wounded In New Mine Battle

The State Senatorial Committee investigating conditions in the mines of southern Illinois received a new dose of the class struggle in a battle that occurred in a Peabody mine in Springfield which they were "investigating." Two members of the Progressive Miners Union, three scabs and two deputy sheriffs were injured in the skirmish that occurred at the Woodside and Capital mines when the labor-hating Peabody trust attempted to operate them with scab labor.

More than 1,000 miners of the P. M. A. were on hand at each mine when the strikebreakers were getting ready to leave for the day. The 100 scabs (according to the N. Y. Times report) were protected by a mob of company gunmen who immediately opened fire on the pickets. The miners who could not be subdued even by this murderous fusillade, retaliated by hurling chunks of coal and stone at the thugs and scabs. According to this same news report the miners, overwhelmed by these armed representatives of "law and order", withdrew their lines.

This is just another instance where the Peabody gang is making an attempt to circumvent the only

"the Communist masses are actually beginning to work with the socialists." Stampfer-Breitscheid words have thus taken a rear out of the book of Stalin-Leninism-Bolshevism. While the situation cries out for a united front from organization to organization, even the social democratic leaders and the socialist outcasts could not utter a word about the "united front from below."

Stampfer consoles the working class with the luxury that Germany is too cultured a land to allow Fascism to "gain a foothold" in it. The Italian social democrats more than 10 years ago also disarmed the masses by assuring them that in their country, the "cradle of modern civilization," the Fascist barbarians could not hope to "gain a foothold." And why not? Because the socialists will "resist." How? The joint manifesto of the social democratic party and German fraction gives us an idea of what this resistance will look like. While the latter are proceeding with their violent regime of terrorism, with fire and sword, with the utmost brutality and cynical unconcern for all the niceties of parliamentarism so cherished by the social democrats, the latter announce:

"We shall wage our struggle upon the basis of the Constitution. We shall defend the political and social rights of the people, established by the Constitution and by law." (New Leader, 2-25-1933.)

The program of the social democracy has the merit of clarity. We know what it is driving at; it aims to keep its record of treachery unimpaired. To talk about "struggle on the basis of the Constitution" at a time like this, is deliberately to surrender the German working class, bound and gagged, to the butchers of Fascism.

But if the social democracy has at least this merit, the same cannot be said about the Communist party. What is the party doing to mobilize the working class at this crucial, desperate hour? Nobody knows, least of all the Stalinist leaders! The official party press continues to report an incident here and another elsewhere about clashes between Communists and Fascists, but nobody can discern just what the policy of the party looks like. The hollow repetition of the slogan for the "united front from below"—signifies less than nothing. The Fascists are moving with seven league boots—the Communists, who should be in the vanguard of the movement to initiate the united front, are bewildered, confused and impotent. The observations of the bourgeois correspondent referred to above are, sadly enough, close to the terrible truth.

Stalinist Silence

The proletariat has not yet struck back at Fascism, and for this the Stalinists bear the main burden of responsibility. The program of the Left Opposition—for a united front of the Communist party with the social democracy and the trade unions—the former has rejected out of hand. Are they waiting until the German proletariat has been cut to pieces before they decide to act? That is the question and that is how it must be put.

And above everything else, we repeat our question:

WHY IS THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL SILENT ABOUT THE EVENTS IN GERMANY? WHY DOESN'T THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DO ITS ELEMENTARY DUTY AND SPEAK OUT? WHY DOESN'T IT GIVE COUNSEL TO THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AT THIS DESPERATE MOMENT OF CRISIS? WHY DOESN'T IT CALL UPON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY WITH THE GERMAN MASSES?

For the Communist International, the "general staff of the world revolution", to persist in its silence now—IS A CRIME!

For the Communist worker to be quiet while such a crime is being committed—IS TO MAKE HIMSELF AN ACCOMPLICE TO IT!

Louder and louder must rise the cry: The Communist International must speak out! It must demand the united front of the German working class! It must set in motion the machinery that will crush Hitlerism! It must stop talking about "defending the Soviet Union", and actually defend it on its most threatened front: Germany.

—G. C. Sunday, Feb. 26, 1933. —M. S.

BROWNSVILLE
MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

Sponsored by Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of The MilitantLabor Lyceum
SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M.
219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Tardy Acknowledgement

In the Izvestia, official Soviet government organ, of April 10, 1932, Karl Radek wrote an article proposing an alliance with American imperialism against Japan. Two days later, the statement of the *Daily Worker*, in enthusiastic salute to Radek's proposal, defined the columns of this Communist paper with a rather chauvinistic editorial. "This proposal," it said, "means a new step in the peace policy of the Soviet Union." In the *Militant* of April 16, 1932, we wrote that the editorial, "completely devoid of a breath of proletarian revolutionism, is one of the most disgraceful pieces of cynical flattery with chauvinism that has ever appeared in the Communist movement." The *Daily Worker*, entirely consistent with the theory of socialism in one country, which means in practice the abandonment of every revolutionary principle in the alleged interests of defending the Soviet Union from military attack, picks up the Radek thread with all its implications elaborated upon even more shamelessly. Taking Radek's cue, the editorial writer proceeds to address himself to the American ruling class in order to show it that its best imperialist interests lie in a break with Japan and an alliance with the Soviets. "Now the party's demand for the expulsion of all Japanese diplomatic representatives from the U. S. becomes entirely clear."

For these sharp but entirely justified strictures upon the Stalinist politicians, we were at that time subjected to the vilest abuse. The ritualistic abjuration—"counter-revolutionists, enemies of the Soviet Union, social-fascists, renegades"—were spat out at us from every party tribune. Even the little Lovestone sect came rushing out of obscurity to give the Stalinists a "theoretical" foundation for their policy, equipped with all the trappings of a few Lenin quotations violently divorced from their context.

Ten months have passed since that dispute and we are now in a position to cast a balance—and what a balance! In the Draft Resolution for the Eighth Convention of the American party (*Daily Worker*, 2-1-1933) we learn with considerable astonishment and not a little gratification that:

"Extremely grave errors were committed by the Party when the robber attack of the Japanese imperialist armies in Manchuria placed the question of war before the American Party in a sharper and more real form than ever before. . . . While the Party correctly perceived that the contradictions between rival imperialisms must be utilized to the utmost by the revolutionary party, yet an inexcusably incorrect application of the correct principle was made in adopting for a period a conciliatory attitude towards the speculations of the bourgeois correspondents (What do you mean 'bourgeois correspondents'? And Radek?—) about a possible 'alliance' between the U. S. and USSR, against Japan" (*Daily Worker*, April 12), and by failure to distinguish between the correct Leninist utilization of antagonisms by a proletariat in possession of State power and the different forms such

utilization by Communist parties in capitalist countries must take. . . . The incorrect application of the utilization of the contradictions between the imperialist powers tended to weaken our struggle against American imperialism. The campaign suffered further from a certain narrowing down of the mass movement because the Party mistakenly adopted as Party slogans those which were not the slogans of the conscious vanguard of the proletarian masses, but rather the slogans which express the unripe-revolutionary moods of the masses that are only now growing toward revolutionary consciousness. (False!) They were and are, right now, the slogans of the military chauvinist wing of the American bourgeoisie. . . . slogans to which the Party must give conditional support but not put forward in its own name ('Expel the Japanese imperialist representatives,' etc.)."

Confused and unprincipled as is even this piece of "self-criticism" (and the least of its aims is to cover up the traces for the Moscow Stalinists), it is nevertheless a shameless acknowledgment that the criticism leveled against the Stalinists by the *Militant* was more than a little justified. We have no doubt that now, in view of the fact that we have been proved correct beyond dispute, the Stalinists will make up for it by multiplying their violent attacks upon the Left Opposition.—S.

The Jap Attack

(Continued from Page 1)

government that wished to do so (and the munitions makers of all countries are most eager to get going) would be prevented from winking at slight "irregularities" that meant good business. Right now both England and France are supplying munitions to Japan at top speed. Nor do we will the American Guggenheims hesitate for one moment in shipping vast quantities of nitrates from Chile—enough for a prolonged war with America if that war breaks out. An arms embargo would be merely another scrap of paper.

Opinions have been freely expressed that Japan will shortly find herself in dire financial straits. This is not true in the immediate sense stated. So long as France has vast hoards of unused gold, Japan will secure all the financing it needs from the great money-lender of Europe. Particularly is this true because France furnishes as much as does Japan the main part of the ultimate source of the reactionary French from Annam and South China. The rub will come for Japan when the debts fall due, when its internal shakiness becomes accentuated by desperate efforts at more intense exploitation of its workers and peasants. The cost of living rises to stupendous heights in Japan while real wages fall. The strict Japanese censorship screens out the news of peasant riots and workers' strikes that are surface indications of the seething below. In the end it is the inescapable internal contradictions of Japanese economy that spell the doom of her imperialism. —J. W.

Opposition at St. Louis Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

position) and after some negative discussion by one or two Stalinists our program was unanimously adopted for consideration by the conference. In the floor discussion that followed all the points were carried unanimously. Briefly they were as follows:

1. **United Front Program**
2. Immediate Relief—concretized by the Unemployed Council's suggestions.
3. Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the employers and state government.
4. For the 6 hour day and the 5 day week with no reduction in pay.
5. For trade relations with and the extension of credits to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for American workers and for drawing the American and Russian workers into closer relationship. For the recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. government.
6. The formation of a United Front Unemployment Conference committee consisting of one delegate from each organization which shall carry out the following instructions:

1. To mobilize the membership of all the organizations for a joint demonstration for immediate relief at the Citizens Committee on March 4.
2. To issue a call immediately for the second conference inviting all working class organizations to participate.
3. To organize the sending of speakers to the various organizations to urge the acceptance of the invitation and to explain the aims of the united front movement.
4. To issue a minimum of 20,000 leaflets to popularize the conference and its projected program.
5. To call upon each organization represented to hold a public meeting in support of the conference under its own auspices.
6. To organize a joint mass meeting of all organizations participating in the conference with representative speakers from each tendency.

The fight of the Opposition was completely victorious—and as the Worker-delegates went home our

Abern Speaks at Boston

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Konikow. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

Lynch 2 Negroes

(Continued from Page 1)

centered on isolated plantations of the South; and 1,500,000 in 1920. During all these two centuries charges of rape against Negroes were unknown although there were ample opportunity for commission of such crimes. ("Rope & Ragot" by Walter White)

With the few exceptions of Abolitionists and those Negro slaves who were intelligent and courageous enough to seek freedom through influencing others, lynchings were out of the question, when the victims represented a cash value, when the worker was the property of his master, when chattel slavery was not an institution. It was only when lynchings could be used to subject Negroes for the purpose of extracting profits for the new masters that lynching became an institution, that is to say, lynching is a capitalist institution used by the capitalists to protect their interests, their profits, their social order.

The aim of Nash, if the lynchings got the man they were after, was to get money. He took the hunkier to the bank for that purpose. How often the bankers steal thousands and millions of dollars from the workers! George Jeter of Alkon likewise was after appropriating property. —GEO. SAUL.

300 Hear Opposition in Toronto

Toronto.—The great interest of the workers in the position of the Left Opposition in the German crisis was shown in the meeting held in Toronto.

Although no leaflet was issued and only the meagerest form of advertisement appeared less than two days before the meeting due to the difficult conditions that exist about 800 workers packed literally every inch of sitting and standing accommodation, workers stood outside in the hallway to listen while many had to be turned away, so great was the attraction and interest of the workers in the German situation.

A real international spirit pervaded the meeting despite the silly interruptions from a small number of Y. C. Lers who insisted on making a public exhibition of their political bankruptcy. Most of the Y. C. Lers responded sympathetically to our viewpoint by listening attentively to the speakers and after the meeting purchased the *Militant* and fraternized with our comrades.

Comrades J. MacDonald and M. Spector were the principal speakers. Comrade MacDonald gave the workers an opportunity to compare the position taken by the Communist in the German revolution when Lenin was alive with the position of the present international under the Stalin leadership. Comrade Spector traced the German events and the revolutionary possibilities which had opened up after the collapse of the monarchy to the present day.

Both speakers pointed out the significance of the present German events for the world revolutionary movement and for the Soviet Union. Although Fascism is in power it has not consolidated its position yet; the German proletariat is not yet defeated and the adoption by the Communist and its German section of the Leninist united front tactics will smash Fascism to smithereens. Rounds of applause greeted the remarks of the speakers. A resolution was then presented from the meeting demanding the repeal of Section 98 and the unconditional release of the eight Communist leaders and all other political prisoners. At this point the aforementioned small group began making interjections. Amidst the applause of the crowd the chairman announced all those in favor of the resolution stand up and the whole audience stood up on their feet.

The question period further exposed the shameful political education of the new Y. C. L. cadres. Every question under the sun except those that dealt with the most significant events in the international today was asked by this "group." When comrade Spector, in replying to the questions, asked why Stalin is silent on the German situation, the Stalinist "spokesman" replied amidst protest and laughter that "the (Stalin) was too busy building socialism in Russia."

In the discussion only one YCLer took the floor to reiterate the old demagoguery of the Stalinists. In the course of his ten minute speech he mentioned that the Left Opposition was afraid to give them the opportunity to reply to our arguments. The comrades of the Spartacus Youth Club immediately challenged the Y. C. L. "spokesman" to a public debate. This he promptly declined with the worn-out excuse that the question of "Trotskyism" had been liquidated and Y. C. L. was not a discussion circle. The fact of the matter is that at this very moment, under pressure of the Left Opposition, the question of "Trotskyism" has been reopened in all the Stalinist groups throughout greater Toronto. —Q

Scottsboro Conference Rejects United Front

Boston.—The long-delayed Mooney-Scottsboro conference was held in Boston on Sunday, February 19. The credentials committee reported representation from sixty organizations.

While brief reports were being given on the cases in question, the resolutions committee of nine, including one of the delegates from the Boston branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), comrade Scherbet, was in session. After the "general" resolution was adopted a further resolution for a genuine united front conference is to be called at once was introduced by comrade Scherbet. It is noteworthy that although this resolution was defeated, it received the support of four of the nine delegates serving on the committee.

The discussion from the floor revealed how little the Stalinists have learned from the past and despite the many failures through their incorrect position on the uni-

ted front, they are unwilling to make the necessary turn. A party member who is also a member of an A. F. of L. local brought out the point that in the attempt to invite A. F. of L. locals the call of the I.L.D. very often did not even reach the membership. This proved to his mind the correctness of further stressing the "united front from below." The official party representatives had nothing to say. Eva Weiner, pointed out in her report from the Left Opposition, comrade marks the incorrectness of the theory of a united front "from below" and showed that precisely because the call of the I. L. D. in the past did not reach the bulk of the membership under the reformist leadership, we must make a complete turn and invite the central bodies of all workers' organizations, thus putting the leadership to the wall. She showed clearly that the failure of the I. L. D. to organize the broadest united front in the Mooney case resulted in Mooney's latest call for the coming Chicago convention through the Molders' Committee. It was at this point that the party spokesman announced himself and after a typically Stalinist line of denunciation of the "agents interested in uniting with the misleaders of labor," called for an "honest united front from below."

Comrade Scherbet then spoke again briefly on the united front, explaining that while it is clear enough to the sixty delegates at this conference that the role of the reformist leadership means betrayal of the workers, we must not overlook the fact that thousands upon thousands of the workers still have confidence in their leaders, together with their following, and prove in action to the masses of workers who it is that sincerely represents their interests. Comrade Scherbet thereupon moved that the conference immediately call a second conference inviting the central bodies of all working class organizations, Socialist party, A. F. of L., Workmen's Circle, all Negro organizations, etc., etc., to unite with us in the struggle for freedom of the Scottsboro boys, Mooney and all other class war prisoners. And that leaflets be printed to this effect and widely distributed among the workers in order that mass pressure may be brought to bear on their leaders.

Conveniently enough, a substitute motion was made to proceed with the election of an action committee which shall decide on all further work.

It must be said in conclusion that this action committee must not work most seriously and at once. Realizing that mass pressure is the strongest weapon which will gain freedom from the nine Scottsboro boys and all other class war prisoners, the committee must stop making empty gestures about an "honest" united front "from below." This mass pressure can be brought about only through the broadest united front as outlined by the Left Opposition. In this work the Boston branch of the League pledges its entire and most energetic support. —C. S.

Mine Situation Told in Davenport

Davenport, Iowa.—A lecture was held Feb. 18, at Hibernal Hall, where about seventy-five workers attended to hear Gerry Allard, the leader of the coal miners in southern Illinois, describe the conditions of the miners and the reason for their fight against the Peabody Coal Company and the betrayers of the coal miners, John L. Lewis and his henchmen.

Allard gave a very enthusiastic picture of the heroic fight that the miners are putting up in southern Illinois. Comrade Allard showed conclusively that the miners knew what they had to face in the struggle. A discussion took place at which the leader of the local Stalinists made an attack on comrade Allard and his co-workers in southern Illinois. But comrade Allard in a very few words was able to annihilate the slanders attacks of the present party leadership amidst the enthusiastic applause of the audience.

Seventy-five workers attended this lecture despite the fact that there was three other big meetings in the city. The A. F. of L. particularly gave a special blow-out with free entertainment at the Grand Theater, though they knew that comrade Allard was to speak in the city.

After the meeting a party was held by our branch of the Left Opposition for comrade Allard with twenty to twenty-five workers present who stayed until after midnight. Everybody was enthusiastic about comrade Allard's visit.

The enthusiasm of comrade Allard was catching by the workers in spite of the small crowd. Many of the workers expressed their desire to form a relief committee to help the striking miners in spite of the unemployment here.

Greeks Rallied On German Crisis

On February 7 and 19 our Greek Workers Club "Protomagia" gave two lectures at the hall of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union 687-8th Ave., on the united front and the Fascist danger in Germany by comrades Pappas and Caidis.

At the first lecture the managing editor of the *Emporos* attempted with the assistance of 15-20 other Stalinists to stop the workers from entering the Hall. Seeing that their efforts were fruitless they decided to come in and listen themselves to the speaker. The hall was packed with more than 75 workers present. When the floor was thrown open for discussion comrade Caidis as chairman suggested that the floor be taken primarily by the opponents. The editor was forced to get up and speak for at least 10 minutes while our comrades appealed to the chair to extend his time for half an hour. This the chairman accepted and remarked that even half an hour is not enough for the presentation of the opponents' views and suggested to the Stalinists present to accept our challenge and debate with us any day and at any time. Many workers appealed for the unification of the clubs, "Spartacus" and "Protomagia," and they stated that a debate will be very useful for their enlightenment on the views of the Opposition and those of the Stalinists. The Stalinists preferred silence to an answer as to the debate. Following the 35 minutes of poor and unconvincing talk of the editor, other Stalinists spoke for an hour to prove to the workers their backwardness and their degeneration by making fun of comrade Caidis who after all did not suffer while in prison for 19 months but "came out of jail quite fat." Comrade Pappas answered to the point the weak arguments of the Stalinists, and concluded by also appealing for a debate. While the chairman was adjourning the meeting the Stalinist editor asked the floor to answer the demands of the workers for a debate, and when he took it instead of accepting or refusing it he hurled some epithets and run down to the street.

February 12th

The following Sunday we postponed our next lecture on Germany on account of the call for a united front by the party for the unemployed. *Protomagia* participated with 3 delegates, comrades Cornilias, James Gordon and Caidis. Comrade Gordon was unable to attend the conference because he was meeting at the same time with the Central Strike Committee of Politis-Fischer's. The Conference conducted its business in the same steam-rolling fashion as the other Stalinist conferences. Our delegates protested against this procedure and demanded that at least a minimum time be given to the delegates to discuss the resolutions that were submitted for ratification prior to their voting. They went ahead and passed it any way. Finally the floor was given for only five minutes to comrade Caidis who protested against the steam-rolling and pointed out that the six-hour day and five-day week must be included in the resolutions and also the long term credits to the Soviet Union and explained the necessity for the agitation of these demands. The chairman didn't allow him to proceed any further.

Then the Stalinists (they were the only ones present besides us that took the floor) forgot all about the united front for the unemployed Greek workers and began their usual slanders against the Opposition. The floor was refused to comrade Cornilias who was anxious to refute the Stalinists about the composition of our club *Protomagia*. Anyway, when the collection was taken, they didn't refuse the donation of *Protomagia* and the wild applause of the delegates considerably annoyed the Stalinists. They were forced to accept in the committee a member of *Protomagia*. But at the last meeting seeing that our club members began to penetrate the ranks of the unemployed, especially at the soup kitchen of St. Barbara where three of our comrades were elected as their delegates, decided to appeal to the Central Committee of the Unemployed Councils for their approval to removing our club from the united front.

Many misguided workers begin to see clearly that our warnings about the danger of the Right wing policies of the Stalinists were correct, because they are already serving to strengthen the prestige of the bankrupt clergy.

All these activities of *Protomagia* and those of the Greek Opposition annoy considerably the nerves of the Stalinists. For the last three weeks the *Emporos* carries a campaign of lies and slanders in a fashion that far exceeds that of the tabloids. But all these instead of serving their purposes reveal on the contrary to every thinking worker the depth of their degeneration. They especially complain about the wide distribution among the Greek workers of New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, of *Militants*, *Pali ton Taxodon*, and *Communistes*, because they realize that once a large numbers of misinformed workers get a hold of our publications, it will open their eyes and will impose upon the Stalinists the discontinuation of their petty-bourgeois opportunism which they themselves, when forced to the wall, from time to time try to present to the workers as insignificant errors on their part.

—A. C.

Report Shows Fate of Germany Hangs In Balance; United Front Is Urgent

(Continued from last issue)

There need be no doubt that the millions of German workers who have definitely expressed their sympathy and support either for the Communist party or for the Socialist party instinctively feel that Fascism represents the Sword of Damocles hanging over their heads, threatening their organizations with destruction, threatening their even now miserable standard of living and threatening their very lives. There are examples every day of such an instinctive feeling. But compared to the immensity of the needs of the situation there is passivity. A dead hand of paralysis still holds the working class in its grasp. Its organizations are either unable or their leaders unwilling to act. At times it seems as if the paralysis and the passivity is breaking. Last Sunday the social-democrats called a demonstration at the Lustgarten in Berlin. It became a monster turnout. Otto Wels, after many radical phrases declared for a "non-aggression pact" with the Communists. It was only a further step to sabotage the genuine united front; but that declaration alone nevertheless expresses the increasing pressure for unity of action which these leaders feel upon them from their own mass following. Again yesterday afternoon, February 10, a gigantic funeral procession wound its way through Berlin to the cemetery of Friedrichsfelde in honor of the three class victims Berner, Kullatsh and Schultz, who were murdered by the brown shirted bandits. Despite the police prohibition over 100,000 workers marched through the streets. Without a united front being formally established the S. P., the Y. S. P., the Reichsbanner and the C. P. officials participated. The Reichsbanner spokesman appealed to the workers to join the Communist workers and for a united front of action. The Y. S. P. spokesman admonished his followers to make all possible sacrifice for the establishment of a fighting united front. Comrade Pieck, in the name of the C. P., called upon all the workers to join the united front. Yet the party fails to act, fails to organize the united front.

There are radiant rays of hope when one feels the throbs of such mighty marching columns. The broad shoulders of these husky German proletarians, within each row, almost touched one another, their faces were solemn but showed distinct determination. What a splendid picture of class solidarity. Power is expressed in these heavy footsteps.

Why Are the Strong Hands Paralyzed?

But the defeat of Fascism in Germany is an enormous task. Even such powerful demonstrations can only be the small beginnings. Why then are these strong hands paralyzed? That is the question of the position of the parties, of policy and of leadership. Never before has the treacherous role of the Socialist party bureaucracy been so clearly revealed as at this moment. Since their betrayal of the revolution in 1918 and their murder of the best working class fighters they have made a parliamentary sham-

bles even out of their own party's social democratic aims in order to fully re-establish capitalism. Thus they prepared the road for Fascism. And in the development of this brown shirted menace they deliberately fostered the illusions that this would be only another affair to be conquered by ballots and to be conquered by the forces of the "iron front" including all the supporters of Hindenburg. They still speak in the name of this "iron front." As a matter of fact the social democrats are now all that is left of it. But, and that is important, millions of workers still follow these traitors, who only out of fear for their own hides simultaneously give lip service to the slogans of struggle against Fascism. Yet that is precisely the reason why the formation of the united front of the entire working class becomes the key to the situation which the Communist forces must take hold of. It is the means to defeat Fascism, it is the means to finally unmask the traitors. This the Left Opposition has demanded since the beginning of the Fascist menace. In this our small forces have attempted to show the way.

The Balance Sheet of Stalinism

The Communist workers, however, were also unprepared. They were lulled into a false underestimation of the sinister menace, into the false security that "We come after the Fascists." They were misdirected by the slogans of "national liberation" and of a "people's revolution." They were sharply divided from their class brothers by the false concepts of "social Fascism." They were split away in small sections from the mass organizations by the criminal policy of independent revolutionary trade unions. The position of the party leadership to date has represented a criminal capitulation in face of the existing menace. When Hitler received his nomination, it threw out the slogan of the general strike in a sort of bit or miss fashion and naturally the response was almost nil. The party leadership set up phantom united front organs. For example in Berlin on the fateful night of Jan. 30, a conference attended by more than 2,000 delegates convened to take measures against the Fascist danger. It listened to much oratory, decided to meet the next day to organize the general strike and collapsed. It represented in reality nobody outside of the party. The general strategy of these Stalinist leaders has since sunk to the level of isolated demonstrations, mass meetings, demonstrative strikes of one hour or two hours, one day in one smaller factory or small town, another day in another and in some places merely economic strikes against certain special measures. This strategy, or lack of strategy to be more exact, could only demonstrate the frightful weakness of the party position and particularly its separation from the workers in the industries. The party's own membership composition is about 80 percent unemployed. The party's inability to lead and to mobilize masses became sadly revealed. Such is the balance sheet to date of the party Stalinist leadership.

To be continued

—ARNE SWABECK.

Dark Prospect Under Hitler Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

force will attempt to carry through a third alternative; the still further forcing down of German wages to produce still lower costs and prices on its exported goods, which will make possible larger export surpluses. But the workers have already begun to resist in spite of the handicap of reformist domination. Wages cannot be cut materially further without smashing both social democratic and Communist organizations, political, trade union, and other; and only Fascism can do this job. On the other hand, effective resistance even on the economic arena means the nullification of the trade union organizations with the least possible delay; the revolutionary Red Trade Union Organization must merge with the reformist General German Trade Union Federation and the "free" organizations.

The Fascist-Bonapartist alliance showing its results in the new tariff legislation, which means that practically what we earn, hard of meat products, can enter the country. For the first time since the present crisis began, prices of farm products have advanced steeply, and have forced the general index of prices up. This means the alliance between the agrarians and the industrial capitalists.

The latter have been able, in the face of the crisis, to put through an increase of 22 percent in the price of export steel during the past month, in the expectation of closing arrangements for an international cartel including France, Belgium and Luxembourg as well as Germany. In this way the industrialists of the Rhine, Ruhr and Silesia expect, in collusion with "bated foreigners", to be able to carve out a bigger slice of the export market on the one hand, while striking down the resistance of the German worker to wage-cuts with the other, and enforcing a regime of super-exploitation based on political domination by naked brute force through Hitler's hands and the army, the police, and the Steel Helmet nationalist troops.

The German bourgeoisie is betting on its supporters. Stocks of iron, steel and coal companies have been making new high prices lately

on the Berlin Stock Exchange. These companies will be among the first to benefit not only from war, but also from the re-armament of Germany which both Nazis and nationalists have inscribed on their program.

The fact that a boom is taking place in German stocks while the major world security markets are declining proves that what the speculators are betting on is not a general recovery in world economy, in which German because of its financial weakness would not be among the first to share. Their calculations are rather based on a special development within Germany, and that is the coming into power of Hitler.

Torn between fear, as the accumulated contradictions of the crisis continue to crush down upon it and the spectacular economic gamble of Papen's program collapses, and hope, that the still bigger gamble on Hitler will after all succeed, the German bourgeoisie has reached a point where only desperate measures will suffice it. It is willing to extend an unlimited credit in confidence and in resources to Hitler and his murderous rabble.

Only one thing can stop them—the closing-up of the ranks of labor and its steady march forward from immediate demands toward ultimate goal. No petty considerations of factional prestige must be permitted to interfere with the adoption of the sound and tested line which the Left Opposition has been advocating for years; and least of all at a time when the immediate economic situation, as well as the political regrouping of forces, show that Germany is balancing on the edge of the knife.

—B. J. FIELD.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

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Monday, February 27, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 13 (Whole No. 160)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

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THE MILITANT

Published 3 times a week, Monday,
Wednesday and Friday

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World,
Unite!

Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 18th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, 14 [WHOLE NO. 161]

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1933

PRICE 1 CENT

Fascists Frame-Up The Communist Party

The Life and Death Question: Leninist United Front In Germany or Disaster!

"White terror and Red panic began in Germany today."

This is the way the astute capitalist correspondent of the New York Evening Post, H. R. Knickerbocker, begins his Berlin dispatch of February 28. Berlin is an armed camp, with armored cars and 13,000 rifle-armed police concentrated heavily in the working class quarters. A new decree has been issued providing for heavy penalties against those "who give false information for foreign publications," as well as against those who print such "false" information in the German press. The *Rote Fahne*, central organ of the German Communist Party, which appeared for one day after its previous suspension, has had its printing plant confiscated and, in addition, has been suspended by the government until April 15. An edition of the paper printed in Leipzig was confiscated, together with the truck that carried the copies to Berlin. All the socialist papers in East Prussia have been suppressed. Even liberal journals have been ordered suspended. A mass meeting of the social democratic party to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, was dispersed by the police.

All these measures are part of a monstrous frame-up concocted by the Fascist butchers in control of the government. A fire of incendiary origin in the Reichstag building is being used as the pretext for delivering a mortal blow to the Communist party. Anybody who is even superficially acquainted with the theories and practices of the Communist party is sufficiently aware that arson is not in its program. That is a method of fighting practised almost exclusively by the Fascists. In the present instance, the frame-up is so flagrant that even the American correspondents in Berlin have not failed to comment adversely upon Hitler's crude attempt to crush the Communist party as a result of it.

"Why Communists should desire to burn down the empty Reichstag building on the eve of an election that their opponents declare to be unimportant in that it will not affect their retention of power," cables Birchall of the New York Times, "is one of the mysteries of the present situation." The press reports Knickerbocker, "will not be able even to point out ironically that the Nazis planned weeks ago to lay before President von Hindenburg evidence that the Reds were planning an uprising and that the burning of the Reichstag came on railroad schedule time for their

Another Complaint

"...We can put the campaign over in a big way but our hands are tied by insufficient papers.... Chicago is no village, you know. Our comrades are lined up to speak and debate in various organizations at the rate of one per week for the next week and this will require papers. In fact, we could easily dispose of 200 copies over our quota, but we must at least get our quota (535 copies). I think the campaign is going over much bigger than we expected and this has found us short. I mean as to the quantity of Militant per issue you are printing.... Why not print a larger number of the Militant and satisfy everybody, including the late literature agent of Chicago?... I got a severe headache when I took of the meetings we've had to pass up in the last week due to lack of papers."

—REBECCA SACHEROV.

The comrades in Toronto also write that the Militant sale and distribution is going over big, and ask that their bundle order be substantially increased.

CHICAGO MEETING

HITLER IN POWER!

International connections are now so strong that conditions and policies jump national boundaries. Reaction in Germany means the stimulation of reaction everywhere.

HEAR AN ANALYSIS OF THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY FROM THE MARXIAN STANDPOINT

SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 3:00 P. M.
HOPKINS HALL, 426 West 63rd St.

Speakers:
Albert Grotzer, Communist League of America
ADMISSION 15c UNEMPLOYED FREE
Auspices, Militant Workers Club

BROWNSVILLE
MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of The Militant

Labor Lyceum
SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M.
219 SACRAMENT ST., Bldg. N. Y.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

purposes.... An eye-witness of the arrival of Chancellor Hitler at the burning Reichstag building last night reports his first exclamation to have been, "God grant this is the work of Communists."

An Agent Provocateur
The alleged incendiary, a certain Marinus van der Lubbe or Van der Ling, is supposed to be a member of the United Communist Party. The police "found" a membership card in his pocket when he was arrested. If there were nothing else to prove how crude is the frame-up, this fact would suffice. But in addition, the Communist Party of Holland has issued a statement showing that Van der Lubbe was expelled from the party 10 years ago as "a spy and an agent provocateur and that since then he has been a notorious anti-Communist agent."

However that may be, his "confession," which "implicated" not only Communists but Socialists (!) has become the pretext of the Nazis—who never needed much of a pretext—to order the arrest of every single Communist deputy of the Reichstag, one hundred of them. In this manner, they hope to deprive the party of every one of its leaders. At the same time, all Communist publications, placards and election material have been suppressed for four weeks, and all socialist publications and propaganda for two weeks—that is, until the wretched farce of the March 5 elections have long been passed.

The additional announcement that "the entire police force of Prussia has been mobilized. All furloughs have been recalled and for the first time Captain Goering has brought into action his recently created Nazi 'assistant police,' recruited from the storm troops"—is of tremendous significance. Hitler is leaving nothing to chance.

Students Strike in Protest

THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS
DEMAND RESTORATION
OF ACADEMIC RIGHTS

A total of 1500 students participated in strikes at City College, day and evening. At the same time half of the student body in New York University, about 2000, left classes in demonstrative protest against the suppression of their daily paper. Both strike movements were the results of a basic issue, that of academic freedom.

The strike at City grew out of the suspension of nineteen students, reported in a recent issue of the Militant. Early in the morning a group of fifty students gathered to carry out the demonstration, signal in the history of the college. During the course of the day, the number swelled to a thousand, many students joining the strikers as they paraded around the school building at 138th Street and Amsterdam Ave., and assembled around the school flag pole. A good number of those in the protesting ranks were students of other schools who had come down to show their solidarity with the striking militants.

A band of hoodlums, "defenders of the people," sought with disruptive "Americanism" to break the lines of the strikers around the

(Continued on Page 2)

He has already proclaimed his intention of maintaining the rule of Fascism regardless of the outcome of the March 5 elections. The Communist party, and to almost the same extent the social democracy, have had the maximum restrictions decreed against them so as to render their participation in the elections equivalent to no participation at all. On March 5, according to all indications, Hitler will not only openly declare arbitrary Fascist dictatorship without foundation in the Reichstag, but will have his police, augmented by the storm troops and armed to the teeth, concentrated in Berlin for armed defense of the coup d'Etat, and for smashing any resistance that may be offered by the Communists. In this connection, it should be remembered that right on the eve of Hitler's appointment, the Nazis mobilized in front of the Communist party headquarters—offering a sort of test of strength with the Reds. The party proved impotent to accept the challenge. The virtual suppression of the Communist party now is a second offer of a test of strength, preliminary to the next step to be taken by Hitler to consolidate the position of Fascism and to proceed with the extermination of the proletarian movement.

Will the Communist party take up the challenge? It would be criminal to conceal the fact that with its present policy, the party has wavered in the face of Hitler's murderous advance. The working class has not been mobilized either directly under its banner or under the banner of a united front movement initiated by the Communists. It is a fact, which we repeat here:

In his march to power in Italy, Mussolini encountered a far more energetic, militant, sanguinary resistance on the part of the proletariat—than Hitler has thus far encountered in Germany, where the working class movement is far stronger than it ever was in Italy, where the working class does not play its role on the background of a defeat, as in Italy, and where the Communist party is ten times as strong as it was in Italy in 1922.

To this fact should be added the following:

As we go to press, dispatches from Berlin declare:
More than eighty prisoners have been taken by the Fascists in Berlin alone, in connection with the new reign of terror launched by Hitler against the Communists. "Most of them were leaders of the Communist party."

In Hanover, one hundred and forty Communists have been arrested.
Similar reports are received from other parts of the country. The Socialist Vorwaerts has been raided, its morning edition confiscated, and its editors put under surveillance.
All Communist and socialist placards are being removed from the billboards, in accordance with the decree to suppress all Communist and socialist election propaganda for four and two weeks respectively.

The treacherous leadership of the social democracy, true to its role, has telegraphed to a very much amused Captain Goering, "deploring the emergency decrees and emphatically denying any complicity in the plot." The social democrats are still "fighting on the basis of the Constitution," while workers are being murdered and every Constitutional "guarantee" is being suspended.

Among the Communist prisoners, is the deputy, comrade Hermann Remmel, leader of the party and one of its most prominent spokesmen. Ernst Thaelmann, the outstanding party leader, is another of these reported arrested by the Fascists. Wilhelm Pieck, leader of the Berlin organization of the party and head of its faction in the dissolved Prussian Diet, is arrested, as is Ernst Torgler, Communist whip in the dissolved Reichstag.

Scores of less prominent leaders of the party are reported among those seized in the net by the Hitlerite thugs. All, or at least most of the prisoners, are being held incommunicado.
The Fascist have moved with lightning speed. Before formally suppressing the Communist party—which is their goal—the Fascists have suspended every Communist publication. That blow they dealt Monday. In addition, they aim to decapitate the party by imprisoning every one of its prominent leaders. That is the blow they have dealt today, Tuesday. Tomorrow, they intend to exterminate the whole party. The day after comes the whole working class and its every single one of its proletarian institutions and conquests.

The stage is set for the last act. Who will prevail? Hitler has the upper hand. The party is paralyzed—no other term can express its failure to arouse a genuine mass movement of resistance to Fascism.

We ask—we demand: For what is the party waiting before it acts? Why are the party leaders being allowed to play so light-

heartedly with the life and death of the German proletariat? When will the call be issued for the united front of the working class?

Are the Stalinists waiting until the streets of Germany run red with the blood of an unprepared, disunited, demoralized working class? Are the Stalinists preparing to retreat without giving battle? Are they planning to organize the masses for struggle only after all the levers and weapons of power are completely in the hands of Hitler and his mercenaries?

In the eyes of every revolutionist, of every class conscious worker, the social democracy has been forever branded with the stigma of Cain. Its treachery is written in the blood of the workers it sent to fight in the World War for German imperialism, in the blood of the Spartacists, in the blood of the victims of Noske, Eisinger and Zaerichel. We do not look for leadership from those who have sold the proletariat for a mess of pottage in office. But to the Communist party and its captains, the proletariat has the right to demand leadership, bold and intelligent and timely. A terrific historical responsibility rests now on the shoulders of the leadership of the Communist International and the German Communist party. For whatever happens in the next period in Germany, the proletariat and its vanguard will hold this leadership directly responsible.

We speak solemnly and issue a solemn warning! Unless the party leadership, at this crucial hour, issues the call for the real united front, for the mobilization of the masses, the Fascists will march to power over the dead bodies of the militant German proletariat!

But if the program for the united front demanded by the Left Opposition is now adopted and put into effect immediately, the German proletariat will not only march in invincible ranks against the monster of Fascism, but in the battle to annihilate it, it will enter upon the high road to working class victory, to the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Choose now! Now—and not tomorrow!

Unemployed Council then challenged the delegates of the L. O. to take the floor and defend their resolution. One of our delegates took the floor and pointed out that of all the speakers and all the resolutions no mention was made of the recognition of the Soviet Union. He also outlined our disagreement with the tactic of the "united front from below" also pointed out on the point of the recognition of the Soviet Union that the unemployed situation cannot be considered as an isolated problem and apart from general working class problems. Its objectives must be general working class objectives; its struggles part of the general working class struggles for the revolution.

Frankford, secretary of the Unemployed Councils came out for a united front with all workingmen's organizations. Johnstone, D. O. of the party, contradicted him and spoke in favor of a united front from below and used the term "social Fascism".

These gentlemen ruled the conference and in order to "save time" for their own propaganda the spokesmen of the committee appointed a certain Mr. Beardsley out of their midst as chairman. Our demand that all delegates from workers and political organizations be seated on the same grounds as the delegation from the S. P. and all our protest and proposals that the chairman should be elected from the floor were of no avail. Three of the protesting delegates were beaten up and forcibly put out of the hall. The floor then was given to Gerber followed by Algeron Lee and Finken, who between them with numerous interruptions entertained us for almost two hours. Gerber was the main speaker and pointed out the great evils the workers had to suffer in their struggle. He said even votes were stolen on them in the last election. He "forgot" all about what has happened in other countries such as Germany and England, where the Socialists got all their votes ever since 1918. Yet the betrayals of workers are not comparable with those in this country.

(Continued on Page 2)

Defend Opposition Stand In Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh. — The Unemployed Council of Allegheny County issued a call for a "united front" conference on Feb. 12 at Walton Hall. Our branch elected two delegates who were present at the conference. The hall was crowded to capacity. From the names that the credentials committee read, of the organizations delegated, one could see that as long as the Communist party leaders do not give up their slogan of the "united front from below" they will fail to rally the working class into mass action. The names mentioned were organizations such as the unemployed councils from each district in the city, outside the city, from surrounding towns, the Communist party, the ILL branches, NSL Pen and Hammer club and some fraternal organizations. These organizations would be present at such a conference without the call for a "united front" because they are already under the influence of the party. None of the AFL unions or socialist organizations was present. From listening to the speakers it could be seen that the majority of the leaders are still under the impression of the slogan of "social Fascism" and that is as much as you can expect from half truths.

Our resolution, mimeographed in a number of copies, was distributed to the delegates present. A copy of our resolution was given to the resolutions committee. The chairman of this committee, in his report, read the resolution adopted by the committee and also read our resolution which he proposed he rejected because all the points in it were already adopted by their resolution. The secretary of the

In the first year after Mussolini established the Fascist dictatorship in 1922, the Italian proletariat fought on a far wider scale, with much more energy and direction, with much greater success than the German proletariat is now fighting against Fascism before it has consolidated its power!

The reasons for this anomalous, intolerable situation are not far to seek. The social democracy is being allowed to play its treacherous role of delivering the working class bound hand and foot to the sacrificial altar of the Nazis. Those who are directly responsible for allowing the social democratic leadership to retain control over the party leaders who continue to reject the only means whereby the German masses can be mobilized for successful struggle!

The twilight hour has been reached. The next stroke of the clock can still be controlled by the masses: Either it will strike the doom of the working class for a decade or more to come or it will strike the beginning of the end of Fascism!

The whole world situation hinges around the outcome of the terrible drama now being enacted before our eyes. The fate of the German proletariat hangs in the balance. With it is involved the fate of the whole Communist International. While it is also involved the fate of the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union.

And in face of this, the "leader of the world's proletariat", the Communist International, is as silent as a tombstone! In face of the situation, the "best discipline of Lenin", Joseph Stalin, is as silent as a tombstone! In face of the dreadful catastrophe which threatens, the party leaders continue to babble philosophically about the "progress of the united front from below" as if they had months and years at their disposal in which to mobilize the German proletariat for the decisive battle which is impending.

Fascism has put the noose around the neck of the Communist party. It has aimed its knife at the heart of the German working class. Whoever is silent at a time like this, whoever relegates the decisive German situation to the background of second and third rate consequence, is dragging the proletariat and helping to prepare it for the slaughter! Whoever stands in the way of the genuine united front, from organization to organization—Communist party, social democracy, trade unions, Reichsbanner, Red Front—is betraying the working class!

Communist workers, militants everywhere! It is not yet too late. The masses await only the signal for action. The Communist party must give this signal. It must be aroused out of its awful lethargy and impotence. It must put a stop to the self-deceptive jabbering about the "united front from below!"

As a delegate from Carpenters' Local Union 2090 to the Socialist Party Conference for unemployment insurance, I was in a position to witness all the proceedings. A group of semi-business men, such as real estate dealers, ex-judges, jewelers, and dentists occupied the platform. The front rows of seats were taken up by all kinds of fat-bellied men, some of them with canes and derby hats who appeared to be retired and landlards of the shyster boss type. At any rate, all of them so far mentioned showed no sign of need for immediate relief, unless some of them were interested in their tenants so that they may be able to pay them the rent.

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below" which "unites" only the Communists and their supporters, and set in motion the Leninist united front of all the workers to decimate the Fascist hydra.

Tomorrow? Tomorrow may see the materialization of Hitler's demand that "heads roll in the dirt". Then the miserable "self-criticism" practised by Stalinism after each defeat, will be of little avail. It is today, today, today that the party must change its disastrous course. It is now that it must strike for the united front which, in turn, will strike the dagger from the hands of Fascism and Fascism from the seats of power.

Tuesday, Feb. 28, 1933. —M. S.

The Socialist Record

PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT ONLY POSSIBILITY

"As against a Reichstag which abandons its state tasks the so-called 'Presidential government' is the only actual possibility left."

—Vorwaerts, August 7, 1932.

DEFEAT HITLER BY VOTING HINDENBURG

"Hitler is defeated. The victory which Fascism thought was already in its hands, has been snatched from it. Now the basis can once more be levelled for political and economic construction."

—Appeal of S. P. G., March 17, 1932.

"On March 13, the Fascist general assault upon the libertarian rights of the German people collapsed. April 10 must bring about the election of Hindenburg the collapse of the National Socialist movement."

—Appeal of "Iron Front", April 2, 1932.

LET HITLER COME TO POWER!

If National Socialism demonstrates in deed that it is capable of doing fruitful work the Social Democratic Party of Germany will not refuse it recognition."

—Severing, Nienburg speech, July 3, 1932.

"The Social Democracy will greet a Brüning-Hitler government because it will thereby be free from the government policy and the Center will in any case prevent the worst stupidities of the National Socialists."

—Breitscheid, Emden Speech, November 4, 1931.

"Were there the certainty that the National Socialists would also respect the rules of the game of democracy if they are in power, then we would all be ready to let them into the government today rather than tomorrow."

—Vorwaerts, December 3, 1931.

NO LONGER A DANGER

"Is there still anybody today who can have any doubts that thanks to our skillful tactics the Fascist dictatorship will not come...? The time when Fascism was a deadly danger for the proletariat and for freedom, has passed away since the November battle."

—Heilmann, Kottbus S. P. G. convention, January 15, 1933

THE PARTY DEFENDS NOSKE
"Noske belongs to the party with all his feelings and thoughts, he has not ceased to be a socialist and a democrat by a hair's breadth."

—Decision of Berlin officials of S. P. G., September 28, 1931.

BOSTON MEET

THE CRISIS IN GERMANY WHO WILL PREVAIL: HITLER OR THE PROLETARIAT?

Hear the Viewpoint of the Left Opposition on

SUNDAY, MARCH 5th, 8 P. M.

Belmont Hall, 150 Humboldt Ave.

ROXBURY MASS.
Speakers:
Martin Abern, of New York
Antonette Konkow, of Boston.

THE LEAGUE IN ACTION

Cleveland Workers Hear Oehler

Cleveland.—A highly gratifying mass meeting of the Left Opposition was held here last Wednesday night at Painters Hall. More than 130 workers were present, more than half of them party members or members of party mass organizations. Comrades Hugo Oehler and Sam Gordon presented the point of view of the Communist League on the German crisis, with Comrade John Brantlin in the chair. A good collection was taken and numerous militants were sold.

This marks the largest and first successful meeting of the Left Opposition in this city. All previous meetings took place under organized attacks from the Stalinists. The previous intense and widespread activities of the local group with regard to the German Fascist danger—participation in demonstrations and meetings, extensive distribution of leaflets, etc.—had aroused great interest in the German meeting of the Left Opposition and the official party leadership saw itself forced to refrain from the well-known physical arguments at this time and actually to send down a representative to take the floor in their name.

After the presentation of the views of our organization the chairman, comrade Brantlin, asked if the party representative wanted the floor for 15 minutes. Comrade Leonard Patterson, in the name of the party, did his best in the course of twenty minutes to defend the indefensible position of Stalinism in Germany. After a great deal of confusion and stammering, he finally concluded with that poor trump card of the bureaucracy—the swindle about the "dislocation" of the German Left Opposition.

Comrade Oehler replied for the Communist League and with firm, but comradely arguments tore the bottom out of the contentions of the party representative, exposing in an even more convincing and concrete way the inadequacy and faltering, criminal stupidity of the Stalinist position in Germany. Many questions, testifying to the intense interest in the subject, were asked by the audience, to which our comrade gave the proper revolutionary answer. After comrade Oehler's summary, the meeting adjourned amid continued private discussions outside the hall.

All in all, this represents a great step forward for the Left Opposition in Cleveland. Not only the excellent attendance, but even more the comradely and sane spirit of the discussion is bound to have a profound effect on the local Communist workers, but those who constituted the majority of the audience as well as those who will come in contact with them. For the first time in their experience, they saw how deep principle disputes among Communists can be conducted in a Bolshevik manner, in a manner aimed to bring about genuine clarification in the proletarian ranks. That this will show them the futility and shamefulness of the Stalinist methods of physical terror in settling disputes with the Left Opposition cannot be doubted.

—S. G.

400 at Minneapolis Meeting

Minneapolis.—Last Thursday evening four hundred Communist, trade-union, and Left wing workers packed the Mayor's Reception Hall in the Court House to hear comrades Dunne and Skoglund expound the position of the Left Opposition on the German Crisis. This was the first large meeting protesting the assault of Hitler upon the German working class organizations. A small neighborhood meeting was held earlier in the week on the North-side by the Left Opposition. Seeing the laxity of the Stalinists upon this vital question the League advertised its meeting primarily through distribution of handbills at the party-led State Relief Demonstration, the trade union, and organized unemployed headquarters. This resulted in bringing to our meeting hundreds of Communists and party followers and numerous trade unionists and Left wing workers.

A profound effect was made upon this audience by the speakers' argumentation for unity in the Communist ranks, for a correct united front policy in mass work, for a Marxian estimation of the German crisis and the tasks of the C. P. The local district leaders of the official party were not present, but sent a group of lower functionaries to observe, take notes, and ask questions. One of these, Minor, who had participated actively to bar the Left Opposition from a recent unemployment conference, prompted a party member to ask why the Communist League doesn't participate in the unemployment struggle. Comrade Dunne in answering was able to state our re-

peated attempts to support the unemployed "united front", our position on the struggles, and exposed the lies, slanders and bureaucratic intrigues used by the party leadership to bar our organization from direct participation in their movement. Similarly when this comrade asked about the well "split" in the German Opposition, the speaker was able to drive home more lessons to the hundreds of new rank and file comrades in the hall, on Communist leadership and the miserable distortions of it that Stalinism imposed upon the party.

About one hundred militants were sold and every worker present was given past issues. Despite the general poverty, ten copies of "What Next?" and additional literature by Trotsky were sold. New recruits with advanced workers were made.

An active functionary of the Stalinist party was present and spoke in discussion. Apologetically he evaded the Weimar Constitution and Germany by saying that everything is not bad in the S. P., that in Vienna the S. P. "is returned year after year with ever increasing majorities..." Defensively he pleaded for "less criticism of the S. P. in order better to effect a united front with it." Three workers answered him. The speaker pointed out to him the necessity of the working class to unite its organizations to defend itself against Fascism, that in such a united front each organization must stand on its own before the class, that workers' democracy in the united front allows criticism and reevaluation of every party's program as it pertains to the immediate action and problem before the class.

The meeting lasted well-nigh to midnight. It demonstrated the powerfulness of the ideas of the Left Opposition, when applied to great problems thrown up by crucial turns in the proletarian revolution. We plan to duplicate this meeting in St. Paul.

—C. FORSEN.

Nearing, Stalin Apologist, on Germany

In Chicago

Chicago.—The lecture that Scott Nearing delivered here a few weeks ago under the auspices of the Chicago Forum, on "What Next in Germany?", was an additional illustration of his ignorance of the dynamics of the class struggle. Coming just a few days before Hindenburg chose the leader of the Fascist butchers to the chancellorship, one had the right to expect of Nearing an analysis that would cover at least the fundamental questions relating to the present civil war period in Germany.

He gave a historical picture of the post-war period of Germany and, coming closer to the present situation, measured the relative strength of the political parties by their votes. In Nearing's schematic set-up, the Communist party is overwhelmed by heavy odds. These heavy odds preclude the possibility of a struggle for power by the Communist party. To Nearing, there are no differentiations to be sought in Von Papen, Von Schleicher, Hitler, Hugenberg, and the social democrats. They are all lumped together as if they make up an integral whole. On the basis of such a consideration Nearing concludes that these forces are too strong a combination for the Communists to attempt to struggle against. The likely variant according to Nearing, was the establishment of a coalition between all these groups.

It would be a good thing if some of the social democrats could be won to the support of the Communists, including too, some elements of the middle class. Then perhaps the revolutionists might make a struggle for power. And here one expects, that Nearing would take up the question of the united front to show how and in what manner the Communists could wage a victorious struggle. But apparently he has heard nothing of this tactic. It was not mentioned once in his lecture. Is it any wonder then that in his summary Nearing declared: "Unless the revolutionary movement (I wins to its side some elements, either the social democratic elements or some of the middle class elements, they are whipped before they start, because the round-up of the class forces with the middle class and ruling class and the aristocracy of labor on one side of the round-up is unbeatable. That is the position of the German Communist Party and I believe it must be dismissed as an improbable way out of the difficulty." (My emphasis—A. G.)

Having dismissed the possibility of a victory and rejected the need for a struggle, Nearing concludes that the possible result of this seeming blind alley of German politics, would be a coalition of Von Schleicher, Von Papen, Hugenberg, Hitler and the social democrats, under the charge of the first. Thus a few days before the Fascist chief took over the chancellorship and his legions spread a reign of blood over Germany, Nearing dismissed the idea of a Fascist assumption of power.

Some days later, after Hitler's assumption to power, Nearing again spoke on Germany. Added to the confusion of his first lecture, was hopelessness and despair. Nothing could be done now. It was too late! As in his first lecture, the fundamental questions of the situation were left out entirely. If one expected to receive from Nearing a way out, he was greatly disappointed. It was not for nothing

Wilkes-Barre Miners Hear Opposition

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—An audience of 50 people, nearly all anthracite coal miners, turned out at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., despite the very cold weather, to hear Martin Abern, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition), speak on the Menace of Fascism in Germany. Comrade Abern reviewed at length the role of the social democracy of Germany since the World War up to now; the program and activities of the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International, as conceived by the Stalinist-Thaelmann leadership, and the policy and united front program of action put forward by L. D. Trotsky and the International Left Opposition to meet the German crisis. There was an intense interest among the audience, as is attested by the 30 questions put by them after the conclusion of the opening talk by comrade Abern. Members of the Communist party and the Young Communist League were among those present who asked numerous questions and participated in the general discussion that followed. Italian and Lithuanian comrades were responsible for the organization of this meeting, which was the first meeting held in Wilkes-Barre on the present situation in Germany. A good-sized bundle of each issue of the Militant is well distributed among interested workers.

A check-up of the audience revealed that only seven workers, of all present, were at present employed. It was a graphic illustration of the ravages of the economic crisis upon the anthracite miners. Workers who spoke, also brought out the treacherous role which the John L. Lewis leadership of America was playing in helping to lower still further the living and working standards of the anthracite coal miners.

In Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, On Saturday, Feb. 11, Professor Scott Nearing lectured before the "Friends of the Soviet Union" on the "Second Five Year Plan". After a long speech on the achievements of "planned economy", many questions were asked among them was "Why was comrade Trotsky expelled?" To the surprise and astonishment of all present he answered like one who has just returned from Russia where he attended the Stalin school of falsifications, that Trotsky was expelled because he was a "counter-revolutionist". Among other questions was "Can Socialism be completed in Russia alone?" His answer was that when a revolution breaks out in China or Japan it could be completed in Russia (quite smart!).

Three of our comrades were standing outside the hall and distributing the Militant to the crowd as they left the meeting. A Stalinist gorilla grabbed the handle of papers out of the hands of one of our comrades and walked away with them. This is not by accident. More than once the Stalinists have stolen display cards placed in restaurant windows by the Pittsburgh branch of the Left Opposition. They have torn down leaflets we paste up. Yet they have the nerve to say that if the workers had any brains at all they would not listen to the teachings of the L. O. but to the "teachings of Stalin!"

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

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that the reaction of the Communist workers who listened to him speak, was utter disgust.

Nearing is not a member of the Communist party and therefore does not speak in its name. But he has been a member of the party and is sufficiently close to it now, to give his speeches a semi-official character. He is looked upon as representative of Communism. His lectures, up until this date, were the only ones to be held, in addition to those by the Left Opposition in Chicago. The party here, has as yet not moved a finger on the German situation.

—A. GLOTZER.

The Flower of Bourbon Civilization

Negro Lynchings in the South

Lynching in the South is a phenomenon that must be explained historically if lynching is to be correctly understood. Put into effect on a tremendous scale by the Ku Klux Klan during the Reconstruction Period, it claimed far less victims during the 80's of the last century. In the last decade of the last century its use became far more frequent again, there having been 1789 known lynchings between 1880 and 1900. With the beginning of the present century the number of its victims again decreased until during the present economic crisis the Southern bournons more frequently wield this awful weapon.

The above are cycles, but certainly not just business cycles. They are cycles or periods of great social change. The first or Ku Klux Klan-Reconstruction period when the northern capitalists by means of military dictatorship over the South were uprooting the system of chattel slavery so as to unite the country on the basis of capitalism, was undoubtedly noticeable for its terrorism against the Negro race and the vast number of lynchings that took place, but at the same time it was a far deeper break with the past that immediately preceded it than was the 1880-1900 period. That period, though awful to recollect when one recalls it, considering the great number of deaths through lynchings, was the period of sharp political struggle that was a part of the social change from competitive capitalism to monopolist or imperialist capitalism. In the present period of decaying capitalism it is again true that the increased number of lynchings during the present economic crisis in America reflects the fact that here too the great social change that is shaking the world at large is affecting the social structure in our midst.

But many are falsely informed by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching that the Communists, the banner bearers of the new society, are responsible for these lynchings and many are wondering if lynchings will not continue in the South in the society of the future. A far greater number, not conversant with the forces making for social change nor realizing that capitalism is in decay, figure that lynching in America will become a thing of the past under capitalism.

To get at the truth one must deal with the nature of lynching as a capitalist institution. It is indeed a weapon for suppression of

the Negro race, used by the forces of reaction and useful only for such forces. When capitalism was young and progressive it was the weapon of political agents of the ex-slave holders, that is, the side of reaction. When capitalism underwent a qualitative change that created possibilities for the Negro's escape from the degradation of the rural South it was used to keep him in that degradation, "in his place". When capitalism is old and decaying, adapting to itself every outgrown form—even slavery, it is again a weapon on the dark side of reaction.

But let no one underestimate the far reaching nature of the social change that is taking place at the present time, nor on the other hand, overestimate the consequences of lynching because this is a part of a deepening and far reaching social change. It is not just a mathematical proposition. It is a political one. The nature of this period of change is such that though far greater in historical importance than even the Civil War-Reconstruction-Ku Klux Klan period, far less lynchings should be expected to accompany the fight against this change, not because the enemy is better or more civilized, but because Communists fight against lynchings politically, by mass action, and can and will forestall many lynchings.

And while we are thinking politically instead of mathematically let us not fall into that other rut of the George Milton's that says that with the exception of the present crisis the twentieth century has witnessed a progressive decrease in lynchings, that the situation is getting better and better, and that under capitalism, we are outgrowing the封建ism of lynching. He disregards entirely the fact that the most resolute working class section which responds in danger of further isolation and destruction. To speak of a general strike without the social democratic and average trade union workers is criminal light-mindedness, and it is not yet possible to mobilize these workers for such action against their leaders and less so by counterposing Communist leaders to the Communist party. To reach such a stage further preparation is necessary.

A general strike purely under social reformist leadership without control by the masses through their own established organs of struggle can have prospects only of further sell-outs and betrayals. But the social democratic workers are threatened by the scourge of Fascism as are the Communist workers. Even these very S. P. and trade union bureaucrats are being forced to bare the wall, but pressed only from the one side from this menace. They feel this pressure and fear it. Now they must be pressed also from the other side, from the revolutionary workers. They must be put to the test and exposed at this crucial moment before the eyes of the work-

—GEO. J. SAUL.

Barbusse-Stalinist Capitulation

San Francisco.—The Feb. 27 issue of the Western Worker prints a report of the Students Anti-War Conference in Los Angeles. It complains that the conference in which the Communists and Y. C. L. "played the leading role...in political guidance" capitulated to the pacifists. In heavy type it states that "The United Front in Los Angeles was essentially a capitulation to the pacifist elements."

The article points out that the main reason for this consisted in the fact that the members of the Young Communist League understood the tactics of the united front as giving up the right to criticize the action of the other parties in the conference. That, the article claims, deprived them "of the right to present our Communist position." As if a Communist position could be expected from people who came to revision of the "third period" tactics through the swindle of the Amsterdam Peace Conference. And besides, where is the guarantee that the party itself in its revision of the yesterday tactics of the "third period" and "social Fascism" would not come to the very same "day-before-yesterday" tactics with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Anglo-Russian committee, for which it criticizes the Los Angeles Conference.

Especially vociferous in its criticism is that part of the article which is directed against one of the paragraphs of a leaflet, issued with the help of Y. C. L. and which demands "the enforcement in each spirit and letter of the Kellogg peace pact". Poor lads! Knowing that the Soviet Union signed that pact, they believe with all their heart that pact should be enforced. And think of their bewilderment when the righteous elders of the Western Worker with solemn mien enlighten them: "The Kellogg peace pact is an imperialist document, a means of strengthening imperialism's hold on the vast colonial areas and against the Soviet Union."

We would like to know who would not get "lizzy" in these circumstances?

—L. GREEN.

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Report Shows Fate of Germany Hangs In Balance; United Front Is Urgent

Continued from last issue

But that is only one side of the picture. On the other hand the politically corrupted Stalinist bureaucracy did not hesitate to engage in light-minded maneuvering in the moments of fateful decision. It published and broadcast leaflets in which the Socialist party and the trade unions were called upon to form a united front with the Communist party for a general strike. It did not address its proposals directly to these organizations officially as organizations. It did not make any proposals for formation of united front organs. It did not make any concrete proposals for the conduct or the objectives of the general strike. It did not prepare its own membership and followers to fight for the realization of the united front, because it was not meant seriously. It was only a maneuver so that the bureaucrats could say to the Communists workers: "There you are. We offered them the united front, but they did not accept it."

Only the United Front Can Mobilize Workers Power

The general strike, now that the establishment of a Fascist government has become a fact, will, of course, be a very important first step in the struggle of the working class against the menace of Fascism. But it can be only a first step and even this first step cannot be realized at all without the most complete working class unity. The C. P. alone cannot mobilize the working masses for a general strike. That is already conclusively proven. Its method of continually hurrying the slogan without proposing concretely how and when, by what means of organization, at what point and around which issues, can only lead to discredit of the slogan and to demoralization, not to mention the fact that the most resolute working class section which responds in danger of further isolation and destruction. To speak of a general strike without the social democratic and average trade union workers is criminal light-mindedness, and it is not yet possible to mobilize these workers for such action against their leaders and less so by counterposing Communist leaders to the Communist party. To reach such a stage further preparation is necessary.

A general strike purely under social reformist leadership without control by the masses through their own established organs of struggle can have prospects only of further sell-outs and betrayals. But the social democratic workers are threatened by the scourge of Fascism as are the Communist workers. Even these very S. P. and trade union bureaucrats are being forced to bare the wall, but pressed only from the one side from this menace. They feel this pressure and fear it. Now they must be pressed also from the other side, from the revolutionary workers. They must be put to the test and exposed at this crucial moment before the eyes of the work-

ing class and particularly before the eyes of their own following. Failure to do that spells failure to fight the traitors. The means with which to do that is the united front policy. The key to the situation is still the united front. Nay, it is more, it is a matter of life or death.

The Left Opposition Conference Appeals to Comintern

In this fateful situation, in this hour of mortal danger, no guidance, no assistance, in fact not a word is heard from the Communist International. What woful neglect. What criminal failure. What has become of Lenin's world party? It too is paralyzed, gagged and bound by the dilatory bureaucratic Stalinist regime.

In the midst of these developments the Left Opposition held its preliminary international conference in Paris, participated in by delegates of 13 countries. Our conference dispatched an urgent appeal to the Comintern for immediate convocation of its Seventh Congress, with the Left Opposition to participate in its deliberations. We proposed that the main point on the agenda be the Comintern initiative for a conference of the Second International, the Amsterdam International of trade unions and the Communist International to establish a united front in defense of the German working class against the Fascist menace.

Fascism has not yet conquered Germany. But it has its hands on the instrument of power. It is in the government together with elements of the attempted Bonapartist regime. Even an election victory for this combination will not finally settle the issue. There will still be a stage of differentiation with the Hugenberg and von Papen forces. However, these are not fundamental and are entirely subordinated to the issue of civil war.

For the working class there is yet time, but every day, every hour is precious. The fate of the events of the immediate future are in the hands of the Communist forces. Of these the Left Opposition is a part. Our ranks in Germany have grown appreciably in the recent period; but numerically we are still small when compared to the party. Our strength lies in our Marxian program and the Left Opposition in Germany will do its duty. We commenced a long time ago a determined fight for the working class united front. Today it is the only way out; a united front from organization to organization, Communist, Social Democrats and trade unions and the establishment of definite united front organs of these organizations to function as the centrally directing force in the struggle for defense against the Fascist enemy. Within these organs, within this united front, the Communist solution will be proposed and fought for. That is the road to the Soviets. That is the only road.

—ARNOLD SWABECK.

February 11, 1933

S. P. Conference Student's Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Again the spokesman appeared on the platform and now with the report of the Credentials Committee he announced that the original committee of ten had enlarged itself to the number of 30. At this point a delegate from Carpenters' L. U. 2717 and I protested against such procedure, but surrounded by strong arm men we were quickly shoved back in our seats. The spokesman also announced that because of the lack of time, the resolution on unemployment insurance as well as all other resolutions handed in by various delegates would have to be taken under consideration at some time by the committee of 30, and that the committee would also arrange for a conference at Albany. The conference endorsed the Cincinnati A. F. L. insurance bill.

Again I stood up and this time was recognized by the chairman. I asked that all resolutions be read off before the delegates and be voted on. I reported that the resolution from my local union contained an appeal to the delegates to this conference to merge with the provisional A. F. L. committee for unemployment relief at 730 Broadway. I also pointed out how useless the aims of this conference were when they seek to co-operate with such discredited types as Comerford, Broun, Green and Co., who for years were checking the workers in every progressive step, but before I was able to finish I was pulled and pushed back in my seat again. The delegate from Carpenters' L. U. 2717 who proposed "that at least one building trade worker be on the resolution committee because of special problem of demanding public works as part of relief" was treated in the same manner. In summing up this conference I can not see why my L. U. was invited to participate in this conference, and this applies to all other delegates. There was no discussion on a single point of the question. Not a single proposal heard of by any of the delegates. No one of the delegates was elected on the committee and I may add the whole affair, therefore was of no concern to most of the delegates—except for a bunch of tricky politicians and job seekers.

—W. H. HERRMANN.

Oehler Tour:

St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6, etc.

(Continued from Page 1)

flag pole. With howls and physical attacks they attempted to tear the banners, in which they succeeded in part and prevented the speakers from addressing the students on the campus.

Unfortunately the strike at City College was not very well prepared. Called scarcely with more than a day's preparation the strike could not take on the broad character and forceful effect it might otherwise have had. The strike committees were poorly organized if at all, and did not show a clear understanding of what move to make next. Not enough students had been reached in advance to, firstly, sound out their response, and, secondly, to ascertain their support. Furthermore by more carefully detailed plans much of the hectic features which detracted from the serious nature of the events could have been avoided. However the strike will remain a memorable event in the light of the City students, as well as those at other institutions, for recognition of their rights. The evening strike, which suffered from the same faults, gathered about 500 demonstrators.

The strike at N. Y. U. was obviously better prepared aside from certain factors that made it easier to call. Here the students were insisting on the right of the editor of the Daily News, school paper, to freely express his opinion and to take his stand in favor of the student body. The Daily had made accusations against the athletic committee for mismanagement of injured athletes. To this the school authorities responded with suspension of the paper. Before the strike had been called the proper preparation had taken place. Consequently greater numbers of student were involved.

That in a "liberal" school like N. Y. U. the students are pressed to take strike action, and that they stand ready to pursue such action, as they were in Columbia University last year, another "liberal" school with upper class enrollment, is a healthy sign. Even in the city owned colleges where academic freedom is so much more suppressed, it is unusual for students to leave classes. It is to be hoped that taking measures which are the natural instruments of the working class in its resistance to capitalist exploitation, will help to identify more closely the students with the struggle of the proletariat. In that alone rests the full value of the action taken by the City College and N. Y. U. students.

CHICAGO Civil War In Ill. Coal Fields

Lecture by GERRY ALLARD Editor of "The Progressive Miner" and Illinois Miners Leader on FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 8 P. M. MIRROR HALL 1138 N. Western Ave. (Near Division St.) Questions and Discussions from Floor

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THE MILITANT

Published 3 times a week, Monday,
Wednesday and Friday

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World,
Unite!Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 23, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 15 [WHOLE NO. 162] NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

No Retreat! Struggle or Annihilation!

Every day brings the report of a new blow dealt the German working class movement by the Hitler regime. No half-sane person above the age of six has put the slightest credence in the fascist charge that the Communists set fire to the Reichstag building. The American bourgeois press has, almost unanimously, expressed its skepticism. "France," the Paris correspondent of the New York Times (3-2-1933) informs his paper, judging by today's press, even seems distinctly inclined to blame the Nazis themselves for the fire that wrecked the Reichstag building, and sees in it simply a crude excuse on Herr Hitler's part to crush the Opposition just before the elections.

From the conservative London Times to the Laborite Herald, the British press is similarly unambiguous about the despicable fraud of the Austrian adventurer. But while nobody takes the charge seriously, it has sufficed the Nazis to launch their reign of terror and to extend it more widely with the passage of every day. The Times reports that "Communist arrests included the entire executive committee of the party in Berlin and Reichstag deputies and party executives elsewhere." In Berlin alone there are more than 300 Communists held, 120 in raids for the apprehension of Communist militants and officials are now the order of the day. The Communist and socialist press—more than one hundred papers in all—remains

suppressed and the fascist swastika still waves from the Karl Liebknecht House. New decrees signed by "comrade" von Hindenburg, erstwhile presidential candidate of the Social Democracy, provide for the most rigorous penalties against revolutionary or militant working class activity.

In addition, the Hitler regime has struck the first overt blow at the Soviet Union. The man who aims to be the "super-wrangler" of world imperialism ordered an insolent raid upon the suburban Berlin school for the children of Soviet citizens, where literature was seized; a raid upon a Soviet citizens' boarding house, from which two employees of the Soviet trade delegation were arrested and later released; and a raid upon the quarters of the Berlin correspondent of the central Soviet organ, Izvestia, which was carried out not by the police but by armed Nazi storm troops.

But the protest immediately deposited with the foreign minister by the official Soviet representatives far from exhausts the question of the relationships between the Soviet Union and the fascist regime in Germany. There is an unlimited side to this question upon which considerable light needs to be shed.

The silence of the Communist International on the German situation, its criminal failure to speak out plainly, has become a notorious international scandal of dreadful

significance. The world movement of the proletariat is at stake in Germany; the fate of the Soviet Union is involved. Between Fascism in Germany and the workers' State there can exist only an irreconcilable antagonism which, in the long run, will be settled only by force of arms. This antagonism must not only not be concealed—it must be openly proclaimed to the workers of the world so that they may know how the situation stands and what the attitude of the Soviet Union really is. Instead of such a clear proclamation, we see disgusting signs of the contrary. Walter Duranty, the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times now in Berlin, cables his paper as follows (3-2-1933):

"While it doubtless would be an exaggeration to say as some of Chancellor Hitler's close associates do, that 'the Soviet Union wants a Hitlerite Germany because the Soviet Union knows that would be a strong Germany, which the Soviet Union wants,' it is beyond question that Moscow would welcome even a 100 percent Hitler regime on the grounds that it would conjure away the nightmare that has harassed the sleep of Soviet statesmen for the past five years—namely, an anti-Bolshevik European coalition or a 'holy war against the Red peril.' Moscow already has reason to be gratified over the effect of Herr Hitler's rise to power on France and Poland. But that is only one aspect of the case. Of

greater practical interest is the recent agreement concluded by the Deutsche Bank and Disconto-Gesellschaft and the Dresdner Bank to provide \$50,000,000 in new credits to the Soviet Union...."

The continuation of "normal business relations" with Germany under Hitler, right at the moment when the decisive battle is imminent—a battle on whose outcome depends the next decade or more of the world's development—as if nothing unusual was happening, as if the Soviet Union were not concerned with what government was established in Germany—merely a little short of leaving the German proletariat to fend for himself, leaving it in the lurch, without the moral—and when necessary—the material assistance of the workers' state. When Duranty points out further that "only recently the official Soviet Government organ, the Izvestia, took occasion in connection with a speech by Foreign Commissar Litvinov to assure Germany that the Soviet Union would not intervene in the affairs of other countries, even in the event of a Communist revolution in Germany," it smacks not merely of "national-Bolshevik" degeneration in general, but of the preparation for treacherous national indifference to the fate of the German and world proletariat in the concrete! The sharpness of our terms is justified by the criminal deadly silence of the C. I. and by the broad hints of Duranty who experience has taught us is an

authoritative backstairs spokesman of the upper stratum of the apparatus.

While this unbelievable indifference is being manifested by the upper layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy, matters do not improve in the German Communist Party. The Daily Worker (3-2-1933) prints the Impeccable cable from Berlin reporting that the German party "has again approached the Socialist Party, the A. D. G. B. (reformist trade unions), the Reichsbanner, etc., with a proposal for joint action against the murderous fascist terror." The headline given to this story by the Freiheit is even "plainer": "Central Committee of the Communist Party Turns Once More to the Social Democratic and Trade Union Leaders!" If the headline is correct, it would undoubtedly mark a turn in the right direction by the Stalinists. But our bitter experiences in the past cause us to voice our reservations in advance.

Up to yesterday, the Molotovs, Manulskys, Kuznetsovs, Thaelmanns, Badachts and Olgins weighed abutively against the Left Opposition precisely because we proposed that the united front be set into motion by an open proposal to the social democracy and its trade unions—from top to bottom, leaders and masses. "Counter-revolutionary"; "assistance to the social struggle or giving up the social struggle as hopeless? The Left Opposition does not consider the situation hopeless. It knows very

well—and the newspaper reports to the humiliation of the Communist movement, confirm it—that the Austrian and Scandinavian borders are being scanned by an increasing number of Communist officials and leaders from Germany. For such capitalists, who are saving their hides, a revolutionist can have nothing but contempt and hatred. Of them, Trotsky wrote more than a year ago: "Without a victory over the social democracy, we cannot battle against Fascism." In other words, it has been the old ultimatum dressed up to make it sound better. At bottom, there has been no change.

Nevertheless, the change is imperative now. Unless the workers up to now still demoralized passives and divided, unite their forces, Fascism will huddle the country in the blood of the proletariat.

To this moment, the world remains unaware of the program of action of the Communist Party. We put the question again: Does the Communist party and its leadership really intend to organize the resistance of the proletariat to Fascism, or does it intend to capitulate without a struggle, on the half-formed or fully conscious theory that it is hopeless to fight, or that Fascism will soon collapse and give way to Bolshevism? Are the party leaders preparing for the final struggle or giving up the social struggle as hopeless? The Left Opposition does not consider the situation hopeless. It knows very

well—and the newspaper reports to the humiliation of the Communist movement, confirm it—that the Austrian and Scandinavian borders are being scanned by an increasing number of Communist officials and leaders from Germany. For such capitalists, who are saving their hides, a revolutionist can have nothing but contempt and hatred. Of them, Trotsky wrote more than a year ago: "Without a victory over the social democracy, we cannot battle against Fascism." In other words, it has been the old ultimatum dressed up to make it sound better. At bottom, there has been no change.

Very little time left! Every hour counts! The socialist leaders, the traitors to the proletariat, will not act of their own accord. The Communist leaders must be forced out of their criminal passivity. They must be forced to put an end to this light-minded juggling with the fate of the German proletariat. There is no retreat! All that is left is mortal combat—or annihilation!

Thursday, March 2, 1933. —M. S.

LEON TROTSKY

"Soviet Economy in Danger"

The following letter was addressed to the editorial board of the "Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung" (central organ of the German Socialist Workers' Party. After the press of the S. W. P. reprinted the deliberate falsification about the "liquidation of the Trotskyists," comrade Trotsky was obliged to refrain from sending the letter. As the letter nevertheless retains its importance, we publish it here.—Ed.)

Dear comrades:

In the two numbers of your paper, January 11 and 12, there appeared an article on my brochure "Soviet Economy in Danger". As it deals with an extremely important question, about which every revolutionary worker must form a clear opinion, I request you to afford me the possibility to elucidate to your readers by the present letter, in the shortest possible terms, those sides of the question which in my opinion were submitted to a false interpretation in your paper.

1. In the article it says a number of times that you are "not in agreement with everything" and "far from agreeing with everything" in Trotsky's conceptions on Soviet economy. Are all of the opinions we are differences of opinion between us? Nevertheless I cannot suppress my regret that—with one single exception, deal with below—you did not indicate which conceptions you are not in agreement with. Let us recall how Marx, Engels and Lenin censured and condemned evasiveness in fundamental questions, which finds expression mostly in the empty formula "far from agreeing with everything". What every revolutionary worker can demand of his organization and of his paper is a definite and clear attitude towards the questions of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.

2. In only one point does your article endeavor to delimit itself more concretely from my conceptions. "We believe," you write, "that Trotsky considers matters somewhat onesidedly when he ascribes the main blame for these conditions to the Stalinist bureaucracy" (!)... Further on the article sets out that the main blame does not lie in the bureaucracy but in the circumstance that tasks of too great dimensions are put before economy, for the fulfillment of which the necessary qualified forces are lacking. But who was it that set up these exaggerated tasks if not the bureaucracy? And who was it that warned in proper time against their exaggerated dimensions if not the Left Opposition? Thus it results that precisely your article "ascribes" the whole blame to the bureaucracy.

Your reproach to me is wrong also for a deeper reason. To shift the responsibility for all the difficulties and for all the phenomena of crisis upon the ruling faction, could be done only by one who believes in the possibility of a planned development of the socialist society within national boundaries. But this is not my standpoint. The main difficulties for the U. S. S. R. arise out of: (a) the economic and cultural backwardness which forces the Soviet state to solve many of the tasks which capitalism has solved in advanced countries; (b) the isolation of the workers' state in an epoch in which the division of labor between the states of the whole world has become the most important postulate of the national productive forces.

3. We do not charge the Stalinist faction with the blame for the objective difficulties, but for their lack of understanding of the nature of these difficulties, of inability to foresee the dialectic of their development and unprincipled mistakes of leadership springing therefrom.

(Continued on Page 2)

Comintern and World Revolution at Decisive Historical Turning Point

When comrade Trotsky, in his writing "Germany: The Key to the International Situation," issued the urgent warning to the proletarians of all countries, to the Communist International, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the danger of Hitler, of the fascist counter-revolution in Central Europe, this writing took on the significance for the most conscious proletarians as that of Lenin's October 7, 1917: "The Impending Crisis". Two undoubtedly different situations; two palpably different epochs. In 1917 it was the eve of the proletarian revolution; in 1933, the eve of the fascist counter-revolution in Germany. But in the first warning as in the second, in Lenin's of 1917 as in Trotsky's of 1933, in spite of the difference between the two epochs, one encounters the same revolutionary and internationalist spirit, the same clairvoyance, the same strength.

Now, it can no longer be a question of foreseeing; now it is a question of seeing. Hitler is in power. And how the task of leading his open struggle for the crushing of the organizations, of all the organizations of the working class has been facilitated for him! The battle which the social democrats and the Stalinists thought could be evaded by submission and docility is at the present time inevitable. Otherwise, it will be annihilation without the struggle—an

Arrest Soviet "Trotskyists"

We are reliably informed from the U. S. S. R.:

In the course of the month of January, a large number of arrests were made in Moscow and Leningrad. In addition to Preobrazhensky, L. N. Smirnov, Ufimtsev, more than one hundred former Left Oppositionists were apprehended. They were accused of carrying on illegal "Trotskyist" factional work. It will be remembered that almost four years ago some of those named above resounded the Stalinist regime, claiming that it had adopted most if not all of the essential planks in the Opposition platform. The arrest of those who previously capitulated, following as it does right on the heels of the arrest and exile of Zinoviev, Kamenev and many others, is a fact of the greatest symptomatic significance.

In the huge Moscow automobile plant "Amz" approximately one hundred workers were arrested, because an Opposition leaflet had been distributed there. The same occurred in other plants and factories. Similar reports emanate from Leningrad.

(Continued on Page 2)

Jap Advance Hits U.S.S.R.

LEAGUE PRICE FOR SUPPORT OF JAPAN IS ASSAULT ON FATHERLAND OF WORKERS

With laudable thoughtfulness, the Japanese imperialists lay their plans in advance and then follow their schedule carefully. Many months ago, a Japanese "surveyor", engaged in political surveying in Inner Mongolia for the followers of Baron Tanaka, discovered an obstacle to the "direct descendant of the great Genghis Khan". This Mongolian prince could never have dreamed how fortunate was his fateful meeting with the awe-struck Japs. For to and behold, the press directly hints at the Japanese desire to restore this scion to his rightful place at the head of a new Mongolian state to be called Tayu-ankuo.

Thus the Japanese militarists continue to build a foundation for the ultimate struggle with the Soviet Union. Inner Mongolia will follow the road of Manchuria, and Jehol, possibly after the conquest of North China. If the powers continue to jockey for position in the present situation, each hoping to reap the benefits while the other pays the piper; if there is no real pressure applied to Japan to halt her march into China, it is because they expect Japan to pay the price, military intervention in Siberia, of course America and England are careful to establish the record that will be called upon in the more distant future to solve their internal conflicts. But as yet, that is merely a record.

What is the order in which capitalist powers place their enemies? Read the careful, restrained press accounts of the Japanese advance into Asia, note the gentlemanly manner in which reference is made to their astute campaigning. Then recall the violent, almost insane, attacks made periodically in the decade after the October revolution on the Soviets and their leaders. The vituperation carried on by Hitler against the German Communists is lame compared to the vicious campaign of slander recorded in the capitalist press of the entire world against the Russian Bolsheviks. In the light of that experience, one can easily pigeon-hole the present quarrel with Japan as a family affair. Despite all the failures and blunders of the Stalin bureaucracy, the Soviets still remain the nightmare of capitalism, spelling the twilight of imperialism.

At bottom that is the explanation of the Stimson note to the League accepting its invitation to express accord in view. For Stimson refuses to be sold by linked with Geneva and while agreeing blandly

(Continued on Page 2)

To Union Sq. on Saturday

The Unemployed Councils of Greater N. Y. have issued a call for a demonstration on Saturday, March 4 at 11 A. M. on Union Square. This demonstration is timed with the inauguration of Roosevelt which takes place in Washington on the same day.

The Left Opposition endorses the demonstration on Union Square and will be there in full force. The demands of the full demonstration, however, can and must be broadened to include the demand for long-term credits to the Soviets and to draw attention to the German crisis.

The demonstration meets at a crucial moment for the working class of the entire world. While the unemployed are dying of starvation in this country the bloody fascist regime of Hitler in Germany is murdering the flower of the revolutionary proletariat and destroying their organization.

All out on Union Square on March 4th!

For Unemployment Insurance and Relief!

For Recognition and Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union!

For the United Front to crush the Hitler Gangs!

Anti-United Front Policy Plays Into Hands of Socialist Party Bureaucrats

The conference on unemployment, held under the auspices of the "Labor Committee" of the Socialist party of New York last week, offers a number of aspects deserving of examination.

The brutal attacks of the socialist gangsters upon the Left wing delegates who came to present their credentials, the atmosphere of terrorism which pervaded the whole session, are a natural accompaniment of Socialist bureaucracy—weapons borrowed from the class enemy and first introduced by the Right wing into the labor movement in the days when the labor movement first raised the banner of internationalism during and after the war. The socialist patrons, allies and

OPEN FORUM

BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR IN THE SOVIET UNION

DOES THE DANGER THREATEN?

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, March 3, 1933

126 East 16th Street,
Admission: 15c
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Russ Soviets

SITUATION OVER-RIPE FOR AMERICAN MILITANTS TO RAISE DEMAND FOR LONG-TERM CREDITS TO SOVIET UNION AS PART OF INTERNATIONALIST CAMPAIGN

Tomorrow, Roosevelt will be inaugurated as president of the United States. One of the first questions which he will have to decide will be whether or not to recognize Soviet Russia. Bourgeois and liberal papers have been hinting for some time that the attitude of the new administration will be much more favorable to recognition than that of previous administrations—it is even rumored that preliminary conversations between Soviet and American representatives have already begun.

If the attitude of the new administration is more friendly, it is not primarily because of the "liberalism" of the party of Jefferson and Wilson; it is rather because of the pressure of the economic crisis in the United States on the one hand, and of the political crisis in Manchuria on the other.

In other words, the question of recognition is being treated on the

basis of the interests of the Soviet state and those of the bourgeois American state. The voice of the proletariat of America, whose class interests are indissolubly connected with those of the Soviet workers' state, has not made itself heard so far, with its own distinctive slogans and demands which are not those of the American capitalists.

Soviet Economy in Critical State

Yet Soviet economy is in a critical state, which have been fully analyzed by comrade Rakovsky in his famous letter from Barnaul and by comrade Trotsky in his recent brochure, "Soviet Economy in Danger". The utopian theory of Socialism in one country, of an interruptedly developing socialism in a backward country going on from triumph to triumph in an ever faster tempo, has been refuted by the facts. Increasingly sharp internal contradictions and disproportions, the failure of such important branches of industry as coal and steel to meet the planned figures, and, most dangerous of all, the serious food shortage—these and a host of similar facts characterize the situation in the Soviet Union today. The weakening of the bond between workers and peasants, the concessions to "private initiative", and the growing danger of Thermidorian reaction, have their basis in this economic situation.

The basis of the crisis in the Soviet Union is the necessity of laying a socialist basis in one land and a backward one in that. This necessity is falsely idealized in the revisionist theory of "socialism in one country". In the second place, the Stalinist bureaucracy, through its adventurist as well as its opportunistic methods, has aggravated the disproportions and contradictions of Soviet economy, including those carried over from Czarist days such as the contradiction between a highly concentrated industry and a primitive agriculture. In the third place, the world crisis, which according to the Stalinist bureaucracy could be kept out of Soviet Russia through the State monopoly of foreign trade and foreign banking, has swept over the boundary lines and convincingly proved that, whether it likes it or not, the Soviet Union is indissolubly bound up with the world situation economically as well as politically.

Soviet Trade "Strictly Business"

The methods of Stalinist bureaucracy operating on the basis of reduced the role of Communist

(Continued on Page 2)

BROWNSVILLE
MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of The Militant

Brownsville Labor Lyceum
SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M.
219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y.
Between Chatham & Liberty Aves.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Trotsky Replies to S. W. P. Editors On Opposition's View of Soviet Economy

(Continued from Page 1)

from. We are far from the idea, naturally, of explaining this "lack of understanding" and this "inability" by the personal qualities of the individual leaders. It is a question of the system of thinking, of the political tendency, of the factions which have grown out of old Bolshevism. We observe one and the same methodology in the economic leadership of Stalin as in the political leadership of Thaelmann. One cannot fight successfully against the zigzags of Thaelmann without having understood that it is a question not of Thaelmann but of the nature of bureaucratic Centrism.

4. Elsewhere your article calls to mind that the Left Opposition, especially and primarily Rakovsky, warned against the over-stretched tempo of construction in good time. But right next to this you write of allegedly analogous warnings of Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky. Your article refers twice to the perspicacity of the latter without recalling with a single word the irreconcilable antagonisms between the Right and the Left Opposition. I deem it all the more necessary to clarify this point because it is precisely the Stalin faction which recoils from no attempt to cover up or to out the deep antagonisms between the opportunist and the Marxian wings in the camp of Bolshevism.

Since 1922, the Left Opposition, more correctly its future staff, conducted a campaign for the working out of a five year plan, the axis of which was to be the industrialization of the country. As far back as that time, we proved that the tempo of the development of the nationalized industry could, in the very next years, exceed the tempo of Russian capitalism (6 percent annual increase) "two, three, and more fold." Our opponents called this program nothing but an industrial phantasy. If Bucharin, Tomsky, Rykov distinguished themselves in any respect from Stalin-Molotov, it was only in the fact that they fought even more resolutely against our "super-industrialism." The struggle against "Trotskyism" was theoretically nurtured almost exclusively by Bucharin. His criticism of "Trotskyism" later on also served as the platform of the Right wing.

Bucharin's Stand

In the course of a series of years Bucharin was, to employ his own expression, the preacher of "toroise-pace" industrialization. So he remained, at that time, when the Left Opposition demanded going over to the five year plan and to higher tempo of industrialization (in 1922-1923) as well as in the years of the ultra-Left zigzag of the Stalinists, when the Left Opposition warned against the transformation of the five year plan into a four year plan and especially against the adventurist collectivization in 1929-1932. From Bucharin's mouth spoke not the dialectical appraisal of Soviet economy in its contradictory development, but an opportunistic attitude from the very beginning, an economic minimalism.

5. How unfortunately your article mixes up Bucharin's criticism with the criticism of Rakovsky, is perceptible from the following circumstance: In the same days that your paper called attention to the apparent perspicacity of Bucharin in the past, Bucharin himself categorically and completely renounced all his former criticism at the Plenum of the Central Committee, and all his former prognoses, as fundamentally false (Pravda, January 14, 1933). Rakovsky, however, renounced nothing at the Plenum, not because he is chained to Barmen as an exile, but because he has no need of renouncing anything.

6. Right after the appearance of my brochure "Soviet Economy in Danger," a turn-about-face took place in Soviet economic policy which throws a bright light upon the problem engaging us and makes possible an infallible check upon all the prognoses of the various factions. The story of the turn-about-face—in two words—is the following:

The XVII Conference of the C. P. S. U. approved in January 1932 the principles of the second five year plan. The tempo of growth of industry was established at approximately 25 percent, with Stalin declaring at the conference that this is only the minimum limit, and that in the working out of the plan this percentage must and will be raised.

The Second Plan

The Left Opposition characterized this whole perspective as a fruit of bureaucratic adventurism. It was, as is to be understood, accused of striving for the counter-revolution, for the intervention of Japan and for the capitalist if not the feudal restoration.

Exactly one year has passed. At the last Plenum of the Central Committee Stalin brought forward a new project for the second five

year plan. But not a single word did he mention of the tempos approved the year before as the minimum. Nobody decided to remind him of them. Now Stalin proposed for the second five year plan a 13 percent annual increase. We do not at all conclude from this that Stalin calculates upon engineering a Japanese intervention and the restoration of capitalism. But we draw the conclusion that the bureaucracy arrived at a moderation of the tempos not on the grounds

The C. I. At a Turning Point

(Continued from Page 1)

proletariat. "For," as Lenin said, "internationalism does not consist in phrases, declarations of solidarity or resolutions, but in action."

Now, no illusion is possible on the international consequences which the final victory of Hitler in Germany would have, that is, the consequences of the crushing of the German proletariat. "The whole future of the Russian revolution is at stake. The whole future of the international workers' revolution is at stake." These words of Lenin in 1917 are terribly timely. The same historical problem is posed today as in 1917. In 1917, in Russia, it was a question of preventing the repression of the peasant insurrection, which would have sounded the "knell of the revolution" and have signified "the final triumph of the Kornilov regime"; in saving the Russian revolution, the first fortress of the "world-wide proletarian revolution" was being saved. At the present moment, it is the victory of the Fascist counter-revolution in Germany which puts "the whole future of the international workers' revolution" at stake. The fact alone proves how pernicious and erroneous is the Stalinist theory of "socialism in a single country," which has reduced proletarian internationalism to abstract declarations of solidarity; theory which has weakened, atomized, disarmed the working class in every country by creating the illusion of a "neutralization" of the world bourgeoisie towards the first workers' State, by regarding the international revolution, the European revolution primarily, as a fact which is of no interest to the building up of socialism in the U. S. S. R.

The Decisive Question

Now it is clear to every Communist worker what was meant and what is meant by the policy of "socialism in a single country." The Communist International itself, with all the conquests of the October revolution, is in danger. And it is in Germany that the most important scene is deciding today: the Hitlerist counter-revolution is taking the lead of the international counter-revolution; the German proletariat is representing in this moment the most vital interests of the world revolution. It must be decided in one direction or the other: and upon this victory of the counter-revolution or of the revolution will depend whether the "Holy Alliance" of all the big powers will return, or the road will be taken to that which is demanded by the modern epoch, the road to the Soviet United States of Europe.

Germany, by itself exhausts the problem of the "permanent revolution." The truth of Marx that no true, no respite is possible for the forces of the revolution (for the working class), "before it has destroyed, annihilated the power by which the old society asserts itself," is fully confirmed. "After the revolution, the permanent counter-revolution becomes (for the forces of the old society) a question of daily existence." The German bourgeoisie, after having utilized the revolution of 1918, is today driven to risk the Fascist counter-revolution, by arming the disoriented petty bourgeois masses in order to pit them against the working class with the aim of extorting from it the last concessions, in order to preserve its profits at the price of the most ferocious repression and the starvation of the toiling people.

So also on the international scale. "No truce between the two societies (bourgeois and proletarian). Their material interests, their needs, demand a mortal struggle: one of the two must triumph; the other must succumb"—there, according to Marx, is the "only entente that can be established between them."

Not a doubt, therefore, that we are at the present moment before a decisive turn in the revolutionary period opened up by the victory of the Bolsheviks in October 1917. Not a doubt that Hitler seeks to gain for German imperialism the favors and the concessions of the Versailles powers by making himself the butcher of the proletariat of his countries and the Gallifet of the Russian Commune. Is all this to be stood for without re-

sisting at all? In 1917, Lenin asserted: "There is no doubt that if the Bolsheviks allow themselves to be trapped by constitutional illusions, by 'faith' in the convocation of the Constituent, by waiting for the Congress of the Soviets, etc., they would only be miserable traitors to the cause of the proletariat." With Lenin, we can repeat today: "To allow oneself to be trapped by illusions about 'non-aggression pacts,' by the 'building of socialism in a single country,' to leave the road of the international revolution, to close one's eyes to the Fascist counter-revolution which threatens the German proletariat, the U. S. S. R., the whole world proletariat—is to betray the cause of the proletariat."

What Is Demanded?

The only means of making the supreme effort to evade this catastrophe, to deal with this crisis which is striking at the heart of world Communism—is a decisive turn on the part of the Communist International, with the result, at this moment so heavy with responsibility and danger, to the posts of struggle and of leadership which rightfully belong to them of the comrades of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), and primarily the comrades of the Russian Opposition who have been thrown into the places of exile and deportation: comrade Trotsky, comrade Rakovsky, the hundreds upon hundreds of other old warriors of the October revolution.

The immediate convocation of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, demanded by the pre-conference of the Left Opposition, thus acquires an urgent and exigent character. This Congress, with the participation of the International Left Opposition, must prove to the proletarians of all countries that the Communist International does not intend to succumb; that the Communist International is on the contrary capable of regenerating itself to fight and to triumph. What is the Communist International doing, what does it intend to do? There is the question which every conscious proletarian puts anxiously to himself and looks for a reply. Let the Communist International regain itself its initiative and its proletarian internationalism, and it will see all the healthy and honest forces, ready to struggle, of the world proletariat, flocking to its side.

Paris, Feb. 16, 1933. —FERROCI.

For the German Opposition

The international pre-conference of the Left Opposition which recently concluded its sessions in Paris, adopted a decision to raise an international fund for the work of our German brother-section. It was decided that in every country where the Left Opposition has its national section, each member shall contribute a day's pay to the fund for our German section. The last meeting of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) decided to endorse this campaign and to open a subscription in the columns of the Militant.

Our German section is laboring at the present time under the greatest of difficulties and the fund collected will not only be of the greatest aid financially, but it will also serve as a magnificent display of the international solidarity of the Left Opposition and all its friends and sympathizers with the Marxian wing of the German revolution. Despite the financial difficulties we are ourselves experiencing at the present moment, we gladly and enthusiastically appeal to all our readers to make a generous donation to the international fund for the Left Opposition in Germany. All contributions sent to the office for this purpose will be carefully set aside and forwarded in toto immediately to their proper destination. Money sent should therefore be designated for this specific purpose. The contributions should be sent to the Communist League of America (Opposition), 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

As it was, the official Left wing decided on a policy which could not but yield the outcome that it did. It decided to go to the socialist conference with the ultimatum demand that the delegates denounce the organizers of the conference and follow the lead of the Communists, that is, of the Left wing unemployment conference. With such a policy, the S. P. leaders were easily able to strengthen their bonds with their following and weaken any sympathy that the latter might have for the Left wing. The Left wing was put in the position of claiming that its conference alone was "legal," so to speak, that it alone was entitled to the monopoly of leadership—which everybody must acknowledge in advance and on the spot. Instead of gaining the indispensably necessary support of the socialist and reformist workers, the Left wing

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Another «Friend» of the Soviet Union

Cleveland—On Saturday, February 11, another "Friend of the Soviet Union"—a lawyer by the name of Maurice Sugar, from Detroit—spoke before the Cleveland workers under the auspices of the FSU, at Engineers Auditorium.

After the customary, uncritical and rosy-pink picture of the state of affairs in the Soviet Union under the Stalinist regime, a question period followed. From all over the hall came questions regarding the burning problem of how the new Hitler government in Germany will affect Soviet Russia.

The speaker in the generally lukewarm spirit that can be expected of any liberal, replied jestingly that he did not think that the Soviet government was quite satisfied with this turn of events and in general waved the question aside with a gesture of unimportance and light-mindedness.

There were also some questions about Trotsky, as usual. What Mr. Sugar failed to do in the German situation, he made up for in his own inimitable way—with the usual slanders and brazen lies about our comrade. Comrade Gordon, of the local group of the Left Opposition, arose to reply, castigating the speaker for his criminal cynicism with regard to the Hitler danger and pointing to Trotsky's warning of an attack by a victorious Hitlerism in Germany against the Russian workers' state. The comrade concluded by stressing the necessity of the return of comrade Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists from exile to take their place in the ranks of the proletarian army in this dangerous situation.

Mr. Sugar, unabashed, answered with more of his pink-hued cynicism and the meeting was ended. After the meeting, however, numerous workers crowded about the few comrades of the League who were present, expressing their agreement with them that the liberal shyster had treated the serious question of the fate of the German workers, contemptuously. They asked all sorts of questions and eagerly grasped at copies of the Militant, which were distributed in good number.

At the Socialist Party Forum—At the S. P. forum, that same evening, comrade Gordon took the floor to bring the attention of the workers to the critical situation in Germany and to call for solidarity of all American workers with the hard-pressed German proletarians. He was cut short by the Socialist bureaucrats present and forced off the floor, because "the speech was

not in line with the subject under discussion". A few C. P. comrades present could not restrain themselves and shouted "Social-Fascists!" at the bureaucrats. After the meeting, the Militant was distributed among those present.

A Party Meeting on Germany in Semi-Secession—Some time ago, the party called for united front efforts in the organization of an Anti-Hitler Meeting on the West Side. A small "conference" convened and there the party representative, a certain A. Landy, explained, after he discovered that a representative of the Left Opposition was present, that it was not really a united front; the party was just asking for some aid, unofficially. Some of these present protested and the Stalinist representative had to explain that the first call was a "mistake".

Nevertheless, comrade Gordon of the League, offered our cooperation in the party's undertaking. But the party representative immediately restricted all his action in making arrangements with individual persons. No definite date, nor place, nor plan of preparation was decided upon.

Several days later, on Sunday last, the meeting came off quite unexpectedly. B. D. Amis and Landy made the usual speeches for the party. In the discussion German comrade made a lengthy address calling for a united front in Germany in the same sense as that proposed by the Left Opposition. It was this speech that was greeted with the greatest applause by the workers present.

Before a German Workers' Society—On Tuesday, comrade Gordon was given the floor at a meeting of the German Mutual Aid and Benefit Society (Krankenhaus), Franklin Avenue Branch. He spoke of the need for the active participation of the workers in this country in solidarity with their German comrades under the Fascist government and of the necessity of establishing the united front against Fascism in Germany by a bloc of the C. P. G., the S. P. G., the trade unions and other workers organizations. At this conclusion he invited the members of the organization to come to our Anti-Hitler meeting in Painters' Hall, on Wednesday, February 22.

A short discussion on the matter at hand followed and a resolution, expressing solidarity with the German proletariat and calling for the establishment of the united front in the sense presented by the comrade from the L. O. was adopted. Similar resolutions have been adopted by numerous German organizations in this city and sent to the central organs of the socialist and Communist parties in Berlin.

The Socialist Party Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

themselves with the bourgeois politicians, upon preserving a so-called respectability, of hush-hushing the mass movement—and relying upon the organized proletarian movement and its militant mass action, its demonstrative pressure, the socialist fakery will always choose the former again unless their rank and file is afforded the possibility of choosing the alternative of a united front with the Left wing.

This brings us to the question of the tactics which the official Communist party leadership pursued. In the Left wing conference for Unemployment Insurance, the representatives of the Communist League of America (Opposition) proposed that the conference shall make a direct appeal to the S. P. conference for a united front of both movements, for the merger of all the organizations represented by the two conferences so that the action of the New York workers for this specific goal might be successfully coordinated. Towards this end, our comrades proposed that the Left wing send a delegation to the S. P. conference (and call upon its affiliated bodies to do likewise) for the purpose of challenging the Right wing leaders in their own citadel, so to speak. This, the Left wing delegates should have been represented at the Rand School conference to demand of its organizers and patrons that they declare themselves publicly on the question of a genuine united front. Had the Left wing adopted our proposal, and at the same time carried on an agitation among the socialist and reformist workers in the ranks for this united front offer, it would not only have strengthened its position immeasurably, but would have been able to mobilize a movement among the socialist rank and file demanding of their leaders that favorable action be taken on the Left wing proposal.

Stalinist Blundering—As it was, the official Left wing decided on a policy which could not but yield the outcome that it did. It decided to go to the socialist conference with the ultimatum demand that the delegates denounce the organizers of the conference and follow the lead of the Communists, that is, of the Left wing unemployment conference. With such a policy, the S. P. leaders were easily able to strengthen their bonds with their following and weaken any sympathy that the latter might have for the Left wing. The Left wing was put in the position of claiming that its conference alone was "legal," so to speak, that it alone was entitled to the monopoly of leadership—which everybody must acknowledge in advance and on the spot. Instead of gaining the indispensably necessary support of the socialist and reformist workers, the Left wing

succeeded only in isolating itself by alienating the latter.

Not merely this is of importance, but another circumstance, which does not, it is true, conflict with the other. The socialist workers—say nothing of the hundreds of thousands and millions of unemployed—are not interested primarily in it at all, as yet in whether or not the Communists have or fight for the leadership of the unemployed movement. What they are interested in is to set in motion a genuine united movement, powerful enough to extract some immediate concessions from the plutocracy and its government. They look with a certain suspicion upon those who, to their minds, seek to "exploit" the unemployed and their struggles for purely "party" reasons. The policy pursued by the party—"our leadership" or nothing! "our conference" or no united front at all—only strengthens these suspicions in the minds of the mass. There is not, in our view, the slightest necessary conflict between building the strongest and widest possible movement of the masses, and establishing the claim of the Communists to leadership of this movement. Quite the contrary. The Communists, by denouncing in practice and in the simplest, most understandable, least ambiguous way that they have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the class as a whole, will gain the support of the masses, not only for the movement in general, but for revolutionary leadership within it in particular. That is what the united front intelligently understood and correctly practiced, signifies in essence. The Stalinist rejection of the united front and their substitution for it of the ultimatum "united front from below," has brought it to its present position in the unemployed movement, and more specifically, it led directly to the inexcusable blunder made with relation to the socialist conference.—A

LECTURE ON GERMANY

The crisis in Germany and the program of the Left Opposition will be the subject of the lecture by comrade Morris Lewis this Sunday, March 5. The lecture will be held at the Free Workers Center, 219 Second Avenue, between 13 and 14 St., under the auspices of Unser Kampf Workers Club, at 8 p. m.

OPPOSITION DEBATES I. U. L.

On Sunday, March 5 at 2:15 p. m., a debate will be held between the Left Opposition and the Industrial Union League on the subject, "Can the program and tactics of the Communist League of America bring about working class emancipation in the United States?" George Clarke will speak for the affirmative and Adolph Silver the negative. The debate will take place at the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx.

Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Soviet Recognition and Credits

(Continued from Page 1)

"Socialism in one country" have parties outside of Russia to that of a watchman, whose purpose is to help ward off foreign intervention and particularly war. The economic relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world have been kept outside of the domain of revolutionary strategy. On the contrary, Stalinism has attempted to reassure world capitalism (note the Stalin interview with Campbell) that its foreign trade is "strictly business".

The Stalinists have assumed that capitalist economy would be both willing and able to absorb the exportable surpluses of the Soviet Union without such declines in prices as would upset the import program which is an essential part of the Five-Year Plan.

This assumption has been knocked to pieces by living experience. England after the Conservative victory renounced the trade treaty with Soviet Russia some months ago; Germany has imposed a quota on its imports from the Soviet Union; political as well as "strictly business" factors entered into these steps. In any case, the crisis makes it advantageous for capitalism to restrict all its operations, including foreign trade.

But the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of the working class call for a different line of action. The revolutionary answer is to rally the working masses around the struggle for economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. It provides more jobs; it strengthens the workers' state; it brings to their feet masses of workers who are not Communists but who sympathize with the Soviet Union; it tends to break down the isolation of the Soviet state from the workers of the capitalist countries; and it leads over, in a certain stage of maturity of the revolutionary development of the struggle, into the demand for workers' control of production.

It is admittedly impossible, by mass pressure, to force private interests in a capitalistic state to buy and sell where it is not profitable for them to do so under given conditions. But these conditions themselves depend upon state laws in a large measure—tariffs, restrictions on imports, etc. The influence of the masses on state laws in such matters may be powerful. In a struggle on such issues, which concern also matters like the cost of living, the proletariat can even sweep along behind it masses of the petty bourgeoisie.

Trading with Soviets and Workers' Control

The question of a more systematic influence of the masses on the external commerce of a capitalist state is intimately bound up with the question of workers' control of production. Beginning with questions of wages and profit, the control of production expands over all the other functions of the enterprise, then of the group of enterprises, over whole branches of industry and the entire national economy.

Workers' control of production would compel capitalism to collaborate in the work of economic construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the possibilities of profit, particularly under the present conditions.

Japan and U. S. S. R.

(Continued from Page 1)

"in general" and "in principle" with the League's position, he will not permit America to be pushed into war at this time. London will not reap the harvest if Washington can help it.

London again reveals her backing of Japan by declaring an arms embargo, whose patent fraud is recognized in the bourgeois press here and abroad. Present contracts are inviolable. And pay for how many years do the contracts run? How much has been allotted to Japan by Vickers-Armstrong? In the debate on the embargo that is inevitable pool-bait, Lansbury, reveals the inner hollowiness of the social democracy. He states that it is impossible to exclude the possibility of war between Japan and Russia. But, he adds, it is not true that Japan is holding back the forces of Communism. No, says Lansbury, do not give Japan credit for that. The credit should doubtless go to the insipid Lansburys and the social democratic betrayers. Lansbury expresses faith that the U. S. will "act right". Indeed she will! One hundred percent "right", for American imperialism.

The attitude of Soviet Russia on the present situation is still being awaited, not only by the bourgeoisie but by the Communists of the world. Russian diplomacy, under the blind, opportunist "guidance" of Litvinov, has tasted all the fruits of that shriveled tree, socialism in one country. Again and again, the lasting interests of the world proletariat have been sacrificed to the desire for immediate "benefits" for the Soviet Union. Russian diplomacy is again placed in the dilemma of deciding which road to follow. If the Soviets properly denounce the entire fraud being perpetrated by the League of Nations, the Russian "diplomats" feel that the chances for recognition by America will be jeopardized. If the Soviet Union agrees to "cooperate" with the League, then in the immediate situation, Russia again renounces her leadership of the proletariat. Can we hope for any change of policy? Or will we witness a new compromise?

—JACK WEBER.

of world crisis. Carried beyond a certain point, this struggle could raise the whole question of state power, put the world revolution again on the order of the day, and transform the whole question of economic collaboration between Soviet Russia and one or more countries which are now capitalist, into the question of the creation of an international planning board.

In Germany the political prerequisites for such a situation have reached a higher stage of development than in any other country; if the working class can develop the power and cohesion needed to defeat Hitler, it will be in a position to present and press forward its own demands, political and economic, in which the demand for workers' control of production, intimately linked up with the demand for economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, unlimited by consideration for the profits of this or that group of capitalists or of capitalism as a whole, would develop all its revolutionary logic.

Credits for the Soviet Union and American Working-Class Demand

In the United States, development of the workers' forces and of the revolutionary situation has not gone so far as in Germany. On the other hand, American imperialism has a powerful financial basis while that of German imperialism is weak.

The approach to economic collaboration with the Soviet Union in this country might well be through the question of credits. In many European countries (Germany, England, Italy, Holland, etc.) export credits to the Soviet Union are guaranteed to the amount of 60-80 percent by the government. This greatly reduces the cost of credit, and consequently the cost of imports, to the Soviet Union. Certainly the very least that the American working class has a right to demand is that the American bourgeois government go as far as the bourgeois governments of Europe in supporting exports to the Soviet Union by a guarantee of a large part of the exporters' credits.

But the interests of the American worker and of the Soviet Union demand that the American government go further. It must extend substantial credits to the Soviet Union, instead of having Soviet imports limited by the extent to which individual American capitalists are willing to do business with the Soviets.

The main reliance for the financing of Soviet imports in the past has been placed on its export trade. It has had access to but little credit, and that only at exorbitant rates, about 30 to 40 percent a year. The average increase from year to year in the Soviets' outstanding credits has been only 10 percent of its best year's exports. Obviously this is only a slight reinforcement to the buying power of the Soviet Union, and consequently to its construction program. Recently there has been some talk about the Soviet Union floating a ten-year loan in the United States, but the figure mentioned was about 40 million roubles, a drop in the bucket.

The financial blockade of the Soviet Union continues to be effective, in spite of the high interest rates which it offers. The Stalinist policy, of relying on the "strictly business" self-interest of capitalism to serve as the basis of economic collaboration which is indispensable to the work of economic construction in Soviet Russia, has been an utter failure.

Credits for the Soviet Union as a Political Question

The energy of the international Communist party, the sympathies of the masses, even the direct interest of the petty bourgeoisie, must be mobilized in a political manner in the various capitalist countries for the benefit of the broad masses and of the Soviet Union. This involves a break with the theory and practice of "socialism in one country"—but it has the little advantage that it directly fits up the immediate needs of the broadest masses in capitalist countries with the problem of economic construction in the Soviet Union, in spite of the capitalist denial by Stalinism that the building up of Socialism in Russia has any connection with the workers' movement elsewhere.

In America, where the whole question of recognition is to be raised shortly, the working class and particularly the Communist party as its spearhead must put forth its demands for the extension of adequate credits to the Soviet Union.

The demand of credits for the Soviet Union can, no doubt, be considered as an isolated practical slogan. Such a way of posing the question would have a reformist character, and as such would not give serious practical results; for the international economic operations of capitalism are determined by considerations of profit, and the political interests of the capitalist class, not by the "pressure" of the working class.

The slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, credits, recognition, etc., must be introduced into a system of transitional slogans of the struggling proletariat. The immediately practical results in favor of the Soviet Union could be obtained, while so doing, as by-products, insofar as reforms generally are the by-products of a revolutionary struggle.

But the main achievement would be the fact that the workers would be concretely and practically confronted with the problems of planned economy—that is, the problems of socialism.

—B. J. FIELD.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

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Friday, March 3, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 15 (Whole No. 162)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year,
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MILITANTPublished 3 times a week, Monday,
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Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World,
Unite!Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 16 [WHOLE NO. 163] NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

National Banking Crisis Fascist Elections Show Stalinist Bankruptcy

STAGE IN GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THIS
COUNTRY THROWS BOURGEOISIE INTO PANIC; ITS
'WAY OUT' TO BE SOUGHT ON BACKS OF WORKERS

The present cyclical crisis began in 1929 with a financial crisis, in the form of a crash on the stock market; now, after nearly 3 1/2 years, it is marked by a nationwide banking crisis. What does this mean? Is it what the Stalinists call "the end of the stabilization of capitalism," or the terrified bourgeois still more simply call "the end of the world?"

Crises, as we know, are not accidents under capitalism, but an intrinsic part of the mechanism; they have a definite role, which Marx has described as follows, "Crises are only violent and temporary solutions of existing contradictions, violent eruptions which reestablish for a time the equilibrium which has been destroyed."

These contradictions involve the overproduction of goods in the face of the poverty and underconsumption of the masses; the creation of artificial and exaggerated symbols of value through the expansion of credit and stock speculation, and a sharp rise in money rates and commodity prices, all constituting what we call inflation, or a contradiction between real values and the paper representatives of such values.

The role of the crisis is to get rid of overproduction by forcing the capitalist to reduce his production, to get rid of inflation by forcing down prices, money rates and outstanding credit. Ultimately it creates a situation in which prices are low, money rates are low, capital is abundant, the "growths and swellings" as Trotsky calls them, such as insensate and Kreuger, are removed, and the pre-conditions are created for a turn in the crisis into a depression, and ultimately perhaps even into a period of stabilization or a boom.

Crisis and the Class Struggle

But the crisis is also an arena of the class struggle, and not only economic but also certain social and political conditions are required for the ending of a crisis period and the preparation of a period of stabilization. If the working class, well organized through its own party, puts itself at the head of the masses, and makes all the measures by which the bourgeoisie attempts to throw the burden of the crisis off to other classes; if it is able to put up effective and generalized resistance to wage cuts, to force demands for unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists, to compel the governments to tax the rich instead of the masses, and its other immediate demands in time of crisis, the capitalist will be a long time in restoring the margin of profit in his production on which the restoration of business activity and with it, the turn in the crisis, depend.

These struggles are in their most important aspects non-parliamentary they tend to mobilize the masses for broader aims, and as the crisis becomes deeper and sharper, they may easily take on a highly political and revolutionary character. The German crisis of 1929-33, based on the steady inflation of the mark, culminated in the revolutionary crisis of October 1932, followed by an abortive Nazi putsch a month later. When the bourgeois German state had proven its ability to stave off the revolution even without the aid of the Nazis, it was able to invite the Nazis to discuss currency reform, and begin its way out of the crisis.

At the present moment in the United States, whether or not the turn in the crisis has already arrived, unquestionably most of the work of the crisis in violently and brutally solving, for the moment, the contradictions developed during the boom, has been accomplished. Commodity prices are low, many enterprises have gone out of business, capital has been rendered more liquid, money rates are low, production is down to 50% of "normal."

The violent crisis in the banking field has not therefore the character of the prelude to a period of deflation and liquidation; that period is largely or entirely behind us. Has it the character of the beginning of a final collapse of capitalism?

No Automatic Collapse of Capitalism

That seems most unlikely. It would mean that capitalism could be finally defeated on one sector of the economic front alone, and by the automatic working of the market, at that. The forces of the working class, poorly organized, divided and without the class leadership of a determined and clear-sighted Communist party, have had

many more defeats than victories in the class struggle under crisis conditions—not only in strikes against wage cuts, in the question of adequate unemployment relief and insurance, but politically they have not been able to mobilize the masses against the bourgeoisie. There is no use in recapitulating the chapter of defeats and mistakes; we have pointed out the responsibility of the Communist party as the record has developed, its failure to assemble the proletariat around its banner and assume the leadership of the broadest masses.

This failure constitutes the political pre-condition for the capitalist solution of the present crisis, internationally as well as on the national scale. With a correct line of policy executed in a Bolshevik manner, Hitler would stand every chance of being defeated, and one of the weakest links in the capitalist chain might be definitely broken; the masses in other capitalist countries might be torn away from bourgeois and petty bourgeois influence and mobilized behind the Communist party, and capitalism find ever-increasing difficulty in

(Continued on Page 2)

Policy of «United Front From Below» Fails to Win Over Masses of Socialist Workers

In an atmosphere of unprecedented terrorism, intimidation and the suppression of Communist, socialist and even Centrist publications and meetings, the German Nazis have gained a distinct election victory which, together with the vote rolled up by the Hugenburg Nationalists, gives them a parliamentary majority in a Reichstag which has now lost particularly all importance.

The election victory of the Hitler-Hugenburg regime is due almost exclusively to the rise in the Nazi vote, which not only exceeded the vote in November 1932, but even passed beyond the number they had at their apex, in July 1932. Forty-four percent of the voting population cast its ballot for Hitler. In Catholic Bavaria, the Nazis made a huge sweep, ousting the Centrist party from control—an accomplishment which they all but attained in the Catholic capital of Germany, Cologne.

The figures thus far available are not yet complete as we go to press, but they are more than adequate for a summary of the results. The usual stay-at-home vote was apparently thought out by the millions in the largest vote yet cast in Germany, and it is mainly from this source that the increase in the Hitler vote was obtained. The Catholic Center appears to have

held its own, but with the shifts in other parties, and with the increased vote cast, it is no longer in a position to affect the parliamentary situation as a balance of power—a position it has enjoyed for years. The Social Democratic Party did a little better than hold its own. The Communist vote, however, was drastically reduced by some twenty percent, to a total of less than 5,000,000, losing heavily in Berlin where the Nazis, and not the Communists, are now the largest party, with 1,000,000 votes as compared with 720,000 votes last November.

National Socialists	288	196
Social Democrats	125	123
Communists	81	100
Centrists	72	69
Bavarians	19	19
Nationalists	52	51
Scattered	9	24
	647	582

The Hitler regime—based on the Nazi-Nationalist coalition—thus has an absolute parliamentary majority with which to operate "legally" in the carrying out of its murderous policy of exterminating the organizations and institutions of the working class. More than that: the Nazi threat that the Communist deputation in the Reichstag will not be seated is constantly kept in reserve. If the Com-

munist party is outlawed, or if its representatives are excluded from the Reichstag, the Nazis would then have an absolute majority on the parliamentary plane even without the support of their present Nationalist colleagues in the cabinet! The uneasiness of the Hugenburg camilla at the prospect of the Communists being unelected, is one of those paradoxes of politics which is quite comprehensible in the present circumstances.

But the parliamentary field is the least decisive of all in the present German situation. The just concluded election was purely and simply a plebiscite, the present Reichstag is a plebiscitary Reichstag, and the Hitler regime a plebiscitary regime. The principal opposition parties, from the Communists through the social democrats as far to the Right as the Catholic Center, were bound and gagged for weeks before the election took place. Not a single Communist publication appeared for days before the votes were cast. The two solitary social democratic papers allowed to appear before the elections in Thuringia, were compelled to reproduce Hitler's attack on the "Marxists" in their columns. Several Catholic periodicals were confiscated or suspended. No meetings of the social democrats or the Communists were permitted.

The election posters of both these parties were ripped off the billboards. The possibilities for election propaganda and agitation by these two parties were reduced to a tiny minimum.

In spite of the terrorism of the Nazis, the Communists managed to retain some eighty percent of their previous votes, and the social democrats even increased their balloting strength. But there is little consolation in this for the Communist party. As soon as the March 5, 1933 elections were announced, the Militant proclaimed them to be a fascist trap, designed to concentrate the attention of the working class exclusively on the parliamentary field and to distract them from mobilizing their efforts for the extra-parliamentary struggle—the only kind of struggle which can effectively deal with the now overwhelming threat of Fascism. The outcome of the elections bear out this contention. The elections settled nothing fundamental, nor could they have settled anything. At most, the voting gave the Nazis a convenient "parliamentary basis" for destroying "democratic parliamentarism."

But the elections nevertheless have a considerable symptomatic significance. The increase in the Hitler vote came predominantly from the petty bourgeois and con-

servative elements of the population. Their vote for Hitler was essentially an expression of their attendant convulsions. By giving Hitler "parliamentary majority," they hoped to avoid the costs of a civil war. Only, it cannot and will not be averted.

Of even greater significance, is the vote cast for the Communist and social democratic parties. The Communist vote declined, and the importance of this fact, even though it is far from decisive, cannot be ignored. The social democratic masses continued to give their support to the social democratic party. By this act, they gave a decisive reply to the empty boasts of the Stalinists that their policy was succeeding in breaking the socialist masses away from their leadership. And precisely herein lies the most significant aspect of the March elections!

It was claimed that the "united front from below" was winning the socialist masses to the Communist party. The Left Opposition replied that the socialist masses will be won over to a militant united front when the Communist party makes an open and sincere offer to their organizations, when it sits down with the leadership of the social democratic party and the trade unions to discuss a concrete program of action against the menace of Fascism. The elections are one of the numerous proofs that the "united front from below" has not only not succeeded in breaking the allegiance of the socialist masses to their organizations and leaders, but that it has served the Weis-Stampfer-Hilferding crew perfectly.

The results of the elections which are not, we repeat, of decisive importance, but are highly symptomatic, must give every Communist worker food for thought. It is essential, that the course of the Leninist united front. The Fascist triumph in the elections will only result in greater arrogance, more brutal measures against the proletariat and its movement, more violent suppressions and attacks. There is but one way to meet this attack—the mobilization of the German working class in a united front. There is only one way in which to establish the united front at the present time—the appeal from organization to organization.

In its appeal, just published in the socialist New Leader, the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International (Second International) has declared: "The Labor and Socialist International has always been ready to negotiate with the Communist International with a view to common action as soon as this body is also ready." Our opinion of the desire for "action" of the Socialist bureaucracy, is quite well known; so is their own treacherous record which has paved the road to the triumph of Hitler. But it is precisely with such statements as the one quoted that the statements of the Second International retain their hold upon the socialist workers. The Communist International, which should have been the one to initiate such a movement, must pick up the challenge, must break its criminal silence, and declare:

The Communist International is prepared to negotiate with the Second International for the elaboration of a concrete program of action against Fascism. The German Communist Party is prepared to sit down for a joint discussion of the problem with the Executive Committee of the German social democracy and its party. We can under no circumstances agree to the social democratic party's proposal for a "non-aggression pact" where we are supposed to refrain from criticism and an independent policy; such an agreement would be capitulation and treachery to the revolution. But we will enter into a united front on a minimum program of action, with each organization to retain its independence, its freedom of policy and criticism. We enter into it not out of love for the social democratic leaders, not with any illusions about them, but because of the burning need of the hour to the united working class front to smash Fascism.

The Communist International, together with the German Communist Party, must take this step. If they fail to act in this manner, they will bear their share of the direct responsibility for the murderous bloodbath and catastrophe which the Fascist hands are preparing for the German proletariat.

—M. S.

Lovestone Group and the Opposition

A Political Swindle Exposed

The current issue of the Workers Age, organ of the Lovestone Right wing, contains the following attack upon the Opposition which we quote in full:

"But the most pitiful figure is by the Trotskyites. They, who not so long ago (Militant, July 25, 1933) insisted that it is absurd to think that the imperialists will welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany, who sagely informed us that on the contrary, they (the imperialists) have every reason to reinforce and support the social democracy and parliamentary forms, who were so sure (in 1931) that it has never yet been demonstrated that Fascism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany, these people, who later (Militant, Nov. 12, 1932) saw the 'Nazi social reservoir of voting strength well high exhausted' so that the Hitlerites 'must strive to fulfill their aims by violent seizure of power,' these people who branded as 'opportunism' the first calls of the Communist Opposition for a united anti-Fascist front, these people who even today (Militant, Feb. 24, 1933) regard Hitler as the 'screen' for Hugenburg, who can hopefully assert that 'the chief instruments of power are not in Hitler's hands, who echo the official Communist party that 'the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination', under all circumstances all the time, these same people now have the audacity to declare (Militant, Feb. 4, 1933) that 'the Left Opposition was the first to sound the alarm signal that Fascism was threatened (?), that it had to be met by a united front of all workers organizations!' Is this merely shabby self-deception or is it outright political swindling?"

Not bad, what? More exactly, it might be bad if it were all true. But when the Lovestone press "quotes" the Left Opposition, the very first thing to do is to take it for granted that it is deliberately misquoting us, distorting our point of view, or resorting to slight of hand. The present instance is a case in point. Let us examine from the files of the Militant the sections presumably quoted by Lovestone, so that one may judge who is engaged in "outright political swindling."

1. Here is what the Militant of July 25, 1931 really said: "At the present time, the main prop of capitalism in Germany is the social democracy functioning through 'democratic' forms. Its strength derives from the illusions of millions of workers in the democratic deceptions. It is absurd to think that the imperialists will discard this mighty bulwark against revolution as long as it serves its purpose. Only when the majority of the workers turn away from the social democracy to the Communists will the capitalists turn to the last resort—armed force expressed through Fascism. A Fascist dictatorship, by its ruthless abolition of democratic forms, would thereby turn away millions of workers from

the support of the regime, and correspondingly undermine it. It has never yet been demonstrated that Fascism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany, with a powerful and well-organized working class. The imperialist bourgeoisie whose fate is bound up with the fate of German capitalism, have no interest to plunge into this desperate alternative, of their own volition. On the contrary, they have every reason to reinforce and support the social democracy and the parliamentary forms which have served them and saved them up to now. They will not risk Fascism until they have to." (Our emphasis.)

All the difference in the world, isn't there? Now, the Militant of November 12, 1932:

"As we have pointed out previously in these columns, the Hitlerites cannot hope to arrive in power by the smooth parliamentary train. The preceding election already indicated that, so far as elections are concerned, the Nazi social reservoir of voting strength was well-nigh exhausted. Not a parliamentary movement in the ordinary bourgeois sense, the Fascists must strive to fulfill their aims by the violent seizure of power and the more violent extermination of all proletarian movements and institutions. Or, if the necessity for such a step is

(Continued on Page 2)

Oppositionists
Attacked

Last Friday night at Pitkin and Rockaway Avenue, members of the Left Opposition were again treated to a wholesale exposure of Stalinism in action. For the third or fourth time in a year, the aspiring bureaucrats of the American Youth Club saw fit to stir up hysteria for a physical attack on us. Though outnumbered at least two to one, our comrades halted this "hard guy" display that has taken the place of Leninist education. After this failure, we were invited to participate in putting back the furniture of an unemployed worker in a house at which a rent strike was going on. We accepted and the ironic picture was afforded to all the workers present—who had not been engaged in the melee—of the common bond of unity between us despite slander and despite terrorism. However, after we had arrived at the house (the furniture we were then told was in the cellar), waiting for some of the cops to clear out, a functionary arrived who saw fit to suspend operations. ("Trotskyists cannot fraternize, and they have no right to move furniture with us—they are Left social fascists"). We said we were always ready to cooperate with the unemployed councils and had done so in the past. It could be seen that many of them changed their attitude toward us. We invited them down to the Sunday meeting and the proof of the beginning of their education was that they came.

—R.

Chinese Bourgeoisie Is Impotent
Before Advancing Japanese Armies

The democratic phase of the Chinese revolution included as its major task the ousting of the foreign imperialists and the national unification of China. This task could only have been accomplished with the aid of the wide masses of workers and peasants. The revolution swept towards the goal of its first phase only as long as the Chinese masses were drawn irresistibly and on an ever greater scale into the movement for liberation. It was inevitable, however, that the oppressed classes, on whom rested the actual burden of carrying on the armed struggle, under the ferment of revolutionary activity, should come into conflict not only with the foreign oppressors but with their own native exploiters. This phase of the Chinese revolution did not wait upon the successful achievement of the program of unification common to all classes, bourgeois, worker and peasant, participating in the first stage. The irrepressible class struggle broke out before the imperialists had been swept into the sea and in the conflict that followed the vanguard of the working class, the Communists, on whom depended the continuation of the revolution, was all but exterminated.

Failure to Unify China

The Chinese bourgeoisie preferred far rather the continued strangling of China by the imperialist powers, so long as they were permitted to continue their own exploitation, than their own overthrow and their disappearance as a class through the dictatorship of the proletariat. But with the bloody suppression of the revolutionary workers and peasants, the native bourgeoisie, with the willing assistance of foreign imperialism, became the spear-head of counter-revolution in China. The revolution ebbed and the aim of unification failed of accomplishment because the masses did not succeed in marching forward, under the leadership of the Communists, beyond the narrower first aims of the revolution, to the conquest of power under working class dictatorship. Thus the Chinese revolution is a negative example (one hesitates to call it a "living" example) of the theory of the permanent revolution.

The lessons of the second phase of the Revolution remain as an abiding memory in the minds of the present bourgeois rulers of China. If today they are completely impotent in the defense of China against Japanese imperialism, it is because they fear above everything else to arouse the masses and arm them for a real struggle. For that would mean the resurrection of the revolution which, they clearly see, could only result in their own downfall. Ultimately, Chiang Kai-Shek, instead of sending a single soldier to Jehol for the defense of China against imperialist invasion, continues to battle with the peasant Soviets in his effort to establish his hegemony, if only in a few provinces. T. V. Soong, reactionary banker—the richest man in China—can only say at this juncture that the Japanese aggression is a good thing, for "in the long run" it will result in the "real" unification of China. Meantime he impotently offers, not any attempt at effective resistance, but the lives of one hundred million Chinese men to the Japs. These Chinamen "will know how to die." All the mercenary, thieving handiwork and bourgeois compradors are sending their wealth, that ill-gotten wealth coined out of the blood of the Chinese masses, out of the country and are "disappearing" themselves. "Governor" Tang Yu-lin of Jehol, that great opium-drugman of China, carefully evacuated his gold and his wives and has now left Jehol himself for destinations unknown.

The Japanese Continue Advance

Thus the Japanese conquer with almost no resistance because China, under the rule of the Chiang Kai-Sheks has failed to unify and has failed to build up its industries rapidly enough to supply a modern army. Having met no real obstacles, the Japanese will continue to seize more and more Chinese territory. The press repeats statements that the Japanese have demanded the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Tientsin, the next objective of the invasion.

—J. WEBER.

Newark Meeting

at the Hungarian Workers Home
87-16th Ave.,
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Saturday Evening, March 11th,
S. P. M.

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AND FASCISM

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JAMES P. CANNON

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After the German Elections—What Now?

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Stalinists Sabotage United Front

St. Louis.—The Unity Conference held at St. Louis by the Unemployed Councils unanimously passed the demand of the Left Opposition for a standing committee of each organization to compose a United Front Unemployed Conference Committee. And from this committee trade union and organizational committees were to be elected to work for the Permanent United Front movement and the calling of the second conference.

The bureaucrats did not dare to come before the workers with any opposition to this. The committee was supposed to hold its first meeting at the Labor Lyceum on Tuesday, Feb. 21st. The Opposition and its auxiliary organizations sent three delegates to this meeting. The opportunities for sabotaging the committee were made up for at the Labor Lyceum. As soon as the Left Opposition showed up the bureaucrats hanging around the lobby became nervous and there was much running to and fro and much whispering. Our efforts, to find out to what room in the three-story building of the Labor Lyceum the Committee was to meet, were in vain. We were finally led into a room on the second floor where we sat twiddling our thumbs for about a half an hour when we were informed that this was an S. L. P. section meeting and asked what our business was there.

With the exception of the delegates of the Left Opposition and two delegates from the Socialist party no one else showed up. The last named delegates however, did not suffer the same fate as that of the Left Oppositionists outlined in the preceding paragraph. It is significant that the only one of the Stalinist organizations represented was the Unemployed Councils whose delegate was Stone. Comrade Goldberg, who came late and by the mere chance stumbled into the committee meeting, informed us of this fact and also that not only was no regular meeting held but no definite date was set for the next meeting of the committee.

In the course of our search of the committee meeting we found guards downstairs in front of the auditorium where an "open" meeting of the Unemployed Council was in session. Thinking that we desired to enter these faithful keepers of the gate informed us that it was a private meeting and no one would be allowed to go in. With this we took our departure.

—G. ROBERTS.

Two Unemployment Conferences

Philadelphia. Last week saw two "United Front" conferences in Philadelphia on unemployment. One was sponsored by the Communist Unemployed Councils; the other by the Socialists. To both the local branches of the C. L. A. (O.) sent delegates, to present our program and to participate in the work. At the Left wing conference our delegation was seated. At the socialist conference they were, in common with all other radical organizations, not even admitted to the hall.

Last Sunday, February 19, the Unemployed Council's "Conference Against the State Commissionary Relief Plan" meeting, 260 delegates representing about 150 organizations, and many visitors enthusiastically greeted the first marked turn in Phila. of the Official C. P. organizations toward a broader united front. The week previously the Socialist party was forced by the calling of this conference, to send out their own call for a separate conference in conjunction with their Unemployed Citizens' League organization and the Hoosier Workers (A. F. of L.) Union which they dominate. The U. C. provisional committee, over the signature of comrade E. Bender, copied with it, in the form of an open letter addressed, to and behold, not to the rank and file below, but to the organizer of the S. P. conference, Franz Daniels.

The various reporters and speakers at the conference recognized correctly enough the splitting tactic of the local socialists, but there they stopped. The united front did not extend to an offer of joint work.

Comrade Lecomte presented our resolution on program and tactics before the conference body; urged the necessity of offers of common action with the Socialists on the immediate demands outlined by us—as a true method to either force the hand of Daniels, etc. or to further expose their claim to any desire for united action. He offered the full cooperation of the League in the furtherance of the work of the conference.

What the conference lacked was a broader representation of the working class and a broad and

far reaching enough program to cope with the unemployment problem. It narrowed its aims down to the State Hunger March and Demonstration. No organizational report was discussed by the delegates. Our resolution was supported by the committee and comrade Roberts had to force the issue from the floor. The bureaucratic steering committee was able to prevent it from being taken to a vote.

The final action that the conference took is indeed significant. The S. P. conference was called to meet the following Saturday. In New York you recall, party leaders attacked our comrades' proposal to send delegates to a similar meeting, because we would increase the prestige of the fakers. But now! the meeting decided (1) to elect an official committee of ten and have it represent this conference, to the socialist conference on Saturday. And (2) urged; nay insisted, that all delegates present be delegated by their organizations to the Socialist confab to fight for the adoption of the program of this conference.

That the party leadership, just breaking out of their long third period stage had no intention of a real Leninist United Front and prepare to jointly work and fight for their program to the extent of offering proportional representation is I think undeniable. But what a vindication of all our propaganda! That many of those present recognized it cannot be doubted. The conference accepted our delegate Roberts as one of its committee of ten.

After the meeting individual party comrades speaking to us said, "Well, you got your kind of a United Front at last; I think it's a k."

The Socialist "Conference on Unemployment" (Saturday, Feb. 25), resembled even in many of its details what the reports bring us of the similar conference of the S. P. in New York City. Almost none of the Left wing-Red organizations received or could get the official invitation and so they made out credentials of their own. Looking the official c. k. of the Socialist party organizer, Daniels, a "Militant", they were refused admittance. Even organizations which had obtained the official paper, but being radical were rejected. We were all "illegitimate organizations."

I am told the Ypselers had a difficult time to get in! Comrade Kornfeldt who came representing the Hoosier Workers' Union, and a few others who did get in, demanded our admittance to no avail. The upshot of the whole affair was this—Inside the S. P. together with the IWW made a united front to keep the Communists out of their united front. Outside, in the ante-room milled about the party organization delegates and ourselves; enough of them by far to swamp the socialist conference if admitted. No wonder the S. P. fakers who called their meeting only after the Communists called one were in fear of being "captured."

What shall we do—the resolution we had—calling for joint sessions was not admitted. The task remains, to prove our sincere desire for united action of the working class against hunger—our willingness to show our program in action—for approval of the working class; to propose this must be done by the Executive Committee of our Conference—a joint meeting of both committees and the calling of a conference with proportional representation. This will remove the rejoinder of the fakers that the Communists want to capture them. It will give us a mass to appeal to which from the outside we can't meet. It can well start in Philadelphia and in the State a broad united front knitting together the employed and the unemployed, the organized and the unorganized in a common struggle for the needs today, of the workers. In such a united front of action our program will demand its adoption and prove its correctness.

I.L.D. Expels St. Louis Oppositionist

St. Louis.—Although the Beazly branch of the I.L.D. has an average attendance of about ten, the last meeting was filled to overflowing with the tense and heated faces of the South Side branch of the Communist party—not five of whom carry membership cards in the I.L.D.

The first order on the agenda was the report of the I.L.D. delegates to the Unity Conference. In his report Payer outlined the general program adopted by the United Front Unemployed Conference. This included demands of immediate relief, unemployment insurance, six-hour day and Long Term credits to the Soviet Union; the formation of a permanent U. F. U. C. consisting of one delegate from each organization to carry out the fol-

lowing activities; arrange March 4th joint demonstration for immediate relief; send speakers to all working class organizations in the city asking for a speaker from each tendency; issue 20,000 popular leaflets explaining the aims of the U. F. U. C. program; make arrangements for the calling of a second conference; organize a trade union committee to concentrate on getting union support. Payer pointed out that the entire program adopted was our "Trotskyist" program. This is the very same program which we had been urging the C. P. to adopt and for which we had been called "counter-revolutionists."

He also report upon the sabotaging of the conference work by the central committees of the Unemployed Councils—by the failure to hold the agreed upon Tuesday (Feb. 21) committee meeting.

Payer introduced the motion that "the Beazly branch, I. L. D. requests the C. C. of the Unemployed Councils to carry out the decisions of the united front unemployed conference by immediately calling the proposed meeting of the U. F. U. C. committee consisting of one delegate from each organization represented at the conference." The vote was 4 affirmative and 20 negative, three abstained—all the Stalinists naturally voted against.

Then a Stalinist motion—"To accept the report of all delegates to the conference with the exception of Payer's." On the question (by Casano) as to what was wrong with Payer's report none of the Stalinists could give a reason. However they replied by voting—22 affirmative, 5 negative.

Then another Stalinist motion "to get down to business" to expel Payer from the branch because of being a "disrupter." In the discussion that followed Payer endeavored to show that it was the Stalinists who were "disrupting" the organization and not he. He pointed out his record in the I.L.D. branch since organized; showed how all committees, all delegations to which he was elected were sabotaged by the higher S. E. C. Due to interruptions from the Stalinists he was not allowed to continue. "He spoke too long already" was the substance of what about a dozen Stalinists were saying at the same time. The vote was 19 affirmative, 5 negative with three abstentions.

Payer was then ordered to leave the hall. After Payer left, one of the newer Stalinists, Horrorn, thinking to further expose "Trotskyism" made a motion for an open discussion on the "Trotskyists" with speakers from both sides. Pandemonium broke loose. The Stalinists themselves split on the question. The voting was 10 negative and 8 affirmative with 8 abstaining. The motion lost, but only by a small margin.

At the very same time Payer was being expelled at the South Side I. L. D. the following motion was made and vigorously defended on the floor at the North Side Mooney branch of the I.L.D. by George Roberts and Harry Goldberg—"The Mooney branch protests to the National Committee, I. L. D., against the expulsions of workers from I.L.D. branches because of their political affiliations. In particular, members of the Communist League of America (Opposition) called 'Trotskyists' demand their immediate reinstatement in order to maintain the I.L.D. as a broad defense organization of all workers." The motion was lost but also by a narrow margin; 7 negative, 5 affirmative with 7 abstentions.

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

(We begin today with the publication of the most important of the theses adopted at the international Pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition which concluded its sessions last month in Paris. Representatives were present from the Russian, Greek, Swiss, American and other sections of the Opposition. The theses which we reprint here are now up for discussion in the membership of the Opposition for final adoption at the regular International Conference which is planned for convocation later in the year.—Ed.)

The task of the coming Conference of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) consists of accepting a clear and precisely-formulated platform and organizational stance, as well as of selecting the leading bodies. The preceding theoretical, political and organizational work of the Left Opposition in various countries, especially in the last four years, has created sufficiently prerequisites for the solution of this task.

The fundamental programmatic and political documents of the Left Opposition are issued in no less than 15 languages. The Left Opposition disposes of 32 periodical publications in 16 countries. It has reorganized and strengthened its sections in 9 countries and in the past three years created new sections in 7 countries. But the most important and most valuable achievement is the undeniable raising of the theoretical level of the International Left Opposition, the growth of its ideological solidity and of its revolutionary initiative. The Organ of the Left Opposition in the U. S. S. R.

The Left Opposition, arose in 1923, ten years ago, in the land of the October revolution, in the ruling Party of the first workers' state. The delay in the development of the October revolution had necessarily called forth a political reaction in the land of the October

More will be heard from St. Louis later. Already the Stalinist bureaucratic have polarized (publicly) to other members of the L. O. and to sympathizers and stated that they were next. We will naturally fight against the expulsions with all our forces by relentlessly exposing the absolute bankruptcy of the Stalinist bureaucrats—in whose hands the working class defense movement has actually lost in membership (10,000 members in 1929—only 8,500 in 1932!) despite the most favorable objective circumstances.

—MARTIN PAYER.

Communist workers: Why is the Communist International silent about the crisis in Germany? Why is Stalin silent?

A Political Swindle Exposed

(Continued from Page 1)

obviated by the collapse of the proletarian movement—as happened in October 1923—the bourgeoisie saves itself the expense of the inevitably ensuing sanguinary conflict, a period of "stabilization" sets in and the Fascist movement begins to decompose. And with it, the revolutionary proletarian party. From this it does not follow that the Fascist danger to the German proletariat is now eliminated, or even definitively on the decline. Such a conclusion can be drawn only by those for whom the class struggle begins at the ballot box and ends with the parliamentary mandate." (Our emphasis.)

Now, finally, for the Militant, of Feb. 24, 1933, containing the article by comrade Trotsky:

"Hugenberg's government represents the quintessence of social parasitism. But just because of this, when it became necessary, in its pure state, it became impossible. Hugenberg requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser, and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Nazi. If one cannot obtain the sanction of the highest heavenly powers through the monarchy for the property owners, there remains the sanction of the reactionary and unbridled rabble. The investiture of Hitler with power served a twofold purpose: first, to decorate the camarilla of property owners with the leaders of a 'national movement'; and secondly, to place the fighting forces of Fascism at the direct disposal of the proprietors."

Further on in the same article: "When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure for the organization of the Third International. When the bourgeoisie invites it to power, the social democracy casts its vote for the capitalist regime. The social democracy tolerates (suffers) any bourgeois government that tolerates the social democracy. But even when completely discarded from power, the social democracy continues to support bourgeois society, recommending to the workers that they conserve their forces for battles, for which it is prepared never to issue a call. By paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the social democracy provides bourgeois society with an opportunity to remain alive under conditions when it is no longer capable of living, thus turning Fascism into a political necessity."

As for branding the Brandlerist theory and practice of the "united front" opportunist, the Left

In the Daily Worker of Monday, February 20, Max Bedacht, member of the Central Committee of the Communist party writes: "They, too, (the Left Opposition and others) come with the proposals of united fronts between the Communists and the Social-Democratic parties and accuse the Communist party of splitting the workers because it insists on addressing its call for a united front not to the Noskes, the Scheidemanns and the Wels, but to the masses of social democratic workers." (Our emphasis—G. R.)

Thus it is clear, according to Bedacht, that the German Communist Party is opposed to addressing

Opposition pleads guilty. In theory and practice, Brandlerism has already been tested. In 1923, when it led the German working class to defeat and demoralization, as attested, among more decisive things, by dozens of articles and speeches by the same Lovestone, from 1923 to 1929!

While we are on the subject of Messrs. Swindlers and Forgers of the Lovestone group, it is instructive to point out that in their whole "critical review" on the theme of the German crisis, Lovestone does not mention by a single word the role of the Communist International and its "leader" Stalin! Not a word about the criminal silence of the C. I. Not a syllable about Stalin's treacherous muteness on what is happening in Germany. And for cause! Lovestone gives a fig for the German revolution. Bah! He's against Browder and Co., he's for Stalin, whom he zealously offers his services as dunkey-in-chief in the American party for the international Stalin apparatus. Therein, for him, lies the wisdom of the books and the sense of philosophy and the beginning of all good and proper things.

A MISTAKE IN THE DAILY WORKER

The Daily Worker of March 6, prints a picture of Joseph Stalin with the following caption: "The above picture, printed for the first time in the United States, shows Joseph Stalin, present secretary of the Communist party, Soviet Union, as he appeared in 1919 on the south front in the struggle against the white guard bands of Denikin and Wrangel, who unsuccessfully attempted to invade the Soviet Union." The Daily Worker here makes a little error. The photograph is well known to us. It is a picture of Stalin at a masquerade ball in Moscow two years ago, where he disguised himself as the Organizer of the Red Army. He lost first costume prize only to Martinov, who appeared at the ball disguised as a Bolshevik.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 125 East 16th Street, New York.

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Monday MARCH 6, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 16 (Whole No. 163)

Subscription price: \$2.00 per year,

Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

led at the beginning of this year

to a new turn to the Right. According to the conditions of its privileged situation and its habits of thinking, the Soviet bureaucracy has many features in common with the reformist bureaucracy of capitalist countries. It is far more inclined to trust in the "revolutionary" Kuo Min Tang, the "Left" bureaucracy of the British trade unions, the petty bourgeois "Friends of the Soviet Union", the liberal and radical socialists, than in the independent revolutionary initiative of the proletariat. But, through the necessity of defending its position in the workers' state, the Soviet bureaucracy is forced every time into sharp collisions with the reformist hand-maiden of capital. In this way under unique historical conditions a fraction of bureaucratic centrism has separated out of proletarian Bolshevism, and has laid a heavy hand on the whole epoch of development of the Soviet Republic and of the world proletariat.

Bureaucratic Centrism is the worst degeneration of the workers' state. But even in its bureaucratically degenerated form, the Soviet Union remains a workers' state. To transform the struggle against the centrism bureaucracy into a struggle against the Soviet state, would be to place oneself on the same level as the Stalinist clique, which declares, "The State—is I". The unreserved defense of the Soviet Union against world imperialism is such an elementary task of every revolutionary proletarian that the Left Opposition tolerates in its midst no vacillations or doubts on this question. As before, it will break ruthlessly with all groups and elements which attempt to occupy a "neutral" role between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world (Monatte-Louzon in France, Urbahns group in Germany).

The Left Opposition in

Imperialist Countries

The Third International arose as the immediate result of the experience of the advanced workers in the imperialist war, in the epoch of post-war upheavals, and particularly in the October revolution. This determined the leading role of Russian Bolshevism in the Third International, and therefore also

An End to Stalinist Confusion -- For the United Front!

a united front proposal to the Social Democratic party. It stands for the so-called united front from below. Since such, according to Bedacht, is the position of the German Communist Party perhaps he can explain the following incident reported in the Daily Worker, Feb. 15, 1933. We quote directly from the inexpressible to the Daily Worker:

"The Central Committee of the Reichstag met today under the chairmanship of the Socialist Deputy Loebe, whereupon the Fascist deputies repeated their tactics of howling down Loebe and preventing a session of the Committee. He therefore, again declared the session adjourned; whereupon the Fascists pushed him from the chairman's table. The Communists, Socialists and other oppositional members then left the room...."

"In the afternoon the members of the oppositional parties met to discuss the situation. The Socialists declared the Constitution had been violated and proposed that protests be made to the Fascist president of the Reichstag, Goering, and to President Hindenburg. The Communists declared such protests were useless, and proposed a new meeting of the Control Committee to be defended by detachments of the Anti-Fascist League and the Reichsbanner." (Our emphasis—G. R., Daily Worker, 2-15-33.)

Therefore, we would like to know, and let Bedacht or any other member of the Central Committee answer:

If the Stalinists are opposed to making proposals to the leaders of the Social Democratic party, why did they propose common action to the Reichstag leaders of the Social Democratic party to defend the Reichstag Control Committee from the disruptive actions of the Fascists?

Was this proposal in line with the party policy of only the united front from below?

Why are the Stalinists for a parliamentary united front, with the leaders of the Social Democratic party in the Reichstag, which is a united front purely from the top, and opposed to a united front with the Social Democratic party on the basis of a common minimum program of struggle against Fascism, which will draw the masses into action?

If the Stalinists can propose a united front of the Anti-Fascist League (controlled by the Com-

munist party) and the Reichsbanner (controlled by the Social Democratic party) to defend a parliamentary meeting, why not a united front of the Anti-Fascist League and the Reichsbanner, the Communist party, the Social Democratic party, and the trade unions, to defend workers' meetings from the assaults of the murderous Fascists?

Let the Stalinists cease their policy of confusion! A clear-cut policy of the united front tactic of Lenin and Trotsky before it is too late.

—G. R.

'Trotsky's Genius Denied'

With this headline, today's World Telegram prints a United Press dispatch from Moscow which reads as follows:

"Leon Trotsky's leadership of the Red Army during the Civil War period is bitterly attacked in a speech delivered by Clement Voroshilov, present commissar of war, made public today. Voroshilov denied the world-wide belief that Trotsky, now in exile, possesses great military genius. He claims that Joseph Stalin really saved the situation on all endangered fronts, and that the Red Army was built up to an imposing strength in spite of Trotsky's inefficiency."

Voroshilov is spitting in the wind. Better men than he have tried in the last ten years to re-write the history of the party and the Red Army as it never happened. The "world-wide belief" was not founded on myth and falsification, as is the fable manufactured by Stalin and his clique. To take but one quotation out of hundreds in those days, we cite from Gorky's memoirs of Lenin, written in 1924:

"Yes, I have often heard him (Lenin) praise his comrades. And he knew how to do justice to the energies of even those with whom he was supposed to be personally unsympathetic. Surprised by the flattering appreciation he showed for one of them, I remarked that a good many people might be amazed by it. 'Yes, yes, I know. They tell a lot of lies about my relations with him. Yes, they tell a lot of lies and especially about me and Trotsky.'"

"Founding on the table, he declared: 'Show me another man who could organize in a year an almost model army and win the respect of military experts besides. We've got that man. We've got everything. And so we'll do wonders.'"

Comment superfluous!

Nation-wide Bank Crisis Breaks Out

(Continued from Page 1)

carrying through its own solution of the crisis.

Party and Crisis

Under such conditions, a banking crisis like the present would have the profoundest social results. It would be part of a general retreat in struggle of a demoralized, organized, well-staffed and victorious army of the proletariat.

As things stand, we cannot assign it any such importance. It becomes one of a series of episodes in the development of the crisis, like the heavy gold withdrawals of September-October 1931 and April-June 1932, which were met by temporary financial manipulations on the one hand, and increas-

ed pressure on the workers and the masses in general on the other. Just what manipulations will be invoked in this particular case is not of great consequence; it may be the issue of clearing House scrip, or a tax on gold, or an embargo on gold exports, or a guarantee of deposits by the government of a banking pool, etc. That increased exploitation of the masses will be the next step to be attempted is the one thing sure.

The main point is that the bourgeoisie, penicily and demoralized as it is, can and will find its way out of such immediate predicaments as the present banking crisis, on the backs of the proletariat and the working masses, unless the masses are organized for struggle under the leadership of a powerful Communist party. The rearming and development of the Party to a scale commensurate with its tasks is the basic function of the Left Opposition.

—B. J. FIELD.

the influence of its internal struggles on the development of the other national sections. Still, it is absolutely false to regard the evolution of the Comintern during the last ten years as a mere reflection of the fractional struggle within the world Communist party. In the development of the international labor movement there were internal reasons of its own which drove the young Communist sections to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The first post-war years were everywhere, particularly in Europe, a period of expectancy of the near-by overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. But at the moment when the internal crisis of the Party broke out, most of the European sections had suffered their first great defeats and disappointments. Particularly depressing was the powerless retreat of the German proletariat in October 1933. A new political orientation became an inner necessity for the majority of the Communist parties. When the Soviet bureaucracy, exploiting the disappointment of the Russian workers with respect to the European revolution, set forth the national-reformist theory of Socialism in one country, the young bureaucracy of the other sections breathed a sigh of relief; the new perspective opened before them a road to Socialism independent of the process of the international revolution. In this way the internal reaction within the U. S. S. R. coincided with the reaction in the capitalist countries and created the conditions for a successful administrative punishment of the Left Opposition by the centrism bureaucracy.

But in their further movement to the Right, the official parties collided with the real Kuo Min Tang, the real bureaucracy of the Trade Unions and of the Social Democracy, just as the Stalinists collided with the real kulaks. The new zig-zag to the side of an ultra-Left policy carried out thereafter to the spite of the official Comintern majority into the ruling Center and the Right oppositionist wing.

In the camp of Communism, therefore, during the past years it has been possible to follow clearly three fundamental groups: the

Marxist wing (Bolshevik-Leninists); the Centrist fraction (Stalinists), and finally the Right, or properly speaking right-centrist wing (Brandlerists), which leads directly into reformism. The political development of almost all countries without exception has confirmed and every new day confirms the correctness of this classification and its living reality.

It was and remains in the highest degree characteristic of centrism that for long periods it went hand in hand with the Right as the current most nearly related to it in principle, but never made a bloc with the Bolshevik-Leninists against the Right. As to the Right wing on an international scale, like every form of opportunism it is marked by an extraordinary variety and contradictoriness among its national constituents, while they all have in common hostility to the Bolshevik-Leninists.

In the U. S. S. R., under the conditions of the dictatorship, in the absence of legal opposition parties, the Right Opposition inevitably becomes the tool whereby the class forces which are hostile to the proletariat exert their pressure—therein consists the main danger of the Right Opposition; on the other hand, the consciousness of this danger paralyzes those leaders of the Right Opposition who through their whole past are bound to the Communist Party all the shades up with the Party. In capitalist countries, where to the right of reformism can spread themselves, the Right wing (Brandlerists) has no field of activity. Insofar as the Right Opposition has mass organizations, it turns them over directly or indirectly to the social democracy (Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden), except for the revolutionary elements who find their way to the Bolshevik-Leninists (Czecho-Slovakia, Poland). The Brandlerist elements who have remained independent here and there (Germany, U. S. A.) build their calculations on being called back and pardoned sooner or later by the Stalinist bureaucracy; in the name of this perspective they carry on a campaign of lies and slander against the Left Opposition quite in the spirit of Stalinism.

To be continued

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THE MILITANT

Published 3 times a week, Monday,
Wednesday and Friday

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World,
Unite!Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 128 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 17 [WHOLE NO. 164] NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1933 PRICE 1 CENTCommunist International Changes Policy!
Half-Turn to Genuine United Front Must Be Completed and Actually Carried Out

The Communist International has at last spoken on Germany! The Communist International has at last made a turn in policy on the united front with the social democracy!

The alarm signal sounded by the Left Opposition in the ranks of the Communist movement, the increasingly critical situation in Germany, the hopelessness of the previous position of the Stalinist faction—all this forced the Comintern to speak out. It has been compelled to come out of its disastrously sectarian retreat in favor of a united front with the social democratic party to smash the forces of Fascism.

This is what is revealed by the Moscow cablegram from Walter Duranty to the New York Times of March 7, 1933. We quote directly: "The Communist International has reversed its policy of Communist party exclusiveness of recent years and has reverted to a 'united front of all workers' parties under a manifesto issued January

22 and published in the newspaper Pravda today. That is the Comintern's answer to Adolf Hitler's success and the 'unparalleled campaign of provocation and terror against the whole working class of Germany.'

"The manifesto, signed by the executive committee of the Comintern, instructs Communist parties throughout the world, first, to arrange a joint program of action with Second International and other labor organizations—that is, combined staff work; second, to form committees immediately for joint action with workers and other parties—that is, combined field work."

In its editorial comment, the Times, representing the most perspicacious bourgeois minds, observes that this is the "policy advocated by Trotsky." "M. Trotsky, from his exile on Prinkipo Island, in Turkey, a year ago advocated cooperation between the German social democrats and Communists."

We cannot sit down, they protested, with the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, with the 'social Fascist leaders'.

At the recently concluded 12th Plenum of the Comintern, the "historic leader of German Communism," Ernst Thaelmann, polemicized against those in the party who inclined in our direction: "The tactical conclusions which have been drawn from the false estimation of the role of the S. P. O. in the above-mentioned article, are substantially on a par with the proposals of the Berlin district leadership (of the party)—proposals which were made to the Social Democratic party with a view to the holding of joint demonstrations, and which were rightly rejected by the Central Committee of our party, and corrected in the case of Berlin." (Communist International, 1-15-1933, page 35.)

The article to which Thaelmann referred declared that "the demand of the Berlin-Brandenburg district leadership to the Iron Front movement, to hold a joint demonstration against Fascism, is most appropriate here."

"In this," replies Thaelmann, "we see the continuation of the false judgment of the role of the S. P. O. The proposal made by the leadership of the Berlin district to the Iron Front was sharply criticized by us, because it expressed an over-estimation of the degree of maturity attained by the social democratic workers, and an underestimation of our own power among the working class, for the organization of widespread demonstrations of the united front from below, coupled with a surrender in the face of certain sentimental feelings in favor of unity which are to be met with."

And again, attacking Trotsky who "wants in all seriousness, to see the Communists going hand in hand with the murderers of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg," who demands "negotiations between the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany"—Thaelmann

proclaimed solemnly: "This policy would mean that we would abandon our correct Bolshevik policy." (Ibid, page 35.)

Less than two weeks ago (February 27, 1933—and the Comintern manifesto was dated January 22, 1933!) Bedacht still wrote in the Daily Worker: "The more the Communist party united front with the social democratic workers is entering

into the strength of social democracy (see the last elections!—S.), the more do the Brandeburg and the Trotskyites shout for a united front with the social democratic leaders.... Bolshevik tactics made the Communists the strongest single party in Berlin. Bolshevik tactics caused the inner disintegration (!!) of the social democratic party."

The Significance of the Turn

The blows of the International Left Opposition against this light-minded Neronian adding while the Fascist torch was being applied, coupled with the blows which the Fascists themselves were dealing, have now compelled a turn in the policy of the Communist International.

The Left Opposition enthusiastically welcomes the turn! But to our regret, it is impossible to welcome it unreservedly. In the last turn of the Stalinists, in the right direction though it is, we detect all the features which inevitably characterize the turns of the Centrist bureaucracy: half-heartedness, obscurity, covering up of frailties in the interests of the theory of infallibility and apparatus prestige, ambiguity.

"The Communist International," Buchwald's radiogram quotes from Pravda, "much earlier offered to all workers' parties (!) the proposal to create joint fighting fronts against the onslaught of the capitalists." Much earlier than who or what? Is the reference to the "united front from below," to the bureaucratic ultimatum of the demand for the "united front under Communist party"? If a repetition of the past policy is all that the turn signifies, then it would be a miserable dressing up in the trappings of a more guarded phraseology of the bankrupt policy of yesterday. From the Pravda quotations given us by Buchwald, however, it appears (one must look for a clear statement with a microscope) that the Comintern has finally addressed itself directly to the social democracy. "The Communist International is for setting forth direct and comprehensible claims, it offers to act and not to conceal joint declarations. In its appeal, the Comintern deprives the social democracy of the possibility of claiming that the Communists are against unity if the question is about unity for struggle.... The German social democracy is now confronted with the question of whether they come to an agreement with the followers of the Communist party (only the followers?—S.) and advance the fight against the Fascist dictatorship."

Just what does this pompous ambiguity signify concretely? In the same issue, the Daily Worker's International Notes report a "united front declaration" which the social leaders prevented the Communist representative, Torgler, from reading at the Socialist demonstration in Berlin on February 7. "The declaration read as follows: 'During the past few weeks (the C. P.) has repeatedly appealed to the Socialist party, the Free and Christian trade unions to join in calling upon the working class to oppose Fascism and the employers. In this hour of the greatest peril, the Communist party again calls upon the workers organized in the Socialist party, the Free and Christian trade unions at once to join us in beginning the fight against Fascism.'"

If words have any meaning, this "united front appeal" is simply a rephrased "united front from below" all over again!

The workers in the ranks of the reformist organizations must indeed be appealed to, they must be called upon to fight for the united front. That goes without saying. But unless the Communist party offers directly to the Social Democratic party and the trade unions a proposal for united front negotiations with a concrete fighting program—the agitation in the reformist ranks is confined to a Communist recruiting campaign which is in no sense a substitute for the united front.

The Communist International has been forced to make a turn, but thus far the turn is one of words only, and "clever," "diplomatic" words at that. "The about-face of the Stalinists is inevitable," wrote Trotsky a year ago. "More than once in the past it has happened that the Stalinist bureaucracy, having spoiled paper in hundred tons in polemics against counter-revolutionary 'Trotskyism,' thereafter made an abrupt about-face and tried to fulfill the program of the Left Opposition—in truth, some-

times after hopeless delays.... The correctness of our position will become apparent in action with each passing day. When the ceiling overhead bursts into flame, the most stubborn bureaucrats must needs forget about prestige. Even genuine privy councilors, in such situations, jump out of windows in their underwear. The pedagogy of facts will come to the assistance of our criticism."

The pedagogy of facts, the intransigent, unyielding, persistent blows of the Left Opposition, have forced a turn in the Stalinist policy. The turn is in the right direction, but it cannot be over-emphasized that it is inadequate; incomplete, cowardly—in a word, typically Stalinist. The way to complete the turn is not to be overwhelmed by enthusiasm and to swallow everything uncritically, but to strike twice as hard for the views of the Left Opposition. It is only by acting in this manner in the past that the Left Opposition contributed its share even to the partial turn which has now been effected.

What Must the Party Do Now?

The Communist worker, whose passive resistance to the old Stalinist policy was not the least factor in forcing a change, will be remiss in his revolutionary duty if he fails to drive ahead now. The turn must be completed; it must be made concrete; the bureaucratic loopholes (and there are far too many of them already apparent) must be plugged up.

What is to be done now? First: the party membership, the Communist workers, are our first concern, for without a clear-headed party, which understands what it is doing and why, even the best policy is worth very little. Therefore, it is imperative that the turn be elucidated, the reasons for it made clear, the blunder of yesterday revealed and condemned to prevent its recurrence, and bureaucratic prestige sacrificed in the interests of clarity. The party, which has been so horribly disoriented and miseducated, must be re-oriented and re-educated: in a word, it must be re-armed.

Second: the turn must be made genuine and concrete. We have not the slightest reason to doubt that the party leadership will content itself with the issuance of a formal appeal to the social democracy, equivocally couched, with a good deal of "united front from below" babble smuggled in. Then, if and when it is ignored or rejected by the social democratic leaders, the Stalinist leaders will retire to their old positions, "proving" the "hopelessness" of any "united front with the leaders." The correct and only procedure is to address a formal and public appeal to the social democratic party, through its executive committee; ditto to the trade unions; to propose in this appeal a public meeting (before the eyes and under the control of the working class) of the representatives of both movements to discuss a concrete program of action against Fascism. At the same time, to call upon the reformist masses to demand that their leaders accept the Communist united front proposal, that their leaders agree to meet, discuss, work out a fighting program, and act with the Communists. Therein and only therein lies the true significance of a "united front from below" as distinguished from the Stalinist conception of yesterday (and to a certain extent of today), as well as from the Chiang Kai-Shek and Anglo-Russian Committee "united fronts from above."

Third: outside of Germany, in the other capitalist countries, the Communist party must approach the social democracy and the trade unions in the same manner, demanding a united front to mobilize the masses in France, England, the United States and elsewhere for an international movement of struggle against Hitlerism and solidarity with the German proletariat.

These are elementary preliminaries. The latest events have only fortified the standpoint and the confidence of the Left Opposition. Our vigilance will not be diminished for a moment; our irreconcilable opposition to Stalinism will not be moderated; our role will not be reduced. On the contrary, "Should the Communist party be compelled to apply the policy of the

united front, it will almost certainly permit the attack of Fascism to be beaten off," Trotsky wrote in 1932. "In its own turn, the serious victory over Fascism will clear the road for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But even at the helm of the revolution, the Communist party will still bear within itself many contradictions. The mission of the Left Opposition will not at all be completed. In a certain sense it will only begin. In the first place the victory of proletarian revolution in Germany would signify the liquidation of the bureaucratic dependence of the Communist party upon the Stalinist apparatus."

Even though much water—and blood—has flowed since this was written, and invaluable time irrevocably squandered by a bureaucracy jealous of its prestige, it remains essentially true. Fascism can still be conquered. The proletarian revolution may still be put at the top of the order of the day in Germany, and consequently throughout Europe. The Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists stands at the watchposts of the world revolution!

Wed., March 8, 1933. M. S.

SPARTACUS YOUTH AFFAIR

The Spartacus Youth Club will hold an entertainment and dance Saturday March 11, 1933, at the headquarters of the International Workers School, 126 East 16th Street. Admission is only 15 cents, and an excellent program of entertainment has been arranged. All young workers and students are cordially invited to attend and acquaint themselves with the Left Opposition youth.

Have read the Militant for the last month and have been profoundly impressed by the sincerity of the paper. It warms my heart to see an issue handled, and driven home, as the German crisis has by the Left Opposition. Enclosed herein please find \$2.00 to add my bit for the cause. Internationally, GEORGE KELLEY.

ST. LOUIS BRANCHES

The St. Louis Branch, International Workers' School is conducting a study class on the "Fundamentals of Communism" with Martin Payer as instructor. Sessions are held every Monday evening, 7:30-10:00 P. M. in the downstairs club room, Cruden Branch Library, 14th and Cass Aves. All readers of the Militant invited to attend. Tuition is free. Sufficient literature is available to all students.

Newark Meeting

at the Hungarian Workers Home 37-16th Ave., Newark, N. J. Saturday Evening, March 11th, 8 P. M. THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AND FASCISM Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON EVERYBODY WELCOME! Communist League of America (Opposition) Newark branch

LABOR TEMPLE

FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, 8 P. M. 14th Street and Second Avenue LARGE HALL ADMISSION 15 CENTS

MANHATTAN MASS MEETING

Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON MAX SHACHTMAN MARTIN ABERN, Chairman

From January 22nd to March 6th

The first question which rises in the reader's mind is the unexplained reason why six weeks was allowed to elapse between the alleged date of the issuance of the "united front manifesto" of the Comintern (January 22) and its first public appearance (March 6) in the Moscow Pravda. Was the Communist world—outside the immediate ranks of the Executive Committee—of the Comintern—aware of the existence of the manifesto? If it was not, what reason was there for withholding it from attention all during the recent period, when the official Communist press continued to advance the idea that the "united front with the social fascists" was a species of the "Left Trotskyist" vanguard of the counter-revolution? If the Communist parties were aware of the existence of the manifesto, why was it not made public in the last six weeks (in fact, it has not yet been printed in the American party press), or if it was available but "not ready for release," why was it not referred to in the press, or at the very least, why wasn't the change in policy which it represents reflected in the line of conduct of the parties? How could the responsible general staff of the world revolution permit itself the costly luxury of keeping under cover so vitally important a document for a period of six weeks during which events of paramount significance were beating down upon the heads of the German proletariat like a thunderstorm? And why, when it is finally made public, does the Communist public have to look for it in the columns of the bourgeois Times which, not for the first time, is in advance of the Daily Worker in its reports of developments in the Soviet Union and the Comintern?

The Comintern manifesto and the Pravda editorial do not go unreported in the Daily Worker, to be sure, even if a day later than the Times. On page 4 of its March 8 issue (page one is occupied with the more vital question of the "demands of the small bank depositors"), the Daily Worker first publishes a Moscow radiogram from its own correspondent about the peculiarly dated Comintern appeal. The American Communist Party maintains a permanent representative (more than one) in Moscow; it even has its own newspaper correspondent there, who is said to have been a dramatic critic, one Buchwald. But the advantage one would expect from such representation do not seem to accrue to the Daily Worker in such crucial questions as the present.

ST. PAUL MEETING

Speakers: HUGO OEHLEB CARL SROGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE

Tuesday eve., March 14, 8:00 p. m. Admission 10c Unemployed Free

ST. PAUL MEETING

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The Banking Crisis in the United States

TWO BILLIONS IN CURRENCY AND GOLD HOARDED, THREATENING TO CRIPPLE THE FINANCING OF BUSINESS; PLANS BEING WORKED OUT BY COURGEIOISIE TO TIDE ITSELF OVER CRITICAL PERIOD, WITH INFLATION MENACING PROLETARIAT

The basic problem of banking in this: In the United States, the national income in boom years was about 90 billion dollars a year, at present about half of that; the national wealth about 300 to 400 billions. This income is realized in the form of money, and a large part of the transfers of wealth take the form of money as an intermediate stage. This money is based on gold. But there is only 3 to 4 billions of gold in this country. The whole business of banking is to fill the gap between the 3-4 billions of gold and the hundreds of billions of money transactions which are based on gold. The banking system is a device for filling this gap by means of credit, in other words, paper. Every dollar of gold received by the Federal Reserve Banks can become the basis for 2-12 dollars of Federal Reserve paper, each of which in turn can become the basis of 8 to 14 dollars in loans and deposits in the ordinary commercial banks.

As a result of this mechanism, 3-4 billions in gold supports 5-7 billions in paper money which in turn supports 44 millions of bank deposits, which are the real "funds" with which the business of the country is transacted. All of this works well enough until and unless the people who have bank deposits ask for paper money instead, and the people who have paper money ask for gold. When this happens the credit, which stuffs the gap between the amount of gold actually available and the amount of business which has to be financed, is cut down. This cannot go very far without raising the possibility that the first 3-4 billions of deposits may be paid off in gold, and the entire rest of the banking structure be left without any gold foundation.

To put it somewhat differently—if all the economic life of the country were to be restricted to what can actually be financed on a cash basis, it would have to be reduced, not to 50% of "normal" as at present, but to about 3%. In Soviet Russia in the worst period

of the civil war, in 1920, after years of imperialist and civil war and the transition from capitalists to war-time Communism, the lowest level reached was 18% of "normal." The complete wiping-out of credit and the reduction of economic activity would be an unparalleled economic collapse. When there is a danger of this, as there has been on six occasions since the Civil War, the banks, not having enough gold or currency to meet the demand, and finding their credit steadily cut down, fill in the gap with emergency paper of some sort as long as the panic continues, then retire it as soon as a "normal" basis for banking has been restored. This happens when gold and currency begin coming back into the banks, so that deposits increase instead of decreasing.

Just what has happened in the present banking crisis? Banks have been shut down by whole states at a time, and depositors have been withdrawing their money. Deposits have been cut from 44 to 42 billions, while note circulation has gone up over a billion dollars, from 5 to over 6 billions, at the same time gold on hand has been reduced from 4 to 3-1/2 billions. In other words, about 2 billions of currency and gold have gone into hoarding. The danger of a reduction in deposits and credit reaching the point of crippling the financing of business became imminent. As a result of the hoarding, there is not enough money to go around, and credit is not able to fill the gap because it is being withdrawn, not extended, when everybody wants cash.

How do the banks and the government and president who speak for them propose to meet this situation? In the same way as such situations have always been met—by putting out something which will take the place of money until the emergency is over, i. e., until money comes back out of hoarding and credit, along with deposits, stops declining.

Evidently there is a difference among the bankers as to just how

this is to be done. The New York City group wants to issue Clearing House certificates, which represent only the balances which one bank has with other banks. Anyone who wants to accept this as money can do so, but unlike "regular" money, there is no legal way of compelling him to accept it. This is the device that was used in 1873, 1893 and 1907, on each of which occasions it was redeemed, after circulating for some months.

The plan being carried through by Gov. Lehman of New York State is to have new Emergency Certificate Corporations organized which will take over assets from banks and issue certificates against them. This kind of paper is backed by the particular assets against which it is issued, not by the general credit of all the banks in a given district, like the Clearing House certificates.

A third plan is being worked out by Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury, for the issue of Federal Reserve notes of a special kind against bank assets; something like the Lehman plan but on a national scale and without forming a new banking corporation.

Will There Be Inflation? No matter which of these plans is actually carried into practice, the result will be an increase in the amount of paper in circulation. Does this mean inflation? Not necessarily. If the total amount of all these new issues, of whatever kind, is kept down to the amount of money which has gone into hoarding, it will merely keep the total of cash plus credit in the status quo before the rush on the banks started; if the amount of new paper issued is less, it will be even a further deflation and reduction in the amount of circulating medium. If, on the other hand, more new paper is issued than the amount of cash that has gone into hoarding, or if it is kept in circulation and not retired while the hoarded cash comes back, it will result in a net increase in the total amount of means of payment available.

(Continued on Page 2)

After the German Elections-What Now?

Amplous: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON MAX SHACHTMAN MARTIN ABERN, Chairman

Our relation to the Communist International is determined by the name of our faction: **Left Opposition**. The content of our ideas and methods is characterized with sufficient clarity by the name **Bolshevik-Leninists**. Every section must bear both of these complementary designations.



We Demand Plain Speaking on Germany!

Only Unmistakable Change in Comintern Policy Can Smash Fascism at 11th. Hour!

What are the exact contents of the "united front appeal" signed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which, according to the Moscow dispatches, was dated January 22, 1933 and made public only six weeks later, on March 6, 1933? What exactly is the nature of the appeal? Does it propose a united front with the Labor and Socialist (Second) International? Does it mean that if the Second International is compelled to accept the proposal, the Communist International is prepared to negotiate with the social democracy concerning a concrete program of action against Fascism?

If this is what it signifies, then the Comintern leaders have made an important change in their policy, which should be openly acknowledged, the reasons for the change explained to the Communist workers, and the party really oriented towards an intelligent and concerted application of the new policy.

If this is not what it signifies, then the Stalinist center is only making a literary gesture for the record, behind which to screen the criminal responsibility for the present situation in Germany which its past policy has accumulated upon its back.

In either case: plain speech, please!

WE WANT TO KNOW
Why hasn't the appeal of the Communist International been published in the Communist press? The Moscow Pravda, we are told, declares that the appeal was issued on January 22. More than six weeks have elapsed since that date. Regardless of its contents, the appeal is of vital international

importance to the working class. Why is there not even an extract from the manifesto in the Daily Worker or Freiheit, to say nothing of the manifesto itself. The American party maintains one or more representatives in the Comintern; it has a Moscow correspondent for its daily press. The correspondent finds it possible to cable regularly about the activity of this or that shock brigade's activity in this or that one of Russia's far-flung provinces. Why hasn't he found it necessary to cable at least the important sections of the Comintern manifesto? Why wasn't the manifesto sent by mail on January 22nd?

WE WANT TO KNOW:
Why are the negotiations with the Second International—which appear to be in progress in one form or another—being conducted behind the scenes and beyond the vision of the working class?

The socialist New Leader of March 11, 1933, prints a cable from Zurich signed by Adler, for the Secretariat of the Second International, which reads: "Our administrative committee published yesterday a declaration of 540 words concerning the Moscow 'united front' offer, which was a reply to our manifesto of February 19. Moscow's appeal will be considered at the next meeting of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International. Affiliated parties are asked to refrain from definite action until then."

The "Moscow 'united front' offer" is unknown to the masses of Communist and socialist workers. It is deliberately withheld from publication in the official Communist press. The masses thus do not know what the Communist Inter-

national proposes. Friedrich Adler and Company apparently do know. How are the workers to judge the actions of the Second International with regard to the Comintern offer if they do not know the contents of the latter? How are the Communist workers to approach their socialist class brothers on this question if they do not know what their own international proposes concretely? How are the socialist workers—who ardently desire a common struggle to smash the Hitlerite thugs—to exert pressure on their leaders, to call them to account to demand of them a favorable reply if these workers do not know just what the Communist International proposes?

The united front cannot be established by diplomatic negotiations on the quiet and behind the scenes—as conducted by Stalin with Chiang Kai-Shek, as conducted by Tomsky with Purcell, as conducted by Barbusse with Friedrich Adler during the notorious Amsterdam Congress. All negotiations must be conducted openly, under the eyes and control of the masses on both sides, with the important documents and proceedings available to these masses, especially the social democratic workers who can be relied upon to exert mass pressure on their leaders for common action with the Communists—providing the latter make it possible for these workers to act.

But how are the socialist masses to be mobilized if they do not even have the Comintern's appeal before them, if they do not even know what the Comintern proposes? Why doesn't the party press say a word about the Comintern appeal? Why hasn't the

Daily Worker, which relegated the Buchwald cablegram to the last page, said a single word about the Comintern's united front appeal since that time?

WE WANT TO KNOW:

Does the American (or any other) party leadership know what the Comintern appeal says, what the change in policy signifies—if it is a serious change?

The Daily Worker says nothing, because the party leadership as well as the party membership have been demoralized, confused and paralyzed by the news from Moscow, precisely because it was so

Left Opposition On Germany

The next issue of the Militant will contain a manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the situation in Germany, the menace of Fascism, the tasks of the working class and the Communist movement. In addition, we shall publish an open letter sent to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States on the concrete tasks confronting the party in this country and internationally, and presenting the proposals which the Left Opposition advances as the quintessential pre-requisites to the mobilization of a mass movement to crush Fascism in Germany and to create international solidarity for the German proletariat.

ambiguous and contradictory. But the Freiheit rather its editor Olgin, does risk a word in public about it. In the issue of March 10, 1933, Olgin devotes his whole articles to a polemic against the views we developed on the Comintern appeal in our last number. From his article, it is evident that Olgin knows as little about the details of the Comintern appeal as we do. Consequently, he thinks it safest to declare that there has been no change in policy: "This is the program. A united front of struggle, a united front of action, a united front for special interventions, a united front with the masses, and if necessary, with their local organizations, a united front to bring back the march of Fascism—this has been the policy of the Comintern, so it shall remain."

Is Olgin's view that of the Comintern, or is he just whistling in the dark? If he is correct in his assertions, the "change" is only the bankrupt old policy of the "united front from below", rendered more disastrous and irresponsible by the fact that an attempt is being made to smother it in under a new mantle at a time when every day and hour in Germany is the equivalent of months and years. If this explanation is wrong, then all the more reason why the party and the Comintern are obligated to speak plainly and unmistakably for its actual policy.

Are the social democratic leaders to be permitted to escape the responsibility for the treachery they are preparing? Are the statesmen of the Second International to be permitted to continue avoiding the struggle for fear of its revolutionary consequences? The main-

tenance of the old policy of the Stalinists makes it possible, affords the socialist leaders an easy way out. The policy of the Left Opposition—formal appeal for the united front, demand of negotiations to work out a program of action—puts the Second International right to the wall, compels it to speak and act unequivocally, forces it to show its true colors.

Olgin feebly defends his opposition to our policy with the declaration that the leaders of the Second International are traitors, with whom no united front can be made. When a discovery, however belated, is made, even if his conclusions are ludicrous. It took the Communists quite some time to convince Olgin, at that time a collaborator of Abraham Cahan and the Forwards, that his leaders were traitors on the other side of the revolutionary barricades. That he finally learned this elementary truth, is undoubtedly to his credit. The great misfortune, however, is that at this late date it is still necessary to spend invaluable time trying to explain to him that he will yet have to sit down once, and perhaps twenty times, with the leaders of the social democracy—traitors though they are, to force them into a common struggle in the course of which their followers will learn that only the Communists have the correct policy and leadership.

The socialist masses do not yet know that their leaders are traitors. We must patiently enlighten them. They will learn it through their own experience. The policy of Olgin makes it possible for the socialist leaders to retain their hold over the masses. "You see,"

they say, "we are ready to unite with the Comintern leaders, but all they want is to break your organization and attack your chosen leaders." This is an unmitigated lie of the socialist Tartarines and Elmer Ganttrys. They do not want to unite with the Comintern; they do not want to launch a really militant struggle against Fascism. But the masses do not yet know it (it takes them even longer to learn than it took Olgin, whose policy, besides, has prevented them from learning). And unless this policy is drastically altered, the socialist leaders will find a new purpose through which to see the struggle, to leave the workers to be crushed by the enemy, in a word, to betray them again.

WE WANT TO KNOW:
When will the Comintern make clear its position? When will it stop playing hide-and-seek with the crisis in Germany? When will it speak out so plainly that there will be no room for misunderstanding, misinterpretation, ambiguity? Europe, and consequently the world, is at an historical turning point. In the hands of the Comintern still lie those instruments which enable it to influence decisively the direction of this turn. The express speed of the Fascist advance in Germany has left but little time in which to act. But time is still left.

A terrific historical responsibility weighs upon the Comintern leadership. Its duty is plain. If it fails to do its duty, it will itself be inundated under the overwhelming catastrophe which its own blunders are now serving to prepare in Germany. Friday, March 10, 1933. —M. S.

The New U.S. Banking Law

ROOSEVELT'S EMERGENCY MEASURES LEAVE OPEN ROAD TO INFLATION; HELP CONCENTRATE BANKS INTO HANDS OF MONOPOLISTS, PREPARE FOR BRANCH BANKING SYSTEM

The new Roosevelt banking law makes it possible, under cover of the immediate banking crisis, for finance-capital to carry on a process of elimination of small banks and concentration of big ones and thus strengthen in finance-capital itself the monopolistic tendency which finance-capital has given to industry and commerce. In Canada there are nine banks which do practically all of the banking business of the country; in England, four; in Germany, three. In the United States there are about a hundred banks of world importance, and in addition about 20,000 smaller banks which collectively do a large proportion of the country and neighborhood business. Branch banking is very severely restricted in this country, while in most other imperialist countries branch banking based on monopolistic organizations of finance-capital is the backbone of the banking system.

"New Deal" in Banking System

This contradiction between the centralizing and monopolistic tendencies of developed imperialism, and the decentralizing, small-scale, competitive relics of a pre-imperialist era represented by the American banking system, is being solved ruthlessly in favor of monopoly by the "new deal". The dual system of state and national control, under which thousands of small banks were able to keep alive, and the right to stay out of the Federal Reserve system, are on the road to elimination. A large part of the new law is taken up with the new technique of closing banks. At the same time dictatorial powers are given the national government. It is clear that thousands of banks, particularly the smaller ones, will never open again. Monopolist control of banking will receive a great impetus, at the same time that the great commercial banks formally separate themselves from their investment banking affiliates, like the National City Co. and the Chase Securities Co.

The section of the new law dealing with the issue of additional circulating notes does not come out clearly for inflation—whether it results in inflation or not will depend on the final decisions of the big bankers, which do not appear to have been formulated as yet. All that has been settled so far is that new currency will be printed, of the same type as the old, except that it bears a small circulation tax which will probably induce the bankers to withdraw it from circulation in time. There is no new provision as to how such notes are to be issued—the basis is provided in the Glass-Steagall Act passed last year.

In short, the question of whether there will be inflation or not is not yet solved, the new emergency currency should circulate on a level with the old (that is, a del-

lar of the new issue should be worth a dollar of the old, whatever a dollar of either kind will be worth in actual buying power). At the same time, the big banks are put in a position, through their control of the national government and its new dictatorial powers, to advance rapidly toward the crushing of small-bank opposition and the concentration of finance-capital into a few gigantic units along the lines of other imperialist countries.

The policy of the official party overlooks all this and results in a purely demagogic general agitation and a few empty and contradictory slogans. They view the whole banking crisis as a sort of gigantic racket intended to result in inflation, to reduce the value of the workingmen's wages; in the issue of a new kind of paper which will be worth less than the old paper and which the masses should refuse to accept; and in the robbing of depositors by bankers who refuse to pay out full deposits in cash.

Bankers and Inflation

As to inflation, it is by no means certain that the bankers will gain more than they lose by it: the higher the value of money (i. e., if there is no inflation) the greater the value of bankers' mortgages on homes and farms, as well as of all their other paper claims, and the greater the power of American capitalism on the world arena. As to the reduction in wages, the bankers have been able to carry it out directly, by cutting down the number of dollars in the pay envelope; not as in Germany in 1920-23, where the strength and militancy of the workers' organizations made it preferable for the bankers to pick the workers' pockets by reducing the value in buying power of his wages, not his amount.

At the same time as it opposes inflation, the party puts up as a slogan the fight for the right of depositors to withdraw the full amount of their deposits in cash. The money that depositors withdrew is paid out in bank notes, which are printed for the purpose. In the week ending March 1 over \$700,000,000 of new notes were printed; last week over \$800,000,000, bringing the total money in circulation up to over \$7,500,000,000. If more deposits are withdrawn, the money supply will increase.

(Continued on Page 2)

SPRINGFIELD MEETING
THE DANGER OF FASCISM IN GERMANY
Speaker:
HUGO OEHLE
Member N. E. C. Communist League of America (Opposition)
Sunday, MARCH 19 at 8 P. M.
HOFFERKAMP HALL
627 1-2 E. Adams St.
ADMISSION FREE

Militant Back to Weekly

The heavy task we set for ourselves of bringing out the Militant three times a week for the period of one month, in order to alarm and awaken the Communist workers to the immediacy and the burning importance of the German situation, is successfully completed with this issue. With the next issue we return to our regular weekly four page edition and, in the next weeks, will concentrate on the task of organizing and consolidating the great political gains of the Left Opposition in preparation for another forward bound.

Simultaneously with the return to the regular four page edition the National Committee of the Left Opposition will proceed, on the basis of the widespread sentiment aroused in the party ranks by our agitation, to submit to the Central Committee of the party a series of concrete proposals for action in the present situation, and will develop the campaign of the Bolshevik-Leninists further on the basis of these proposals. Along with that, the four page editions of the Militant will proceed to the systematic elucidation of the fundamental principle line which guides our policy in the German crisis and brings us into irreconcilable antagonism to the policy of bureaucratic centrism on an international scale. In the past weeks all attention and agitation was necessarily concentrated on the question of the united front, since this is the most acutely critical and decisive one. Thousands of new readers have recognized the utter falsity of the Stalinist policy on this issue. It is now necessary to explain to them fundamental principle foundations of these blunders. The four page Militant, which will have space for longer articles and more detailed analyses, will undertake this duty without in the least moderating the agitation for a correction of the united front policy.

The publication of our Militant three times a week for the past month was an enormous undertaking for our small group and it strained our resources and energies to the limit. The task was accomplished only because of the unbounded enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the American Bolshevik-Leninists and the loyal support of the sympathizing workers. To all those who helped in this task we extend our hearty appreciation and declare our firm confidence that this support, on an ever wider scale, will not be lacking in the still greater tasks that now lie ahead.

—THE MILITANT,

Appeal to Y.C.L. On Slugging of Opposition Youth

To the District Executive Committee, Young Communist League No. 8

To the National Committee, Young Communist League of America Comrades,

Walter Danylyuk, member of the National Students League and member of the Spartacus Youth Club of Chicago, has been attacked and severely beaten to unconsciousness by members of the Young Communist League in the streets of Chicago, (Western Ave. and Division St.) on Monday Night March 6, 1933 at 7:30 P. M. and again at about 8:15 P. M.

This cowardly and atrocious deed came as the culmination of a series of warnings given to numerous members of the Spartacus Youth Club, by members of the Young Communist League, that if they did not stop beating from YCL members in silence.

These beatings are, without a doubt, futile and ridiculous as well as scandalous attempts to combat the teachings of the Spartacus Youth Club, affiliated to the Communist League of America, (Left Opposition). Marxism has given the revolutionary movement a theoretical weapon to combat political opponents. Only political opponents must resort to the fist as a means of combat. Such tactics can neither intimidate nor defeat us; it can only subvert the YCL and besmirch its name. Just as the Socialist party and the American Federation of Labor used the black jacks and guns in an attempt to destroy the growing influence of the Communist movement, so you have resorted to similar methods. And just as the tactics of the S. P. and the A. F. L. acted as a boomerang, so will your methods react in the identical manner. It is unfortunate that the evolutionary process of the Socialist party and the A. F. L. against which we fought remorselessly, has so completely dominated you.

There is indeed, a touching affinity between the trade unions slugging and murdering of comrade Weisenberg in Chicago in 1890 and the present disgraceful assault upon comrade Danylyuk who is now in critical condition.

Whether our YCL comrades have repudiated Marxism, for the "individual terror" of Bakunin, or whether they are being influenced by the teachings of Al Capone, we do not know. One thing is evident, THAT SUCH ACTION CANNOT BE TOLERATED IN A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THAT SUCH PROCEDURE IS THE CULMINATION OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE YCL TO A GROUP OF MURDEROUS HOOLIGANS WHO HAVE THEIR PLACE, NOT IN THE RANKS OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

(Continued on Page 2)

Com. Cannon At Albany:

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

We meet here in the fourth year of the crisis which has brought the most appalling misery and privation to the masses and which is profound affecting the entire working class. The terrible and unprecedented conditions are undermining the workers' accustomed standards of life. They are destroying all their security of existence, such as it was, and are putting before them, in every more categorical terms, the necessity of seeking a way out by new methods and means. In such a situation this conference of 346 delegates from 248 workers' organizations can serve as a starting point in a significant movement of working class resistance, or it can remain a mere episode soon passed over and soon forgotten. It is for us to decide which it shall be. It depends in the highest degree on the success we achieve in pointing out the way to the impoverished masses, and in working out the methods and means of uniting with them in the struggle.

In order for us to give the right answer to this question, which is of such crucial importance, we must first see the situation as it really is. And at the very beginning we must discard any illusions about the real nature and composition of our conference. To talk as though the conference represented the unemployed millions of New York State, or even a numerically significant section of them, is a sure way of condemning all the deliberations of the conference to futility. The real class movement of the workers against the scourge of unemployment, does not yet exist on any wide scale. The movement which is on its feet and attempting to struggle against the conditions of the crisis remains, in the fourth year of the crisis, primarily and almost exclusively a movement of the class-conscious vanguard. The composition of this conference, called together after the most extensive preparation and agitation, is the most eloquent testimony to this fact. In this there is nothing fatal if we recognize the fact; if we do not deceive ourselves with illusions about a united front movement which does not as yet exist in reality.

The composition of the Conference determines its specific tasks. To me it is quite obvious that general agitation against the evils of unemployment is unnecessary here since everybody is already convinced. There has been enough, if not too much, of this already. There is very little doubt that the conference is ready, now without any further discussion, to endorse the most radical demands, and the social revolution too. If someone should move a resolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to test the sentiments of the conference, there is no doubt that

The N.Y. State Conference

LEFT OPPOSITION SETS FORTH ITS POLICY AND PROGRAM IN THE UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN STATE-WIDE MEET AT THE CAPITAL

The next issue of the Militant will contain a detailed analytical report of the results of the Albany conference on unemployment by James P. Cannon, who headed the Left Opposition delegation to the conference. Pressure of space in the current issue compelled us to omit the report this time and to include only the speech of comrade Cannon and the resolution submitted to the Conference by our delegation.

STATEMENT OF L. O.

The united front conference for unemployment insurance and relief, assembled at Albany on March 5th, 6th, and 7th, is to be regarded as a progressive step in the process of struggle around this central issue of the day. Conceived in this way in the building of a genuine mass movement of the working class and properly developed, it can also against the scourge of unemployment and its source—capitalism. Through such a broad movement, the working class can be closely welded together in common struggle for the immediate and also for the historical interests of the masses. The Communist League of America (Left Opposition) heartily welcomes this movement, participates loyally in its activities and works for its advancement.

The specific tasks set for the conference is to work out a legislative program in the interests of the unemployed workers, and, consequently, of the entire working class of which the unemployed are an inseparable part. This proposal to put pressure on the capitalist legislature is a necessary part of the fighting movement for the unemployed. The fight on this front, however, can become really effective, even to serve the immediate interests of the unemployed, only if it is supplemented by and combined with a program of direct mass pressure through huge united demonstrations of the workers. We are not here to "lobby". We must not allow ourselves to be caught in a maze of legal technicalities and chicaneries. The capitalist legislature, where we appear at the moment, is for us primarily a forum from which to appeal to the working masses to unite for struggle.

From this point of view, our "legislative program" should not be restricted to the narrow groove of the rules of the state legislature. It should express the real class demands of the workers on a na-

aim to put the New York section of this national movement on a firm foundation by bringing forward and concentrating on the basic class demands which set the militant movement on foot. In our opinion, it would be a grievous error to clutter up the "legislative program" with all kinds of incidental and secondary proposals which would detract from the sharp emphasis on the real important class demands.

In our opinion, the most important points to be incorporated into the program are as follows:

1. Immediate Relief.
2. Unemployment insurance, to be paid for by the employers and state government.
3. The 6-hour day and 5-day week, without reduction in pay.
4. Long term credits to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for American workers and the cementing of fraternal relations between the American and Russian workers. This implies the demand for recognition of the Soviet Government and the establishment of trade relations.

In supporting the movement for legislative action, the Communist Left Opposition deems it necessary to point out the inadequacies of a parliamentary campaign to achieve any one of these demands. Such a tactic by itself is insufficient and would be misleading and incapable of obtaining the aims of the conference. The broad masses of the workers must be drawn into class struggle activity for these demands, through mass demonstrations and activity among the working class organizations, trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc., the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized must be united in the fight for these demands. In short, the widest possible mass pressure of the economic and political organizations of the working class must be exerted upon the ruling class to reinforce the legislative demands.

It is necessary that this Conference shall conduct a sharp campaign of exposure and criticism of the so-called labor representatives and their lobbying methods behind the scenes with the politicians at Albany and elsewhere in order to secure a few cheap and meager concessions for the unemployed. This capitalistic "politics" is only a snare and delusion to the workers and serves to disarm them before the attacks of the capitalists and their agents. These labor fakery must be shown up in their true colors by counterposing a program of class struggle to their political chicanery.

As has been said above, it is necessary to look upon the present conference not as an end in itself, but as a stage in the process of struggle. The central problem is—

(Continued on Page 2)

ST. PAUL MEETING

Speakers:

HUGO OEHLE

CARL SKOGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE

Tuesday eve, March 14, 8:00 p. m.

THE WORKERS' FRONT

Carpenters Protest Against Bureaucracy at S.P. «United Front»

We publish below a copy of an open letter sent by Carpenters Local Union 2090 to the Socialist party and the labor press:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Gentlemen:—After listening to the report by our two delegates to your conference on Feb. 22, 1933 this local union wishes to register a protest against the conducting of the conference called by your committee and especially against the treatment accorded to our delegates and those whose viewpoint on the unemployment problem is similar to our own.

The initiators of the conference addressed the call to our local union and to numerous other organizations. Many of these delegates were in agreement with the views of the conference. It should have been possible for all the delegates to obtain admission into the conference and to voice their views, to submit their proposals or resolutions, and then to have a thorough discussion of everything put before the conference. This is the only correct procedure for a working class movement.

Instead of this, our delegates witnessed exactly the opposite. Workers who came with regular credentials from various labor organizations, particularly Left wing labor organizations, were refused admission into the conference by a "credentials committee" which was never elected but arbitrarily appointed by nobody known who. In addition, squads of strong-arm men were stationed throughout the hall and without the slightest pretext, they were employed to make violent physical attacks upon these delegates who did not meet with the approval of the conference organizers. Not only were these workers slugged and forcibly ejected from the hall, but any delegate who rose to protest against this scandal, was immediately threatened with a dose of the same medicine. The delegate from our local union was twice pulled back into his seat by these strong-arm men, when he made an attempt to take the floor and voice his point of view and his protest.

We sent delegates, like other organizations, in order to help build up a strong and united movement to make some headway in the fight against the misery and hardship which unemployment imposes upon the working man and woman. But our delegates were not given the slightest opportunity to present our point of view, to submit resolutions or to argue for them. The time of the conference was taken up by long-winded speeches from leaders of the Socialist party and the rank and file delegates were made to listen only. Instead of serving there as active participants in a conference, they were lured there to give this conference of semi-business men and political job seekers a workers and proletarian aspect.

We hold to the view we have had before, that it is necessary to unite a large and powerful movement for unemployment insurance and relief. For this purpose, we favored the merging of the conference called by the A. F. of L. committee with that called by the labor committee of the S. P. We intended to present this view at the conference. But before we could do it, the slugging and ejections began, and an atmosphere of terrorism was created.

We therefore wish to protest most energetically against the procedure at this conference. In spite of what has happened, we intend to continue as before with the defense of our point of view that only the genuine united front of all workers' organizations can give a real forward push to the movement to relieve the workers from the effects of the crisis. Our representatives, wherever they are will defend this point of view.

Fraternally yours,
CHARLES EBEL,
Secretary,
Local Union 2090, UB of C
and J. of A.
243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

F.S.U. Backs Out From L.O. Debate

Chicago.—On the west side of Chicago there exists a branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union that engages in educational activities, hold lectures, debates, etc. This branch decided one day, that it might stage a debate between a member of the F. S. U. and a representative of the National Committee would not permit such a discussion. But the arrangements were made.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 128 East 16th Street, New York.
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Friday, March 10, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 18 (Whole No. 165)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

Appeal to Y.C.L. Against Slugging

(Continued from Page 1)

GROUP BUT IN SOME PETTY FOOLISH GANG THAT SUCH TACTICS CAN SERVE ONLY TO PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF OUR ENEMIES.

For you to tolerate such tactics in the least is to sanction them. You bear the preponderance of the responsibility for this act, for you have sat by, sanctioning the beatings we have received, by your silence. You bear the preponderance of the responsibility because you sat by, never allowing a word of criticism to emanate from your office against those who persist in disgracing the revolutionary movement because of their "revolutionary, and political integrity," by beating with the aid of pool-hall hoodlums, individual revolutionaries whose political concepts differ in the least. To continue your silence in the face of the recent occurrences, is to commit the greatest injustice to the revolutionary youth movement.

We demand the expulsion from the Young Communist League of Chicago, of Ted Cruck and Ted Peck, as well as all others who participated in the attack upon Comrade Danyluk and whom we could not identify, on the following charges:

1. For the brutal and cowardly beatings given to young revolutionaries, whose sincerity has been substantiated by countless arrests and jail sentences, by such worthless elements as Ted Cruck.
2. For the violation of the most elementary of Marxist axioms: axioms which distinguish us from anarchists and nihilists.
3. For destroying the prestige of the Communist movement.

We demand that the National and District Committees of the Young Communist League take immediate and austere action against the participants of the attack, and make an example of them by expelling these elements from the Young Communist League, as undesirables who are obstructing the progress of the revolutionary youth movement. The decision you make passes judgment upon your own revolutionary integrity and will decide the problem as to whether the Y.C.L. shall continue to grow or cease.

Comrade Danyluk was questioned by the police after he had regained consciousness. He refused to reveal the names of his assailants, nor did he utter a word that might throw the slightest suspicion upon the organization that was responsible for the deed. He pleaded ignorance to all questions that might in the least incriminate the Y.C.L. YON, AND NOT THE POLICE are the ones to pass decision upon such action. YOU MUST ACT.

We have tolerated these beatings long enough. WE REFUSE TO TOLERATE ANY SUCH FURTHER ATTACKS UPON OUR COMRADES. YOU MUST ACT AGAINST THEM. We do not believe in settling our problems before the capitalist courts. We know of more effective ways of settling such problems in the revolutionary movement. Your decision, and the outcome of the condition of comrade Danyluk, will go far to decide our action.

We register our revolutionary protests,
NATHAN GOULD,
For the Spartacus Youth Club,
JOSEPH GIGANTI,
For the Communist League of America, (Left Opposition),
Chicago Branch.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Big Oehler Meeting In Davenport

Davenport, Iowa.—A very enthusiastic audience of 125 workers greeted Hugo Oehler, member of the national committee, when he spoke in Davenport on "What Is Happening in Germany?" Comrade Oehler presented the situation in Germany in a very enthusiastic report showing the mistakes in the present Stalinist leadership and the necessity of the social democratic leadership. Comrade Oehler answered many questions about the situation in Germany.

The Stalinists—there were only about six present. They made an excuse that they were doing more important work than discussing the German revolution so that is the reason their leadership could not be present.

About seventy-five militants were sold at the meeting. A motion picture of the workers in Davenport and the greeting is to be sent through the International Left Opposition.

Comrade Oehler while he was in town gave a lecture on the principles of the Left Opposition before

our branch, about an hour in the afternoon and about an hour after the mass meeting was over. Several comrades that are not in the Left Opposition attended both of the lectures. In fact there was not even a minute of spare time for comrade Oehler from the time that he reached Davenport to the time that he left.

March 15, 1933, 8 P. M., the Workers' Educational Forum will hold a 50th anniversary meeting for Karl Marx at the same hall. Comrade H. Brady of the Chicago branch will give a review of Marx's life and the significance of his teachings. There will be a musical program by a German singing society of this city. Refreshments will be served after the meeting. Admission 10c—Unemployed Free.

THE ONLY ROAD

The Only Road by Leon Trotsky has been completely set up and will go to press within the next few days. This is a fundamental analysis of the German situation and all the factors that led to the assumption of power by Hitler. No militant can fail to read this book. The book will consist of more than 100 pages and will sell at a very nominal price. Watch for its publication.

Comrade Cannon's Speech at Albany

(Continued from Page 1)

the overwhelming majority, if not every single delegate here, would vote for it with both hands. In its composition it is a conference of the vanguard. The important and decisive questions for such a conference are the questions of program, perspectives and tactics. From this point of view I shall undertake to analyze the situation as the Left Opposition sees it and from which our proposals flow.

The crisis is preparing the ground for a great resurgence of the American working class. The cynical indifference of the capitalist rulers to the plight of the hungry masses, the pittance relief doled out as charity, the savage wage cuts and other aggressions on the one hand, and the bankruptcy of all the capitalist panaceas for overcoming the crisis on the other—all this is producing in the depths of the working and unemployed masses the most profound resentment and dissatisfaction. The necessary conditions for the transformation of the psychology of the working class, for its political awakening and its emergence as a class on the road of the class struggle, are maturing rapidly; to a certain extent they have already matured.

The furious resentment of the workers is accumulating to the breaking point, preparing the way for a great explosion of working class protest. Of decisive importance to facilitate this are: the program, the tactic and the perspective. The present conference has to be conceived not as the culmination but rather as a point of departure in the struggle to set a real class movement of the working and unemployed masses on foot.

The hesitation of the masses to express their profound resentment at the terrible conditions imposed upon them in the crisis in aggressive struggles on a broad scale, which up to now has been one of the most outstanding characteristics of the situation, has certain causes. The mass unemployment overwhelmed the employed workers with a sense of insecurity and helplessness, and served as a deterrent to actions on their part. In addition to that, the absence of

any organized movement of the unemployed on a sufficiently large scale, and the disunity in such movements as have existed have operated to paralyze the development of a real class movement. All this does not preclude the possibility of a change in the attitude of the workers, and that in a comparatively short time.

The program for the translation of the mass discontent and resentment of the employed and unemployed workers into class actions on a broad scale and for the fusion of their interests and their actions in a common struggle, centers around the following main demands:

- (1) Immediate relief
- (2) Unemployment insurance, to be paid for by the employers and the government.
- (3) The six-hour day and the five-day week without reduction in pay.
- (4) Long term, large scale credits to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for the American workers and the combating of fraternal bonds between the American and Russian workers. This implies the demand for the recognition of the Soviet government and the establishment of trade relations with it.

The tactic by means of which the scattered separate movements can be welded into one, and the still inactive masses can be drawn into the struggle, is the tactic of the united front. The united front tactic aims to bring about common action of various workers' organizations, trade unions and parties. It proposes their joint action in a common movement for immediate aims. It is addressed to the official organizations as well as to the rank and file members, and puts the leaders to the concrete test of struggle. Without this tactic the reformist leaders who disrupt and sabotage the movement escape unpunished, they continue to deceive large masses of workers with empty phrases and to thwart their desire for united struggle. On the other side, without the tactic of the

united front, the actions organized under the leadership of the revolutionary workers remain isolated vanguard actions; they do not succeed in reaching the less awakened workers and drawing them into the fight; and, consequently, they fail to exert the necessary class pressure on the capitalists and their government. The present composition of the Albany Conference (almost exclusively Communist and Left wing delegates), is the most striking illustration and warning on this question. A decisive turn to the genuine tactic of the united front is the most imperative need now for the further development of the movement.

The actions of the impoverished and hunger-driven masses, which can follow with accelerated speed and accumulating force from the program and tactic laid down above, must now primarily take the form of demonstrations which really unite wide masses in struggle. The appearance at the State Legislature must not be conceived as an end in itself, but as a means of popularizing and stimulating these mass demonstrations.

Such demonstrations, in the next stage of the movement—to the extent that they really involve broad masses and bring a class force to bear—can put upon the capitalist rulers a pressure which they have not felt up till now. These demonstrations can force concessions from the capitalists and compel them to cease further onslaughts on the workers out of fear of giving a further stimulus to the movement. Moreover, such united demonstrations, increasing in size and militancy and gaining visible results in concrete cases, (as, for example, in Chicago), will enormously strengthen the morale of the masses, increase their self-confidence and lead, in turn, to bolder, bolder, and stormier demonstrations.

On this road the hesitating mood of the masses and their more or less passive discontent can be rapidly transformed into the impulse for active resistance all along the line. The moment this decisive turn in the situation is clearly recorded, new and vast perspectives will be opened up. The increased self-confidence that will follow from the first successes in the demonstrations of the unemployed can be rapidly reflected among the employed workers in the industries in the impulse to resist further aggressions on their already unbearable standards. This can lead to economic actions of the employed workers, to local strikes on the basis of concrete local grievances and to the combination of these economic actions with the political demonstrations of the unemployed masses, and to the reciprocal influence of these movements upon each other.

In face of continued wage cuts, which raise the workers' resentment to the explosive point, the multiplication of such strike actions is quite possible. In such an event, and on the basis of a stormily developing strike movement, a demonstrative general strike of short duration is not excluded.

The general strike, however, is not an agitation slogan for the present. An adventurous playing with the slogan of the general strike at the present time can only operate to prevent the development of the elementary workers' movement on the basis of those demands and actions which are appropriate to the present situation and the present stage. The general strike formula cannot be substituted for the preliminary partial actions necessary to prepare the conditions for it. We must not attempt to compensate for the failure or the inability to organize a broad movement on the most elementary basis with big talk about a general strike.

The New U. S. Banking Law

(Continued from Page 1)

drawn, more notes will be printed. If these additional notes go into circulation, you have inflation at one blow. The only thing that has prevented the increased note issue caused by the withdrawal of deposits from resulting in effective inflation already has been the fact that the deposits have been withdrawn to be hoarded, not spent. But at any time the ex-depositors may become still more panicky, may be afraid that even their bank notes will lose in value, and go out and spend them and thus put the whole 2 or 2 1/2 billions of recently-issued currency into circulation. This would at once result in rising prices and in a genuine inflation.

To have more deposits withdrawn would mean to have more bills printed and add further to the danger that if the new bills actually go into circulation, inflation, with rising prices and lower buying power of money and money wages, would be upon us.

The party cannot have both—a fight against inflation for the sake of the workers, and a fight for unlimited cash withdrawals of deposits which involves additional currency and so opens the door to inflation.

The unanimous vote in the House, and the vote of 73 to 7 in the Senate for a banking law which its own father, Senator Glass, described as shocking, show how demoralized and terrorized are the parliamentary bodies. To propose "mass pressure" on them to change the course which is being dictated by the big bankers is simply not serious.

The workers must be told plainly, without hysteria or exaggeration, that there is a possibility that the present banking crisis may develop into a period of inflation, which will amount to a wage cut. Such a situation must be met with a demand for higher dollar wages, to compensate for the lower buying power of the dollar if it develops. Representatives of the workers should determine the amount of increase needed. The struggle for such higher wages must be waged on as broad a front as possible, as it will gain in strength if fought on a national basis and be proportionately weaker if it has to be fought out from shop to shop.

Second, such workers' committees who are charged with the duty of observing and measuring the movement of prices could well carry along with them the petty bourgeois masses, organized into consumers' leagues or similar organizations into committees for the suppression of abuses such as hoarding of commodities by dealers, unjustified price advances, substitutions, etc.

These are only typical of the methods by which a broad united front movement for a fight against inflation might be developed within the proletariat and under the guidance of its vanguard, which could lead the petty bourgeois masses and not be swamped by them. Such a movement, if the present banking crisis develops into a real currency breakdown, and if it is firmly guided by a resolute and correctly-orientated Communist vanguard, could rapidly develop from such practical and limited tasks to the boldest revolutionary demands, to workers' control of production as a road to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—B. J. FIELD.

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

(Continued from last issue)

Cleansing of the Ranks of the Left Opposition and Composition of the International Conference

The Left Opposition is able to grow and strengthen itself only by the purging of its ranks of casual and alien elements.

The revolutionary awakening after the war seized not only the young generation of the proletariat, but also revived a great variety of sectarian groups, which sought a way out on the roads of anarchism, syndicalism, pure propaganda, etc. Many of them hoped to find an arena for their revolutionary ideas in the Communist International. Many elements of the petty bourgeois Bohemians also joined under the banner of Communism, having been thrown out of their ruts by the war and the post-war upheavals. A part of this many-colored army of partisans dissolved itself into Communism and entered into the composition of its apparatus; poachers often make the best gamekeepers. The dissatisfied ones on the other hand either returned immediately into their political non-existence or attempted, on the way, to attach themselves to the Opposition. Such elements are prepared to accept in words the best of principles; on condition that they not be prevented from remaining good bourgeois (Faz & Co.), that they be obliged to no discipline of thought and action (Sovietism), or to give up their syndicalist and other prejudices (Rosmer).

In approaching the task of assembling its ranks on the national as well as the international scale, the Left Opposition could do nothing else than begin with these many-fold groups which actually existed. But from the very beginning it was clear to the basic nucleus of the International Left that the mechanical combination of sep-

arate groups which count themselves among the Left Opposition is permissible only as a starting-point, and that later on, based on the theoretical and political work as well as on internal criticism, the necessary selection must be made. In fact, the last four years were for the International Left Opposition a time, not only of clarification and deepening of theory on the ground of the individual countries, but also of its cleansing of alien, sectarian and adventurist elements of the International Bohemia, without a principled position, without serious devotion to the cause, without connection with the masses, without a sense of responsibility and discipline, but for all the more inclined to listen to the voice of careerism (Landau, Mill, Graef, Weil and other varieties of the same fundamental type).

The principle of party democracy is in no way identical with the principle of the open door. The Left Opposition has never demanded of the Stalinists that they transform the party into a mechanical sum of fractions, groups, sects and individualities. We accuse the centrist fraction of carrying on an essentially false policy which at every step brings them into contradiction with the flower of the proletariat, and that it looks for the way out of these contradictions in the strangling of Party democracy. Between the organizational policy of bureaucratic centrism and its "general line" there is an inseparable connection. In contradiction to Stalinism, the Left Opposition is the bearer of the theory of Marxism and of the strategic achievements of Leninism in the world labor movement. As far as principle methods are concerned, the International Opposition has never broken with any group or with any individual comrade without exhausting all meth-

ods of ideological influence. Exactly for that reason the work of selecting cadres that has been accomplished possesses an organic and permanent character. By checking over each and every one, on the basis of his actual work, the Left Opposition must carry through to the end the cleansing of its ranks of alien elements, since, as experience has shown, only in this way can it expand and educate its proletarian cadres. The International Conference can rest only on the basis of the work which has already been done, and deepen and consolidate the results of this work.

The proposal to call a conference with each and every group that reckons itself in the Left Opposition (the groups of London and Rosmer, the "Maharur", "Spartacus", the Welsbord group, etc.) means the attempt to turn the wheel backward and gives evidence of a complete lack of understanding of the conditions and laws of development of a revolutionary organization and of the methods of selection and education of its cadres. The pre-conference not only rejects but condemns such an attitude as being radically opposed to the organizational policies of Marxism.

The Left Opposition in Italy (Relations with the Bordighists)

The so-called Left Faction of the Italian Communists (Prometeo-group or Bordighists) has its traditions, which are sharply distinguished from the traditions of the Bolshevik-Leninists. The Bordighists, who had originated in the struggle against the opportunism of the old Italian Socialist Party, at one blow put themselves on the ground of anti-parliamentarism and of ultimatum and persisted in their opposition to the Comintern as early as the period of its first four world congresses. The formal abandonment of anti-parliamentarism, which took place after the second world congress, changed nothing essential in the policies of the Bordighists. The rejection of the struggle for democratic slogans under any and all conditions, and the refusal of the policy of the united front with regard to the

social democracy—today, in the year 1933, after the enormous experience in all the countries of the world—sufficiently proves the sectarian character of the "Prometeo" group. The Bordighist faction, while claiming the role of an independent Marxist current, has proven its complete inability to exercise any influence on the development of the official party. Within the latter there has arisen a new Marxist grouping (N. I. O.), entirely on the basis of the ideas of the International Left Opposition. Just as glaring a mark of the sectarian character of the Prometeo group is its complete inability, in spite of an existence of more than ten years, to extend its influence to other countries. The national limitations of Bordighism, from the standpoint of Marxism, represent its harshest and most bitter condemnation.

The International Opposition, in this case as in others, has made every attempt to make possible the adaptation of the Bordighists to the Bolshevik-Leninists. The gigantic events which have taken place in the last few years in China, Spain and Germany, have been an exhaustive checking-up of the differences of opinion in the questions of democratic slogans and of the policy of the united front. Every critical blow which the Left Opposition struck against the Stalinists, at the same time rebounded against the Bordighists. The three years of existence in common, the criticism of ideas and the criticism of events have brought them no nearer to us. Now the necessary conclusions must be drawn.

Within the framework of a mass party it would naturally be possible to live together with the Bordighists—under the condition of a firm discipline in action; but within the framework of a fraction it is completely impermissible, especially after the entire experience which we have gone through, to support the fiction of unity with an alien group, which remains ideologically immovable and isolated in a sectarian manner.

The Bordighists themselves have

never assumed a loyal attitude toward our international organization. By compelling all their members, irrespective of their individual opinion, to come forward and to vote in no other way than in the spirit of the majority of their faction at meetings and conferences of the International Opposition, the Prometeo group has placed the international discipline higher than the national discipline and thereby violated not only the principles of democratic centralism but also those of internationalism. This alone proves that the Bordighists were never actually a part of the Left Opposition. If in spite of this they still hang on to their formal adherence to the International Left Opposition, that is only because in that way the character of their group as a purely national sect is disguised. But the policy of Marxism is not a policy of disguise. While paying due recognition to the honesty and revolutionary devotion of many Bordighists, the International Opposition still considers that the moment has arrived to declare openly: The Prometeo group does not belong to the composition of the International Left Opposition.

The only section of the Bolshevik-Leninists for Italy is the New Italian Opposition (N. I. O.)

To be continued

What Next

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat
by LEON TROTSKY

A penetrating Marxist analysis of the class dynamics and forces at work in the present situation. A burning indictment of the treacheries of the social democracy and the criminal blunders of the Stalinists. A work no Left wing worker and Communist can afford to neglect. One of the texts of the future. 192 Pages Cloth .65 Paper .35 Postage: .03 per copy extra

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class matter, November 23, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, NO. 19 [WHOLE NO. 161]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY MARCH 18, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

Alarm Signal! Danger Draws Closer in U.S.S.R.

One would be a coward or purblind to minimize the extent of the danger—catastrophe looms over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the ruling party of the proletarian state. It can be prevented only by the self-sacrificing struggle of the advanced workers.

The situation is so pregnant with danger that to confine oneself to phrases and hints would mean to participate in the activities of the ruling faction that is sapping the October Revolution. Under the Stalinist regime, the class enemies are better informed of all that takes place or is about to be undertaken, than the working class. The possible attempts on the part of counter-revolutionists to make use of our outspoken criticism do not present one one-hundredth part of that danger which is borne by the malignant misinformation spread by the bureaucracy and by the enforced silence of the proletarian vanguard.

In a broad historical sense, the situation of the Soviet Union cannot be so hopeless as is the situation of world capitalism which finds itself up against an absolute impasse. This general historical perspective not only completely justifies the October Revolution, insofar as it requires justification, but it also dooms beforehand as utterly reactionary all programs of the petty bourgeois democracy (Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionists, etc., etc.), which inevitably reduce themselves to the restoration of "democratic" capitalism. Even in the event of the victory of the counter-revolution, the Soviet Union will grow a new head in place of each one that is chopped off. But this does not at all mean that one may with an easy conscience permit the Stalinist bureaucracy to bring ruin upon the present, living Soviet regime. In the given case, the historical reckoning is a reckoning in terms of decades. Ultimately, the downfall of the Soviet State would express itself only as an historical episode. But should this happen, it would be one of the most horrible episodes in universal history. Our sole task lies in preventing it. Meanwhile the danger approaches closer and closer. Sound the alarm! We must sound the alarm!

BUREAUCRATIC SABOTAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION UNDER THE GUISE OF IN- FALLIBLE LEADERSHIP

By dint of unbelievable exertions on the part of the toilers, at the cost of innumerable privations and sacrifices there have been created grandiose technical values, there have been gained extraordinary productive victories. The October revolution has demonstrated to mankind the possibilities inherent in Socialism, by speaking in terms of steel, cement and kilowatts of electrical energy. But during this same period, the bureaucratic leadership, which is self-sufficient and irresponsible, is incapable of foreseeing and intolerant of criticism, which has been blinded by the mirage of socialism in one country, has brought national economy to the brink of absolute chaos. Industrial conquests and technical achievements are depressed by disproportions and gaps. No one so much as bothers to consult the opinion of workers and peasants upon the most fundamental question in the life of the nation—how much should be used, and how much put away for the future. The bureaucracy takes stock at a glance and proceeds to act, rejecting the objective criteria of achievements, recognizing no laws other than the laws it willfully wills, supplanting plans with commands and balance-sheets with coercion. The task that is most complex, the task that not only was never before solved but never even undertaken—to achieve by means of planned forecasting and regulation the mutual congruity between the branches of a growing economy of an enormous country; this task which by its very nature is insolvable without the daily experience of millions, without their critical checking over their own collective experience, without their openly expressing their needs and demands—this gigantic, all-embracing, nation-wide historical task is solved within official sanctums, in the secretariat of the OEO, all depending upon how the spirit moves it, and upon what this or the other spatz buzzes. What could be more monstrous?

Even if the Politbureau consisted of seven universal geniuses, of seven Marxes, or seven Lenins, it would have still been incapable all

By LEONTROTSKY

on its own, with all its creative imagination, to command over the economy of 170 million souls. But that is precisely the gist of the matter, the Politbureau of Marxes or Lenins would have never even posed itself such a task. And on the other hand, the present Politbureau consists of second-rate bureaucrats who are drunk with the power they have wrested from the party, who have lost the ground from under their feet and who are most of all concerned with preserving their inflated personal prestige.

Is it so long since that these homunculi repeated their badly thought out formula of the alliance between workers and peasants, as the foundation of foundations? How long ago is it that they worshipped the middle peasant? How long ago did they ignore the very existence of the kulak? How many ages is it since they rejected the program of planned industrialization in the name of, presumably, preserving the "link" between the city and the village? Frightened by the consequences of their own

negligence, they threw themselves into the extremes of 100 percent collectivization. Twenty-five million of isolated peasant egos, who only the day before represented the motive power of rural economy—gravid, feeble as the moujik's nag, but prime movers nevertheless—these millions the bureaucracy attempted to supplant at a single blow by the administrative will of 200,000 kolkhozi (collective farms) directorates which were without the necessary equipment, the necessary training, and which lacked the necessary support of the peasantry itself.

The excessive shift in the apportionment of national income—from the village to the city, from light industry to the heavy industry; the ominous disproportions within industry, light as well as heavy—has excessively lowered the efficient functioning of labor power and capital expenditures. The economic link (smychka) between the state industry and the peasantry turned out to have been broken prior to its having been achieved. The chervonnets in the pocket of a

(Continued on Page 2)

HAS RAKOVSKY BEEN ASSASSINATED?

A March 16 Associated Press dispatch from Istanbul, Turkey, reports:

"Information from several sources has been received by Leon Trotsky, living in exile on Prinkipo Island, that Christian Rakovsky, former Soviet Ambassador to Paris and former President of the Ukraine Republic, has been returned to Moscow from exile and put to death."

A feeling of the deepest horror will grip the heart of every working class militant at the mere reading of this report. We know that Stalin, rude and disloyal, personally vengeful, has not hesitated in the past to send to their deaths such sterling revolutionaries as Heinrich Richsen, Butov, Silov, Rabinovitch, Blumkin, Zivzaze and other Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union. We know that he has not hesitated to send to prison and to distant exile the flower of the old Bolshevik leadership, men and women with decades of revolutionary struggle behind them.

Has he now dared to assassinate Christian G. Rakovsky, the great champion of the revolutionary proletariat? Has he now dared to put to death, with a sword's blow in the dark of the

night, the noble internationalist whose two generations of militant Marxism constitutes a milestone record difficult to match in modern times? Has the man who proudly gained the enemy of every Balkan tyrant, who founded the Third International, who was first chief of the Ukrainian Soviets, who was driven from Paris by the French bourgeoisie, who was later driven from the party by the Thermidorian reaction, has he finally been deprived of life itself by the bureaucratic apparatus?

We demand an answer from the responsible head of the Russian party:

WHERE IS CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY?

HAS HE BEEN EXECUTED?

The revolutionary proletariat will hold to responsibility and a final accounting those who have dared lay murderous hands on the man whose life and struggles, whose unyielding intransigence, whose serene firmness under the hammer blows of reaction have been and remain an inexhaustible source of inspiration to every proletarian revolutionist!

Therefore, an open answer: WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY?

Stalinists Discredited at Mooney United Front Conference In N.Y.

The New York United Front Mooney Conference was no ordinary demonstration of the strength and weakness of the Stalinist machine. As it turned out the conference got out of control of the Stalinist steering committee. Bedlam broke loose. A riot was avoided only by summarily adjourning.

The conference, overwhelming Stalinist in its political complexion, was oriented on the party's half-turn on the united front. The contradiction between this political orientation and the attempt on the part of the party steering committee to run it in the well known Stalinist, closed-corporation manner is the key to an understanding of the tense political drama that was fought for eight hours on the floor of the conference.

The conference was opened by the reading of a message from Mooney. Following this Palmer of the Federated Press was elected temporary chairman. A motion to elect a credentials committee was carried and the following were elected: Sultan of the Fraternity; Nesson of the TUUC; Gubernick of the Huntington Branch of the S. P.; Mac Christian of the NWIU; Riner of the Brotherhood of Painters, Local 445; Penn of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; and Berman of the Left Opposition who was a regularly elected delegate from a Workers Circle Branch. Berman's election caused the party members no end of confusion. Comrade Berman is well known to party members as a member of the L. O. When it came to voting on Berman the party steering committee raised their hands. Half the party members followed suit. But

the other half were confused by the sight of their leaders voting for a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite and did not vote. The 140 votes Berman got were enough.

From this point on the confusion grew apace until the conclusion of this eventful gathering. Louis Scott, Mooney's personal representative made the report. He summarized some of the outstanding points in the legal aspect of the case. His perspective for the future of the fight was essentially a legal one. He laid down the tasks of the movement as follows: united front mass meetings and demonstrations; a delegation to Roph to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Mooney; a delegation to Roosevelt to get him to intercede with Roph for Mooney; a congressional investigation; and if all these measures fail, a general strike. The emphasis he gave the legal fight gave the impression that he regarded the mass movement as a somewhat helpful auxiliary; an ace-in-the-hole to be sprung on the capitalists if all else fails.

(Continued on Page 4)

A Notice To Our Readers

Just as the Militant was going to press, we received the highly important article of comrade Trotsky printed herewith. Coming at a time when events move with extraordinary speed and sharpness, the article bears all the greater significance. So much so that we have been forced at the last moment to eliminate a number of reports and comments on pressing local and national class struggle issues. These latter, as well as the rest of the article by comrade Trotsky will appear in the next issue of the Militant.

Cafeteria Strike On in N. Y.

Never before have the working conditions in the food industry been so bad as at the present time. The bosses, having taken advantage of the unemployment situation and the absence of a powerful workers' organization, have reduced the already miserable conditions to a point of slavery. Wages have been reduced to a starvation level, the working time lengthened to 14 and 15 hours a day.

The Polts-Fischer Cafeteria Company after having reduced the wages of their employees to the lowest possible level, on top of it, forces them to buy shares in the company, with a threat of losing their jobs. Under these conditions and with the persistent propaganda of the BWIU the workers realized the necessity of an organization as the only weapon against the attacks of the bosses.

As a first step they organized their shop committees. Through their shop committees the bosses were able to find out who were in these committees, and with hypocritical excuses began firing them one at a time. The union immediately staged a demonstration in front of the company offices demanding the reinstatement of the disgraced workers. Although the company promised to comply with the demands of the union, a few days later they fired more bakers who were members of the union. Under these conditions a strike on the part of the union was not only inevitable but a necessity. The strikers and the organization are

(Continued on Page 3)

Two Framed Up by Peabody Coal Co.

Springfield, Ill.

Dewitt C. Webb, one of the outstanding leaders of the Bonus Army while in Washington, captain of the Bonus Army at Camp Neal in Springfield and honorary member of the Progressive Miners of America and his co-worker, John Wang, have been framed-up and railroaded to Vandalla State Prison for one year and eight months respectively and fined 300 dollars. The framed-up charges against them was that they carried concealed weapons while on the picket lines against the Peabody Coal Co. But the evidence in the case showed conclusively and without the shadow of a doubt, that neither Webb nor Wang had any kind of weapon while on the picket lines. The evidence showed that Webb was beaten up by the State Highway police and then arrested and after that taken to jail and framed in the Sangamon County Jail. The evidence further showed that Chief Moody, of the State Highway Police and his Cossacks on the morning that Webb was beaten up to "bring him in." Within a few minutes after a decision was rendered against Webb and Wang, they were rushed on to Vandalla State Prison.

Why all the haste? And what is the real reason for the framing-up and railroad of Webb and Wang to prison? Because the Progressive Miners of America is

(Continued on Page 2)

Crisis In Germany Manifesto of the Left Opposition

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
C. P. U. S. A.
TO ALL COMMUNIST WORKERS!

The onslaught of Fascism is sweeping over the German working class with breath-taking swiftness. The heavy blows already struck have served to raise the necessity of united front action as the immediate life-and-death question of the German proletariat. The cry for the united front is resounding from the ranks at a high pitch, spurred on by the whip of events.

Under this pressure from the proletarian mass, both the yellow social democracy as well as the Centrist Stalinist bureaucracy have been forced to give an immediate answer to the question of the practical formation of the united front. It is this above all which accounts for the reported united front negotiations between the Second and the Third Internationals. It is in this light that the Left Opposition greets the reported negotiations as the incident fulfillment of a demand that the Bolshevik-Leninists have been fighting for from the beginning of the Fascist danger—as a confirmation of the correctness of its revolutionary foresight. If the reports are true, a desperately necessary step has been taken, if they are not true, a criminal and unmovable hoax has been perpetrated on the whole international working class!

The Left Opposition has been fighting for the application of the Leninist united front tactic, for the establishment of the proletarian united front as the gateway to the revolutionary struggle against Hitlerism, to the working class solution of the German crisis, to the extension of the World October.

The Left Opposition says to the Communist workers: If the necessary turn of the Communist international in the united front policy is really to be carried out, if it is to be carried out in the revolutionary sense, the negotiations between the revolutionary and the reformist internationals must be brought out into the broad daylight! No compromises behind the scenes but united struggle against the enemies concluded before the eyes of the Communist and social democratic workers! No covering up of mistakes, no silence on the past, but candid and frank explanations are necessary: Why the new turn, how is it to be carried out, on what basis?

To leave the confusion of "social Fascism", of the "united front from below" unexplained, to fail to bring clarity on these questions—that is the way to make the turn an empty, worthless maneuver, that is the way to undermine the progress which is essential. That

must not be. Clarity, above all else, is the need of the moment. The Left Opposition, in America as well as elsewhere, has been in the forefront of the struggle against German Fascism because this struggle is the central task of proletarian internationalism, of the revolutionary working class in the present period. As the international vanguard of the working class, the Left Opposition has pointed out tirelessly that the fate of Germany—the weakest link in the chain of a decaying capitalism gripped by its deepest and most widespread crisis—concentrates within itself the fate of Europe, of the world. We have pointed out that there the solution will be given for years to come—on the road to the international extension of the October revolution or on the road to the triumph of world reaction and mortal danger to the existence of the Soviet Union.

A capitalist Germany—under Fascist rule—cannot exist without imperialist aggression against the USSR. A socialist Germany can only exist as a unit with the USSR in its extension to the Soviet United States of Europe. That is what the question of Fascism

or Communism means to the international working class.

Precious time has already been lost. Many unnecessary sacrifices have already been made. The Fascist consolidation in Germany has been going on apace. But the decisive battle has not yet been fought. The test of forces between the ranks of the united proletarian and the motley hordes of Hitler's Brown shirts has not yet come out into the open.

The united front of the proletariat is on the order of the day for practical arrangements. The treacherous half-way and half-hearted measures of the social democracy will stand exposed in their nakedness once the proletarian united front is established. The open struggle between Fascism and working class can only be a struggle to annihilation, to the bitter end. In such a struggle the masses of social democratic workers will surge far over the heads of their treacherous leaders. They will, to life, to power will merge with that of the proletarian vanguard, the ranks of Communism.

The Fascist camp and the camp

(Continued on Page 2)

An Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party

To the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Comrades:

Events in Germany are moving with break-neck speed. There is very little time left. The German proletariat, facing the bloody avalanche of Fascism, stands in desperate need of international aid. In the first place, it needs the aid of the Communist international in guiding it to a correct policy. A tremendous responsibility rests on the Comintern in this fateful hour. As a section of the Comintern, the American party bears a full share of this great historic responsibility. The Left Opposition, which is a faction of the party and the Comintern, turns to you now once more with concrete proposals for a line of action which in our opinion must be followed without delay.

Our proposals are the following:

1. That the American party openly demand of the Comintern and the German C. P. that they adopt completely and unambiguously and carry out in practice the policy of the united front.

2. That the American party demand the convening of the 7th

Congress of the Comintern immediately, with the participation of the International Left Opposition, and that Trotsky and Rakovsky be especially summoned to Moscow to take part in the Congress.

3. That the German question be put as the most important question before the party, that systematic discussion on it be organized in every unit of the party from top to bottom, and that it be the first point on the agenda of the forthcoming party convention.

4. That the Left Opposition be readmitted to the party on the basis of party democracy; that the American C. P. support in the Comintern the readmission of the Left Opposition on an international scale, and the release and return of the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union.

5. That the party call for a united front conference of all workers organizations, including the socialist party and the A. F. of L., to formulate a concrete program for united front demonstrations in Germany with the German workers. This action to begin on a national scale, and proceed from that to local actions along the same line.

For several years now, week in and week out, the Left Opposition has been warning of the very things that are happening now in Germany as the consequence of a false policy. It has predicted and its predictions are literally verified. The Left Opposition has pointed out the way and the events have confirmed its prognosis. It is time now to turn the helm. There is very little time left.

We hope you will realize it, and do your part to help the Comintern and the German party to realize it, before it is too late. The way to do this has been outlined above. The Left Opposition for its part stands ready, now as always, to help the party find its way on the path of international duty. Our agitation, our criticism, our warnings are all directly loyal to this end. And in any actions which will be undertaken, to rescue the American working class and form a united front of international support the members of the Left Opposition with the German proletariat, all will put themselves at the disposal of the party for any service required of them.

With Communist Greetings,
NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF
AMERICA (OPPOSITION)
J. P. CANNON, Secretary.

One thing is certain. American imperialism must liquidate the bulk to win in the international struggle for the dominating position and of its heavy international debt it is make the Dollar the basic international medium of exchange. The capitalists had to find some form of juggling the contradiction between the gold standard internationally and the need of liquidation of the internal debt nationally. The present move of the bankers is an

(Continued on Page 2)

THE PARIS COMMUNE March-May 1871

Speaker:

Martin Abern

at the International Workers Hall, 126 East 16th St.
FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1933, at 8 P. M. ADMISSION: 15c

MANHATTAN
MASS MEETING

The ALBANY CONFERENCE

And the Next Step in the Unemployment Movement

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:
JAMES P. CANNON
Delegate of the Left Opposition to
the Albany Conference

IRVING PLAZA
15th Street and Irving Place
SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1933
ADMISSION 15c

The Soviet Union In Danger

(Continued from Page 1)

moujik fell into the same relation to commodities as a lottery ticket stands in relation to the prize. The new form of the link, which is so important in the perspectives of transforming the village, namely the productive link, which is realized by tractors and farming machinery, lost at once all its force of attraction in the eyes of the peasant, insofar as its actual fruits remain unrealized by him. Fifteen million peasant farms have been collectivized, and ten million private enterprises have been collectivized, and ten million private enterprises as not to permit the exposure of the superiority of barbaric small-scale economy over the purely bureaucratic collectivization. Thus by means of combined resources the bureaucracy succeeded in weakening if not in killing all stimulus for work within the peasantry. The harvest of crops, even previously extremely low, began to drop ominously. From quarter to quarter the supply of industry with raw materials and of cities with foodstuffs worsens catastrophically. The enormous conditions under which the workers live generate the turnover of labor within enterprises as well as lapses, careless work, damaging of machinery, high percentage of damaged products, and low quality in grade of production. The entire planned economy falls under the blow.

MONEY INFLATION

The bureaucracy has rid itself not only of political control on the part of the masses but also of the automatic control on the part of the chevronets. All the draft figures pertaining to the economic budget, to the quality of production, to basic costs and the productivity of labor—all these have been swirled away like so much dust when the inflation completely liquidated the stable unit of value. Bureaucratic supervision tried its hand in this case as well to supplant economic reality; the gospel of "Stalin's six conditions" was designated from then on to fulfill the function of a stable system of currency. This amounts to the same thing as feeding excerpts from a cook-book in place of proper food.

Money inflation means an ever increasing tax upon the living standards of the masses. By killing the interest of the worker in piece-work wages, by fostering the indignation of the peasant against fixed prices for rural products, inflation sets a frenzied premium upon speculation and the speculator.

He lies who affirms that under socialist construction there would be nothing to fear from inflation. On the contrary, during the first steps of planned economy—and this covers a series of five year plans—inflation becomes especially dangerous, not to say ruinous. That is precisely how a plan checks itself by being compelled to make both ends meet without inflation. To proclaim that the very existence of a plan nullifies the danger of inflation is approximately the same thing as to insist that the presence of a compass on the ship eliminates the danger of an existing leak. Money inflation becomes the source of credit inflation. The gaps with which the plan is stuffed with printed paper, real criteria give way to fictitious criteria. Planned economy is ravaged from within. For the employees of the Planning Commission there should be hung signs within all offices where the contradictory specifications of the Political Bureau are translated into statistics, each sign with the warning: "Inflation is the syphilis of Planned Economy."

WHO WILL PREVAIL?

The costliness of premature rudimentary bureaucratic collective farms alongside of dislocation of the ties between rural economy and industry, leads to the paralysis of the peasants' will to economic activity. In order to partially return to the moujik the economic stimulus he has lost, the Stalinist leadership has legalized within well-known limits, free markets, screening them under the jesuitical name of kolkhoz trade. The exclusion of traders—middlemen—under the legalization of private trade, signifies a monstrous crazy-quilt of prices in a speculation which is atomized and therefore more insane. The prices on the markets at once rose ten, fifteen and twenty times over the fixed government prices.

Naturally enough, the collectivized farmer sent bread and other products into those channels outside of the state. "This constitutes the negative side of kolkhoz trade," asserts Stalin, without, however, drawing any further conclusions. "Negative sides!" But this very fact—the fact that the collectivized moujik prefers the channels of private trade and speculation to the planned trade with the state—means nothing else but that the

economic link between the state and the peasantry has still not even been attained.

Free trade, by raising to the most excessive heights the column of mercury that gauges prices, has brought out into the open the malignant condition of the economic organism. The struggle against this disease demanded a radical re-examination of economic plans and a no less radical revision of the methods of management. Frightened by the facts recorded by the rise of the mercury, the bureaucracy, however, decided to direct its activities towards the thermometer itself. Molotov proclaimed the impending "regulation" of market prices. According to the signs, the economic centers have already taken to this course. As if it is possible to reduce the temperature of a sick organism by lowering the zero point on the scale of the thermometer! The economy must be cured. One must begin with an open acknowledgment that the question Who Will Prevail? despite the official boasting, remains not only still unsolved even in the gongh, but that the very conditions for its solution have excessively worsened as a result of the incessant and uncoordinated bureaucratic coercion of the living tissues of economy.

The piling up of fixed prices, those set conventionally and the prices in the free market; the transition from planned collection of raw material stocks that is, the semblance of trade between the government and the peasantry, to grain, meat, and milk taxes; the struggle not for survival but against death itself, against the mass pillage of kolkhoz property, and against the mass concealment of pillage; the out and out military mobilization of the party for a struggle against kulak sabotage, after the "liquidation" of the kulak as a class; and simultaneously with all this: the undernourishment in the cities, the return to the card system and to the ration, and finally, the restoration of the passport system—what do all these measures mean, independently of the fact whether they are correct or no, if not the return of that cruel struggle between the capitalist and the socialist tendencies, which in 1932 revived a number of features of 1918-1919?

The bureaucracy leans harder and harder upon the administrative lever instead of pulling asunder the framework that restricts the personal interests of the peasants in conformance with the real condition of rural economy. It has been decided "to place" Communists, who will obey the orders of the ruling center, in charge of the kolkhoz which ideally represent volunteer producing cooperatives. Simultaneously with this, the CPC testifies that the village Communists are becoming soaked with the spirit of peasant opposition and must undergo a mass purification. In the meantime, no less than one and a half million of kolkhoz Communists are required in order to fill the commanding kolkhoz positions by party members. Where will they come from?

To force upon the peasant collectives, economic leadership in accordance with party tokens means to undermine not only the kolkhozi but also the authority of the party; it means to substitute a new dose of administrative coercion for the task of economic competition; it means not to go ahead of the Nep but to retrace one's steps back away from it, to "Military Communism", even if on a higher economic plane.

THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

The moment at which the first five year plan was concluded coincided with the extreme sharpening of economic difficulties which did not obtain since the period of civil war. But the bureaucracy leads a double life, one for display and the other—in reality. This duality it transfers everywhere, among others, into the sphere of economic statistics.

With a stop-watch in his hands, Stalin insists that if the plan is fulfilled only 93.7, and not 100 percent, it is only because the threat of Japanese intervention, which could not have been foreseen at the time the plan was formulated, had swallowed up 6.3 percent. In other words, the blueprints of the CEC have been confirmed to the dot by the fulfillment of a gigantic plan which constitutes the first experiment of mankind in that sphere, which encompasses from all sides the life of a nation with a 170,000,000 souls and which moreover, was drawn five full years beforehand! If nothing else, this astonishing precision in identity between the design and the realization must arouse the acutest distrust in the entire report on the part of anyone familiar with the A B C of the question. It is sufficient to remark that, according to the casual admission of Molotov, the productivity of industry in 1932 grew only 8.5 percent against the 30 percent which was set by the yearly plan! Where has this grandiose lapse disappeared as well as the lapses of preceding years? Stalin can produce falsified figures, consciously misleading workers and peasants. The report is necessarily drawn in rubles. Within this simple implement of the report there is to be found the key to the secret of the astonishing coincidence between the initial and final figures. Thus, the tremendous over-expenditures in construction are set down as over-fulfillments of the plan, when as a matter of fact, the material results of the construction, despite the billions of over-expenditure, lag behind the plan several times ten per cent.

We are least of all inclined to look upon the fulfillment of the economic plan as a hit and miss affair and would have considered the fulfillment of the five year plan within six, seven or eight years a grandiose success, under the condition that, simultaneously, the proportions were mitigated, and the standard of living of the masses was raised. But it is precisely upon these more important criteria that we have the most unfavorable evidence.

The composers of a plan proclaimed in their own time as their task, "to lift up the country to a new and hitherto unseen, high level of material and cultural development". Even during the first two years the mitigation of the famine in commodities was to have been attained; the next two years were to have initiated the superabundance of goods. In the fifth year, the consumption of industrial products, should have increased, according to various categories, one and a half, two, and two and a half times. The increase in meat consumption was specified at 25 percent, in dairy products—50 percent, etc., etc. In actuality, the shortage in commodities has become unbearably acute; the supply of bread has sharply decreased, meat and dairy products have become rarities. But in return for this, there has been created the theory that socialism is not a consumers' organization of society. The consolation bears too close a resemblance to mockery! In the midst of newly erected fac-

tories' plants, mines, electric stations, collective and Soviet farms, the workers and peasants begin to feel more and more as if they are in the midst of gigantic phantoms, indifferent to the fate of living men. An acute feeling of disillusionment has possessed the masses. The populace, as consumers, can no longer understand to what end they are straining their forces as producers.

Had Stalin openly confessed, "the results obtained did not match our expectations because we had neglected much, over-estimated a great deal, and failed to fulfill a great deal more," then the tolling masses, of course, would not have fallen into ecstasy about the leadership, but they would have taken the confession into account; and, in all probability, would have extended the leaders an additional respite. But Stalin said the plan was marvelous, the leadership holds the heights, the design has been fulfilled to the slightest detail. In that case, what about the lamentable results? Stalin is imposing upon the masses the idea that it is not he, Stalin, who is rotten, but the very elements of the plan. The bureaucracy identifies its own blindness with socialism and, while saving the reputation of its own infallibility, villifies socialism in the eyes of the workers and especially the peasants. It seems as if the bureaucracy is consciously striving to force the masses to find a way out other than socialism.

Continued in the next issue

Since the Union Meeting, which gave it birth, the Minneapolis Railroad Council has held a number of council meetings at which new members were added from different local unions of the Brotherhoods. A letterhead and program has been drafted, discussed and printed. The program contains a brief outline of the Minneapolis Railroad Council, and the aim and purpose of railroad councils in general together with nine proposals covering amalgamation, organization and other needed changes inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods. The program also proposes organized and united action for the six hour day without any reduction in pay as a counter-proposition to unemployment and wage cuts which flow automatically from the profit system and the growing productivity of labor. The Council program is being well received by railroad workers wherever it reaches them and although it is less than two months old it has already been read in a limited way from coast to coast. When the R. R. Council idea permeates the minds of the organized railroad workers we think it will become a National Movement inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods which will promote healthy and much needed changes and developments towards amalgamation and organization of transportation workers in general.

On Sunday, February 26th, the Minneapolis Railroad Council held its first Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods on the following program with reference to the next wage move which is expected to shape itself shortly after June 15th, the expiration date agreed upon at the wage confab of December last. The question proposed for discussion and action was divided in two parts, as follows:

(a) "What position shall we take, and what should be our policy and procedure?"

(b) "Should the 21 Brotherhoods vote and act as a UNIT, or should each organization vote and act separately, and make separate settlement and agreements?"

Handbills advertising the meeting and the program were printed and circulated. Through its chairman, A. F. Whitney, the Railway Labor Executives Association was asked by letter, signed by five members of different organizations, to furnish the meeting with its spokesman on the questions involved. Another letter, signed by three members from three of the Brotherhoods, was sent to about 20 General Chairmen located in the Twin Cities urging their attendance at the meeting to help the membership to decide on the best program and policy to pursue in the expected wage move after June 15th. No Grand Lodge Officer showed up at the meeting and their Chairman Whitney did not even reply to the letter sent him. No reply was received from any of the General Chairmen and only one of them attended the meeting. He said he was for unity and amalgamation without telling the audience what he had done to promote those things.

100 members from 38 Lodges and 12 of the railroad unions attended this Union Meeting. The composition of the meeting was determined by register. The seven shop crafts had only 8 members at the meeting on account of the fact that most of the are still in the Company Unions where they have been left practically unmolested for over ten years by B. M. Jewel and the rest of the official drones. The

Communist workers! Demand the calling of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International with the participation of the International Left Opposition!

Party members! Demand that the leaders of the Red October, that Trotsky, Rakovsky and their comrades be immediately restored to their posts of struggle.

Demand the readmission into the party of the Left Opposition!

Forward to mass international solidarity with the German working class!

Forward to the revolutionary defense of the USSR!

Down with the black regime of Hitlerism!

Long live the victory of the German and international working class!

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

Minneapolis.—On October 23rd, 1932, at a Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Unions, the "Minneapolis Railroad Council" was organized. The aim and object of this Council, and Railroad Councils in general, is to provide a medium whereby the railroad workers, now divided into 21 separate unions, may have an opportunity to meet together at each terminal occasionally to discuss and take action on any question in which they are all interested.

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Pioneer Publishing Fund

THE ONLY ROAD

In response to our appeal for funds for paper for "The Only Road" comrade B. J. Field made a loan of \$35 for this purpose. Work on the book is moving forward again. In a week it will be on the press. It will be a hundred page pamphlet and will sell for a quarter. All comrades are asked to help us rush the book to completion by ordering it now. Enclose five cents extra for postage.

THE PUBLISHING FUND

With comrade Field's loan the total raised in loans is \$129.50. Of this \$8 has already been paid back as it came due. The balance will be paid as it comes due.

In addition about fifteen dollars were raised in donations. When you realize that with about \$150 dollars we have got out three pamphlets in 12,000 copies and are preparing two more in 7,000 copies you can readily see what a great deal a few dollars accomplishes.

Once more we appeal to all our comrades and friends to lend us a helping hand. This is an invaluable work we are doing. The literature we put out are the texts by which the cadres of the revolutionary movement will be educated. The work must be speeded up and its extent increased. Help it along with donations and loans—donations first and loans second.

Remember that every penny donated and lent is used exclusively for the purpose of getting out literature. It is a separate fund and is not mortgaged by other obligations. Send all funds immediately to:

Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St., New York City, N. Y.

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The Three Sources and Three Constituent Parts of Marxism

By V. I. LENIN (On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of
KARL MARX March 14, 1883-March 14, 1933)

Throughout the whole civilized world Marxist teachings draw upon themselves the extreme hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both governmental and liberal). It sees in Marxism something in the nature of a harmful "sect". No other attitude could be expected, for an impartial social science is impossible in a society founded on class struggle. In one way or another every governmental and liberal science defends wage slavery, and Marxism has declared ruthless war against this slavery. To expect impartial science in a wage-slave society is rather stupidly naive—like expecting owners to be impartial on the question whether to raise the workers' wages at the expense of the profits of capital.

But never mind that. The history of philosophy and the history of social science offer abundantly clear proof that Marxism has nothing similar to "sectarianism". In the sense of a shut-in, ossified doctrine standing apart from the main road of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the very genius of Marx lay in the fact that he gave the answer to those questions which the most advanced thought of humanity had already raised. His teachings arose as a direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true. It is complete and symmetrical, offering an integrated view of the world, irreconcilable with any superstition, with any reactionism, or with any defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate inheritor of the best that humanity created in the 19th century in the form of German philosophy, English political economy, French socialism.

Let us dwell briefly upon these three sources and therefore consti-

tuent parts of Marxism.

The philosophy of Marxism is materialism. Throughout modern European history, and especially at the end of the 18th century in France, where a decisive battle was fought against all kinds of medieval rubbish, against serfdom in institutions and ideas, materialism proved to be the only consistent philosophy, true to all the teachings of the natural sciences, hostile to superstition, bigotry, etc. The enemies of democracy tried therefore with all their might to "refute", undermine and slander materialism, defending various forms of philosophic idealism, all of which come down one way or another to a defense or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophic materialism with the utmost determination, and many times explained the profound error of any departure from this foundation. Their views are expounded most clearly and in the greatest detail in the works of Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach, and Anti-Dühring, works which, like the Communist Manifesto, are everyday books on the table of the class-conscious worker.

But Marx did not rest on the materialism of the 18th century. He made an advance in philosophy. He enriched materialism with the acquisitions of the German classic philosophy, especially the system of Hegel which had led in its turn to the materialism of Feuerbach. The chief of these acquisitions is the dialectic—that is, the understanding of evolution in its fullest, deepest and most universal aspect, the understanding of the relativity of human knowledge, which gives us a reflection of eternally evolving matter. The most recent discoveries of natural science, radioactivity, the electron, the transmutation of elements, have admirably confirmed

the dialectic materialism of Marx—all the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers, with their "new" ways of returning to an old and rotten idealism, to the contrary notwithstanding.

While deepening and developing philosophic materialism, Marx carried it through to the end, extending its mode of understanding nature to the understanding of human society. The historic materialism of Marx is one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought. The caprice and chaos reigning up to that time among opinions about history and politics were here replaced by a strikingly whole and symmetrical and scientific theory, showing how out of one set-up of social life, another one develops in consequence of a growth of the productive forces—capitalism for example out of feudalism.

Just exactly as a man's knowledge reflects a nature existing independently of him—matter, that is, in a state of development—so also the social understanding of man (that is, his various views and teachings, philosophical, religious, political, etc.) reflects the economic structure of society. Political institutions are a superstructure resting on an economic foundation. We see, for instance, how the various political forms of the contemporary European states serve as a reinforcement of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

The philosophy of Marx is that finished philosophic materialism which has given humanity in general, and the working class in particular, the greatest of all instruments of understanding.

Having seen that the economic structure is the basis upon which

the political superstructure arises, Marx gave most of his attention to the study of this economic structure. His chief work Capital is devoted to a study of the economic structure of contemporary—that is, capitalist—society.

The classic political economy up to Marx's time had been formed in England, the most highly developed capitalist country. Adam Smith and David Ricardo in their investigation of the economic structure had laid down the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx continued their work. He firmly established and consistently developed this theory. He showed that the value of any commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labor time involved in its production.

Where the bourgeois economist had seen a relation between things (exchange of commodity for commodity) Marx discovered a relation between people. The exchange of goods expresses the connection formed between separate producers by means of the market. Money means that this connection is becoming closer, inseparably uniting in one unit the whole industrial life of the individual producers. Capital implies a further development of this connection. The labor power of man becomes a commodity. The wage worker sells his labor power to the owner of land, factories and the instruments of labor. One part of the working day he spends in order to meet the cost of supporting himself and his family (wages), but another part of the day he spends working for nothing, creating for the capitalist surplus value, the source of profits, the source of the wealth of the class of capitalists.

The doctrine of surplus value is the keystone of the economic theory of Marx.

Capital, created by the labor of the worker, oppresses the worker by undermining the small proprietor and creating an army of the unemployed. In industry the victory of large-scale production is obvious at once, but in agriculture too we see the same phenomenon. The superiority of big capitalist agriculture increases; there is a growing application of machines; the peasant economy falls into the noose of money capital, declines and collapses under the weight of a backward technique. In agriculture the decline of small-scale production takes special forms, but the decline itself is an indubitable fact.

In outstripping small-scale production, capital leads to an increase of the productivity of labor and the creation of monopolies through the union of the biggest capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds, thousands and millions of workers are brought together in a planned, economic, industrial organism—but the product of their general labor is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. Anarchy of production increases, crises multiply, and therewith the mad search for a market and insecurity of existence for the mass of the population.

In enlarging the dependence of the workers upon capital, the capitalist structure creates the mighty power of united labor.

From the first beginnings of commodity economy, from simple barter, Marx followed the development of capitalism to its highest terms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, both old and new,

proves clearly every year to a larger and larger number of workers the truth of this doctrine of Marx. Capitalism has conquered throughout the world, but its victory is only an earnest of the victory of labor over capital.

When serfdom was overthrown and the "free" capitalist society saw the light of day, it suddenly became clear that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Various socialist doctrines began to emerge as a reflection of this oppression and a protest against it. But this original socialism was a utopian socialism. It criticized the capitalist society, condemned it, cursed it, dreamed of its destruction, new fanciful pictures of a better structure, and tried to convince the rich of the immortality of exploitation.

But utopian socialism could not show a real way out. It was unable to explain the essence of wage labor under capitalism, to discover the laws of its development, or to find that social force capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile the tumultuous revolutions which accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom—everywhere in Europe but especially in France—were making it more and more manifest that the foundation of the whole development and its motive force was the struggle of classes.

Not one single victory of political liberty over the feudal class was gained without overcoming a desperate resistance. Not one capitalist country has been formed on a more or less free democratic basis without a life-and-death struggle between the different classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx lay in the fact that he was able sooner than others to make and consistently carry out the inference to which the whole of world history leads. That

inference is the doctrine of class struggle.

People always have been and they always will be the stupid victims of deceit and self-deception in politics, until they learn behind every kind of moral, religious, political, social phrase, declaration and promise to seek out the interests of this or that class or classes. The partisans of reform and betterment will always be fooled by the defenders of the old regime, until they understand that every old institution, no matter how savage and rotten it may seem, is sustained by the forces of this or that dominant class or classes. And there is only one way to break the resistance of these classes: namely, to find in the very society itself the forces which can and should be organized to fight against them, those forces which can—and owing to their social situation must—form a power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new.

Only the philosophic materialism of Marx has shown the proletariat a way out of that spiritual slavery in which up to now all oppressed classes have been sleeping. Only the economic theory of Marx has explained the actual situation of the proletariat in the general structure of capitalism.

Throughout the whole world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa, independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying. The proletariat is educating and enlightening itself by waging its class struggle. In casting loose from the prejudice of bourgeois science, uniting more and more closely, learning to take the measure of its successes, it is tempering its powers and growing irresistible.

The foregoing article was written by Lenin in 1913 for a Russian magazine called "Education". The translation has been done by Max Eastman.—Ed.)

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

Continued from last issue

On Party Democracy

The sections of the Left Opposition, originating out of small propaganda groups, gradually are transformed into workers' organizations. This transition puts into the foreground the tasks of party democracy: the kind of regime to which a few comrades who are closely connected and understand each other even with the most informal indications, making all their decisions in a casual manner, must finally give way to regular organizational relations.

The foundation of party democracy is a timely and complete information service organization and covering all the important questions of their life and struggle. Discipline can be built up only on a conscious assimilation of the policies of the organization by all its members and on confidence in its leadership. Such confidence can be won only gradually, in the course of common struggle and reciprocal influence. The iron discipline which is needed cannot be achieved by naked command. The revolutionary organization cannot do without the punishment of undisciplined and disorganizing elements; but such disciplinary measures can be applied only as the most extreme means, and moreover under the condition of solid support from the public opinion of the majority of the organization.

The frequent practical objections, based on the "loss of time" in keeping to democratic methods are short-sighted opportunism. The education and the consolidation of the organization is a most important task, for whose fulfillment neither time nor efforts should be spared. Moreover, party democracy, as the only conceivable guarantee against unprincipled conflicts and unmotivated splits, in the last analysis does not increase the overhead costs of development, but reduces them.

Only through constant and conscientious keeping to the methods of democracy can the leadership undertake important steps on its own responsibility in truly emergency cases, without provoking disorganization or dissatisfaction thereby.

The pre-conference charges the Secretariat to observe the carrying-out of the principles of party democracy in content as well as in form, within each section as well as in the reciprocal relations between the Secretariat and the sections, particularly and above all in the question of the preparation for the International Conference.

The Left Opposition in Russia. The Austrian "Grey" group first entered the composition of our grouping, then left it, against attempt to enter, but refused to give information as to its internal condition and broke off negotiations on its own initiative. Through its actions it has shown that the tasks and aims of the Left Opposition are completely strange to it, and that it needs the international banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists only as a cover for its hopeless stagnation. The pre-conference states openly that the International Left Opposition bears neither direct nor indirect responsibility for the Grey group.

In Austria the group "Left Opposition of the C.P.A. (Bolshevik-Leninists)", originating from the result of a first regrouping of Oppositionist elements, places itself on the ground of the principles and methods of the International Left Opposition and is engaged in laying the foundations for an organization of the Left Opposition.

In view of the sad experiences

of the past the International Secretariat had decided to set a probationary period of six months until the formal and final admission as a section of the International Left Opposition.

The pre-conference approves this measure of the International Secretariat as a means of checking over the regrouping which has already taken place, in action, and it charges the International Secretariat to follow closely the development of the group "Left Opposition of the C.P.A. (Bolshevik-Leninists)" and with the help of the German section to support its conversion into a real section of the International Left Opposition.

The Left Opposition in the Balkans

The disintegration of the capitalist regime in the Balkans has taken on an ever accelerated rhythm. (Great social shock are being prepared. An epoch of great revolutionary struggles is opening. In the near future the burning problems of the strategy of the proletarian revolution will be forced to the surface in the Balkans in all their sharpness and scope.

The pre-conference calls upon the sections as well as the I. S. to follow with the greatest attention the events in the Balkans and the life of the sections which exist there, and to make every effort to establish and consolidate connections with those countries in which no sections have been formed.

The pre-conference regards it as especially necessary to devote more attention within the International Left Opposition and in its publications to the activity of our Greek section ("Archio-Marxists"); this organization, through its strength, its ideological level and its revolutionary consolidation represents the most advanced of our European sections.

After the experience of the participation for more than two years of the Greek Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists, — "Archio-Marxists") in the life of our international organization, the pre-conference declares:

1. The Greek Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists — "Archio-Marxists") is the only representative of the ideas of the International Left Opposition in Greece.

2. The International Left Opposition bears no responsibility, direct or indirect, for the other groups "Spartakos", "Fraktionists", "Leninist Left Opposition", etc., which in words accept the International Left Opposition.

3. The pre-conference calls upon all honest workers to condemn the unprincipled struggle, contrary to the revolutionary spirit and now serving the interests of the Stalinist faction, now of the class enemy, which the above-mentioned groups have been carrying on against our Greek section.

4. The pre-conference calls upon all honest members of these above-mentioned groups to break with the policy of the united front which the Left Opposition in Greece, and to support the latter in its ideological struggles and its every-day actions.

The Left Opposition in Czechoslovakia

The many-fold efforts of the ILO to achieve a permanent unification of the various Czechoslovakian groups which claim to accept the ILO in order to make possible their assimilation into the ILO, have not shown the results desired. The organization created by the Unification Conference of Easter 1932 has proven unable to exert an adequate and systematic activity. Not only did the condition of split-up groups and of insufficient consolidation with the International

Opposition continue; in addition, it placed the International Opposition before the accomplished fact of a new split. By this fact alone the existence of a genuine section of the ILO in Czechoslovakia has become illusory. It would be an inexcusable mistake to tolerate a fiction. We must say that which is, under the given conditions the International Opposition finds it impossible to make a final selection among the existing Oppositionist elements in Czechoslovakia. Therefore the pre-conference regards it as necessary to declare all the groups in Czechoslovakia which count themselves in the Left Opposition to be sympathizing groups. The pre-conference charges the Secretariat to follow for the next six months the activity of the Czechoslovakian groups, their evolution and their possible regrouping, in order to propose at an appropriate time a final selection.

It is taken for granted that the various groups must make every effort to arrive at a loyal agreement with regard to their public activities (publishing work, meetings, etc.), and in general to maintain a loyal attitude to each other, so as to avoid anything which might discredit the I. L. O. in the eyes of the Czechoslovak workers.

Continued in the next issue

Workers Letter to Slovene Stalinists

Dear Comrades,

In spite of the fact that the writer of these lines has been opened but unjustly attacked by you and your comrades from time to time; that he has been slandered by false charges; to spite of everything I turn to you once more because you claim that you are champions of the cause of the world proletariat. I turn to you, to these trying times when we meet at the crossroads, as a comrade and a worker.

I would like to call your attention to the following questions which demand a clear cut class standpoint:

1. The victory of German Fascism.

2. The stand of the C. P. of Germany.

3. The stand of the Communist International.

Comrades! Is it not time to re-investigate the position taken by the International Left Opposition?

Don't you think that the Stalin-Bucharin theory of socialism and a classless society in a single, isolated country surrounded by capitalism is totally false?

Don't you think that this theory was concocted to revise Leninism and Marxism in the same way that Bernstein revised Marxism to the second International?

Don't you think that Bernsteinism misguides the 2nd International into the swamp of reformism and parliamentarism and then to treason and complete failure in 1914?

Don't you think that Stalinism is leading the 3rd International to the same end?

Don't you think that the victory of German Fascism means the victory of world counter-revolution?

Comrades! In the name of our common proletarian international family I solemnly ask you to pay serious attention to this question. I sincerely hope that you will have space in your theoretical magazine for the clarification of these principles because this alone enables us to prepare and perform our historic mission and achieve victory over our class enemies.

Not Slavophilism against Germanophilism—but Communism against capitalism.

Comradely yours,
—E. C.

SCHOOL NOTES

Comrade Weber held the first session of his class in American Working-Class History last Sunday. The first topic under discussion was the European Background of American History. We also outlined the method which we will follow, that of having each pupil report upon one topic that he has investigated after which we will have a discussion and summary by the instructor. There is still time for the comrades who have not signed up for the course to do so now. The next session will meet on Sunday, 4 P. M., March 19th and will deal with Colonialism.

Comrade Shachtman has given two lectures in his course on the Principles and History of the International Left Opposition. The first lecture dealt with comrade Trotsky's "The New Course" his fight for internal party democracy; the second lecture covered the "Lessons of October". The third session dealt with the struggle for the industrialization program. The next session of the class will be held this coming Wednesday March 22, on the Opposition Bloc and the Struggle for Collectivization.

Comrade Martin Abern is continuing with his course on the Principles of Communism.

Comrade Cannon's class on American Labor Leaders has been postponed. Due to the German campaign, the Albany unemployment conference and other activities which conflicted with the Sunday date comrade Cannon's class had to be held over. It will begin at the first opportune date.

Pioneer Leader Is Expelled by YCL

I have been expelled by the Pioneer district as Pioneer leader of the Harry Bismar group.

For the past few months I have been wavering and standing on the fringe of the Left Opposition. Only when the events in Germany took on such a critical aspect and tested before my eyes the Left Opposition, was I finally compelled as a Communist to take a definite stand. Questions like "Socialism in one country", "bureaucratic Centralism", etc., are, so to speak, in the realm of theory. The Chinese revolution of 1925-27, the Spanish revolution, the Russian revolution of a year and half ago; these are in the realm of past history, flowing out of and testing the theories. These were convincing enough in themselves. But when the situation in Germany today, under our very noses, gives the most eloquent proof of the correctness of the Left Opposition and the rank degeneration, the vacillation, the stupidity of the Stalinist policy, then one must take a definite stand without reservation. The world proletariat is threatened!

At our last section council meeting (a meeting of Pioneer leaders) Vera Sanders, a member of the Communist party, came down to us to lead a discussion on Germany. She mouthed the same "united front from below" stuff and the phrases of "social-fascism" as had Hatbaway and Bedacht, even if not so expertly. In the true spirit of the new tradition she then launched into a campaign against the "counter-revolutionary renegade, Left social Fascist, agents of Wall St., the Trotskyists. Finally she wound up with a call pointing out to us the role of these

"Trotskyists". This inspired suggestion was deftly emphasized by our section director, Gerry Morgan. The leaders, after a puerile discussion which consisted in repeating what the party member said and trying to add a bit here and there, seemed to agree wholeheartedly. It was all so clear and simple to them. I spoke and explained that I would not put up a "Bogey man" of Trotsky before the Pioneers. I gave my views on Germany which are the views of the Left Opposition and was asked to report to the district office. There I was expelled.

I now take my place with the Left Opposition and urge all Pioneer leaders and members of the Y. C. L. and C. P. to seriously study the views of the Left Opposition, and particularly to bring up the question of the present German situation for discussion in their units.

(Signed) DAVID LEVITT.

New York German Meeting

The Newark branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has a year activity behind it. During this time it carried the flag of Leninism, struggled consciously and had more than one battle and victory over the Stalinist officials. But only on the Hungarian field. We addressed a crowd on May 1st, 1932 as the speaker of the Hungarian Home of Hillside, when they had the official representative of the Party also on the program. We compelled the district organizer of the Party more than once to come to our meetings and defend the Stalinist policy of the Party, which he did very unsuccessfully. That was the pioneer work we carried on last year.

Last Saturday, 11th of March, we held our first meeting in English and appealed directly to the American workers and followers of the Party. The German question, the burning problem of the international proletariat was the subject we discussed with an audience of about fifty people, mostly Party sympathizers and members. Comrade Cannon, our speaker, convinced the listeners that the standpoint of the Opposition is the only road to solve the German problem and lead the Party back to the Leninist line from which they departed by the destructive tactics of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The carefully constructed queries and the eagerness to clear up all the disputed questions are the most illuminated symptoms that comrade Cannon reached the goal for which the meeting was called.

Many of the Party members and sympathizers declared that they were misinformed by the teachings of the Party leaders and urged the branch to arrange more meetings to make known the platform and the tactics of the Opposition to show to the misled masses the only road on which the victory of the proletariat is possible. We decided to do so.

—LOUIS NAQY.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 8, 1879.

Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Max Eastman, James P. Cannon, Matt Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Louis Naqy, and the Swabian.

SUNDAY, MARCH 18, 1933
Vol. VI No. 19 (Whole No. 166)

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.

Workers' Schools Confer on Fascism And Prepare for Demonstration

A conference of representatives of workers' schools and students organizations was held at the Rand School on Wednesday night, March 8, for the purpose of organizing an anti-fascist demonstration in New York City. The initiative in calling for the demonstration was taken by the Rand School Students Association.

Schools Represented
The call was answered by the party workers' school, the International Workers' School affiliated with the Left Opposition, the New Workers' School of the Lovestone group, the National Students' League, the Brookwood Fellowship, several Ypsel educational centers and the Rand School.

Attitude of the Party Workers' School
If the action taken by the party Workers' School is in line with the present policy of the C. P., then in the course of a few days the party has made one of those sudden, unprepared, sharp turns reversing almost completely its previous stand on united front action. This would be in keeping with the reversal on part of the Communist, forced upon it at this late hour by the violent blows aimed at the working class in Germany.

Comrade Betty Ganett of the Workers' School, after stating frankly that she was a member of the party, and after a lengthy talk in which she attacked the leaders of the social democracy, nevertheless accepted wholeheartedly the plan for a demonstration in front of the German consulate. Even though there was still plainly visible the false ideology of social Fascism and the concept of the united front "from below", comrade Ganett could not avoid taking the position that while a committee of the conference should arrange the banners and the slogans to be used as well as a special leaflet, all the organizations participating should have the right to issue in addition their own leaflets to their own organizations explaining their stand in the united front action against Hitler. The socialists present were opposed at first to the reservations as to the right to criticize, fearing that this meant disruption of the demonstration itself. But it was pointed out that the committee elected by the conference (one from each school) would arrange all the banners and slogans. The socialists then accepted a motion by comrade Ganett on this score.

Role of the Left Opposition

The tardiness of the C. P. in correcting its blunders permitted the initiative in this case to fall to the socialist worker-students. But the delegates of the International Workers' School upheld the banner of Communism by pointing out clearly that this conference, small and non-to-informant as it was, represented in actuality a victory for the Left Opposition, a victory of the C. P. We criticized both the socialists and the official party for their false united fronts "from below", we pointed out that on a broader scale the social democratic leaders could not initiate a real united front for action, that this was the role and duty of the Communists. We explained the specific nature of a united front movement, using comrade Trotsky's slogan "march separately, strike unitedly".

Results of the Conference

The conference accepted the idea of holding a demonstration, not in front of the small Fascist organization here, but in front of the German consulate. It was planned to appeal to the worker-student groups and to youth organizations as well to participate in a militant demonstration against Hitler, date to be announced later.

The party's stand (if it is the case) in this conference, coming so soon after the experience at the Socialist Unemployment Conference from which, owing to the disruptive policy of the official party, the Left wing was violently ejected without a hearing, represents on a small scale, a form of capitulation. We must trust that the party has learned its lesson and that in the more important class struggles involving united front action it will not permit the initiative to fall to the socialists whose role is precisely that of forestalling the real united front by placing themselves in the lead.

—J. W.

Cafeteria Workers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

determined to fight until the company submits to their demands. The victory of the Polit-Fischer strike will signify a revival for organization among the unorganized workers in the industry who are watching the results of the strike with great interest. However militant the strikers and the members of the whole union may be, more efforts are needed to carry the strike to a victory. The real struggles are still to follow. The bosses have at their disposal the police, jails, gangsters, the judges with their injunctions to be used against the strikers. Our union is rich in such past experience. The united front of all organized workers in the industry is necessary. This depends on the FIWW. The union must immediately propose a united front conference to all locals of the A. F. of L. and A. F. W. in support of the strike and discuss a program for the organization of the unorganized in the industry, which, the union should explain, is a life-and-death question for all existing organizations.

At such a conference, if it materializes, the role of the fake leaders in this industry will be revealed. In their refusal to participate in a conference the FIWW will prove in practice to the workers in these unions the treacherous policies of their leaders. And its prestige will be strengthened among the members of the reformist organization. Away with the policy of the "united front below", which has proved to be a failure! Also away with a united front from above which means secret discussions in closed chambers with the officials. A genuine united front, open, in the presence of all workers, with articles and leaflets to explain to the workers the meaning of a united front from organization to organization. The A. F. W. must not delay such action. We must act immediately.

Also, the case of comrade Petras must not be repeated. Comrade Petras has offered his assistance to the union in its strike because he did not share the political views of the leadership.

Paragraph 3 in the new membership book reads as follows: "The FIWW stands for the united front of all food workers, regardless of political or trade union affiliation". But apparently not including Left Oppositionists. Before the ink was dry these fundamentals were violated by the leadership of the organization. Such action brings only harm to the organization. This must not be repeated.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPA.

The Stalinists Distort Our Stand

"Trotskyites Retain Faith in Strength of Capitalism," with this headline the *Daily Worker*, March 11, 1933 carries an editorial which continues its campaign of confusing and miseducating the workers as to the principle differences between the Left Opposition and the centrist Stalinist and Right wing Lovestoneite groups. The viewpoint implied might be imputed to the latter; it is not and never has been that of the Left Opposition.

To bolster up its assertion, the *Daily Worker* brings two quotations from an article by Max Shachtman in the *Militant* of Dec. 14, 1929, and one from an article by the present writer in the *Militant* of March 6, 1933.

Comrade Shachtman's article is quoted as follows: "This (Stock Exchange crash) does not point to a crisis—it but indicates a growing depression." What he actually did say was that "This does not yet point to a crisis—it but indicates a growing depression." His very next sentence was, "And Hoover offers no way out for the workers for the simple reason that he cannot solve the multiplying contradictions of capitalism, American capitalism included." A fine defense of capitalism!

More than that—this correct Marxist estimation of the situation as it stood in early December 1929, was absolutely representative of the attitude of the *Militant* during that whole period, which corresponded to the facts of the developing crisis. In the previous issue, Dec. 1, 1929, the *Militant* said, "What Congress will do 'nothing' about—except to hand out sort soup—as the increasingly obvious tendency towards a deep economic depression which is cutting the ground from under the feet of the American workers." The issue before last, Nov. 30, 1929, under the heading, "Crash in the Stock Market," closes with the words, "The crash on the stock market is a harbinger of the coming catastrophe."

The isolated sentence quoted by the *Daily Worker*, wrenched out of its context and misquoted at that, is typical of the Stalinist method of falsifying the viewpoint of a political opponent.

The quotation from the article of March 6, 1933, is given as follows: "At the present moment in the United States, whether or not the turn in the crisis has already arrived, unquestionably most of the work of the crisis in violently and brutally solving, for the moment, the contradictions developed during the boom, has been accomplished."

The *Daily Worker* distorts this into the following comment, "The present banking crisis is the Trotskyites already see the solution of all the 'evils' which grew out of the 'boom' period, thus clearing the way for a new 'turn in the crisis' for a turn towards prosperity." And the moral, as the *Daily Worker* puts it, is that "Since the development of the crisis in 1929, in unison with the capitalist economists, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites denied the sharpening of the crisis in order to lull the growing readiness of the workers to struggle!"

The *Militant* article of March 6, 1933, begins, "The present cyclical crisis began in 1929 with a financial crisis, in the form of a crash on the stock market; now, after nearly 3 1/2 years, it is marked by a nationwide banking crisis."

This clearly shows that the writer was talking about the specific cyclical movement that began in 1929, not about the general post-war crisis of capitalism. The "turn in the crisis" to which he referred was a cyclical turn, the kind of limited and temporary recovery which is possible within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism.

To deny the possibility of such a turn within the general crisis of capitalism, is to say that capitalism has no way out, that the collapse of capitalism is an immediate practical question, and that this can mean only that the revolutionary crisis is "around the corner"; in the language of tactics, it means that the proletariat should prepare for the seizure of power in the immediate future. It means that capitalism can fall of the weight of its own internal contradictions, when the decisive forces of the working class are not yet mobilized under the banner of Communism for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This is not and never has been the language of Leninists. It is the language of pseudo-"Socialist" sectarians of the Socialist Labor Party type. Lenin proved at the

Cornelia Davis

Cornelia Davis, a long-standing member of the New York Branch of the Left Opposition, died a few days ago in Utica, N. Y. Stricken by the full weight of the economic crisis, comrade Davis succumbed. It is with extreme sorrow that we report this untimely death of a very sincere and active comrade. The passing of comrade Davis is but another of the innumerable instances in which the murderer, capitalism, strikes with the weapons of hunger and privation one victim after another in the camp of the proletariat. We mourn the loss of this comrade whose services to the revolutionary movement might yet be manifold, to her husband, comrade Peter Hansen, who is likewise a long-standing member of the League and we promise to continue our relentless struggle against this system which robs us of our best fighters long before their time.

On Our "Faith in the Strength" of Capitalism

Second Congress of the Comintern that capitalism can always find a way out unless the revolutionary proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will block its ways of escape. The economic contradictions of capitalism, including its cyclical form, will come to an end only with its political destruction. They will not culminate in an automatic collapse, whether called "the end of capitalist stabilization" as the Twelfth Plenum named it, or by any other name.

As long as there is capitalism there will be crises, that is, cyclical movements of economic activity; cycles have both an upward and a downward phase; a turn in the cyclical crisis from its downward to an upward phase by capitalist means, i. e., on the backs of the workers, will be impossible if the proletariat takes the power, and it will be delayed or rendered impracticable to the extent of the effective, organized resistance of the post-war general crisis to the extent that workers' organization and resistance is inadequate and ineffective. History has so far shown us no other instrument than a genuine Communist party which can organize the effective resistance of the workers.

To say that a turn in the crisis is possible because the resistance of the workers has been inadequate

is therefore a criticism of the Communist party, and is resented by the Stalinist ruling faction as such. Consequently they deny the facts: cover up the failure of the party to win the leadership of the class, a failure due in large part to the mistakes and crimes of bureaucratic centrism, and deny the possibility of the upturn, preferring instead to lull the workers themselves with "the end of capitalist stabilization."

With this basic approach, they are unable to formulate a policy for either understanding or meeting the developing phases of the crisis. They accept the banking crisis as opening the collapse of capitalism, instead of seeing that, coming at the end of four years of crisis, which during capitalism has held on to the bases of its power, it must have a secondary rather than a fundamental importance.

With typical contempt for the intelligence of the worker, they tell him that the banks have not enough money left to pay off their deposits because their holdings have depreciated, while the fact is that no bank ever can pay off all its deposits at one time, no matter how sound it is. They explain that the banking crisis is due to the bankers' desire to exploit the workers still more, having found that wage cuts alone are not enough. They say that the U. S. is heading at the same kind of inflation, in Germany, since the situation has gone beyond the possibility of control. They point out

that the dollar has already been depreciated till it is now worth only a quarter, because with the new issue of notes there will be \$4 of paper currency to each \$1 of gold—by which reasoning the dollar was never worth a dollar, since there never was \$1 of gold for each \$1 of paper. They say that the 1907 scrip was finally redeemed at a big discount—historically untrue. They draw the conclusion that the depositor must demand repayment at full value and the worker refuse to accept scrip, but must demand "full payment of wages in old currency values", which would mean an immediate increase of 300 percent, if it is true that the dollar is worth only a quarter now.

We on the other hand pose the principle that the conscious revolutionary action of the working class at the head of the broad masses will overthrow capitalism, not the automatic accumulation of its contradictions; that capitalism has been for many years in a general crisis, within which alternations of cyclical stabilization and crisis have taken place and will continue to take place; that a turn in the crisis toward the upward branch of the cycle at the expense of the working class is possible unless the working class prevents such super-exploitation as it should under the leadership of a real Communist party; that in the absence of such leadership, capitalism can find a way out of the crisis and that the banking crisis together with the rest of the cyclical crisis which has developed since 1929 is part of the machinery with which capitalism restores temporarily its equilibrium, and not the prelude to an automatic collapse.

—B. J. FIELD.

Sidelights On the Albany Conference

Albany—Between freight cars, via jail, and in the back of a depression which is cutting the ground from under the feet of the American workers. The issue before last, Nov. 30, 1929, under the heading, "Crash in the Stock Market," closes with the words, "The crash on the stock market is a harbinger of the coming catastrophe."

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with the comrades was extremely interesting. There weren't enough seats; the organizers rushed up and down seeking places; at last we were in, one of us sitting on a pile of *Hunger* fighters, with all the comrades offering condolences in a wonderfully comradely manner for the uncomfortable position.

Came discussion... and far into the night we microscopically examined the united front from below. For hours we discussed the program and work of the Left Opposition. There was the inevitable question, "Why don't you mass work; why don't you lead the masses in rent strikes?" We could only point out that by their looking at only personal events and by disregarding the questions of principle and tactics they were led into a bog of empiricism. Then we have our comrades facing the guns of Illinois miners disgusted with Communism because of the incorrect tactics of the party which are post-facts self-criticism—that is, too late. The party says we are misleading the workers. We don't aim to set up rival organizations to that of the C. P. One delegate of the Labor Sports Union told of the troubles he was encountering in the development of the political life of the organization, and the proposals and comment we made were greeted by hand-clapping from a comrade at his side. In all—we feel that, the party comrades are taking a serious Communist attitude to the criticisms and proposals of the Left Opposition.

A delegate from the National Students' League was the only youth speaker while we were there, although we asked for the floor.

It was great to note the sh. sh. that went around the hall, and the close and interested attention devoted to the delegate from the Communist League. Whereas the other opposition delegates (Lovestoneites-Weisbord) aroused a hubbub of protest and antagonism, comrade Cannon never suffered a single interruption for even a moment from the floor, and from the table only a tap with a gavel that his time was up; but he read the entire resolution on unemployment which he was bringing before the delegates, to a quiet, very attentive audience.

The return trip on the bus

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The return trip on the bus

Albany: 3 Years of Party Policy

The Albany State Conference for Labor Legislation represented a culminating point in the endeavors of the party, over a period of nearly three and a half years of the crisis, to organize and develop a movement of the workers on the issue of unemployment. In all that time the heavy burdens of unemployment have been accumulating and growing more and more intolerable, and the situation has thereby become increasingly favorable for the work of the revolutionary party. There has been no lack of effort—agitation, slogans, conferences, demonstrations and marches, organized and directed by the party in these past years, have centered chiefly at and around the burning question of unemployment.

The Albany Conference itself was conceived and prepared as a major demonstration. It was preceded by months of preparatory work, including two conferences in New York City. On top of that—it should be added—the Albany Conference came after the recent half turn in the policy of the party, and provided a means of measuring its value. Socialist party branches and local unions of A. F. of L. were invited to participate in the well-known "united front" from below.

Not Result of False Policy And what was the net result of three and a half years of the "third turn" frenzy capped with the "half turn"? Out of 348 delegates, only seven local unions of A. F. of L.—and those all Left wing locals—and one branch of the Socialist party were represented from the entire state of New York! Crushing and irrefutable testimony to the utter falsity of the policy of the party leadership!

The shadow of this catastrophic failure to create even the semblance of a united front movement outside the sphere of direct party influence hung over the conference from the first day. The attempt of the leadership of the conference—Hathaway, Winters and lesser bureaucrats of the Stalinist apparatus—to compensate for the failure to attract the non-party workers who, according to their own thesis, are eager to struggle against unemployment, with windy soap-box agitation could not blunsh from the minds of the delegates the haunting question: why are these workers not represented here? A delegate from a bakers' local union gave a truer expression to the unspoken sentiment of the great majority than all the "official" speeches when he said: "I read in the *Daily Worker* that only seven A. F. of L. unions are represented here. As a trade union man I would like to see this hall packed with union delegates." But such delegates were not there. The questions of why they were absent and how to attract them in the future—to these questions, which were uppermost in the minds of those who want to see a broad class movement on the class issue of unemployment, the Hathaways had no answer. They could only paint a cross over the bankruptcy of all their previous maneuvers and leave the future blank.

To all that has gone before, to the great detriment of the move-

The Opposition's Criticism of Stalinist Bankruptcy

ment, the official leaders added new blunders and stupidities at Albany. The conference was obviously not a united front affair in any real sense of the word. It was a gathering of the vanguard—of the Communist party and its auxiliaries and sympathetic organizations. Besides that it had very little of a State-wide complexion. The roster of delegates could have served, with a few alterations, for a roll call of the second and third line functionaries of the party and Left wing organizations in New York City. Even such a representation, after a united front conference of workers' organizations in the whole of New York State had been aimed at, might have been turned to advantage. If the conference had been led by half-way competent politicians they would have sized up the situation, charged off the expenses of transportation to profit and loss, and devoted themselves to a discussion of ways and means of transforming the Albany conference of the vanguard into a conference of the class another time.

Instead of that, they tried to solve the contradiction by a characteristic exhibition of Stalinist self-deception. The thing that became transformed in their minds—into the thing that had been desired. The conference of party members and sympathizers was declared to be a united front conference of workers' organizations, political parties and trade unions. Their speeches to the conference were predicated on this fictitious assumption. The conference needed the concise, business-like elaboration of a program for changing the situation and uniting the vanguard with the masses—a single bullet aimed at a real target. It got, from the official leaders, the thunder of agitation in the name of the masses who were not represented in the conference—blank cartridges fired in the air. Worse, they not only talked; the actions of the conference, under their control, were the same caricature. Comedy, in the speeches of the leaders, alternated with tragedy in the misguided "legislative" deliberations of the delegates.

The "Bills" Discussion As sad and pitiful a spectacle as one could expect to see in the revolutionary movement was the session of the conference devoted to the report of the "bills committee." (This was the committee that had been charged with the task of drawing up legislative bills for presentation of the State legislature). As it transported to another world the delegates, Communists almost to a man, who had expressed their real sentiments shortly before in cheers for the overthrow of capitalism, were put through the ridiculous and futile business, for many wearisome hours, of discussing and debating, line by line, the legal phraseology of proposed legislative measures. What, for example, is the precise legal residence of a seaman under the terms of

the bill for unemployment insurance? And how shall the different rates of wages for various categories of labor employed on proposed public works at same future time be decided upon in meticulous detail?—With just such questions the conference was occupied, solemnly and seriously, for hours on end. Pitiful!

Here was a picture of the double game of bureaucratic centrism. Posing on a half-turn in policy under the pressure of events and of our criticism, the futile bureaucrats stood with one foot in the mud of ultra-Left sectarianism and the other foot in the mire of parliamentary cretinism. The conference was dedicated to a mélange of both, and thus it was confused and muddled and demoralized.

Among all the "leaders" there was not one to explain to the worker delegates that the fight for a legislative program does not require and is in no way advanced by trying to transform a conference of several hundred workers delegates into so many amateur lawyers. The task of the vanguard workers is to formulate the program of demands clearly and concisely and then to mobilize the power of a mass movement behind the program. The task of the leaders is to show the vanguard the way to do this. As for the drafting of the "bills" for presentation to the Legislature—a small committee with the aid of a jockey lawyer is sufficient. It is a shame to lead conscientious worker militants through the rigmarole of solemn debate about the wording of legislative bills.

More than that, it is a crime, for it sows illusions as to the real nature of the struggle for labor legislation. This was to be noted already in the session of the conference devoted to this tragedy. The bold note of militancy in the remarks from the floor in the earlier sessions was muted down, became more "practical" and restrained. And, even more significant, a different type of delegate became conspicuous in the discussion. The militants imbued with the spirit of the class struggle gave place to the legal-minded elements who took the wording of "bills" very seriously and, read them carefully lest a comma be out of place and the law fail on that account.

In both sides of their policy the Stalinist misadventurers worked against a fruitful outcome of the conference. With their sectarian "Left" tactic they shunted the conference off the broad highway of the united front which could lead to a broader movement; with the vulgar opportunist comedy of the "bills" they put brakes on the further development of the narrow vanguard movement.

The hope for the emergence of a broad workers' front of struggle against unemployment was in Albany, in spite of all its limitations, just because the pick of the vanguard militants, the indispensable dynamic force for the creation of a broad class movement, were there. But the leaders, not all of whom are as stupid as the policy they expounded under orders, did they could to frustrate this hope. They gave no review and summary of the experiences of the movement in those years of the terrible crisis—for this would require the examination of missed opportunities and multiplied mistakes which have left the movement weaker than it began three years ago, despite all the powerful social forces propelling the movement forward. They laid out no perspectives and offered no real measures to set the vanguard movement out of the strait-jacket of isolation—because this would require a sharp turn in policy which they are not permitted to make.

The Left Opposition It remained for the delegates of the Left Opposition, a small minority in the conference, to analyze the situation realistically and to point out the way to improve it radically. We did this to the best of our ability within the short time allotted to speeches from the floor. In the formal sense of the word our views did not prevail. The Stalinists entrenched in the apparatus scored another victory which, like their old victories over the Marxist wing, was a defeat for the party and for the whole movement.

But this victory had a certain Pyrrhic quality filled with ominous forebodings for the future. One fact stood out above all others at the Albany Conference: the delegates wanted to hear the Left Opposition. Our speeches were heard in a tense silence, without a single interruption from the floor, and received closer attention than any others. Our statement was distributed to all the delegates without interference and was read attentively by them. The closest fraternalism, between the Left Oppositionists and other delegates, comradely discussion with large groups of party members and sympathizers, went on continuously throughout the conference.

While still remaining within the framework of the bureaucratic discipline and voting as they were required to vote, the conference delegates nevertheless expressed in all these actions a different attitude. In substance, after four and a half years of falsification, slander, ineffectual and violence against the Left Opposition, the rank and file delegates, by their attitude, said to the bureaucrats: We don't believe it; we want to find out for ourselves! Armed with the invincible ideas of Marxism that is all the Left Opposition needs. Given such a hearing, as was the case at Albany to a far greater extent than ever before, our eventual victory is assured.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

The Stalinists at the Mooney Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

In the discussion which took place later the party offered no line of its own, nor any criticism of this essentially liberal-legislative line. Why did the party maintain an opportunist silence? On the vital question of policy and line it must speak openly and clearly its silence contributes only confusion.

The credentials committee tried to carry out the pretence of a genuine united front. Nessin reported 309 delegates from 347 organizations. All attempts to obtain an analysis of the report met with the stubborn resistance of the party steering committee which publicly prevented Nassin from giving the information asked for from the floor. 49 trade union organizations were reported but what they were was not revealed. 31 political organizations, 50 defense organizations, 22 unemployed organizations, 195 fraternal organizations were also listed but no analysis was given.

However, it is known that there were very few A. F. of L. locals. The CPLA was there as were Weisbord, the Lovestoneites, the League for Industrial Democracy. The New York district of the C. P. was represented. In front of us sat delegates from the YCL. It was said that some YPSL locals were present. The SP was represented by a lone individual, Gubernick of the Huntington, Long Island Branch. It was reported from the floor that the S. P. had instructed the locals of the ILWGU over which it has control, to stay away. Scott reported later that the City Central Committee of the S. P. had voted unanimously not to endorse the conference and not to attend. That is how the Socialist party answered Mooney's call. But it also testified to the weakness of the united front policy of the C. P.

The fight to establish the composition of the conference on the floor was intense but short-lived and unavailing. The Stalinists were in complete control of the proceedings at this point. The matter was finally disposed of by Scott's personal promise to publish a detailed report within 48 hours! The report which has just arrived confirms our analysis of the composition of the conference.

But what the credentials committee report failed to establish, was made clear from the collection which together with pledges exceeded \$500. For some forty mil-

lions a flood of donations and pledges was poured into the treasury of the conference by IWO branches, ILD Branches, Unemployed Councils, TUUL unions, the C. P. and Communist opposition groups. It was clear to all that this was a Stalinist conference.

The resolutions committee was carefully selected by the Stalinist steering committee. It was composed of "reliable" people: Becker, Benjamin, Gubernick (!) Corliss Lamont, etc. Its retirement to consider the resolutions of the conference created a vacuum in the proceedings which was filled by discussion.

The Stalinists intended, no doubt, to confine the discussion to the routine speeches by their leading comrades. The discussion that took place caught them completely unawares. Delegate after delegate spoke. And all the speeches centered around the united front.

In this discussion the Lovestone-

ites were jeered and howled down. Boos greeted other delegates who even timidly proposed that to draw the socialist workers into the conference it was necessary to suffer the presence of their leaders. Not all of these proposals were correct. But they were the gusts of a new wind.

The voice of the Left Opposition rang loudly and clearly for a genuine, Leninist united front. From beginning to end the speech of our delegate was accorded the closest attention. An attempt to heckle was squelched by the entire conference. At its conclusion there was not the faintest sign of hostility.

The blow the Opposition delivered to the Stalinist policy on the united front accounts for what happened afterward. Even the Stalinists were forced to take this into account. All their later attacks against the people who "re-

present tendencies but no masses" were careful to avoid any reference to the Left Opposition. It was easy to see that the tremendous impression made on the party members by our campaign on the situation in Germany made them eager to hear what we had to say on the Mooney question and especially on the united front.

Under the hammering the Stalinists were losing control of the conference. Their feeble attempts to counter the political attack with parliamentary procedure alienated them. Panic began to seize the chairman who publicly rebuked party steering committee. They turned loose their heaviest artillery. The speeches were the same as yesterday's but the difference was clear. Hereafter there were violent intonements to violence. Sunday they were last line defenses.

Politically they were a denial of the Comintern's invitation to the Second International for a united front. Alexander strained himself to prove that we couldn't have any traffic with Green and Wolf, Hillquit and Thomas. If the Stalinists did not dare to say it openly they made the implication clear: no united front with the leaders.

The resolutions were abstract expressions on the Mooney question and class war prisoners. The resolution on Mooney set May Day as a day of united struggle for his release. It proposes a united demonstration of the socialist and Communist workers and includes the A. F. of L. Formally the proposal is correct. But the line of the conference and the content with which the Stalinists fill their united front proposals make it doubtful whether this will be realized.

The final blow which accomplished the rout of the Stalinists came with the nomination of a permanent committee of 25. Nessin reporting for the credentials committee which had been instructed to make the nomination read only 24 names. Comrade Berman protested from the floor, pointing out that the name of the delegate from the Left Opposition who had been agreed on by the committee had been omitted. The chair asked Nessin to explain. He attempted to lay the blame on Berman. Berman's contention was supported by another member of the credentials committee. The already heated atmosphere was beginning to simmer. The chair appealed to Scott for his explanation of the incident. Scott came forward and supported Berman. Nessin was left standing on the platform, in view of the entire conference, caught red-handed in a clumsy attempt to remove the

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Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 1, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 20 [WHOLE NO. 167] NEW YORK, SATURDAY MARCH 25, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

C.I. Turn to the United Front in Germany

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has made a distinct turn in the policy of the united front. Now that its Manifesto of March 6 has finally been made public in the United States, it is possible to give a more detailed and thorough evaluation of its significance.

Three days before the publication of the Manifesto in the Daily Worker, its new editor Sam Don declared in the leading editorial of March 15, 1933 that no turn at all had been made by the Communist International, that the categorical refusal to make a united front "with the social democratic leadership" remained the policy of Stalinism. The copy of the Manifesto came the following day—not through the regular channels to the Central Executive of the party, but in the form of a copy of the London Daily Worker which had, in turn, translated it from the Paris L'Humanite. Forty-eight hours—enough time, in the editor's opinion, for his readers to forget what he said on the 15th—were allowed to elapse until, on March 18, the Manifesto finally made its appearance in the columns of the Worker. In direct contrast to the Daily Worker of three days before, and to what the Communist leadership itself has been stating for the past four years, the Manifesto declares:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in view of Fascism which is unchaining

all the forces of world reaction against the working class of Germany, calls upon all Communist parties to make yet another attempt (when was the last one?) to set up the united front of struggle with the social democratic workers through the medium of the social democratic parties."

Not, therefore, the "united front from below" of yesterday. Not the "united front over the heads of the leadership." This time it is the united front of the masses "through the medium of the social democratic parties."

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International recommends the Communist parties of the various countries to approach the Central Committee of the social democratic parties with proposals regarding joint actions against Fascism and against the capitalist offensive."

Can there be any doubt about the sharpness of the turn after reading this passage, and more, which we quote below? At the New York party membership meeting, reported elsewhere in this issue, Hathaway had the effrontery to deny that any change in policy has been made by the Comintern. The "invariance" of the party and the International, concerned primarily with their own prestige reputations, with their prestige events have so cruelly undetermined, with their posts, which are endangered, are making a mis-

erable attempt to preserve the theory of infallibility by shouting to the membership whom they have bewildered and demoralized. We were right yesterday and we are right today. Our policy yesterday was correct, so is our policy of today. The situation may have changed, but our line has not changed. In this way, the Stalinists continue to confuse and disorient the party workers, who are consequently rendered incapable of riding the working class in general of its confusion and disorientation.

Is it really necessary to prove at this date that the frightened Stalinist center has been forced to make a turn? The theories and practices which it dined into the minds of the Communist workers in the last three years—is it conceivable that they have already been forgotten? To refresh the memory, we quote only from some of the most recent contributions to revolutionary tactics made by the Stalinists in this question:

Just a week before the Manifesto appeared, the "Educational Department, National Committee, Young Communist League U. S. A." issued its "Pamphlet Outline No. 1" entitled "What is Happening in Germany?" So recent is its publication that it has not yet even been discussed in all the New York units of the youth League. On page 9 of this authoritative document, we read: "4. From the above it will readily be seen why

the Communist Party of Germany cannot propose a united front with the leadership of the Socialist Party of Germany. To do so would amount to making peace with these leaders and, therefore, with those whom they represent (capitalists) and would amount to betraying the proletarian revolution. The Communist policy of united front is a weapon for struggle against the S. P. leaders, based on the immediate needs of the workers for which the S. P. leaders will not fight. For this reason, all the traitors from Communism (Trotsky, Lovestone) to bring about the unity of the C. P. and the leaders of the S. P. is in the final analysis, a betrayal of the German working class and the proletarian revolution." (Our emphasis.)

What was nothing short of a betrayal of the proletarian revolution a week ago, what was nothing else but "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"—is now taught to the Communist workers as good, sound Bolshevism!

On February 20, Bedacht wrote in the Daily Worker (just two weeks before the Manifesto appeared in L'Humanite): "Renegades of Communism, Trotsky, Lovestone and others... come with proposals of united fronts between the Communist and Social Democratic Parties and accuse the Communist party of splitting the workers because it insists on addressing its call for a united front not to the Noskes, the Scheidemanns and the

Wells, but to the masses of the social democratic workers." (Our emphasis.)

Could the difference between good Bolshevism and Trotskyist renegacy be put more bluntly and unmistakably?

The January 15, 1933 issue of the Communist International reprinted Thaelmann's speech at the 12th Plenum in which he specifically attacked the Berlin district of the party for proposing to the social democracy a joint demonstration against Fascism—a thoroughly correct proposal—and unlike the Manifesto of the Comintern, a timely proposal, less timely than when it was made by the Left Opposition, but still more timely than the present Manifesto.

"Trotsky," declared Thaelmann, "said as follows to quote him word for word: 'One must actually declare complete readiness to form a bloc with the social democracy against Fascism... One must compel social democracy to form a bloc against the Fascists.' This policy would mean, 'that we would abandon our correct Bolshevik policy.'"

How bitterly one must reflect upon the fact that this obstinate failure by Thaelmann and the Comintern leaders to "abandon our correct Bolshevik policy" (i. e., the thoroughly wrong Stalinist policy) in good time, is being paid for at the present moment by Thaelmann himself and thousands of other courageous proletarian revolution-

ists who are in the toils of the Fascist terror. How quick is the bourgeoisie to take advantage of our blunders! How criminal and disastrous have been the blunders of Stalinism! What a dreadful responsibility rests upon its shoulders!

And what scoundrels are those brass-capped bureaucrats who, for the base ends of saving their own hides and prestige, continue to be fuddled the already badly befuddled Communist workers with the refrain: There is no turn, we were right yesterday, are right today, will be right tomorrow and forever!

But belated though the turn is, it remains, it is clearly a turn in the right direction. Nevertheless, at the same time that the Left Opposition greets the turn, it is compelled to draw attention to the cloven hoof of opportunism which sticks right out of the Manifesto.

The social democracy, to cover up its cowardly capitulation to Fascism, to screen the cravens who flee to Switzerland and renounce all political activity, have sought to excuse their treacherous passivity by pompous declarations in favor of a united front with the Communists on the basis of a "non-aggression pact". By this they mean that in the period of this singular united front, the Communists shall pledge themselves not to criticize the social democracy, not to attack it, not to expose its

weakness, its readiness to betray at the crucial moment, its vacillations at all times. In a word, the social democrats have been demanding that the Communist party dissolve itself into a socialist-dominated fusion, thus assuming equal responsibility for social democratic betrayal.

With indignation and contempt, the Communists have repeatedly spat this "clever" proposal, and the Left Opposition, while polemicizing against the Stalinist conception of the united front, has nevertheless supported the party wholeheartedly in its rejection of the "non-aggression pact" with the social democracy. Non-aggression pacts of a similar nature with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min Tang, with Purcell and the Trade Union Congress leaders, brought about the destruction of the Chinese revolution and the British militant movement respectively.

Now, however, we read towards the end of the Comintern Manifesto: "In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions, the ECCI considers it possible to recommend the Communist parties during the time of common fight against capital and Fascism to refrain from making attacks on social democratic organizations... The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strikebreakers

(Continued on Page 4)

LEON TROTSKY

Alarm Signal

The Second Five Year Plan

The Seventeenth party Conference, in February 1932, approved the directives of the second five year plan. Its annual coefficient of growth of industry was set at 25 percent, whereas Stalin explained that this coefficient would even be surpassed in the process of configuration and fulfillment. The Left Oppositionists cautioned against record-breaking leaps in industrialization. They were accused of counter-revolution, and placed in solitary confinement.

Eleven months later, in January 1933, Stalin proclaimed unexpectedly that the coefficient of growth during the second five year plan would be, in all probability, around 13 percent. None so much as dared to contradict him or to refer to the decision of the year before. Thus, the actual results of the first five year plan buried the fantastic project of the second five year plan, before the latter could have been supplanted by a new one. At present, there is no second five year plan at all. Nor is there any possibility of one in view of the chaotic condition of economy at the close of the first five year plan. The January plan, which only had hazy directives, considerable time will yet be spent upon a formulation of the second five year plan and it will undergo more than one change.

The current year 1933 turned out to be surpassed factually by the second five year plan. The control figures for it have been designated apart from the general perspective. Obviously, the concocters of the plan for 1933 sought only to mitigate those disproportions, and to plug up those yawning gaps which were inherited from the first five year plan.

In their reports, Molotov and Ordzhonikidze tried to mock at our proposal that 1933 be set apart as the year of "capital reconstruction of Soviet economy". The reporters cited as a fact that during 1933 new enterprises would also be undertaken. As if we had excluded this, as if we had made a point of putting patches on old rubbers, and not of the "reconstruction" of economy as a whole. The struggle to restore the disrupted balance presupposes, necessarily, also new constructions, but under the head of correcting mistakes made in the past, and not under the chapter of plugging up new mistakes.

Thus, under the blows of the crisis, which it did not foresee, and which it does not openly admit even now after it has broken out, the leadership has been forced to retreat in the sphere of industrialization even as it had begun to retreat still earlier in the sphere of collectivization. However, it is executing its maneuvers of retreat stealthily, partially, without a plan, hiding the significance of its own actions from others as well as from itself, and preserving completely thereby, even redoubling its methods of barefaced bureaucratic commandeering. The new zigzag of Stalinist policies is an unmistak-

able proof of the profound dislocation of Soviet economy, but it is absolutely incapable of leading to a way out of the great wreckage.

Bonapartist Tendencies in the Party

Against the background of enforced silence and irresponsibility, the economic crisis becomes a double, triple danger. The more bankrupt and despotic the leadership is, the more widespread becomes the resistance of beings as well as things. The ruling elite takes for granted that only activities of the class enemy are manifest in all types of disharmony, opposition, resistance, dissatisfaction, passivity, and friction which are engendered by objective obstacles and by case of miscalculations and privations. The bureaucracy, which up to 1928 announced the kulak danger was a danger originated by the Left Opposition uncovers at present after "the liquidation of the kulak as a class", the kulak danger there and everywhere, within the Soviet

(Continued on Page 3)

Hathaway Seeks to Explain Away C.I. Turn at Membership Meet

At a closed meeting of the Communist party membership on Monday, March 20, the district organizer Hathaway explained the united front to the party. His speech deserves the fullest analysis as a typical example of theoretical confusion, misstatement of the German situation and misunderstanding of the factors involved.

Hathaway began his speech by a consideration of the capitalist crisis in America, but we pass over his false position on this score to an examination of the main question before the meeting.

The Hathaway Apologetics

After dealing with the economic situation in America, Hathaway turned to Germany. He stated that there was a growing feeling among our party members that the German situation was due to the blunders of the German Communist Party. In answer, he attacked the Left Opposition for its defeatism. He

Sunday OPEN FORUM

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Speaker:

R. J. FIELDS

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at International Workers School

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First Daily of Opposition

We have just received the news that the paper of our Greek comrades, Pail ton Takeoon (Class Struggle) which has been appearing twice a week for a long time, is now a daily.

Through their ardent devotion to the proletarian cause, our Greek comrades have raised themselves to the highest level of the international struggle for the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. They have extensive influence over the working class. The proletarian vanguard helps and supports them. Today they have attained this splendid result: in spite of the double repressions of the capitalist bourgeoisie, which has thrown hundreds of them into prison, and Stalinist slanders and provocations, they are at last publishing the first daily paper of the International Left Opposition.

We send them our most fraternal greetings. We will give them all the assistance at our disposal in the march towards victory, by making their struggles known to the American proletariat.

Kincaid Miners Up For Trial

Chicago.—The famous Kincaid battle between Peabody's company thugs, scab miners, all armed for battle and the pickets of the Progressive Miners' Union has been shifted to the court struggle for the moment. The result of this fight in which fifty pickets were attacked by two hundred thugs and scabs, has been the indictment of 54 members of the PMA and the Women's Auxiliary charged with law violations of various kinds.

Twenty-two of the indicted miners are under charges of murder or double murder.

The first trial scheduled for March 23, has been continued to March 25. It becomes increasingly clear that the Peabody Coal Company in alliance with the UMWA and the state forces are intent upon gaining convictions in this case. For this reason a mere court struggle would be playing into the hands of the forces of reaction. In the interest of the indicted miners and the PMA it is of paramount importance to prevent this struggle from being sealed within the four walls of a capitalist court that is bound up hand and foot with the Peabody Coal Company, the Lewis machine and similar interests.

What additional examples are needed to prove this, than the refusal of the Sheriff in Christian County to accept the warrant sworn out for the arrest of one of the things who shot and killed the wife of the striking miner, Camerlato? It is also significant that in the arrests following the fight at Kincaid only members of the PMA and the Women's Auxiliary were rounded up. So, it becomes obvious, that this affair is another attempt to railroad a group of militant workers engaged in struggle.

That briefly is the background to the meeting called by the Civil Liberties Union of Chicago on March 14, and participated in by some of the leading organizations in the city. The aim of this meeting to build a broad united front defense movement in the interests of the Taylorville miners. Present on that night were representatives of the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment, the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Socialist Party of the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) represented by Joe Giganti and Albert Giotzer, and the Chicago Civil Liberties Union. Although not presented in person, the General Defense Committee, signified its intention to participate in the provisional committee that would be composed of the above-mentioned organizations.

The meeting opened with reports on the case by Tom MacKenna of the Civil Liberties Union and Giotzer of the Communist League. An interesting discussion followed, where agreement was reached upon the calling of another meeting of the provisional committee which

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers: Out On Saturday!

A demonstration of the militant working class of New York is to be held at 10 A. M. Saturday morning, March 25, 1933 to protest against the murder regime of Hitler-Hugenberg. The demonstration organized at the call of the Communist party, is to be held at the corner of Whitehall and South Streets, hard by South Ferry, in front of the German Consulate. It is the elementary duty of every class-conscious worker in the city to join in this first important public demonstration to be organized in New York since the assumption of power by the Hitlerites. By our serried ranks and united deeds, by crying out in a single loud voice our vows of international solidarity, we will help to make the Brown Shirts assassins feel the pressure of the working class of the world, and give encouragement to the sore-pressed proletariat of Germany.

The Left Opposition wholeheartedly endorses the demonstration and plans to participate in it with all its forces. The New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition) has issued a mobilization call to all its members and sympathizers to participate in the demonstration. All friends and supporters are therefore urged to assemble first at the International Workers School Hall, 126 East 16 Street, at or before 10 o'clock in the morning, so that our contingent may march in a body in the demonstration before the Consulate. Attendance at the hall IN TIME is urgently needed.

I.L.D. Allows Reactionary Lawyer To Injure Scottsboro Struggle

One of the bright spots in the recent record of the International Labor Defense has been the struggle for the nine Scottsboro boys. The I.L.D. had the original good sense and courage to take this difficult case. It provided a good legal defense, built a fair mass movement and a good publicity campaign, won a series of impressive partial victories which saved the lives of the boys four times, and raised the issue of a rape frame-up to the level of a significant and clear political struggle. It would be unforgivable if, after all this, the I.L.D. were permitted to weaken in that struggle. That there is grave danger of such a weakening is indicated, among other things, by the I.L.D.'s failure to react to a statement appearing in the New York Times of January 14.

The Times reporter states that Mr. Samuel Liebowitz, of I.L.D. counsel in the new Scottsboro trial, has divorced himself "from the Communist activities which have helped crystallize sentiment in the South against the accused Negro since the I.L.D. interested itself in the case". After declaring himself

First Underground Leaflet of Left Opposition Issued in Germany

The Militant has just received the first underground leaflet to be issued in Germany by the Left Opposition since the assumption of power by the Hitler gang. Together with the whole Communist movement, our brother section in Germany has been suppressed; so also has its weekly organ, Die Permanente Revolution. True to its revolutionary duty, however, our comrades are continuing with their work under the most difficult circumstances. The leaflet, issued in Hamburg, is mimeographed both in German and English and is addressed to all marine and railroad transport workers. We present it here in full!

TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT

To the Seaman, Transport Workers and Railroad Men!

Under the insignia of the bloody terror of the Swastika, the Fascist dictatorship is being established in Germany. The streets have been cleared for the brown terror troops of the Hitler army.

Thousands of proletarian corpses already litter the path of Fascism. Many thousands more will follow. The terror of the Bismarck socialist laws are being surpassed a thousand fold.

The extermination of proletarian class consciousness—

The smashing of all workers' organizations—

The robbing of all the democratic rights conquered by the working class—

Back to barbarism—

These are the aims of Fascism.

A defeat of the German working class and a final victory of Hitler will be the signal for the world bourgeoisie.

To establish the blackest reaction

in every country of the world.

To war against the Soviet Union.

To unleash a new world war.

The victory of the German proletariat, however, would signify a tremendous impulsion to the forces of the world proletariat in its struggle for emancipation.

The struggle of the German proletariat is not only a struggle for its own rights, for its own life. Victory or defeat for the German workers decides the fate of the first workers' state, the fate of the proletariat of the whole world.

Hitler will and must be beaten in the international arena. Proletarians of the world, support actively the struggle of the German proletariat!

NOT A SHIP, NOT A TRAIN, NOT A CHEST, NOT A BAG INTO HITLERITE GERMANY!

...Boycott the Germany of the Brown Terror!

International solidarity, a common will to struggle—that is the demand of the hour.

Demand of all workers' organizations the convocation of

A WORLD WORKERS' CONGRESS

to adopt a position on the following fighting measures:

Against international Fascism.

Against the war in the Far East.

Against the attacks on the Soviet Union.

Against wage-cuts and political oppression of the proletariat and the colonial peoples.

The initiative for this Congress must come from the Communist International, which must invite all the international labor organization to join it in organizing this Congress.

The international idea of the proletariat must become an internationalism of deeds. Force the international labor organizations to common action.

—Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany (Bolshevik-Leninists).

New York Entertainment

The Fiftieth Anniversary of Karl

Marx will be Celebrated at the

Headquarters of the

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS

SCHOOL

126 East 16th Street

on Saturday, March 25, 8 P. M.

Admission: 15 Cents

Auspices: New York branch of the

Communist League of America

(Opposition)

Stuyvesant Casino
2nd Avenue and 9th Street
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

FRIDAY MARCH 31, 1933

at 8 P. M.

Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist

League of America (Opposition)

The Crisis In the Soviet Union

SPEAKERS:
JAMES P. CANNON
MAX SHACHTMAN
MARTIN ABERN

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

New League Branch
In Springfield

Springfield, Ill.—A new branch of the Left Opposition was organized here last night with six charter members. Comrade Hugo Oehler, member of the National Committee of the Communist League was present at the meeting and gave an explanation of the principles of the Left Opposition. The new members are all miners, active members of the Progressive Miners of America. The first activity of the new branch will be the organization of a public mass meeting on the German crisis on March 19 with comrade Oehler as the main speaker. We have a considerable number of other contacts whom we expect to draw into the organization. Plans are being made to start a study class for the new members in Communist fundamentals.

The struggle of the Progressive Miners Union against the Peabody Coal Company and the strike-breaking activities of the Lewis gang is still raging furiously here. The new branch of the Left Opposition will give a good account of itself in this struggle as well as in all the other affairs of the Progressive Miners. The Left Opposition has carried on its propaganda work and has made its ideas on policy felt over a long period of time in the Illinois miners movement. Up till now we did not succeed in crystallizing the effects of our propaganda work in Springfield in an organized form. The construction of a branch which will organize and regulate our collective work means a big step forward for the Left Opposition.

—JOE ANGELO.

Chicago Stalinist Again
Try Gangsterism

Chicago. — Stalinist gangsters, last Wednesday night appeared at a session of the class in "Theoretical System of Marxism" conducted by comrade Giganti. The gangsters were armed with blackjacks and clubs and came for the purpose of smashing the heads of the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist" students.

Red Cruck, YCL member and leader of the crew, came up before the session started and told the comrades present that he was giving them half an hour to beat it out of the neighborhood, at the end of which time he was coming back up with a gang. Our comrades, however, refused to be terrorized and the class was opened as usual. While the meeting was going on, in marched Red Cruck and his crew of toughs, all YCL and party members. The instructor asked them what they wanted, to which they made no answer. However, in order to avoid provocations Giganti told them they could remain to listen in, provided they kept silent and made no noise.

However, in a little while, tiring of the knowledge that was being propounded, they left the room stating that they were waiting outside where they would get us. The session proceeded to a regular close. In the meantime the young toughs with clubs and blackjacks were slinking around the entrances. Our comrades decided that this should not be a one-sided affair, and immediately proceeded to improvise clubs out of chair legs. Viewing the determination of our comrades with evident apprehension, Red Cruck's army thought it best to disappear leaving their redoubtable leader to face the hostilities together with a creature by the name of Ben Brown, an individual who is said to be at the present time one of the leading party members of this city.

As our comrades marched out of the hall into the sidewalk Red Cruck and Brown advanced with open knives in hand with their faces leering; but soon that look changed to fear as they saw that our comrades were not in the slightest bit cowed. The last remaining member of Red's army took to his heels and left Red to face the music alone. Red submitted to a little chastisement which ought to be remembered on future occasions, should similar thoughts of breaking up Left Opposition meetings ever occur in his head.

Mink & Co. Expel 'Trotskyist' Seamen

At the membership meeting of the Marine Workers Industrial Union on Wednesday, March 15, the Stalinist bureaucracy managed to unburden itself of another "disruptive" element. Mink, Hudson and company railroaded through the expulsion of Henry Weser, an unemployed seaman, on the main charge of "Trotskyism" as well as other subsidiary charges.

Comrade Weser had been especially spotted by the Stalinist henchmen for his agitation on the waterfront around the question of the German crisis, in which he defended the views of the Left Opposition, which have been confirmed by events, particularly since that time. At the packed membership meeting, in which the majority of the participants were avowed party members, the bureaucratic machine went into action against Weser, attacking him as a "Trotskyist" and charging him with the "attempts to organize an opposition in an underhanded manner." The crew of hand-raisers assembled naturally supported the Stalinists.

Comrade Weser, who has for a long time been sympathetic to the Left Opposition, has in the past been one of the most active workers in the union and in the waterfront section of the party. Participating in a leading position in the Morgan Line strike of October 1931, Weser

When one considers that recently there has been a wave of terrorism against the Left Opposition, the obvious conclusion is that the campaign is being directed by responsible people higher up. It is nothing more than a desperate effort of the Comraids to answer our Marxist arguments with the only weapons they have left—those of the club.

The Chicago branch of the Left Opposition is protesting to the party officials in a formal letter in which it points out the dangerous possibility as well as the further debasement of the name of the Communist on the part of Stalinist bureaucrats.

Austintown Jobless
Forge Ahead

Youngstown.—Under the direction of the local Unemployed League, the unemployed workers of Austintown have started to move ahead again. After passing through a period of comparative inactivity they succeeded in mobilizing their forces for a strike today and winning their demands. Here are the facts:

A township trustee, Ohl, succeeded in getting his son, Boyd Ohl, a job as foreman over the gangs of men who are forced to work on the county roads for their meager relief. The older Ohl has never done anything to make the workers like him, and the son was foolish enough to walk in his father's footsteps. He kept apart from the men, though himself superior to them, and the men who know more about construction work than he did, and bullied several men smaller than himself. This typical "boss" went just a little too far Friday when he struck a young defenseless worker in the face after he had provoked him into argument by continual nagging. That night an Enlarged Grievance Committee met and decided to call a strike Saturday morning, demanding that young Ohl be permanently removed from the payroll, and suggesting that he could work in the ditch for his relief like the rest of us.

The Grievance Committee was out on the road where the men were working at 7:30 Saturday morning. The 30 or 35 men reporting for this work "relief" responded to the plea of the Committee gladly and without much persuasion. The men all agreed to stick together and strike until our demands were met; the Committee promised to fight to see that the men would get their grocery orders even though they didn't work. When the road superintendent showed up the Committee gave him a written copy of the demands and made it plain that the men were not going to work until the demands were met. The Committee then visited the Relief Headquarters to see the State Investigator and the Trustees.

In the meantime young Ohl, whom the superintendent had advised to go home, had gone to the County Courthouse to confer with his father who was there on business. Soon the County Commissioners called the investigator who confessed that he thought Ohl "in le wrong" and that the thing had to be settled in order to avoid any "violence." News reporters phoned a committee member for the details, and later drove seven miles for the complete story. At the committee's request one trustee was sent after a third one; and we later learned that these two visited the scene of the strike in order to see whether or not we were bluffing. Trustee Ohl, of course, did not make his appearance. But the other two were anxious to meet our demands when they returned. In the Relief office, in the presence of many workers, these two trustees, Brickley and Shively, promised to call a meeting of the three trustees on Monday and to see that Ohl was discharged. On these conditions the committee directed the men to return to work at about eleven o'clock; the trustees are, of course, to pay the men the full day amount. And it was generally understood that unless young Ohl is removed immediately, as the trustees promised, that the more than 300 men working for "relief" in this township would be called

out on strike.

This is just one step in a very high ladder. The next step is more adequate relief. The first measures in this battle have already been taken and the Austintown Unemployed League swears that it will use every resource at its disposal in order to gain another victory. More about this struggle later. —N.

Miners Hear Opposition
On Germany

Springfield, Ill.—The Springfield meeting of the Left Opposition on the danger of Fascism in Germany, with Hugo Oehler as the speaker, was attended by about 45 class conscious workers, representing all tendencies in the city. After the speaker had concluded, the chairman, comrade Angelo, asked the party members present to select a speaker, who would be given more than the regular time, so an active C. P. miner comrade took the floor. He did not deal with the German question but confined himself to a five minute discussion on the inflated front from below.

After the question period the chairman raised the question of the Taylorville cases and pointed out the danger of withholding mass pressure. The lawyers think they can take care of the case better in this way, and the defense committee is yielding to this false policy. The meeting unanimously went on record for a motion calling upon the miners of the PMA and the workers of America to proceed to mobilize mass pressure at once in order to have a solid foundation under the cases when they come up for trial. The Peabody Coal Company intends to bring some of these miners in the electric chair. This can be prevented only through properly directed mass pressure.

The mass meeting also took up the case of Webb and two other miners who had just been framed up and sent to jail. The Right whig in the union object to Webb's popularity with the Left wing rank and file workers. They are not following up this clear cut, class case and defending the victim of capitalist persecution. A committee was elected from the meeting to arrange the PMA to action on the frame-up and to demand that the case be appealed.

Second Big Meet In
Minneapolis

Minneapolis.—The second large meeting on the crisis in Germany was held here in the Mayor's Reception Hall at the Court House, with comrade Oehler of New York as a main speaker. This meeting followed the Minor meeting of the official party by three days, at which all Left Oppositionists were mobilized to cover with Militants and hand-bills advertising the Oehler meeting. This was primarily the only place the branch distributed its advertising for its German meeting, the large turn out of 400 showed that we practically duplicated the party meeting minus the most hard-shelled Stalinists.

The concentration of 11 League members in front of the Finnish Hall where Robert Minor, editor of *Daily Worker* spoke, covered the bulk of workers attending the meeting with Militants. Near to the time of starting the meeting, the party bureaucrats sent out about a dozen strong-arm "boys" who threatened to fight if we did not stop. They were told about the workers' struggle for free press, that they were facing a group of workers who were still ready to defend their press along with the Right to distribute it. After a confab, "the gang" went back in the hall, we finished distributing what few militants we had left, and the comrades selected to go in, paid their dime, and also entered the hall. After the Internationale, the collection, Robert Minor was introduced.

After a few minutes of discourse in which he spoke sporadically on Germany but more on Soviet Union and the "world rise of Communism" as against "the decay of Capitalism" we were told off-hand about "the terrible fate of the German proletariat." Although the local capitalist press carried the announcement of the C. I. call upon the Second International for a united front against Hitler, Minor stuck to his old guns, the resolutions of the XIth Plenum. He explained that we have socialism already achieved in Soviet Union; he did not mention the "offers of a united front to the social democracy." Time again he would break his speech to vilify comrade Trotsky.

In a din of howling and hooting organized by bureaucrats, the members of the Left Opposition asked their questions of Minor. On the united front, social Fascism, Socialism in one country, playing with the General Strike slogan, on the role of the Red Army. In reply Minor made curt restatements of the Stalinist political fallacies. "Trotsky says socialism cannot be built in one country; we say that it can be and is being built in one country," etc.

Oehler covered the German political situation from all angles; answered dozens of questions on all aspects of Communism. In the discussion two rank-and-file leaders in the Unemployed Council spoke against "theoreticians" and wanted "action." Oehler in reply asked them if the Russian revolution would be possible if the Russian workers had such an attitude toward Lenin, Trotsky, and Marx, and other theoreticians. These workers were not dumb Party members for one had attempted to lead "heckling" carter in the meeting. It soon melted away before the ideas presented by the speakers. V. R. Dunne spoke with Oehler stressing

Litvinov at Geneva

Opportunist Diplomacy Plays Into Hands of Imperialists

The Moscow Daily News for February 15, 1933 contains the full speech made by the representative of the Soviet Union on February 7 in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. Litvinov, speaking on the security question, stated that the Soviet delegation "is glad to say" that some of the French proposals, if not all, have met with full support by the Soviet delegation. Litvinov submits a sort of "self-criticism," pointing out that after all the travail, they find themselves at the same stage where they were five years ago. According to Litvinov, the Geneva Committee is to be blamed for that because it does not agree with the Soviet delegation that "the best, if not the only guarantee of security for all nations is complete disarmament, or at least the maximum reduction of armaments in a short time."

As to the French proposals themselves, the Soviet delegation finds they "give a much wider interpretation to the obligations assumed by the signatories of the Kellogg-Briand Pact." On the basis of that he is again "glad to be able to state that the Soviet Delegation... will be ready to sign a convention incorporating them."

Thus it is plain that the Kellogg Pact continues to fulfill its great historical task as an imperialist band heap into which the Stalinist ostrich is putting his head in order to forestall the dangers to the building of socialism in the Soviet Union alone, thereby also preventing that treacherous leap from crumbling under the blows of the world proletariat.

Lenin defined the gist of opportunism as readiness to sacrifice fundamental interests for the sake of a partial and temporary advantage. The fundamental task of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva and all similar conferences, should consist in one thing only: to expose to the world proletariat the machinations of the imperialists from the very tribunal which

they are sometimes compelled to offer it. But at a time when the Stalinist Comintern is quiet as a grave for four and half years, the People's Commissar of the Soviet Union is substituting for a tribune some other means which are "less dangerous" to the building of socialism in the Stalinist fashion. That exposure of the imperialists should consist only in playing up one of the imperialist wolves against the other, utilizing their fundamental antagonisms and their readiness to jump at each other's throats, and forgetting at the same time that it is the Soviet Republic which they hate more than anything else.

To hope that these imperialist powers will act as opportunists, sacrificing their fundamental aim of overthrowing the Soviet Union for the sake of restoring the capitalist relations there and thereby transforming it into a semi-colonial country—one of the very few ways to escape the revolutionary consequences of the present crisis—to hope for this, is to act, in Lenin's words, as a shyster politician and cheap diplomat. Lenin gave that definition in his speech on concessions, to those who would try to utilize not the fundamental differences between the imperialist powers, but the secondary ones, exactly as Litvinov is trying to do. He is attempting to convince the old sharks of capitalist diplomacy that the French proposals are acceptable to the Soviet Union, hoping thereby to put French diplomacy in a difficult position in relation to its old friends, the Japanese diplomats.

Litvinov is doing this at the time when the imperialist French robbers are doing everything in their power to strengthen the diplomatic position of Japanese imperialism in its preparatory work for an assault on the Soviet Union. Litvinov did not find a word to say about the danger of German Fascism. That was not, you see, on the agenda.... —L. GREEN.

Hathaway at Membership Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

has been steered in the struggle of 1918. It has been steered in the struggles of 1923. It pointed out that although in 1923, 25,000 workers lost their lives and the insurrection was suppressed, the revolutionary movement continued. What he failed to mention was that it took ten years after 1923 for another revolutionary situation to come into being in Germany and for the proletariat to be in a position to seize power—and at a disadvantageous position for the movement, at that. This fatalistic pessimism of the social democracy. Neither permits accurate analysis of a situation. The Stalinists have delayed because they are not conscious of the meaning of Fascism, and because they forget the rudimentary fact that a revolutionary situation, once lost, may not reappear for a decade. The German proletariat has been "steered in the struggles of 1918 and 1923"; it will survive 1933. That is true, but—the question is not at all one of the survival of the revolutionary movement; it is a question of whether or not the revolution is to triumph now or be smashed for a decade.

For years the Left Opposition has been pointing out the danger of Fascism being permitted to consolidate its power in Germany. For years the Opposition has been calling for a united front of the Communist Party of Germany and the reformist organizations to unite the German workers so as to be able to resist Fascism and be in a position to seize power. All this Hathaway "demolished" by stating that the Trotskyists say that if Fascism comes to power the revolution is lost!

Hathaway pointed out that for a successful revolution, two conditions must exist: a revolutionary upsurge of the workers and a split in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. On the basis of the theory of social Fascism the split cannot be said to exist. The social democracy is simply the Left wing of Fascism, basically the same. But actually, when Fascism arises, there is a split in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Social democracy is the Left wing of the bourgeoisie; the Fascist is the Right wing. But the bourgeoisie cannot use both wings at the same time. When it uses the Fascist wing, it liquidates the social democracy. Fascism, to exist, must break and destroy all workers' organizations, including the social democracy. Thus the rise of Fascism creates a split in the bourgeoisie, since Fascism endangers not only the Communist party but the social democracy as well, leaders together with the rank and file. Thus, on Hathaway's own grounds, a revolutionary situation exists in Germany. But bound to the theory of social Fascism, the bureaucratic leaders of the Communist Party of Germany and the Comintern see the revolutionary situation. Hence they failed in the past both to unite the

organization and literature. The first down-town Open Forum this year was announced with comrade Oehler speaking on Soviet Economy for the following day. Fifty-seven workers attended the Forum meeting Sunday and heard more of the Left Opposition program. Three workers expressed their desire to be members of Left Opposition at the Forum. At the last branch meeting we planned for further recruitments through an organization drive for members.

—C. FORSEN.

The American Capitalist Paradise

HOOVERVILLE

Ambition and hope characterize almost every young man, who, leaving his family hearth, enters the cruel capitalist world in search of his fortune. Ambition and hope makes his life bright and happy. The young worker, possessing these natural stimuli for working and fighting, needs no artificial substitute.

But when ambition and hope fade in the hopeless individual struggle against heavy odds—the cold industrial oligarchy and the boss class—different psychological characteristics appear in a worker. As an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, working at first steady job, and afterwards losing one job after another, he begins to lose ambition and hope for a better future in his life. Gradually, as he gets older and becomes less productive, he is pressed into the army of unemployed and very often the army of unemployables.

This is the road that the great multitudes of workers, who roam over our railroads and highways in a continuous stream, who fill the employment-offices, charity institutions and jails in our cities, have traveled; this is also the road that the residents, who make up the population of Hoovervilles all over the country—of shanty-towns, shack-cities and jungles, have gone over. First a steady worker, then a casual worker, and finally an unemployed worker: this is the lot of an average American industrial slave!

These latter institutions, popularly known as Hoovervilles, are of a recent origin. They have sprung up all over the country near the big cities, empty lots and river edges only during the last few years. They consist of a number of shacks, which sometimes reach into several hundreds in a cluster.

Its inhabitants form a community composed primarily of the aforementioned average American unskilled workers, but during the present great unemployment crisis many skilled workers and even professionals are moving into the "shanty-towns", men who are thrown out of their jobs and constantly being evicted from their living quarters.

This last-mentioned layer of these Communists can merge with the social democrats without violating any point in Hathaway's speech.

Hathaway's speech is interesting as an example of theoretical confusion and also because of its vicious attacks and misstatements against the Left Opposition. It shows how much our influence has increased due to the German situation and the about-face of the Comintern. Many of his remarks concerning the discouragement of the party members, their criticism of the Communist Party of Germany, the sentiment of the united front among the workers—all show that our correct criticism has penetrated deeply into the party. The epithets, the lynch demand, the falsification of our position, all demonstrate how hard pressed Hathaway and the Stalinist bureaucracy must be in their attempts to answer us. But curses and lies are flimsy defenses and still worse guides for a workers' party.

Characterizing the confusion and demoralization into which the party members have been thrown by the zigzags in Stalinist policy, is the fact that out of all the questions asked, none dealt fundamentally with the question at stake; they were all of a technical nature. Discussion, what little there was of it, was of the same kind. But the Communist workers will yet speak up, and when they do their language will be unmistakable. —PARTY MEMBER.

International Workers
School Notes

Two new classes in the New York International Workers School are now definitely under way. Comrade Max Shachtman's lectures on the "Principles and History of the International Left Opposition" is bringing a larger attendance with each session. The lectures take place each Wednesday evening at the hall of the International Workers School, 126 East 16th Street. The admission per lecture is 15 cents, and the public is invited.

Comrade Jack Weber's class in "American Working Class History" meets each Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock. Those who still wish to register for this course have an opportunity to do so at the next session.

The class by Martin Abern in the Principles of Communism will conclude, after having held ten straight and successful sessions, next Monday, March 27th.

Comrade Cannon's lecture course on American Labor Leaders has been indefinitely postponed. Those who desire are urged to join either or both of the two IWS classes that are now under way for this session.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C. EDITORIAL BOARD: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Saturday, March 25, 1933. Vol. VI, No. 20 (Whole No. 157). Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year. Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy.

working class elements, who have learned or who have been forced to learn through suffering the class composition of society and their position relative to these classes, therefore being more class-conscious, have a great mission to perform; to study the psychology and interests of their fellow-worker; to approach them correctly in order to educate and finally organize them, so that this section of the broad unemployed masses do not become lost for the revolutionary working-class who need all the help they can get in their bitter struggle against the master class.

The approach is a hard one. The citizens of Hooverville do not read anything of consequence; they seldom think of anything outside their miserable dwellings and hardly ever talk of the class struggle. They are devoted mostly to the accumulation of possessions with no purpose beyond the pleasure of the game, or their own pride or vanity—as collecting useless furniture, clothing, and cooking utensils which they cannot use. These dull, uninteresting, selfish, crude, human animals, with their petty lives and narrow visions, become absorbed in rags-picking and drunkness. They have drifted into the Hoovervilles where they settle and become either passive or indifferent towards the class struggle and develop a peculiar murchistic individualistic character—or degenerate into "bums-proletariat" that is, into the category of workers known as unemployables—tramps, bums, vagabonds, petty-criminals, etc.—in short the down-and-outers.

To the question, what is the matter with these men, and how could they be made again useful to society?—many, many answers have been given to the writer who has spent the last eight months in an East River shack town, by curious and interested visitors who flock to these places in singles and groups.

Bourgeois Explanations

The bourgeois element usually says that the men are too lazy to work; the laws, courts and police are too soft as regards begging, loafing and living in shacks that do not pay any taxes, and the charity organizations demoralize rather than uplift the men, by giving them meals in the breadlines without working.

The charity "worker" says that the men themselves are defective and responsible for their misfortunes. They have acquired bad habits, have lost their rugged individualism and will-power. They indulge in drunkenness.

Of course the "sky-pilot" suggests for the men to turn to God and everything will be "hunky-dory." The educator and moralist preach that the main cause is the lack of general character-building and the presence of too many speakies and disorderly houses.

And finally comes the technocrat and explains "scientifically": the existence of unemployed workers, who live in large numbers in various shack-towns, is an essential of the present organization of our industrial system; rapid introduction, and pressure of circumstances and environment in general. Only the "energy-certificate" and the "org" will solve the problem.

The widely varied opinions of the capitalist spokesmen about the unemployed workers in general, show the complexity of the problem in their minds, and the lack of complete understanding.

They do not like to admit that the existing miserable conditions of the workers; low wages, long hours and unemployment are to be traced through the whole capitalist system, which is responsible for the existence of Hoovervilles, and the production of hoboes and tramps—that is, the surplus labor population. Yet, they refuse to see that there is nothing wrong with the men themselves; they are just as human as anybody. They do not like to hear the only solution, that of the overthrow of the capitalist system which will do away with these conditions—the products of industrial slavery.

How They Live

In the meantime the residents of the shanty-towns go about their way, and do not mind in the least what is said about them in the papers, or in what "pose" they are supposed for the tabloids. They are generally willing and desirous to work, if there are any wages. But in the present unemployment crisis they are supplementing their living by such means as beggars and stealing—"taking." At night they go for their "kill" like wild animals. But their "kill" consists mostly of loaves of week-old bread from bakery back-doors, discarded vegetables from Waldbaum and Washington markets, rotten fish from the Fulton Street pier and "nickels" from subway entrance. They do not overlook also the milk-bottles in the hallways and pastry-baskets outside the chain-store doors—though they usually take it only in such quantities as to satisfy their immediate needs. However, being workers they prefer to earn their living by working.

Some of the individuals are averse to work because their nervous systems, by suffering and privation, are exhausted. But this seeming laziness is nothing more than a kind of defense reaction forced upon them by this rotten system. In drunkenness they also find a sort of relief and forgetfulness. Rags-picking is again an artificial means of making life newly "hopeful." Their lack of ability to concentrate their attention on anything could be explained by the fact that they are worn out, and as a result their will power has gone to pieces.

(To Be Continued)

—PAUL SCHWALBE.

Trotsky Sounds the Alarm Signal on the Danger to the Soviet Regime

(Continued from Page 1)

and collective farms, in tractor and machine stations, in plants, factories and state institutions, in party organizations, even within the Central Committee itself. The "damaged" is that image up against which the bureaucracy stumbles at every moment, while staring into mirrors and failing to recognize itself. On the other hand, the dislocation of economic relations and the growth of universal discontent do provide actually a culture medium for the bacilli of bourgeois counter-revolution.

Violently driven inward, the economic dislocations between the city and the village but least of all the commonplace kulak "remainders" or the "survivals" of bourgeois psychology—augment the absolute unbearable tension in the political relations of the country, impelling the bureaucracy to take to the road of further suppressions of all Soviet social activities, thus breeding the malignant embryos of the Bonapartist regime.

Repressions become the chief method of economic management. With all the earmarks of civil war, the collection of seed takes place and preparations are made for spring sowing. The struggle against slackness which is bred from starvation by apathy proceeds in the form of savage penalties. Shortage of food is met by mass expulsions from cities. The press celebrates as a socialist victory the introduction of the passport system.

The helmsman of the October revolution, the builder of the Soviet state, the Bolshevik party is crushed, bulldozed, trodden underfoot, demoralized, or driven underground. The dictatorship of the party has been supplanted by personal dictatorship. Within the apparatus those are handpicked who are trustworthy; from among the trustworthy are chosen the most trustworthy. No one, in effect, trusts any longer in the "leader" whose infallibility has brought about a series of frightful miscarriages. Everybody knows and sees that his own policies have driven Stalin into a blind alley and that he does not know today what Stalin will do tomorrow. But the more the apparatus loses its support in the masses, the more do those who are trustworthy and most trustworthy isolate themselves away from the apparatus, the more religious is the homage paid the sagacity of the "divine leader." The personal oath of allegiance has completely superseded loyalty to the program. Only those articles and speeches are permitted which rehearse the oracular maxims of the leader. The voice of the entire Soviet press has become the voice of wishful and loathsome toadyism. One cannot, without blushing from burning shame, look upon the outraged covens of the party and the trampled down banner of the October revolution!

Defense of the U.S.S.R.

It is self evident how important are the successes of industrialization from the viewpoint of the technical reinforcement of the Red Army and the Red Fleet. The world wide situation imperiously imposes upon the armed forces of the Soviet Union a role of exceptional importance both in the West and the East. But it is precisely within this sphere that a policy of illusions would prove most dangerous and criminal. The Red Army is not reducible to military technique alone. In war, bread and meat play no less a role than projectiles for artillery; the horse occupies no less a place than does the tractor. The living forces of the army have as a reservoir the workers and peasants. The mood of the workers determines the mood of the army. Taken on the scale of a major war, military technique itself is a function of the entire economy, demanding from the latter inner harmoniousness and ability to operate without a hitch.

If Stalin seeks to justify the material privations of the toilers as a sacrifice they place upon the altar of state defense, then his explanation is as false as are all the bureaucratic totals of the first five year plan. In point of fact the disjuncture between rural economy and industry hits directly at the army and saps at the will power of the Soviet government in the international arena. Without the acute disorganization of Soviet economy, the extraordinary insolence of Japanese imperialists as well as the free play for the activities of German Fascism would have been impossible. The Stalinist religion of pacifism, of the Geneva as well as the Amsterdam brand, is the religion of weakness. Today the chief defense of the proletarian state lies in the pretrefaction of world capitalism. While that is very important, it is still an insufficient means of defense. In order to conquer the initiative in the world arena, it is necessary to rehabilitate the economic foundation of the Soviet state.

The Stalinized Comintern

If one were to leave aside for the moment the conscious and unconscious damage done by the bureaucracy, the onerous internal condition of the Soviet Union is rooted in the economic backwardness of the country and in the interna-

tional isolation of the proletarian State. But, in its turn, the present isolation is the result of the policies of the Comintern. The vain glorious overestimation of the internal successes achieved in the USSR is just as criminal as the underestimation of the tasks of the international revolution. It is absolutely essential that Soviet economy be built up, step by step, thus reinforcing the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and preparing the elements of the future Socialist state—but that is not enough. Should the European bourgeoisie batter down the workers with the club of Fascism and retard the revolution for decades, no economic successes whatsoever can save the Soviet Union. The problem of capitalist encirclement poses us face to face with the strategy and tactic of the Comintern. International, its chain of mistakes and crises.

Within the USSR, where the Stalinist bureaucracy has at its disposal the mighty resources of the State, its policies could still masquerade its bankruptcy for a number of years; squandering the basic capital of the revolution but not leading directly to catastrophic consequences. On the world arena, where the open struggle is compulsory against the social democracy and all other forces of bourgeois society, the policies of bureaucratic Centralism have already succeeded in exposing themselves in all countries and in all quarters of the globe, as the systematic, even if unconscious sabotage of the proletarian revolution. For the past ten years, the Stalinist leadership has contributed nothing to the struggle of the international proletarian vanguard, save mistakes, confusion, demoralization and defeat. Bulgaria (1923), Germany (1923), Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (1924), China (the period of the bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek as well as all the subsequent policies), England (the Anglo-Russian Committee), Spain (the period of revolution)—such is the far from complete geographical inventory of the genuine deeds of damage perpetrated by the Centralist bureaucracy in the sphere of international revolution. The growing isolation of the Soviet Union cannot be compensated for by any "non-aggression pacts" whatsoever.

There has not remained a living spot upon the body of world capitalism. Reformism has drained to the dregs its fund of ingenuity and slavish sagacity, and it stands before the proletariat exposed in its impotence, branded by its treachery. In the Soviet Union—as the Stalinists insist—the five year plan has been fulfilled, and socialism has been absolutely guaranteed. What other conditions are there required for the Comintern in order to overthrow the organizations of reformism that have rooted to the core, and to collect around itself the proletarian masses and lead them to the conquest of power? Concurrently, however, official Communism everywhere is losing positions and influence, is becoming isolated away from the masses, and is being forced out of the trade unions. At best, sections of the Comintern now serve as thoroughfares for the unemployed.

Its mode of action in Germany has been the tragic zenith of the international defeatism of the Stalinist faction. Were one to set as one's conscious goal: to save from disintegration the crime-spotted social democracy; and to open the shortest road to power for Fascists—none could have devised a tactic more direct than that employed. Stalin placed General Chiang Kai-Shek into the saddle with the friendly hand of an ally; as for Hitler, he made the road to power easy by guaranteeing the division of labor between the social democratic and Communist bureaucracies; screening themselves behind different phrases, they both have led and still lead the tactic of retreat, maram, and cowardice. The results are an open book. To serve its class enemy under the guise of waging irreconcilable struggle against it—this is the curse that hangs heavy over Centralism!

Groupings in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern

The course of events within the CPSU shows that the economic crisis has turned into the crisis of the revolution, and that it is forcing its way more and more decisively from below to the tops, through the state and party apparatus.

The exclusive Stalinist faction that is mustered around the plebeian "leader", whom it has ceased to trust, exerts its efforts desperately in order to maintain itself. The first condition requisite for this is not to permit the party's awakening. Repressions against the opposition have now assumed a mass character such as did not obtain even in 1928 when promises were given and taken that all opposition would be "liquidated" once and for all. Naturally the chief blows are directed against the Bolshevik-Leninists, the only faction whose authority has grown immeasurably and continues to grow.

Two most recent facts are particularly significant of the situation in the party: the arrests and deportation of the leaders of the Left Opposition who capitulated about four years ago, and the complete and final capitulation of the leaders of the Right Opposition. A few months after the quite notori-

ous deportations of Zinoviev and Kamenev to Siberia, Stalin arrested L. N. Smirnov, Preobrazhensky, Ulimtsev, Ter-Vaganyan and about 100 former Left Oppositionists connected with them. The significance of this fact must be plumbed to the bottom. Those concerned are old Bolsheviks; they had built the party, carried it through on their shoulders during the years it was driven underground, participated in the October Revolution and the Civil War, and created together with the faction of Bolshevik-Leninists. When (in February 1928) under the pressure of food shortages, Stalin made a sharp turn to the side of planned industrialization, and of struggle against the kulak, an influential section of the Left Opposition, became frightened by the perspective of a split, capitulated to the bureaucracy, and extended to it trust on credit. In its own time this fact played a major political role in that it strengthened the position of the Stalinist bureaucracy and retarded for a long period the influx to the ranks of the Left Opposition. Today we have the balance sheet of the experiment made by the honest, sincere and not careerist capitulation: after deporting Zinoviev and Kamenev, Stalin arrested Smirnov, Preobrazhensky, Ulimtsev and the rest! This blow at the top had been preceded in the course of the past year by the arrests of several hundred rank and file capitalists, who anticipated their leaders' returning to the road of the Left Opposition. Within the last two years, a truly gigantic shift has occurred in the consciousness of the party for the regroupings of the top are only belated and diluted reflections of the profound processes that occur in the masses. Here we have an extraordinarily clear illustration of the power that is latent in the correct and unyielding line of politics; isolated individuals and groups, outstanding even in regard to their revolutionary qualities, may drift at times into the camp of the enemy, under the influence of temporary conditions, but they are forced ultimately, by the march of events, to return to the old militant banner.

There is an altogether different, but in its kind no less symptomatic significance in the 100 percent capitulation of Rykov, Tomsky and Bukharin. The political cohorts of these leaders spread far into the camps of class enemies. As we had forecasted more than once, the sharpening of the crisis of the revolution could not but inevitably throw the Bolshevik and tiny head of the Right Opposition up against its lefty counter-revolutionary tail. The moment for this has arrived. Alarmed by the mood of their own followers, leaders of the Right crawled unconditionally on their knees to the official leadership. They were able to go through with this surgery all the more easily because no matter how acute the internecine fight became from moment to moment, it nevertheless remained the fight between Left and Right shadings in the camp of bureaucratic Centralism.

In this manner, the capitulation of the Right wing leaders reflects the differentiation of the Right Opposition, which remained amorphous but which undoubtedly was the most numerous of all groupings of the last period. Workers by tens of thousands, party men among them, dismayed by the economic adventurism of the bureaucracy, gravitated all the more naturally to the side of the Right wing leaders, the more sincerely they were inclined to interpret Stalin's policies as the direct application of "Trotskyism", after they had been hoodwinked by the entire preceding anti-Trotskyist demagoguery. The differentiation of the Right wing means the liberation of these proletarian elements from under the Thermidorian influence; and their drawing inevitably closer to the Left Opposition, the

The Capital Reconstruction of Economy

In their appraisal of the possibilities and tasks of Soviet economy, Bolshevik-Leninists take as their point of departure not the vague abstraction of socialism in one country but the real historical process in its world relations and living contradictions. Only the foundations that have been laid by the October revolution can guard the country from the fate of India, China and assure, in the present transitional epoch, serious successes on the road of transforming capitalist society into socialism. The discussions concerning our supposed "denial" of the proletarian character of the October revolution are a hodgepodge of scholasticism, ignorance and lies. The whole gist of the matter lies in the fact that it is possible to pursue various policies upon the social and political bases of the Soviet Union. What still remains to be decided is—precisely which one?

In order to curb the economy which has been disordered by the epigone leadership, i. e., to mitigate the dislocations, strengthen the link between the city and the village, create a stable unit of currency, and improve the condition of the toilers, it is necessary first of all to break away from the bureaucratic maddening and lying. The general character of economic measures, which are dictated by the situation today, may be most correctly denoted by the word, retreat. It is precisely because the collec-

tive farms have spread over too extensive a field at one blow that the workers' government cannot find sufficient means to counteract the breakdown of kolkhozi. The measures of repression must inevitably disclose their impotence. The only correct mode of activity lies in sacrificing quantity to gain in quality. Upon the political plane this same task may be formulated otherwise, to wit, sacrifice space in order to gain time.

It is necessary to check the strength of centrifugal tendencies in the kolkhozi and to open up an economically rational outlet for these tendencies by leaning upon the peasant poor, the rural workers, the best kolkhozi, and the best collective farmers. It is necessary to preserve and develop those kolkhozi which have demonstrated their viability, or which may prove viable in the nearest future, in accordance with their available resources and the interest shown by their members. The Stalinists, of course, will resume their din that our readiness to retreat from 60% collectivization to 40%, and maybe even to 25% (the percentage must be economically determined by actual test, and not set bureaucratically beforehand) signifies "capitalism", "the restoration of capitalism", etc., etc. If, so why then did these bravos desist from completing their collectivization 100% as they set out to do? Why was it decreed sacred to hold to that line at which adventurism stalled at the well-known moment, and already well in the process of retreat? One must not be alarmed by the pseudo-revolutionary bogies lisped by the bureaucracy. Retreat without battle from revolutionary conquests is equivalent to betrayal. The retreat from bureaucratic adventurism is demanded by revolutionary realism. In relation to rural economy, it is necessary first of all and regardless of everything else to restore the rule: Leadership and not bulldozing!

The differentiation in the peasantry is still inevitable for a protracted period; there will be well to do kolkhozi as well as poor ones; within isolated kolkhozi there will be not only preserved but also developed considerable social distinctions, with the development of productive forces. And over and above that, there exist 10 million individual enterprises! Such a correlation must be established with the peasant mass as would eliminate the "de-classed" kulak from leading the peasantry against the Soviet state. One must come to an understanding with the moujik. Concessions must be made to the middle peasant. And the village poor must be economically strengthened by the tax, credit, and co-operative systems, by the policies of machine and tractor stations, etc., etc., without at the same time depriving either individual peasants, or the prosperous kolkhozi, or the more well to do collective farmers of the stimulus to further accumulation. The insanity of mechanically liquidating the kulak must be rejected decisively, completely and unconditionally. It is necessary to understand and to admit that the kulak exists not in the guise of "remainders" or of "psychological survivals" but as an economic and social factor. The return must be made to the policy of systematically confining the exploiting tendencies of the kulak, in a serious manner, and for a prolonged period, practically unto the victory of the proletariat in the West.

Such a system of combined activities can be applied with success only in the event that the pauperized layers of the peasantry are organized in the Union of the Village Poor, the chief support of the party in the village. The tempos of industrialization must be subordinated to the task of restoring the dynamic equilibrium of economy as a whole. One must reject the development of mis-

takes in the plan merely because they were declared holy in the specifications of the day before. The programs of capital undertakings must be radically gone over, and all those which are obviously out of match for the forces of the country must be immediately stopped. The inevitable loss of billions today will safeguard against the future loss of tens of billions. It can be a safeguard against the worst thing possible, against catastrophe.

Even at this moment it may be said with assurance that the industrial growth of 16% for 1933, set for the sole purpose of not breaking too sharply with the adventurist first stages of yesterday, will turn out absolutely unfeasible. In 1932, industry grew only 8.1-2% instead of 36% as was stipulated in the plan. The point of departure must be taken from these actual attainments in 1932, in order that still higher coefficients may be attained by gradually reinforcing the ground underfoot.

Those resources which are liberated by way of lowering the tempos must be immediately directed partly into the funds for consumption and partly into light industry. "The condition of the workers must be improved at any price" (Rakovsky). During the construction of socialism people must live like human beings. What is broached here is the perspective of decades and not a military campaign, or "a Saturday" or an isolated case of extraordinary intensification of forces. Socialism is the labor of future generations. But it must be so assembled as to permit the living generations to carry it on its back. The stable of currency system must be restored, as the only reliable regulator of planned economy at the present stage of its development. Without it, the locomotive of planned economy will inevitably fall to make the grade.

It is self-evident that an end must be and will be put to the Bonapartist regime of a single leader, and of the pack compelled to revere him, because that is the most shameful perversion of the idea of the revolutionary party. But the matter touches not the expulsion of individuals, but the changing of a system.

It is precisely the Stalinist clique that indefatigably circulates rumors to the effect that the Left Opposition will return to the party not otherwise than with a sword in its hand, and that it will immediately begin merciless reprisals against its factional opponents. This poisonous lie must be refuted, repudiated, and exposed. There is no feeding for revenge in politics. Bolshevik-Leninists never were motivated by it in the past, and least of all do they intend to be motivated by it in the future. We know only too well those historical reasons which have driven tens of thousands of party members into the blind alley of bureaucratic Centralism. We are motivated by considerations of revolutionary expediency, and not by revenge. We make no exceptions beforehand. We are ready to work hand in hand with every one who seeks to prevent catastrophe through the restoration of the party.

For an honest party regime! This means: for a regime that allows members of the party to say out loud what they think; that eliminates double-dealing, this inner-lining of the Stalinist monopoly; that has no leaders who inherit leadership for life; that freely reflects all the leading organs during congresses of the party; that has an apparatus which serves the party, and the party that serves the proletarian.

For Soviet democracy! This means that the party directs the system of proletarian dictatorship, but does not strangle the mass organizations of the toilers, but on the contrary leads them to the burgeoning of their initiative and independence. As one of the most important means for the disciplining of any and every apparatus and for subordinating them to the party, the secret ballot must be introduced within trade unions and the Soviets, during elections of executive organs,—this to be done gradually and regularly, widening the scope on the basis of what experience demonstrates.

The historically created groupings within the Bolshevik party must be bound to carry on their entire activities within the framework of serious discussions; free from personal persecution and calumny, prepare for the extraordinary congress of the party. This can be attained only by struggle. Bolsheviks by hundreds and thousands must raise their voice in protest against the usurping clique that tramples upon the party and leads the revolution to ruin. "We demand an honest party congress!" Let this slogan unite the Left Opposition with all party members who are worthy of the name.

This same system of activity must be extended to include the Comintern. The Third International can be saved from further degeneration and complete collapse only by the radical change of all its policies, first of all that in Germany. The political turn, here as well, is inseparable from the change in the regime. The readmission of the Left Opposition into all sections must be the first step. The democratically prepared for congresses of national sections compose the second stage. The World Congress of the Communist International is the consummation.

The platform of the Left Opposition upon the questions of the world proletarian revolution, has been expounded in numerous documents, and has been consolidated in the program theses of the international pre-conference of Bolshevik-Leninists, in the beginning of February, of this year. It is with this platform and not with the sword of vengeance that the Left Opposition will return to the ranks of the Comintern. This platform it shall place upon the table of the next world congress.

Two and a half years ago, the Left Opposition gave the alarm signal because of the danger from German Fascism. Confronted and blind as usual, the Stalinist bureaucracy counselled us of "over-estimating" National Socialism, and even of "hysteria". The events have brought their merited verification.

Today—not for the first time but with tenfold force—we sound the alarm signal because of the situation in the USSR. Here the immediate danger threatens not from without but within. Bureaucratic Centralism has become the chief source of danger.

For the struggle against it we call upon all true revolutionists, all class conscious workers, all Leninists, who have remained Leninists. The task is difficult, and the struggle will cost lives. But it must be pursued to the end. The ranks must be closed, the cadres must be strengthened, and the connections must be spread wider. No repressions, no provocations, no persecutions whatsoever will paralyze our efforts, for the atmosphere of sympathy envelops more and more solidly the work of the Left Opposition in the party.

Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union, Bolsheviks of the World! Soviet economy is in danger! The dictatorship of the proletariat is in danger! The International Revolution is in danger!

Upon all of you, upon all of us, there is placed the incommensurate responsibility before history.

—L. TROTSKY.

The New I. L. D. Scottsboro Lawyer

(Continued from page 1)

sacred" such "ancient shrines of our civilization" as "our Caucasian sense of even-handed justice," he praises Alabama's "great heritage of honor," and he rings the chimes of white chauvinist condescension as follows: "Persons of substance in the Southern States have recognized for many generations a moral obligation toward the simple and generous folk whom slavery brought them first as chattels."

The fact that the ILLD has during the past two weeks issued numerous statements concerning Liebowitz's activities without once mentioning his attack on the ILLD line, seems to indicate that his insolent letter of Jan. 9 was swallowed by the ILLD and that the ILLD proposed to make no reply.

The ILLD has always put itself forward as a class struggle organization. Its principles call for the abolition of all vestiges of class justice by means of an able legal fight based on mass pressure. It has contended that this strategy not only provides the best defense for the case at issue, but that it alone defends the general principle involved in every case. It proclaims that it approaches all cases from the angle of the class struggle, reveals the political underpinnings of class justice, and fights a principled fight. To do less is to risk the defendants immediately concerned, or at best, as reformist organizations have repeatedly done, to jeopardize all future victims of class justice by trading the principles involved for an immediate partial concession.

This position the ILLD was always explained to outside attorneys who accept legal assignments from it. It has not required them to espouse the philosophy of the ILLD, but it has required them to remain silent on all points where they disagreed with it. It has insisted that they serve purely as court-room technicians entitled to interfere neither in word nor deed with the ILLD's conduct of the political struggle. Such, for example, were the terms on which the ILLD retained Walter Pollack, a liberal whose philosophy is distinctly not one of class struggle, for the trial before the Supreme Court of the United States. Pollack was, as Lenin insisted lawyers always must be, the lawyer of the class which employed him. Only if the relationship is on such a basis can the ILLD relate a good legal fight to the fundamental and essential political fight.

This does not seem to be the basis of Liebowitz's relation to the Scottsboro Defense. He is getting a free hand to attack that defense from a platform given him by the ILLD. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times, he maneuvers just as would an NAACP lawyer seeking to make a deal. When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass defense movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the ILLD were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism.

To force Liebowitz to hold his mouth on political questions while he conducts a court-room technical job will, however, not be enough. It is no surprise that New York's most notorious gangster lawyer behaves this way. Least of all is it a surprise to the leading functionaries of the ILLD who had due warning from his letter of Jan. 9. Who was responsible in the first place for hiring a man of this stripe who so clearly announced his vicious intentions? The cynical opportunists who took that responsibility were betraying the basic political aspects of the case as well as the interests of the nine Scottsboro boys. They and along with them those functionaries of the Communist party who gave them permission to take the step, deserve a rap over the knuckles. It is up to the ILLD and Party rank-and-file to administer that rap.

The Left Opposition favors, as it always has, the broadest united front movement on behalf of the Scottsboro boys as on all immediate working class issues. It demands that the Communist party maintain freedom of criticism in ILLD. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times, he maneuvers just as would an NAACP lawyer seeking to make a deal. When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass defense movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the ILLD were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism.

To force Liebowitz to hold his

World Economic Situation Today

The question of the position of world economy today is of primary importance, and above all for Marxist revolutionists. Comrade Trotsky has proved irrefutably the connection between the strategic errors of the Comintern for the past ten years and its wrong estimations of the world situation, with its persistence in ignoring the turn which it has not foreseen.

At the present moment, the crisis has lasted over three and a half years. The working class, which up to last year had reacted only feebly to the political and economic offensive of the bourgeoisie, has let loose a powerful wave of strikes in Germany, in England, in Belgium, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, lately in the United States. On the other hand, the crisis, which had kept increasing in sharpness day after day with little interruption from its very beginning, has entered into a period of relative calm on the world scale for over half a year; the more optimistic circles of the bourgeoisie are even beginning to speak of the coming upturn.

Are we now facing a real turn in the world economic situation? What effects may we expect of it on the strategy and the tactics of the labor movement? These are questions which justify a serious effort at an answer.

We all know that the crisis has reached a depth and a sharpness hitherto unknown. We can measure it by the number of unemployed, by the decline in production and trade, the number of bankruptcies, and a host of other indexes which show that it is not a question of an ordinary crisis such as capitalism has known ever since its birth. But besides these quantitative indexes, we have also the qualitative signs of an internal degeneration of capitalism. The banking crisis in the United States, the falling away from the gold standard of England, the Scandinavian countries, Japan, Spain and many other countries; the unstable and even fictitious character of the world market by a host of restrictions on the international movement of commodities and capital; the fact that the regime of the bourgeoisie can no longer afford to back up its class domination by economic and political concessions to the workers, but reveals more and more nakedly its character as the organ of capitalism; the fact, of the most fundamental importance, that a sixth of the globe, the USSR, has torn itself away from capitalist domination—all this shows that we are dealing with a crisis of a different kind than the "healthy" crises of the past.

This means that, contrary to the claptrap of the social democrats, there is not only a cyclical, but also a general crisis of capitalism. But we must also take into account the fact that the converse proposition is also true—that there is not only a general crisis of capitalism, but also a cyclical crisis. We cannot afford to lose from our sight both of these facts in our discussion of the crisis.

We all know why there cannot be a capitalism without a cyclical crisis. As Marx said in his masterly analysis in the third volume of "Capital," "...The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit" (Vol. III, page 568).

The cyclical crisis is therefore not an accident, but a normal part of the functioning mechanism of capitalism. It has, in other words, a definite role to play in the capitalist economic process, which Marx has described as follows, "Crises are only violent and temporary solutions of existing contradictions, violent eruptions which re-establish for a time the equilibrium which has been destroyed."

Evidently, these alternations of stabilization or even prosperity, depression and crisis, which take place in a cycle of five, seven or eleven years, are something entirely different from the fundamental movement of capitalism as a whole, which impresses its specific character on a whole historical epoch. For instance, the half-century before the war was a period of economic progress, punctuated by crises, while the past twenty years have been in the first instance a period of economic decline.

To envisage the possibility of a period of stabilization of the cyclical crisis, followed by an upturn, in no way implies the restoration of capitalism to its former vigor, that is, the solution of the general crisis of capitalism.

On the contrary, the fundamental character of the degeneration of capitalism in the present historical epoch must put its impress on any possible recovery in capitalist economy. This means that such a recovery may be expected to be limited, temporary, uncertain, and little inclined to extend to a point where it surpasses the peaks of production and of trade recorded during the preceding boom. In the same way as the cyclical crises of the ascending period of capitalism were, in general, short, and were followed by new periods of economic upswing which made new records at each cycle, so the crises of the descending period are prolonged and followed by relatively feeble and short recoveries which would be far from reaching the high points of economic activity at

How It Stands Today and Its Next Perspectives

As long as the proletarian revolution has not definitely broken the back of capitalism, the latter will always have the possibility of completing its cyclical crisis, that is, of passing from the phase of acute crisis into that of depression and even to a recovery in business. What then are the conditions which make possible an improvement in world economy, and are there reasons to believe that this possibility may be realized effectively in an upturn?

It is clear that the conditions for a turn in the world situation cannot be considered from the standpoint of "pure" economy—there is no such thing. The class struggle is fought out on all fronts—economic, political, ideological and the ups and downs of the struggle on each front affect the others. Politically the net result of the period of the past ten years has been—the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, the set back of the proletarian offensive of 1917-21. It is painful to have to record this, but it is the truth. The responsibility of the Stalinist faction in turning the policies of the Comintern away from the road of the world revolution, the permanent revolution, and in losing much of the enormous influence and prestige within the proletariat which Communism once enjoyed, is a heavy one in this respect.

It is not only true that a series of revolutions in the various advanced or colonial countries would have rendered impossible the recovery and the relative stabilization of capitalism after 1923. But more than this—very partial victory of the proletariat led by its revolutionary vanguard, in trade union organization, in strike leadership, in the struggle for social insurance, for shorter hours, against wage

cuts and against taxes which strike the working masses hardest, weaken the bourgeoisie to that extent. It is the ravages which centrist tactics had made in this field which have permitted the bourgeoisie to carry out its policies since the crisis, without effective broad resistance from the working class.

What the policies of the bourgeoisie consist in, we know—mass unemployment, the attack on living standards and on social relief, new class taxes, the proletarianization of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

In the mass organizations, the workers' forces, split-up and mutually distrustful, have had to give way time after time. The social democratic leadership has been able to play its habitual and disastrous role of pacifying, lulling, putting a brake on the actions of the masses. The Communists have not been able to tear the masses away from the reformist leaders, but have weakened their possibility for action within the reformist organizations by following the trade union policies of Stalin and Losovsky.

The political conditions which render possible the recovery of capitalism within the framework of the general crisis, that is to say, the possibility of throwing all the burden of the crisis on the working class by crushing or sterilizing its resistance, these conditions therefore exist.

But we must also take into account a whole series of factors of more strictly economic kind in order to be able to judge of the possibility of a cyclical upturn within the near future. The historical function of the crisis is to sweep away certain factors of economic instability which have grown out of the inherent contradictions of capitalism, and to replace them by conditions which permit of the temporary equilibrium of the system.

To be continued
— R. J. FRIEDL.

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

(Continued from last issue)

On the Reorganization of the International Organ of the ILO
1. After a period of delimitation and selection the ILO has passed into a new phase, which is characterized by the advanced crystallization of its cadres, the expansion of its organized forces, and the strengthening of its international cohesion.

The leading organ of the ILO has reflected and will continue to reflect necessarily, to a great extent, the general condition, the weaknesses as well as the progress of our sections and groups. The birth difficulties of the I. O. as an international organization have, through all weaknesses and mistakes, found their expression in the progress of our leading international organ.

2. The pre-Conference is of the opinion that the present stage of development of the ILO demands an improvement in the form of our leading international organ, which must assure its evolution into a real political center, capable of leading the ILO in its entirety.

3. The pre-Conference has decided on the following organizational form, which in its opinion best corresponds to the present stage and the degree of consolidation of the International Left:

(a) It has determined the formation of a so-called "Plenum" composed of one delegate each, of the Russian, Greek, German, Belgian and French sections, which to meet at least once every three months to investigate and solve the most important problems raised before the ILO.

(b) The naming of delegates to the Plenum is to be assumed directly by the sections named.

(c) In case of conflicts of opinion on serious matters (expulsions, splits, approval or refusal of admission) the minority has the right to demand a final decision by means of a referendum of the national sections.

(d) The organ which assured the political continuity and practical execution of the work of the International Secretariat, composed, not of delegates of the sections, but of comrades who are capable of fulfilling this function, it is selected by the Plenum, is responsible to the Plenum, and can be deposed by the Plenum. (For the first time the pre-Conference itself has assumed the selection of the I. S.). The I. S. must be a real center for connection, information, control, and political impulsiveness, in accordance with the growing development of the I. S. the relations among the sections should be carried on more and more through the I. S. and not through individual correspondence.

(e) The pre-Conference has determined on Paris as the location of the I. S.

(f) International connection can be adequately assured only through the regular publication of the International Bulletin, which should be an organ of international discussion and not only a bulletin of information and of the exchange of experiences.

In order to assure the independent financial life of the Bulletin, it will be sent to the sections, cash payable on receipt.

(g) In order to assure the independent financial life of the I. S., an international membership contribution of the national organizations is necessary.

P. S. The pre-Conference charges the I. S. to conduct, and to follow attentively, the reshaping of the

sections in the sense of the organizational forms described in the theses of the first four Congresses of the C. I., as well as the adaptation of the section to the fundamental principles of a Communist organization (control of the work, collective and responsible work, etc.).

On the International Conference of the Left Opposition

In order to prepare seriously for the first International Conference of the ILO, the pre-Conference has decided to have these prepared on the following political problems:

1. Theses on the German situation (by the German section).
2. Theses on the Spanish situation (each of the two tendencies will work on its own thesis).
3. Project of a platform on the USSR (by the Russian section).
4. Theses on the International

situation by the French Ligue).

5. Theses on the Balkan countries (by the Greek and Bulgarian sections jointly).

6. Theses on the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy and Fascism (by the New Italian Opposition).

Possibly the American League will prepare a thesis on American imperialism.

All the projects for these above-mentioned must be prepared for publication by April 15, 1933.

A discussion period of three months is to take place, and the International Conference is then to be called for the month of July.

The sections are called upon to prepare special funds beginning today in order to assure their representation at the International Conference.

Accepted by the pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) in Paris, February 4-8, 1933.

Kincaid Miners

(Continued from Page 1)

would plan the enlarged conference on as broad a basis as possible. The discussion centered around the character of the united front primarily. It is of particular importance to the members of the Left Opposition to know the position of the International Labor Defense which was represented by Andy Newhoff. When asked what the position of the ILO was in relation to the united front he said in effect: "The ILO is prepared to participate in any united front affecting the interests of the workers. We are prepared to unite with anybody, no matter who they are, on any minimum basis, except of course, that we shall have the right to our independence. On such a basis, we are prepared to participate in this movement. That has always been our position."

This has not always been the position of the ILO as is known to everyone. Quite the contrary, it is a decided departure from the previously known position of the ILO and as such marks a positive step forward. How far the ILO will go in arriving at a correct position on the vital question of the united front remains yet to be seen, and this conference will be a test for the organization. But if it is really prepared to follow a correct position, it will be a decisive force in this movement. If not, it will continue its previously disastrous line, it will only continue to lose prestige in the eyes of the working class.

The real work of the conference will lie ahead. There are excellent possibilities for the creation of a mass movement that will struggle in the interests of the industrial workers who run the danger of being railroaded to jail or to the electric chair by the allied interests of reaction. The working class of Chicago, as everywhere, must be made acquainted with the Taylorville case. They must be mobilized into action to prevent a deliberate attempt to cut into a movement of militant workers in struggle for their bread and butter. Silence will only help to defeat the miners.

Victory or Defeat in Germany?

(We publish herewith a second article on the German situation, written by comrade Arne Swaback who is at present in Europe, close to the scene of the events which he deals with in his correspondence.—Ed.)

The course of the further developments in Germany will decide whether the epoch shall continue and finally secure the proletarian revolution or whether we shall face an entirely new epoch. This decision, of course, extends far beyond the German borders. And in either case it will spell the beginning of the end to Stalinist domination of the movement.

On the one hand it is now possible to affirm that a victorious German revolution developing out of this juncture could be accomplished only in opposition to Stalinism and in violent collision with its policies. On the other hand it is just as certain that a defeat of the working class in Germany at present and the inauguration of a new and reactionary epoch would also signal the transformation of the revolutionary movement onto a new basis. Although a frightfully narrowed basis of retarded developments, it will nevertheless be one within which there will be no room for the curse of Stalinism.

The Possible Variants
The outcome of this gigantic struggle that is in which direction the decision will turn, nobody can as yet predict. The Fascists have already gained an enormous advantage while the working class has been kept disarmed and unprepared. But in the process, which this struggle implies, the dialectics of class relations may turn the present proletarian disadvantage into its opposite. Many intervening factors will still have to be reckoned with their effects, however, primarily depending upon the strategy of the revolutionary vanguard. Yet it may be asked, are there no possibilities of a middle course in between these two extreme variants? The answer is that such possibilities are fading away and that they could at this stage only mean a postponement of the final decision. But likely also is a postponement creating new advantages to the proletariat for a decision in its favor.

The lines are now sharply drawn and extremely tense. Hitler proclaims the extermination of Communism and Marxism, not only in Germany but throughout the whole world. Conscious of their present advantage the Fascists in the government are particularly vociferous in declarations that they will not abdicate until they have reached the goal. In reality this means a recognition on their part that the power is not securely in their hands until the working class movement is completely destroyed. In this manner they serve as the most deadly instrument of the reactionary German junkers and big bourgeoisie.

To fully appreciate the serious menace constituted by the Fascists in this role it is important to understand the extent of their social basis within contemporary Germany. "The Fascist movement is a

Alternatives in the Decisive Class Battles

plebian movement, composed essentially of the petty bourgeoisie and slum proletariat, but drawing recruits also from the bourgeoisie and from the proletarian masses to a certain extent. It has a large basis in Germany particularly by virtue of the numerous middle class there. Germany has yet a large farm population maintained through decades by protective tariffs imposed by the reactionary junker regimes. While this kept agricultural prices high it also served to maintain the farmers as a social counter-weight against the proletariat, England, by her industrialization, and by virtue of acquiring a large colonial empire could afford to sacrifice her agriculture and drive the peasants into the factories. The German bourgeoisie was not so fortunate. It did not attain such a wide expanse and therefore had to find specific means to create this social counter-weight against the proletariat. To an extent that was also accomplished by the development of a large and conservative state bureaucracy. But its lower layers were hit hard by the general pauperization of the post-war crises. And hence it became so much more important at the present juncture to clean out the "unreliable" social democrats from their positions in this bureaucracy.

The German Fascist movement has passed through its evolution of demagoguery, socialist in tone and coloring necessary to recruit a mass movement. In the beginning the leaders, who rose from the rank and file, promised to drive out the international bankers and all "foreign", particularly Jewish, exploiters. They promised to break up the landed estates and to rehabilitate the farmers. They promised to restore the middle class property and the losses it suffered during the inflation period. They

turned the fire of aroused nationalism against the former enemies across the border, particularly against the Versailles treaty and all that it implied.

Now that the Fascist brigands believe that the maintenance of power is securely within their grasp the direction of their fire has entirely changed. While continuing their demagoguery as a coat of arms under which a ruthless working class suppression is carried out, the international bankers and the landowners no longer appear in their vocabulary characterizing the enemy. They now feel that they can move their troops directly against the Communist and working class movement. For that the state powers are put at their disposal. This aim has moved up to the very center of their campaign. The Fascist hordes no longer direct their fire against the Versailles treaty. The annual payments of tribute have practically ended and further readjustments promise no great difficulties. Military equality for Germany can easily be obtained. And more so by virtue of the direction of the Fascist fire which is now turning eastward toward the Soviet Republic. The first intimations are the reports of straining relations between the two governments.

The German Fascists and the German big bourgeoisie know very well that within the working class of the Soviet Union lie the greatest sources of sympathy and support to the German working class movement. Its existence is no doubt clear to them even if they do not discount the present stronghold of Stalinism paralyzing actual support. They recognize the world implications of the advance of the Communist movement and hence they hurl their challenge to the Comintern and to the proletarian dictatorship. In their threats to exterminate the Communist movement throughout the world they are already consciously and deliberately forging the spearhead of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union. This is the double-edged sword by which they aim to accomplish their immediate goal in Germany and simultaneously rally the support of allies of the imperialist powers everywhere for the international objective.

Danger in C.I. Turn

(Continued from Page 1)

who disrupt the united front of the workers." (Our emphasis.)

The Pravda comment on this passage repeats that "during the time of these revolutionary actions, that solely during that time, the Communists will refrain from attacks against the social democratic organizations."

What "attacks" are meant? Obviously not physical attacks on the social democratic organizations. The only significance that can be attached to the passage is that inside the united front the Communist international pledges itself to refrain from all criticism of the social democracy! The overnight swing from ultra-Leftism to that species of bureaucratic opportunism which characterized the whole course of the Stalin-Bucharin leadership from 1924 to 1928, is positively breath-taking! And therein lies the outstanding danger in the turn of the C. I. It must always be borne in mind that the ultra-Leftism of the Stalinists is itself of a peculiar kind. It is not so much kindred to the extreme radicalism that characterized certain sections of the Comintern in its infancy, as it is the specific trait of an opportunist group in Communism which has been frightened into a leap to verbal radicalism by the catastrophic consequences of its own Right wing policy of the day before. The bureaucracy of the Comintern is not ultra-Leftist "per se", but (centrist, that is, a petty bourgeois tendency swinging between Marxism and liquidationism. The immature opportunist ultra-Leftist, swinging to the right in a second spasm of fear, is capable of the wildest plunges in that direction, with consequences no less disastrous for the revolutionary and working class movements. The first distinct signs of that swing are already visible. "The Stalinist hero-

es who yesterday refused to sit down with the "murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg" now knock tearfully at the doors of the "united front" organized by the hunted Jewish bourgeoisie to protest mildly against Hitler's anti-Semitism.

These who were too proud yesterday to take the leadership of a united proletarian front, today complain pathetically at not being allowed to march at the tail-end of a "united front" of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois stock coats of various religious denominations.

Against this dangerous opportunist trend, an alarm signal must be sounded immediately. The united front for which the Left Opposition fights is the united front of Lenin and Trotsky, and not of Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek, of Tomsky and Puzlov, of Pepper and LaPollette, of Kolarov and Kallitche. We are for the united front with the social democracy—from top to bottom, in which the social democracy is put to the wall and compelled to act or be discredited in the eyes of the masses, a united front in which above all, the Communist party retains its independence, its freedom of criticism, of the press, of its ideas—in a word, in which it remains a Communist party and is not liquidated. We are as intransigently opposed to the non-aggression pacts proposed by the Stalinists as we are against those proposed by the social democracy. That price for the united front is not only too high but leads directly to disaster.

Touching Reconsiderations
The German southern states, reluctant to the early Hitler pronouncements, have now declared that their unity in the aims against world Communism. "French imperialists, who once greatly feared the Hitler ascension to power, are now completely reconciled to that fact and not at all disturbed. Voices in France indicating rapprochement to Germany are becoming more audible. While the international objective is yet concealed in these voices it undoubtedly is taking form in the minds.

Thus we see today in actual development the enormous danger against which the International Left Opposition a long time ago raised its voice of serious warning.

The events, however, will continue and develop their own inevitable logic. German capitalism today still constitutes the weakest link of the imperialist chain. Its tremendous convulsions and developments in the capitalist epoch exist also in the capitalist decay stage. But to the revolutionary proletariat this poses definite strategic problems which the Stalinist regime has completely failed to master. On the one hand it poses the possibility of breaking the weak links in the imperialist chain and the possibility of the proletariat seizing power. In this sense the uneven development of decay becomes a lever favoring the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR.

But at the same time it also emphasizes the impossibility of building socialism within one single country, in the USSR which is still subject to the conditions of this very unstable equilibrium of the world market dominated by decay capitalism. These two problems of strategy cannot be separated but must go hand in hand so that a policy of building toward Socialism in the USSR first of all presupposes a policy of preparing the parties, of preparing the working class for the extension of the proletarian revolution by the seizure of power in the weak links of the imperialist chain.

Effects of Stalinist Strategy
The entirely false strategy of the Stalinist Comintern regime has run counter to the dialectics of the developing capitalist contradictions. As a result the proletariat has suffered defeats and become disarmed, despite the objectively favorable situations, and the most murderous reaction has at present gained the upper hand. What enormous crimes! But by this the Stalinist regime has only succeeded in postponing the shocks which will now reverberate with so much more titanic force and sweep it from its position of domination in the movement.

Without entering into discussion of the possibilities and implications of further developments in Germany, and without even excluding in advance the worst variant for the next stage, it is neverless well to remember that the at present attempted counter-revolution will still meet its complications. The economic conjuncture is by no means favorable to its development. The working class is not yet defeated. And it is more important yet to remember that the German working class, though unprepared still possesses great resources within itself. But these can be unfolded fully only when its vanguard has become freed from the curse of Stalinism.

To be continued

— ARNE SWABACK.

A Trade Union Balance Sheet In Germany

The failure of the German Communist Party to arouse the working class against Fascism is to a large extent explainable by its false trade union policies. When von Papen put through his coup d'Etat, on July 20th of last year, the party's call for a general strike met little response in the ranks of the workers. Similarly, on the occasion of the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor of the German Reich on January 30, the call of the Communist party for a general strike found all but the most advanced revolutionary workers, as the Hamburg dock workers, staying on their jobs. A revolutionary party which was able to rally over five millions to its parliament banner, could get tens or at best several hundred thousands to respond to its extra-parliamentary action, the general strike.

To understand this one must examine the party's trade union policies in the past few years and its relation to the general trade union movement.

The Third Period Policy
At the height of the "third period", when the social democracy and the reformist trade unions were called "social Fascist" and an integral part of the capitalist state apparatus, the German party organized its own trade union center. (It may be remarked that our American party was instructed to do likewise in the same period—the Trade Union Unity League was formed). On November 15 and 16 at Berlin, the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition as a center of red trade unions and opposition groups in the reformist trade unions (which would try to split off locals for the red unions) was formed. The old policy of the Leftist Communist Labor Party, condemned by the Comintern and the International of Labor Unions under Lenin and Trotsky of forming the General Labor Union which would try to destroy all reformist unions, withdraw the revolutionary and militant elements from the reformist unions, and organize "pure and simple" revolutionary unions—was revived.

The reformist trade union leaders did not at all dislike this policy. The need for struggling with the militants within the trade unions was obviated. Instead of expulsions being necessary, withdrawal of Communist workers took place. Nevertheless the reformist unions did not have any easy sailing.

The General Federation of Labor, affiliated to the reformist Amsterdam International showed a growth of membership up to January 1st 1930.

End of 1928: 4,866,926
July 1, 1929: 4,942,964
Jan. 1, 1930: 4,948,267

However, with the intensification of the economic crisis in Germany, the growing unemployment and the failure of the reformist unions to struggle for the workers—jobless and employed—interests, hundreds of thousands left the unions. In 1930 over two hundred thousand (233,068) workers quit the unions. In the following year, the unions lost 582,000 workers.

Despite this process, the reformist unions succeeded in maintaining their hold over the employed. The unemployed flocked in large numbers to the Communist party and its auxiliaries; the employed and organized remained under the control of the social democrats.

This is substantiated by an article in the Communist International of Feb. 1, 1933: "In the factories the reformist trade unions have not only not become relatively less important, but according to many indications their strength has even grown." (Page 69.)

The Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern held in September of last year was compelled to record the practical futility of the party trade union course.

Admission of Failure

"In Germany, the red trade unions (metal workers, miners) have failed to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive and have now stagnated." (Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended, page 30.)

But mere admission of shortcomings is hardly sufficient. The policy of small red trade unions combined with the slogans of "independent leadership", that is, leadership in strikes which in practice is independent of the union organizations and the workers themselves and "united front from below" divorced the revolutionary workers from the mass of organized labor.

Out of 13,129 local branches of the General Federation about 250 are led by Communist and Left wing groups. Even in branches controlled by the party the workers could not be aroused to the calls for "united front from below."

"Thus, in the district of Hessen-Frankfurt, the leaders of a number of local T. U. branches controlled

by us refused to issue a call for strikes against Fascist terror because, they maintained, "as organizations affiliated to the All-German Federation of Trade Unions they must await a strike call from their federation." Communist International, Vol. X, No. 2, February 1, 1933, page 73.)

The same author, one S. Perevoshnikov, gave some interesting information which throws light on the present situation.

"At the last Berlin District Conference of the party, it was revealed that about 250 delegates (nearly a quarter of the total) voluntarily quit the unions. At a district conference of the party in Rastatt, ninety-nine of 176 delegates were neither in trade unions nor the trade union opposition. In Saxony, of 4,000 party members, only 250 members of the revolutionary opposition." (Page 74.)

"Altogether, according to the figures of the National Committee of the revolutionary trade union opposition, 34,000 new members joined and 48,000 left the opposition during the last nine months." (Page 78.)

Are such conditions due to a "wrong application of the correct line"? Hardly. They are the legitimate fruits of the Stalinist policies.

A decisive turn has to be made. The ultimatum slogan of "united front from below under revolutionary leadership" has to be thrown overboard. The several hundred thousand members of the Red trade unions must return, as a group, to the reformist unions and struggle for the workers' economic needs and fight for the revolutionary program of the united front of workers' organizations against Fascism.

Such a change of policy is especially imperative today when according to news reports (New York Times—3-13-33) thousands of workers are returning to industry. This lays the basis for broad strike movements. The workers' will struggle for the positions lost in the past period; against worsening of economic conditions, wage cuts, etc. At such a time the revolutionary workers functioning militantly within the reformist unions can further the interests, both economic and political, of the entire class, and a cement a unity of the proletariat that can defeat Fascism and go over for the struggle for a Soviet Germany.

— JOSEPH CARTER.

For the United Defense against Hitlerism!

A Talk with the Socialist Workers by Leon Trotsky

This brochure addresses itself to the social democratic workers, even though personally the author belongs to another party. The disagreements between Communism and social democracy run very deep. I consider them irreconcilable. Nevertheless, the course of events frequently puts tasks before the working class which imperatively demand the joint action of the two parties. Is such an action possible? Perfectly possible, as historical experience and theory attest: everything depends upon the conditions and the character of the said tasks. Now, it is much easier to engage in a joint action when it is a question for the proletariat not of taking the offensive for the attainment of new objectives, but of defending the positions already gained.

That is how the question is posed in Germany. The German proletariat is in a situation where it must retreat and give up its positions. To be sure, there is no lack of windbags to cry that we are allegedly in the presence of a revolutionary offensive. These are people who obviously do not know how to distinguish their right from their left. There is no doubt that the hour of the offensive will strike. But today the problem is to arrest the disorderly retreat and to proceed to the regrouping of the forces for the defense. In politics as in the military art, to understand a problem clearly is to facilitate its solution. To get intoxicated by phrases is to help the adversary. One must see clearly what is happening: the class enemy, that is, monopoly capital and large feudal property, spared by the November revolution, are along the whole front. The enemy is utilizing two means with a different historical origin: first, the mili-

tary and police apparatus prepared by all the preceding governments which stood on the ground of the Weimar constitution; second, national-socialism, that is, the troops of the petty bourgeoisie counter-revolution whom finance capital arms and incites against the workers.

The aim of capital and of the landowning caste is clear: to crush the organizations of the proletariat, to strip them of the possibility not only of taking the offensive but also of defending themselves. As can be seen, twenty years of collaboration of the social democracy with the bourgeoisie have not softened by one iota the hearts of the capitalists. These individuals acknowledge but one law: the struggle for profit. And they conduct this struggle with a fierce and implacable determination, stopping at nothing and still less at their own laws.

The class of exploiters would have preferred to disarm and atomize the proletariat with the least possible expense, without civil war, with the aid of the military and police means of the Weimar republic. But it is afraid, and with good reason, that "legal" means by themselves would prove to be insufficient to drive back the workers into a position where they will no longer have any rights. For this, it requires Fascism as a supplementary force. But Hitler's party, fettered by monopoly capital, wants to become not a supplementary force, but the sole governing force in Germany. This situation occasions incessant conflicts between the governmental allies,

conflicts which at times take on an acute character. The saviors can afford the luxury of engaging mutually in intrigues only because the proletariat is abandoning its positions without battle and, without system and without direction. The "enemy" is unleashed to such a point that it does not constrain itself from discussing right in public where and how to strike the next blow: by frontal attack, by bearing down on the Communist Left flank; by penetrating deeply at the rear of the trade unions and cutting off communications, etc. The exploiters whom it has saved disavow the Weimar republic as if it were some worn-out bow; they ask themselves if it should still be utilized for a while or be thrown into the discard right away.

The bourgeoisie enjoys the full freedom of maneuvering, that is, of the choice of means, of time and of place. Its chiefs combine the arms of the law with the arms of handiwork. The proletariat combines nothing at all and does not defend itself. Its troops are split up, and its chiefs discourse languidly on whether or not it is at all possible to combine forces. Therein lies the essence of the interminable discussions on the united front. If the vanguard workers do not become conscious of the situation and do not intervene peremptorily in the debate, the German proletariat may find itself crushed for years on the cross of Fascism.

IS IT NOT TOO LATE?
It may be that here my social-

democratic interlocutor interrupts me and says: Don't you come too late to propagate the united front? What did you do before this?

This objection would not be correct. This is not the first time that the question of a united front of defense against Fascism is raised. I permit myself to refer to what I myself had the occasion to say on this subject in September 1930, after the first great success of the national-socialists. Addressing myself to the Communist workers, I wrote:

"The Communist party must call for the defense of the material and moral positions which the working class has succeeded in conquering in the German state. The fate of the political organizations, of the trade unions, of the newspapers and printing plants, of the clubs, of the libraries, of the working class, etc., is directly at stake. The Communist worker must say to the social democratic worker: 'The policy of our parties is irreconcilable; but if the Fascists come tonight to sack the hall of your organization, I will hasten to your aid with arms in hand. Do you promise me that if a danger threatens my organization you will run to my aid?' There is the quintessence of the policy of the present period. All the propaganda must be attuned to this diapason."

"The more seriously, persistently and reflectively we carry on this agitation... the more we will propose in the factory, in each worker's quarter and ward, active organizational measures for the defense, the less will be the danger of being taken by surprise by the attack of the Fascists and the more-

certitude we will have that this attack, instead of smashing the ranks of the workers, will cement them."

The brochure from which I take this extract was written two and a half years ago. There is not the slightest doubt today that if this policy had been adopted in time, Hitler would not be chancellor at the present time and the positions of the German proletariat would be unassailable. But one cannot return to the past. As a result of the mistakes which were committed and the time which was allowed to pass, the problem of defense is posed today with infinitely greater difficulty; but the task remains just as before. Even right now it is possible to alter the relation of forces in favor of the proletariat. Towards this end, one must have a plan, a system, a combination of forces for the defense. But above all, one must have the will to defend himself. I hasten to add that only he defends himself well who does not confine himself to the defensive but who, at the first occasion, is determined to pass over to the offensive.

What attitude does the social democracy adopt towards this question?

A NON-AGGRESSION PACT
The social democratic leaders propose to the Communist party to conclude a "non-aggression pact". When I read this phrase for the first time in the Vorwarts, I thought it was an incidental and very happy pleasantry. The formula of the non-aggression pact, however, is today in vogue and at the present time it is at the center

of all the discussions. The social democratic leaders are not lacking in tried-out and skillful policies. All the more reason for asking how they could have chosen such a slogan which runs counter to their own interests.

The formula has been borrowed from diplomacy. The meaning of this type of pact consists in this: two states which have sufficient causes for war engage themselves for a determined period not to resort to the force of arms against each other. The Soviet Union, for example, has signed such a rigorously circumscribed pact with Poland. Granting that a war were to break out between Germany and Poland, the said pact would in no way obligate the Soviet Union to come to the aid of Poland. Non-aggression and nothing more. In no way does it imply common action for defense; on the contrary, it excludes this action: without this, the pact would have a quite different character and would be called by a quite different name.

What sense then do the social democratic leaders give to this formula? Do the Communists threaten to sack the social democracy's organizations? Or else is the social democracy disposed to undertake a crusade against the Communists? As a matter of fact, something entirely different is in question. If one wants to use the language of diplomacy, it would be in place to speak not of a non-aggression pact, but of a defensive alliance against a third party, that is, against Fascism. The aim is not to halt or to exorcise an armed struggle between Communists and social democrats—there could

be no question of a danger-of-war—but of combining the forces of the social democrats and the Communists against the attack with arms in hand which has already been launched against them by the national-socialists.

Incredible as it may seem, the social democratic leaders are substituting for the question of a genuine defense against the armed actions of Fascism, the question of the political controversy between Communists and social democrats. It is exactly as if one were to substitute for the question of how to prevent the derailment of a train, the question of the need for mutual courtesy between the travelers of the second and third classes.

The misfortune, in any case, is that the ill-conceived formula of a "non-aggression pact" will not even be able to subserve the inferior aim in whose name it is dragged in by the hair. The engagement assumed by two states not to attack each other, in no way eliminates their struggle, their polemics, their intrigues and their maneuvers. The semi-official Polish journals, in spite of the pact, foam at the mouth when they speak of the Soviet Union. For its part, the Soviet press is far from making compliments to the Polish regime. The fact of the matter is that the social democratic leaders have steered a wrong course in trying to substitute a conventional diplomatic formula for the political tasks of the proletariat.

JOINTLY ORGANIZE THE DEFENSE, DO NOT FORGET THE PAST, PREPARE FOR THE FUTURE

More prudent social democratic journalists translate their thought (Continued on Page 3)

Stalinist Persecutions

Russian Left Opposition Forges Ahead in the Party

Moscow.—The most important fact here is the arrest of former Left Oppositionists, this time not rank and file, but leaders... You probably already know about the arrests of I. N. Smirnov, Preobrazhensky, Ufimtzev, Ter-Vaganyan, Lifshitz, Gruenstein, Mrazhkovsky, Pereverzev, and many others. In Leningrad, Olga Ravich was arrested. In Kharkov, Karetny, the wife of the People's Commissar of Agriculture of Ukraine, who himself, it is said, had and has no connection whatever with the Opposition. Mrazhkovsky and Pereverzev were arrested in the Far East and they are being brought to Moscow. Many arrests were made in the Foreign Trade Department (in particular, the above-named Lifshitz). All told about a hundred people were arrested who at one time or another belonged to the cadres of the Left Opposition. The chief arrests were made in Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov.

As you know, the repressions in the party have been going on at full speed for the last few months, and are continually on the increase. But nevertheless the arrests of Smirnov, Preobrazhensky and the others have made a tremendous impression, not only because old party members with great reputations are involved but chiefly because those concerned are former Opposition and made the attempt at reconciliation with the Stalinist bureaucracy. The political connection between these arrests and the exile of Zinoviev and Kamenev is self-evident. Old revolutionists, experienced politicians made the

I. N. Smirnov and Preobrazhensky—Bolsheviks from the day the party was founded; they belonged to the center of the Left Opposition from the day it was organized.

Ufimtzev one of the leading Ural Bolsheviks and Oppositionists, in his own time he was sent to Vienna, as chairman of the trade bureau.

Ter-Vaganyan—old Bolshevik, founder and editor of the magazine "Under the Banner of Marxism", author of books on Plekhanov, on the national question, etc. Gruenstein—Lithuanian Bolshevik, spent many years sentenced to hard labor, hero of the Civil War, former chief of a Red Division, subsequently head of an aviation school. Mrazhkovsky—Bolshevik from the foundation of the party, leading figure in the Urals, hero of the Civil War, subsequently in command of a military district. Pereverzev—old Bolshevik, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Opposition, subsequently was sent to Berlin; Trotsky's letter to Pereverzev was intercepted and published in the press by the Stalinists on the eve of Trotsky's deportation to Alma Ata. O. Ravich—old Bolshevik, intimately connected with Lenin during the emigration period, member of the Petrograd Party Committee, etc.—Editor.

attempt to find a common language with the apparatus. The experiment endured about four years and led to a break. In its own time, it was explained, in all the nuclei in the party, that "all the old Bolsheviks have broken with the Left Opposition" and that this fact alone meant its finish. It is indubitable that this declaration created a great impression upon wide party circles. At present the arrests of former Left Oppositionists create even a greater impression. But this time just to the contrary. Many say, "This proves that the Left Opposition has shown its correctness, since all those are now returning to

(Continued on Page 3)

Party May Day Conference Reveals Inner Dispute on United Front Policy

Five hundred and thirty delegates from one hundred and sixteen organizations gathered to constitute the New York United Front May Day Conference, on Sunday, March 19th. For the most part, they were the same delegates who make up all the party united front masquerades hereabouts. Its breadth can be seen from the credentials committee report: four AF of L unions were represented by six delegates; there were no representatives from the Socialist party or YPSL.

The proceedings were the usual six-cylinder, Stalinist machine affair. In last Sunday's dull routine points of great importance for the movement as a whole stood out and must become known to our movement. Hathaway made the report. His speech was marked by the utmost confusion on the question of Fascism in Germany and the fight against it. According to him, the danger of war has become more acute since Hitler's accession to power, not because the inevitable development of a triumphant Fascism makes it the spear-head of the imperialist intervention of the "MSR"—according to Hathaway; the danger lies in Hitler's attempt to organize an anti-Versailles bloc to recapture the territory of Germany lost to the Allied powers.

Hathaway's analysis of the perspectives of German Fascism were the last word in confusion. He foretold its mechanical collapse! Italian Fascism, said he, improved the conditions of the masses because it came to power in the upward curve of the economic conjuncture! But Hitler has come to power in the period of the downward curve! The workers will become quickly disillusioned with

Workers' Youth Form Genuine United Front in New York Protest Struggle against Hitlerism

One hundred and nineteen delegates, representing fifty-five youth organizations met in New York, March 24-25, at a conference to plan concrete action in the struggle against German Fascism. The delegates were overwhelmingly Left wing and Communist, including the Young Communist League, the Young Communist League (Opposition)—Lavestone Group, the National Youth Committee of the Communist Left Opposition, the New York Spartacus Youth Club, and the National Student League. Several socialist groups were present, such as the Rand School Students Ass'n, which had initiated the conference, the Brookwood Labor College Fellowship—one of the delegates being a member of the

National Committee of the YPSL, the New York University Socialist Club and the Rand School Debs' Club. Youth clubs, youth sections of Left wing unions, the Menorah Society—a Jewish group, the League of India (Gandhi followers), the various workers' schools, and several sport organizations were represented.

The conference opened with an address by the temporary chairman, the delegate from the group which initiated the conference, the Rand School Students Ass'n. He read the appeal of the Left wing socialist parties to the Communist and Socialist internationalists for a united front against Hitlerism. It contained a criticism of the German Social Democratic Party's policy of class collaboration, etc., and the sectarian policies of the Communist party. It further called for unity of the two internationalists on the basis of the class struggle.

Following this, the chairman of the provisional committee, comrade Joel, a member of the Communist party and representative of the Workers' School, gave the report for the Committee. He prefaced his report by a reply to the criticism of the Communists delivered by the previous speaker. He did not get very far when the overwhelming majority of the delegates—members of sympathizers of the YPSL—booed and hissed him for criticizing the socialists!

Comrade Joel reported that the City Committee of the YPSL had forced several Ypsel circle delegates to withdraw from the provisional committee; that the City Committee refused to participate in the Conference and had even denied the floor to a delegation from the provisional committee to present to it the appeal for a united front. He proceeded to criticize this action when, once again, the YCLers and sympathizers booed and hissed and told him to stick to the subject. Several delegates, including the temporary chairman, rose and protested against comrade Joel's remarks.

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Comrade Joe Carter of the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition), took the floor and stated that as a member of the provisional committee he protests against the interruptions of its spokesman. He declared that the committee had unanimously agreed to criticize the actions of the Ypsels in its report to the Conference, and that the delegates could discuss the report of comrade Joel when it was concluded. Joel continued with his speech explaining why it was imperative to criticize the Ypsel committee, the need for united front, and the present plans of the Committee for a mass demonstration on April 1 before the German con-

sulate in New York. Five speakers from different political tendencies were permitted to discuss the report. Herman of the YCL stated that talk against Fascism was insufficient; one's actions would show whether the organization is ready for a struggle against Hitlerism. Carter of the National Youth Committee of the Left Opposition, explained that the reason for the united front was that all workers' organizations, Communist, Socialist and trade union, were attacked by Fascism, that in the united front we retain our right of criticizing the groups participating. He declared that it was the social democracy which paved the way for Hitler and it was the

speed with which the state militia were called and the quick follow-up by the new national administration, with promises and minor concessions to the lesser exploiters, proved to be of sufficient force to line up the majority of the states to drive through the new law and for the power to be given to those in control of the reorganization of the banking structure. The majority of the industrialists and the urban and rural middle class were taken off their feet and in line for the "national emergency".

What Was Aimed At?
Regardless of the fact that the door is now wide open to inflation and indirect wage cuts, the main target aimed at and hit by the imperialists was the reorganization of the banking structure for the purpose of eliminating many more small banks and sectional banking influence over the dominating group; thereby, to organize the machinery so as to enable the bank-

ers to mold a single national banking system out of the present dual system; finally, so as to liquidate the heavy internal debt bearing down upon the American industries.

Such liquidation in this period of attempted capitalist reorganization is called deflation by the capitalists but in no way conflicts, at this stage, with the currency inflation. On the contrary, liquidation of the internal debt proceeds through a two-fold process. On the one hand, bankruptcy, mergers and concentration—liquidation. And on the other hand, at the right moment, and properly planned through a graduated "controlled" through a graduated plan—the process of inflation.

Senator Vandenberg, Republican from Michigan, in objecting to the present procedure said: "If the government continues to license banks on the present basis we are embarking upon the most ruthless deflation in the history of this or any other nation... we are going to needlessly massacre the savings of the American people." What else is to be expected? That is just what the Roosevelt administration must do in order to function for the group of imperialists that backed its campaign in the last election. It is a government action to hasten the process of weeding out the small banks. It took the crisis several years to weed out small banks through bankruptcy. The new laws speed up this process. The capitalist government "organizes" the anarchy of capitalist production, but it cannot organize capitalism production.

American imperialism must obtain markets and is doing everything possible on an international scale to obtain them. However, this

New Ill. Mine Contract

Left Wing Criticizes Provisions of 2 Year Agreement

Gillespie, Ill.—The Scale Committee of the Progressive Miners' Union of America has met with the operators holding contracts with the union, to renew the contract expiring April 1, and recommend to the membership of the union to sign a contract for two years. A referendum vote of the union will be held Saturday, the 25th. The Gillespie office has sent to all locals instructions and the contract to be voted upon, but up to this date, Wed., March 23, the majority of the miners have not yet seen the new contract or the amendments to the old contract as proposed by the Scale Committee. Regardless of the changes or lack of changes in the new contract, the miners should have more time

to study the contract, and to discuss it before the referendum vote is taken.

All indications show that the leadership of the PMA consider the contract they present as the most they could obtain from the operators at this time. The strategy of the Scale Committee and the present leadership seems to be the desire to obtain a two year contract instead of the one year contract in order to obtain a breathing spell which is to enable them to consolidate and strengthen their union. This intention may be the best but the way the action is being carried out is far from the best for the interest of the miners in the PMA.

Shortcomings of Contract
The shortcomings in the contract presented by the scale committee, at least as much of the new contract as we are reliably informed on, are the following: The contract calls for a two year period instead of a one year period. Signing a contract does not favor the miners and a militant union. On the contrary, such a contract will favor the light wing in the union and the small operators with whom the contract is signed. At this stage of the crisis, and especially since we have the new banking laws that open wide the doors for inflation with possibilities of a wide price change, not downward, but upward, it is not advisable to sign a contract over such a long period, unless a special clause is inserted taking care of such price changes and inflation. The new contract does not provide for this.

There is no fundamental difference between the contract presented for referendum and the Lewis contract. Such a contract is presented when the PMA is far stronger than it was when it fought the other (Lewis) contract and had been forced to compromise. This present compromise comes without a struggle—if the referendum is carried, at least so far as the leadership is concerned.

The struggle for the shorter workday is left out entirely, and yet this is a burning problem for the whole working class and especially the miners. It is true that the PMA is confronting great odds and an uphill fight; against operators, their state force, murder frame-ups, the Lewis machine and the general effects of the crisis, and therefore they will have to be careful in their struggle. The union must now fight for the lives of the Taylorville frame-up victims whom the Peabody Coal Company wants to burn in the electric chair. The PMA must win over Franklin County and all indications are that a powerful strike movement will be upon us within a period of days. Confronted with these conditions the leadership desires a base below them for the fight. All this is true but it is

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Friday April 21, 1933 at 8 p. m. **SPRING DANCE & FESTIVAL** Jazz Orchestra - Songs - Other Features
IRVING PLAZA HALL 15 St. & Irving Pl. for the Benefit of 'THE MILITANT'
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition) and Protomagic Club.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

A Stalinist Meeting
In Chicago

Chicago.—After months of campaigning, at mass meetings and in print, by the Left Opposition, the local German Stalinists have finally been made aware of the Fascist danger in Germany. At last they too got to the point of calling a protest meeting. But how? The anti-Fascist meeting held by the "Chicago Arbeiter Club" at the Social Turnhalle on March 5 gave new evidence of the false evaluation of the present events in Germany on part of the CP comrades. Instead of appearing as a brother organization of the KPD—that is, as Communists—they are hiding behind the mantle of the Arbeiter Club.

After a short speech in German, an English speech was made by comrade N. Blattner. It was an aggregate of platitudes often culminating in statements which had to be retracted immediately after loud guffaws from the audience. One of these guffaws was the contention that only recently "the Spanish Fascists and their king were chased out with machine guns" and that the same is bound to happen elsewhere. Asked who it was that chased out the Spanish Fascists and who it is that is standing at the head of the government in their place, the speaker was puzzled, but like a good Stalinist he quickly recovered to retort: "It was the Republicans and the social Fascists, who are only slightly different from the other Fascists."

Another such clumsy turn of speech was the assertion that the "capitalist system has broken down everywhere except in the Soviet Union." That was most of course for the Nazis present, who were profuse in their applause on this point. It was not at all surprising therefore when after the many questions asked, the speaker got sick at heart and instead of giving a factual answer to the question, replied with the well-known muddling method to many of the questions.

The Leninist application of the united front in the Kornilov period in Petersburg, cited by the Left Opposition, was pointed as a Trotskyist lie by him. Lenin could not have given the instructions—because he was not in Petersburg! The demand of the Opposition for a united front with the social democratic party and the trade unions (from top to bottom) was distorted by the speaker in his reply as if the "Trotskyists" wanted to build an unconditional bloc with the social democracy. In his trade again, a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" Blattner did not achieve anything new. His frenzy did not help him any either. The workers present listened attentively to the arguments presented and did not allow themselves to be swayed by the lying spirit. In the discussion that followed our comrades (Giganti, Minslow, Martin, Satir, Bornstein, etc.) participated. The views of the Left Opposition were as adequately presented as is possible in the five minutes that are granted.

A resolution was proposed by comrade Martin and accepted by the meeting, demanding that the Arbeiter Club send out an appeal to ALL workers organizations for the purpose of forming a united front against Fascism. The Stalinists showed how they proposed to fight Fascism by a resolution which called merely for a telegram of protest against the Fascist terror to be sent to the German embassy in Washington! Literature and Militants were sold and discussion held long after the meeting was over.

Oehler Meeting
In St. Louis

St. Louis.—The two meetings arranged for comrade Oehler in St. Louis were well attended and the workers present were attentive and sympathetic to our viewpoint on the German question. The Militant as well as other literature was eagerly reached for.

In the next room, adjoining the hall where our meeting was held—on the South side—four or five Stalinists were in session. The purpose of their meeting was the formation of a "Hitler Club", which evidently was a flop because no workers seemed to hear of the Stalinist interpretation of literature. They were invited to attend our meeting. They came in, sat down for about five minutes and then returned to their retreat to

Stalinists Merge With Balbontin

Important news! The Spanish C. P., which numbers two to three thousand members, has just "taken to its bosom" the Socialist Revolutionary Party...which numbers fully 8,000.

Let us call things by their name: the C. P. of Spain has gone from crisis to crisis, it has driven from its midst the Left Opposition, it separated from Maurin's Right wing group. Finally, on orders from Moscow, it expelled its entire Political Bureau (Bullos-Adame Trilla). It has just taken a new step by merging with Balbontin's Socialist Revolutionary Party.

This "party", led by those who are called in Spain Inhabiles (Bloody) Balbontin and Company, is supported partly by the radical bourgeois, partly by the peasant and the anarchist circles. It disseminates a sheet with quite a large circulation. In Tierra—a truly demagogic piece of confusion! Mr. Balbontin, its leader, a notorious adventurer, is a deputy. He was, it seems, won over by

continue their literary discussion. It is significant that the leader of this group is Sernich, the Stalinist who is most active in expelling Left Oppositionists from the ILD in St. Louis.

At the North side meeting, Orville Smith, a young Stalinist fanatic, constantly made notes on a very large sheet of paper. Every one present noticed him thought he was making notes for a short speech on Germany from the Stalinist viewpoint. When he was finally given the floor for ten minutes (which was extended to fifteen) imagine our surprise when the only remark he made about Germany was that he knew nothing about it! The bankruptcy of this individual was further exposed by his admission that not only did he know nothing about Germany but that he knew nothing about anything else except St. Louis. This, from a representative of the political party of the world's greatest internationalist, Lenin! His entire fifteen minutes were devoted to the glorification of the local members of the Opposition, particularly Roberts and Payer who have been active in party auxiliary organizations.

Other Stalinists also had their say. One of them asked the hoary question, "If Trotsky is a friend of the workers why was he called from the Soviet Union, the Workers' Republic?" A German Stalinist remarked, that being a German, no one could tell him anything about the German situation! This individual walked out of the meeting in feigned disgust, evidently hoping that others would follow. His rise failed as the other workers sat eagerly by waiting for comrade Oehler's reply. The reply was brief, because of lack of time, but nevertheless to the point—dealing crushing blows to the lies and slanders of the political bankrupts who call themselves Communists. At their complaint of lack of time to present their viewpoint (!) we offered them plenty of time if they would meet us in debate at some near date. This proposal left them stunned and wordless, and they walked out of the meeting considerably crestfallen.

—G. ROBERTS.

A United Front
from the Top?

At the first session of the Congress Organization Committee of the N. Y. Free Tom Mooney Conference, in which Stalinists have the control, a serious discussion arose over the question of the united front. The question arose in connection with the problem of broadening the conference.

It was the unanimous sentiment of the Committee that the crux of the problem was the approach to the SP and A F of L. It was proposed to send a delegation to the SP City Central Committee and the A F of L Central Trades and Labor Alliance to invite them into the work of the conference. To bring them in, it was proposed to offer them a number of places on the Congress Organization Committee equal to the number held by any other single group. It was further proposed that the invitation specify that all participants agreed in advance not to "attack" other organizations. Nessin was elected to this delegation.

The Left Opposition which is represented on the Committee proposed that the Committee issue a letter to the Socialist and A F of L workers asking them to raise in their organizations the questions of why their organizations did not participate in the Conference and asking them to demand that they participate as organizations. This was voted down. The vote was one for; all the others against.

Following the rejection of our proposal, Winter proposed an open letter to the SP and A F of L embodying the proposal of the delegation. A lively passage of arms took place over this proposition between Nessin and Winter. Nessin was opposed to the open letter. He argued that we must give the appearance of sincerity to our proposal to the SP and A F of L. He was afraid that an open letter would frighten them away.

The Left Opposition proposed an open letter to the SP and A F of L asking them to appoint committees to meet with a sub-committee of the Congress Committee to work out the means of drawing them into the work of the conference. The motion was defeated. Winter's carried.

As it stands now the party is swinging to the Right. The people of St. Louis is preparing to take a trip to the USSR. So the die is cast.

The miserable roping of the Spanish C. P. into Mr. Balbontin's impossible managerial illuminates its entire political course. Stalin and his clique expel the Bolshevik-Leninist from the party. It antagonizes the entire revolutionary vanguard, and it falls swooning into the arms of...deputy Balbontin. It is hardly necessary to add that Mr. Balbontin has nothing whatever in common, neither immediately nor ultimately, with Communism. His union with the C. P. is a truly frightful marriage, which can contribute nothing to the Spanish proletariat but disastrous mistakes.

The Spanish Left Opposition must denounce to the proletariat this open sliding of Centism into the positions of petty bourgeois radicalism. In order to raise the banner of Communism again, the first task it must achieve is the publication of a weekly paper.

who but yesterday thundered that the united front from below was the simon-pure Marxian version, are today beginning to tread in the steps of the Anglo-Russian Committee policy. From the united front below the Stalinist zigzag is moving toward the united front from the top. Therein lies the danger.

Bureaucratic Centism cannot consistently carry out a correct policy. In the process of oscillating from the extreme of ultra-Leftism to the extreme of Right opportunism Stalinism strikes a point at which it appears to coincide with the Marxian policy of the Left Opposition. The Left Opposition strives with all its influence to hold the policy to the correct line. But the nature of bureaucratic Centism makes this impossible for the Stalinists. They continue their course.

At the present the direction is toward the united front from the top. Left Oppositionists must be on guard.

—T. STAMM.

The Opposition
in Bethlehem

Allentown-Bethlehem Pa. — We workers of this vicinity are fortunate enough to have been "educated" and "organized" by the 14th "organizer" sent to us since 1929 from the District office of the C. P. in Philadelphia. Each of these organizers—or rather disorganizers—claims that the previous one made all the blunders and mistakes, but that he (the present one) has the right pattern for the solution of all the workers' troubles. Let us see what comrade Powers—on orders from above—is doing.

In January 1933 the local branch of the Allentown S. P. issued a call for a united front conference. The conference was held in the same month, with the participation of 35 delegates representing about 25 organizations. Among them were also organizations controlled by the S. P., mostly unemployed councils and fraternal organizations.

The purpose of the conference was to protest against the specious promises of Governor "Pinchot," which intends to reduce the relief of adult workers to \$4.11 a week and \$2.17 for children. The demand was: cash relief of \$7.00 per week and an additional \$1.00 for each dependent, and other demands for relief.

It was also decided by the conference to hold a demonstration on Feb. 7, at which no other banners were to be displayed but those calling for relief. This was instigated by the S. P. delegation. This same delegation perpetrated another shameful deed upon the conference, by the move that thanks be extended to a gentleman, supposed to be from the chain stores, for his donation of \$45.00 for leaflets. It was just a simple trick, for the money was never given. On Feb. 7 the demonstration started, on the basis of the united front, with a mass meeting in the Trainmen's Hall. On the platform was the S. P. organizer, Leary Heibach and the C. P. organizer Powers. A resolutions committee was elected. After this, someone from the crowd of about 1200, moved that the Tom Mooney banner, which was displayed in the hall by Communist sympathizers, be removed and not be carried to the Court House where the resolutions committee was to present its demands to the county commissioners. (About 2000 people demonstrated at the court house.) This motion was seconded and a general melee began. A vote was finally taken, not against the Mooney banner but for Powers to get off the platform. The motion was carried by an overwhelming majority. The writer of these lines voted with the rest of the comrades against the removal of Powers. But we remained in the minority and Powers had to step down from the stage. This was defeat number one.

At the same time I had collected all available copies of the Militant and distributed them in and out of the hall. A few days later, the Slovak Worker's (a Stalinist daily) wrote the usual—and not for the first time—slander against me, recommending that I be expelled from the Slovak Workers' Club because of my "counter-revolutionary activities." At the instigation of Powers, they shamelessly called me "stool pigeon" and similar epithets. At the SWC in Allentown they, together with a few misled and fanatical workers, decided to expel me from the Slovak Workers' Home for the simple reason that I distributed a few copies of the Militant.

After the Feb. 7 incident in the Trainmen's Hall, Powers decided to break with the united front, issuing a mimeographed leaflet calling the local leaders of the S. P. traitors to the Mooney cause. Simultaneously, he issued another leaflet calling the workers of Allentown to another demonstration at the Court House on Feb. 14th. About a half a dozen of us showed up! Defeat Number Two.

And now as a result of this stupid act of Powers the united front is completely smashed and the workers look at each other as enemies.

With the best of intentions and in a comradely spirit I called Powers' attention to the mistakes committed. But to no avail—the same epithets were hurled against me as previously.

After a few unemployed councils were formed, one was also organized in our township with our participation. Delegates were elected on Feb. 25 to the hunger march on Harrisburg on March 4. The delegates returned on March 4 and made a report in the Bethlehem Hungarian Hall. About 400 workers, mostly youngsters—the new recruits of the Stalinist machine—turned out to listen to the delegates. It was torture to listen to the "reports." We pity these young enthusiasts whom we regard as victims

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The sessions are held on WEDNESDAYS, at 8 P. M.

The May Day
Conference

(Continued from page 1)

between these two faces of the Stalinist Janus which took place in the resolutions committee of the May Day Conference.

Here, again, as in the Mooney Committee session, Nessin leans far to the Right. Winter's position is not as clear. He appears to stand half-way between the ultra-Leftist position of yesterday and the Right wing position of Nessin. No doubt further developments will make the picture clearer.

In the days when the Left Opposition was hammering on the gates of the Stalinist conference organized under the ultra-Leftist sign of the united front from below the difference between our position on the united front question and the Lovestonite position was not as clear to the Communist workers as a whole as it is becoming today. This great advantage for us is an indirect result of the party's half turn on the united front question.

Heretofore, we had to fight for admission to the conference. That is how we won the respect of the party membership.

Today we are all seated. We utilize the opportunity and the hegemony of worker's democracy accorded the Left Opposition to explain our conception of the united front, to elucidate our policy of face to the party, and to throw our weight into the scale to broaden the conference from the point of view of strengthening Communism. The Lovestonites pursue a different policy. They tell all their conception of the united front with a content manifestly hostile to the party and sympathetic to the social democracy. As a result, they antagonize the conference, they differentiate themselves from us and help us make clearer the differences on this point among the three wings in the Communist movement.

The resolutions adopted by the conference were not satisfactory. The main resolution on May Day gave a false perspective of the war danger: it was "Hawthorne's." The Resolutions Committee voted down our motions to include demands for the six hour day and long term credits for the Soviet Union. The latter demand was simply ignored. In rejecting the first Winter explained that we have to distinguish our demands from those of the demagogic A F of L leadership! The special resolution on Fascism avoided most of the errors of Hawthorne's speech but was an abstract protest. The Committee rejected our proposal to demand a united front of all working class organizations in Germany against Fascism.

The conference decided to issue an open letter to the Socialist party and A. F. of L. inviting them to participate in the organization of one united May Day demonstration. The conference agreed to allow all organizations participating in the demonstrations to march under their own banners. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets will be printed calling on all workers and workers' organizations to unite for a gigantic demonstration. The Left Opposition will do its utmost to achieve this aim.

—T. STAMM.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
IN DAVENPORT

Davenport, Iowa.—International Women's Day was observed in Davenport, Iowa, by members of the Workers Educational Forum, sponsored by the Communist League of America (Opposition). A meeting was held, with about 50 workers in attendance. Comrade Papen, organizer, called the meeting to order and introduced the speaker, comrade Jessie Behr, who spoke on the subject, "Shall women work in factories?" This followed by questions and discussions—a few of the other comrades supporting the positive side of the topic.

Let us hope that this International Women's Day will have rallied more women comrades to the work of Communism.

—J. E. B.

of Stalinist misdirection. These youngsters will be excellent material provided the party is in the hands of the membership, with workers democracy as its guiding internal principle. All this should be with the goal in view to raise their political level, which in turn will induce independent thinking from which springs the much needed initiative that is so sadly lacking today.

—O. D.

Bank Holiday
& Concentration

(Continued from page 1)

is only half of the process. At the same time they must reorganize and improve production at home in order to undersell the other capitalists on the world market. The liquidation of the internal debt is a major part of this. And the move the imperialists are making now with the banking structure is the key to this necessary change through a graduated plan of attack upon the lesser exploiters and the working class.

The banking crisis brought another factor to the surface that we have always pointed out. Now the evidence is clearer. We have rejected the theory current in the American Communist movement that the American imperialists were one bloc against the other sections and classes. We know that when it comes to a struggle against the working class or other imperialist nations their unity can be obtained in the light because the interests of the groups of financiers run parallel. However, we also know that a constant fight between the groups of financiers to gain hegemony of the whole at the expense and elimination of the other sections of the American financiers is a point of elementary understanding to the Marxists, if it is not to many Stalinists.

To point out to the workers in the election campaign that Hoover and Roosevelt are heads and tails of the same coin is correct, but to stop at this point, as the Stalinists do, is to leave unanswered another important problem. Imperialists support both Hoover and Roosevelt but different groups of American financiers cast their lot with each office boy. It is true that in the main they are united against the industrialist, the middle class and the workers. This is natural. While they have this united front against the other lesser, exploiters and the workers, clearly revealed in their program, it is also true that the different groups of financiers have their struggle for domination. And at this point, we find the advantage of one group of financiers' candidate, Roosevelt, against the other group of financiers' candidate, Hoover. Roosevelt can talk against the "money interest," the "Wall Street crowd" and time up the support of the confused workers and the middle-class and middle reformers. That is how the war lords in China "fight" imperialism and that is how the capitalist politicians from Roosevelt on down to the socialists fight "Wall Street".

It looks as though Mitchell is with the "wrong" group of financiers. Now there is a movement on foot to "draft" Pole as Controller. La Salle Street supports Pole against the Wall Street man, Governor Meyer of the Federal Reserve. The truth is that it is not La Salle Street vs. Wall Street. The groups of financiers struggling for domination have their connections all the way down the banking structure.

Working class or capitalist politics must find the key to open the lever that will pull the greatest number of factors for the class interest. The group of imperialists supporting Roosevelt was successful in its first major move along this line. Will it be able to keep it up? At least Hoover may take lessons from Roosevelt. The idea is—that whenever you hand the bankers a billion, or the navy a half billion just hand the worker a glass of beer or any other slop and the misleaders of labor will call it fifty-fifty.

PEEKSKILL MEETING

For the first time the viewpoint of the Left Opposition was presented at a mass meeting of the progressive school of Mohagan Colony, Peekskill, New York on Saturday, March 25. About 100 colonists heard comrade Carl Cowi analyze the German crisis and the urgent need of effecting a united front of workers organizations against Fascism. After considerable heated discussion, in which socialists, anarchists and Stalinists took issue, the speaker was invited to a debate or a symposium to be arranged in the near future, at which the position of the Left Opposition would again be presented.

MINNEAPOLIS MASS MEETING

A mass meeting against Fascist terror will be held in Minneapolis, Saturday, April 8, at 8 P. M. in the Mayor's Reception Room of the Court House. Comrades V. R. Dunne and Clem Forsen of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will be the speakers.

The American Capitalist Paradise

HOOVERVILLE

Continued from last issue

When months passed in constant fear of being thrown out of his shack by police, when his clothes and his shoes begin to wear out and his ambition and hope begin to fade, different psychological characteristics also appear in the resident of "Hooverville"; he starts drinking more heavily wherever and whenever he has a chance; he acquires a profound aversion to any activity; he develops a strange childish expectation that he may strike in some way, somehow, a tremendously promising opportunity. This is something like the delirious dream of marrying a millionaire's daughter. If this hope for opportunity were reasonably to be expected he would start to battle anew for his life, till he wins out. But if one asks him of what nature is the opportunity he expects to find, he answers that it may happen that he will by chance "find a roll" in the streets; or save a rich man's son from the East River; or he may find suddenly a very good job; or he may invent something; or he may inherit a big fortune; or—or...

Led by such faint hope—very faint, almost nothing in his mind, but strong enough in his sentiment—he sticks to his cabin, hammers and patches it inside and out, and goes out for his "kill". He has lost his ability to concentrate on anything sensible.

How can such psychological features, seemingly fatal to any man he explained? Life is dark and hopeless for him; nothing is left of his ambition, except gloomy thoughts and memories. The hopeless hand-to-mouth existence into which he has been forced by the capitalist system, is of all things least conducive to organizational inclinations. Under the influence of capitalist propaganda for "better times", he not only becomes incapable of united class action, but ceases to desire it even, preferring to remain by himself in the isolation that is his lot in this society—he becomes an anti-social animal.

But after all, the case cannot be hopeless for us, the class-conscious section of the workers of Hooverville. We should systematically be on the job of educating and organizing the others. They are at present knit together by notions of nationality, common customs and "jungle-fading"; it is up to us to transform some of that into economic class consciousness. We should make that our goal.

If we could draw them into action, into the class struggle, then life with all its drawbacks would be worth while for all of them. They would have a purpose.

It is for the workers themselves to grasp the unwelcome opportunity placed in their hands by the capitalist class, to use their leisure time in sorting and arranging the values in their lives and direct it into collective mass action. The workers in Hooverville have a tremendous asset of non-work at their command. The realization of this exceptional opportunity depends mainly on the workers themselves, and partly on the revolutionary organizations, particularly unemployed councils. Their forced leisure is the most effective tool they could wish for, provided they will use it constructively.

Granted that the workers' self-expression must come mainly through his own initiative, what should the revolutionary organizations do to help them along? They should systematically in

form them of all revolutionary mass activities by supplying them with leaflets and papers and have a few comrades reside in the "village" for that purpose. They should encourage and promise to help to defend their meager dwellings against the city authorities when the time comes for such a task. There is a tendency on the part of most workers in Hooverville to become so psychologically adjusted to their physical and social surroundings that they experience a strong dissatisfaction when attempts are made to transfer them to a new environment. This state of mind should be utilized and organized into physical resistance when such action is taken by police.

The worker's mind today is in a restless state and needs a steady and vital element. The inspiring influence of mass demonstrations and action must reach these people, for whom the memorial lecture hall and the printed page have little appeal. The unemployed councils should approach the settlement on this basis! The worker in Hooverville needs what every other worker needs—a satisfactory purpose in life apart from the business of making a mere living. The value of the spare-time, constructively employed for the demands of immediate relief, should not be overlooked by the revolutionary worker.

The actual work in the East River Hooverville where there are at present 550 workers in 80 shacks, has been so far of a purely propaganda nature on the part of one comrade. For a short period he represented a small section of more advanced workers in downtown unemployed councils, and was functioning there in its executive committee. He also led a body of workers in the "rediet March" to the City Hall, last September. The unfortunate incident on the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A last summer where two workers were killed, spelled the end of his work; he was told, indirectly, not to hang around the "hall" any longer. That checked the work temporarily, but that incident should not stop the councils from selecting others for the work.

The Hoovervilles should be converted, from what was first a more geographical locality, into a real workers' stronghold; that is to say, a stronghold with sentiment, revolutionary spirit and a purpose of its own.

When the first man set off a piece of land and said "this is mine," the enslavement of the workers began, until we see now, in Roosevelt's words "mnn, burn free, everywhere in chains." This cannot go on much longer, the future belongs to the proletariat, not to capitalists, the proletarians, the land-lords and the inheritors.

The psychological character of the workers in Hooverville is extremely emotional, impulsive, violent, irascible and extreme in action, displaying mainly the harsh emotions and the less refined sentiments.

This is just what is needed. Comrade Trotsky wrote once: "All efforts ought to be made to concentrate the bitterness, the anger, the protest, the rage, the hatred of the masses, to give those emotions a common language, a common goal, to unite to solidify ALL THE PARTICLES OF THE MASSES... to smother all the revolutionary forces to simultaneous action."

UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS—PENETRATE INTO A NEW TERRITORY!

—PAUL SCHWALBE.

The Youth United Front in New York

(Continued from page 1)

policies of the Communist party which played into the hands of social democracy. All talk of fusion with the socialists was nonsense and false. He supported Joel's criticism of the Ypsel attitude towards the Conference and asked the Conference officially to criticize the Ypsels and again invite them to participate in the April 1 demonstration and the permanent committee of the Conference.

Resolutions on the defense of the Soviet Union, against the persecution of the Jews in Germany, for the release of all class war prisoners, and for a united front May Day demonstration against fascism and for the class war prisoners were carried. A resolution calling upon the Communist International, the Labor and Socialist International and the International Committee of Left Socialist parties to cement a united front against Fascism was passed.

Another resolution was introduced from the floor by the Lovestonites instructing the permanent committee to invite the YPSL to participate in the April 1 demonstration and elect a representative on the Committee. The Left Opposition introduced a counter-resolution which criticized the Ypsel boycott of the Conference and invited them to join the permanent committee and the April 1 demonstration. The Y. C. L. refused to criticize the Ypsels!

At the conclusion of the first session the Rand School delegates withdrew because of the criticism of the socialists and the Ypsels. This despite the fact that they had opened the Conference with a criticism of both the social democrats and the Communists. Later, however, they returned to the Conference.

In the next day's session the Young Communist League made a statement on the previous session. The official reports were poor; there was too much political squab-

bling. The YCL was to make it clear that it will refrain from all attacks on the participating groups during the period of the united front unless any of them violate the minimum program accepted. This was a slap at comrade Joel of the Workers' School (that is, the Communist party!) It clearly reveals the opportunist nature of the Communist manifesto's statement on not attacking the social democratic organizations—for even the Ypsels who had refused to join the Conference were not to be criticized!

In the discussion of preparations for the demonstration before the German consulate it was pointed out that the only paper which carried the call for the Conference was the Young Spartacus. Other groups pledged that their press would carry announcements of the demonstration. A resolution to boycott the Olympics to be held in Berlin carried. A permanent committee of eleven was elected from the different political tendencies present. The Left Opposition has one comrade on the committee. The Committee was empowered to broaden its membership and particularly to draw in the Ypsels, the Rand School, the Young Circle League and the League for Industrial Democracy.

All are urged to participate in the mass demonstration before the German consulate. The demonstrators will gather at Whitehall and South Sts., Saturday, April 1 at 11:00 A. M. Members of the Spartacus Youth Club and sympathizers of the Left Opposition will meet at our headquarters at 126 E. 16th Street, 10:30 A. M.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will carry some highly important correspondence from Berlin which shed light on the true state of affairs there, as viewed by direct witnesses. In addition, there will be reports from other parts of Germany, as well.

For the United Front of Defense Against Hitlerism

(Continued from Page 1)

in this sense, they are not opponents of a "criticism" based upon facts, but they are against suspicious, insults and calumnies. A very laudable attitude! But how is the limit to be found between permitted criticism and inadmissible campaigns? And where are the impartial judges? As a general rule, the criticism never pleases the criticized, above all when he can raise no objection to the essence of it.

The question of whether or not the criticism of the Communists is good or bad is a question apart. If the Communists and the social democrats had the same opinion on this subject, there wouldn't be two parties in the world, independent from each other. Let us conclude that the polemic of the Communists is not worth much. Does that fact lessen the mortal danger of Fascism or do away with the need for joint resistance?

However, let us look at the other side of the picture: the polemic of the social democracy itself against Communism. The Vorwaerts (I am simply taking the speech which Stamper delivered on the subject of the non-aggression pact. In this same issue a cartoon has as its caption: The Bolsheviks are signing a non-aggression pact with Pilsudski, but they refuse to draw up a similar pact with the social democracy. Now, a cartoon is also a polemic "aggression", and it so happens that this particular one is most unfortunate. The Vorwaerts completely forgets the fact that a non-aggression treaty existed between the Soviets and Germany during the period when the social democrat Sheller was at the head of the Reich government.

The Vorwaerts of February 15, on the same page, defends in the first column the idea of a non-aggression pact, and in the fourth column makes the accusation against the Communists that their factory committee at the Aschinger Co. betrayed the interests of the workers during the negotiations for the new wage scale. They openly use the word "betrayed". The secret behind this polemic (is it a criticism based on facts or a campaign of slander?) is very simple: new elections to the factory committee of the Aschinger Co. were to take place at this time. Can we, in the interests of the united front, ask the Vorwaerts put an end to attacks of this sort? In order for that to happen, the Vorwaerts would have to stop being itself, that is, a social democratic journal. If the Vorwaerts believes what it prints on the subject of the Communists, its first duty is to open the eyes of the workers to the faults, crimes and "betrayals" of the latter. How could it be otherwise? The need for a fighting agreement flows from the existence of two parties, but it does not do away with the fact. Political life goes on. Each party, even though it adopts the frankest attitude on the question of the united front, cannot help thinking of its own future.

ADVERSARIES CLOSE RANKS IN THE FACE OF THE COMMON DANGER

Let us assume for the moment that a Communist member of the Aschinger Co. factory committee declares to the social democratic member: "Because the Vorwaerts characterized my attitude on the question of the wage-scale as an act of treason, I do not want to defend, together with you, my head and my neck from the Fascist bullets." No matter how indignantly we wanted to characterize the reply as utterly insane.

The intelligent Communist, the serious Bolshevik, will say to the social democrat: "You are aware of my enmity to the views expressed by the Vorwaerts. I am devoted and shall devote all my energy to undermining the dangerous influence which this paper has among the workers. But I am doing that, and shall do it by my speeches, by criticism and persuasion. But the fascists want to do away with the existence of the Vorwaerts, promise you that jointly with you I will defend your paper to the utmost of my ability, but I am waiting for you to say that at the first appeal you will likewise come to the defense of the Rote Fahne, regardless of your attitude towards its views." Is this not an irreproachable way of posing the question? Does not this method correspond with the fundamental interests of the whole of the proletariat?

The Bolshevik does not ask the social democrat to alter the opinion he has of Bolshevism or of the Bolshevik press. Moreover, he does not demand that the social democrat make a pledge for the duration of the agreement to keep silent on his opinion of Communism. Such a demand would be absolutely inexcusable. "So long," says the Communist, "as I have not convinced you and you have not convinced me, we shall criticize each other with full freedom, each using the arguments and expressions that he deems necessary. But when the Fascist wants to force a gag down our throats, we will repulse him together!" Can an intelligent social democratic worker counter this proposal with a refusal?

The polemics between Communist and social democratic newspapers, no matter how bitter it may be, cannot prevent the composers of the papers from forming a fighting agreement to organize a joint defense of their presses from the attacks of the Fascist bands. The social democratic and Communist deputies in the Reichstag and the

Landtags, the municipal councilors, etc., are compelled to come to the physical defense of each other when the Nazis resort to loaded canes and chairs. Are more examples needed?

What is true in each particular case is also true as a general rule: the inevitable struggle in which social democracy and Communism are engaged for the leadership of the working class cannot and must not prevent them from closing their ranks when blows threaten the whole working class. Isn't this obvious?

TWO WEIGHTS AND TWO SCALES

The Vorwaerts is indignant because the Communists accuse the social democrats (Ebert, Schuler, Noske, Hermann Mueller, Grzesinski) of paving the road for Hitler. The Vorwaerts has a legitimate right to indignation. But this remark is too much: how can we, it cries out, make a united front with such slanderers? What have we here? Sentimentalism? Prudish sensitiveness? No, that really smacks of hypocrisy. As a matter of fact, the leaders of the German social democracy cannot have forgotten that Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel often as well as the social democracy was ready, for the sake of definite objectives, to come to an agreement with the devil and his grandmother. The founders of the social democracy certainly did not demand that during this occasion the devil should check his horns in the

museum and that his grandmother should become converted to Lutheranism. Whence then comes this prudish sensitiveness among the social democratic politicians who, since 1914, have made united fronts with the Kaiser, Ludendorff, Groener, Brunnin, Hindenburg? Whence come these two weights and two scales: one for the bourgeois parties, the other for the Communists? The leaders of the Center consider that every infidel who denies the dogmas of the Catholic Church, the only Savior, is one of the damned and shortly destined for eternal torments. That did not prevent Hitler, who has no particular reason for believing in the immaculate conception, from establishing a united front with the Catholics in the government and in parliament. Together with the Center the social democrats set up the "Iron Front". However, not for a single instant did the Catholicism cause their unbearable prophecies and their polemics in the churches. Why these demands from the Hitlerites? Part with regard to the Communists? Either a complete cessation of mutual criticism, that is, of the struggle of tendencies within the working class, or a rejection of all joint action. "All has nothing!" The social democracy has never put such ultimatum to the bourgeoisie society. Every social democratic worker should reflect upon these two weights and two measures.

Suppose at a meeting, even today, someone should ask Wells how it happens that the social democracy, which gave the republic its

first chancellor and its first president, has led the country to Hitler. Wells will surely reply that to a large extent it is the fault of Bolshevism. Surely the day has not passed that the Vorwaerts will fail to repeat this explanation and in the united front with the Communists it will forego its right and its duty to tell the workers what it considers to be truth? The Communists certainly have no need of that. The united front against Fascism is only one chapter in the book of the struggle of the proletariat. The chapters that went before cannot be forgotten. We must build on it. We preserve the memory of Ebert's alliance with Groener and of Noske's role. We remember under what conditions Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht died. We Bolshevists have taught the workers to forget nothing. We do not ask the devil to cut off his tail: that would hurt him and we would not profit by it. We accept the devil just as nature has created him. We have no need of the repentance of the social democratic leaders nor of their loyalty to Marxism; but we do need the will of the social democracy to struggle against the enemy which is actually threatening it with death. For our part, we are ready to carry out in the joint struggle all the promises which we have made. We promise to fight courageously and to carry the fight to a finish. That is quite enough for a fighting agreement.

A Letter from Moscow About the Left Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

It may have broken off. From mouth to mouth there is now being passed the statement presumably made by Zinoviev prior to his departure for exile. "The greatest historical mistake we made was our leaving the Opposition in 1927." It is reported that Kamenyev told him in his so saying. I have no means of verifying this fact at its source. But the report in itself is quite characteristic of the circles with which Zinoviev and Kamenyev were connected.

The sympathy for the Left Opposition has grown greatly, even within the apparatus circles, especially among old party members, who know and remember the past. "The Lefts have a program, real men, clear character, and leaders." One chance to hear such remarks very often, sometimes where one would least expect them. However, among the apparatus functionaries, who were educated during the last period, there is considerable fear of the Left Opposition; should it come to power it would deal harshly with all those who in their own time took charge of Stalinist reprisals. It goes without saying that all such doubts and fears are carefully encouraged from above.

In the course of the last few months, arrests on a large scale have been made in factories. More than a hundred workers were arrested in the "Anno" factory, where Opposition circulars were distributed. A few dozen workers were nabbed in Sharkopodshnik. There were arrests in the "Calibre" factory (30 to 40 workers) and in the Baltic factory in Leningrad. A circular, set up locally, was distributed at a factory in Kovrov; undoubtedly similar facts could be obtained in many other places. I send only those reports that have reached me.

I have already informed you that during the October days, at a brake-producing plant a portrait of Stalin was so drawn that the next morning it turned into a portrait of Trotsky. There was a great to-do about this; many were arrested but the offenders were not caught. From time to time "misunderstandings" of this type occur in other enterprises. At the factory "Proletarian Labor", on the 22nd of January, the leading article of the wall newspaper, dedicated to Lenin's anniversary, turned out to be completely composed of excerpts from Trotsky's articles on Lenin. A terrible rumpus! Many of the participants were excluded from the party.

The workers in factories are alienated, dissatisfied and irritable. The authorities are taking advantage of the passport system primarily in order to ship out of Moscow all the undesirable and even the least suspicious elements, in a political sense; among them all those Left Oppositionists who had repented at diverse times. The purpose behind this is clear: toward Spring stormy times are expected in factories and all those are being liquidated before having any chance of serving as leaders in these agitations. This measure, just as many others, serves as a means of self-defense for the apparatus to the detriment of the party, for it is quite self-evident that the Left Oppositionists in whom the workers trust would have striven to lead every movement into Soviet channels.

In factories there spring up odd opposition groups which function with their own means and forces. During arrests there is found "Trotskyist" literature, chiefly home-made circulars, theses, extracts, etc. From out of "My Life" comrades have selected material for propaganda. On this ground, three Oppositionists were arrested. In many cases, the ideas of the Opposition get abroad intuitively. Workers are drawn to our slogans by different paths. At present the questions that are posed most acutely are those that deal with oppression, bureaucratic despotism, and unbearable conditions in factories and in the party. Recent-

ly, the party apparatus issued a secret circular with instructions to double the watch over hectographs and other multiplying machines in offices; evidently, the Opposition utilizes these machines in order to publish its documents.

In January, at a Moscow party session, Kaganovich said, "in the Leningrad region (near Moscow) for five months all the nuclei were in the hands of Trotskyists. And what happened? The apparatus proceeded to enter into a discussion with them instead of dealing with the Trotskyists as they ought to be dealt with." The same Kaganovich reported, "Khichkov, a woman worker in Leningrad, took the floor in her nucleus to announce that she did not believe in Zinoviev's counter-revolutionism. She was, of course, expelled immediately."

Arrests among the workers, especially among the young Communists, take place continually. The majority of these arrests pass unnoticed. Party circles become acquainted with mass arrests only when the latter are connected with individuals more or less well-known. Thus, for instance, the following is current in connection with the arrest of the group of Nemchenko, a trade union functionary: first, a group of YCLers was arrested, among them Nemchenko's son. They were confronted with the indictment charging them with conspiring terrorist acts (!) and they were harshly cross-examined to make them divulge how they, the youngsters, had come to such ideas. Nemchenko's son is reported to have replied, "There's continual talk at home that the Chief is ruining the country." In this manner they got at Nemchenko and his friends.

It is, of course, possible that within some circle or other of the youth, which are deprived of leadership and of the possibility to discuss and criticize, there is actual talk going on about terrorist acts. But most probably, what is involved in the above matter and the like, is provocation for the purpose of intimidating and vilifying "liberal" parents. The struggle against those elements in the apparatus which are inclined toward the Opposition proceeds not only by means of arrests but by slander as well. Those who criticize are smeared with filth, being charged with embezzlement, graft, nepotism, etc., etc. This facilitates liquidation.

The following method is widely applied. During all sorts of authoritative conferences, particularly those connected with collectivization, industrialization, inflation, the conditions of the workers and other burning questions, the chairmen propose that the discussion proceed in the spirit of forthright frankness, presumably to give the "leaders" an opportunity to elucidate all sides of the question. Concurrently, every critical statement, particularly, if it seems to be behind it considerable reflection, serves invariably as a reason for inquiry and surveillance, and for ferreting out connections; and not infrequently it leads to the arrest of individual groups. It is said that Smilga suffered for his "criticism" at a conference where the most touchy questions of rural economy were discussed. It is indubitable that Smilga, in any event, did not represent any Oppositionist or semi-Opportunist group. But, nevertheless, he paid for his attempt to speak out upon the peasant policies of Stalin in the very intimate and super-authoritative circle.

From well informed sources the following is related about the manner in which the group of Elsmont, Tolmachev and others was liquidated. While recruiting supporters, Elsmont shared his views with a close intimate of his, Nikolsky, speaking of the situation in the country and, in particular, of the necessity to get rid of Stalin. This candid "shared" Elsmont's views with functionaries from the Central Control Commission. Elsmont was ordered to report there, "What

are your relations with Nikolsky?" "The best," "You trust him?" "Yes." Thereupon Elsmont was shown Nikolsky's testimony; and that was immediately followed up with an indictment charging preparation of... terrorist acts. Obviously, this indictment was in reference to this words about the necessity of "getting rid of Stalin." Elsmont could not withstand the pressure and betrayed Tolmachev, and said that Rykov and Tomsky knew about his point of view. It is possible, of course, that Elsmont merely referred to Tolmachev, Rykov and Tomsky, as witnesses who could testify that while he, Elsmont, spoke out critically about Stalin's policies, he was much too far away from any idea of terrorism. A reference of this sort to authoritative witnesses could and must have become transformed, under the given conditions, into "betrayal" and have called for a charge being brought against Rykov and Tomsky, of their being informed, and their failing to report. As is well known, in its own time, the charge against Zinoviev and Kamenyev in relation to Kintin and Smilga referred itself to precisely the same thing.

In connection with the affair of the Elsmont group, the word was carefully passed around among the party tops, that not only Rykov and Tomsky knew about the "conspirators" but also one member of the Politbureau; a delicate hint at Kalinin. There is no doubt that Kalinin is heart and soul with the Rights. It is also possible that in a super-cautious manner he is taking the insurance "to the Right." At the Plenum of the CEC, Voroshilov said, turning to Tomsky, "You out thinking that you are a leader. That's all over now. You want to deport yourself as a leader but you are just an ordinary party member. Begin working as a rank and file Communist in the nucleus; work in the wall newspaper; produce proof that you are deserving of trust."

Rykov unburdened himself at the Plenum in the following manner. "How can I prove my devotion to party, working only among the letter-carriers? Give me the opportunity to step out before the masses. Now, for example, I was refused permission by the district committee chairman when I wanted to make an address during a jubilee at the Park of Culture and Rest, where 30,000 participated." The same Voroshilov replied to Rykov at the Plenum, "And he was right in refusing—who knows what you would have said, and what line you might have defended. You learn how to work among the letter-carriers." At present, Voroshilov, at any rate, is not a rank and file member of the party, but a "leader."

One must not think, of course, that after the complete capitulation of the Right leaders, the attitude towards them has been radically changed. At the meeting of the Moscow Party militants, Kaganovich while reporting on the Plenum, spoke with great animosity not only about Rykov and Tomsky but also Bukharin. The latter, however, because the least dangerous, has been slightly pardoned.

Among the Rights there is great confusion. They are strong in moods but not in organization or ideas. They are now without central leaders. However, the arrests among the Rights continue. Recently there were important arrests in the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. A "wrecking" organization was discovered there, embracing many super-authoritative workers. At its head presumably were the chief of this commissariat, Konor, and his colleagues Kovarsky and Wolf. They are accused of having maintained connections with Petlura organizations in the Ukraine and in Kuban, and of even keeping in touch with the Petlura center in Poland. It is possible, of course, that there were isolated class enemies in the apparatus of the Commissariat, but the entire case as a whole represents an obvious amalgam. So far as I know, Konor was born in Galicia, joined the Bolsheviks during the imperialist war, or shortly thereafter; he participated in the Civil War, and I think he sympathized with the Left Opposition a few years ago. Of his later history I know nothing. Notwithstanding the curt and detailed character of the accusations, no one believes in their validity. Everybody is of the opinion that the "chief" is simply preparing for an instructive trial of those supposedly guilty of the collapse of rural economy.

MARCH ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

The March number of Young Spartacus, which is ready for sale, is a lively issue containing articles on the burning questions of the day. Its leading article "Unite to Smash Fascism" discusses the manifesto of the Comintern for a united front with the Socialist International. The call for an anti-Fascist Conference signed by a number of youth groups including the National Youth Committee of the Left Opposition, the New York Spartacus Youth Club and the Young Communist League, an item on "Non-Aggression Pact or United Front", a review of comrade Trotsky's pamphlet "The Only Road" and quotations from the Stalinists and Social Democrats on Germany, make the issue a predominantly German campaign number.

Reports on the toy workers and anti-Fascist youth conferences, the Alban-Jewess and Tom Mooney Conference, the conditions of the homeless youth, reflect the activities of the youth movement. Several items on the Young Communist League, "A YCLer Speaks" "Ninth Plenum of the Young Communist International" a statement of a Chicago comrade, the appeal of the Chicago Club against physical assaults on Left Oppositionists, etc. a letter of comrade Trotsky to the Spanish youth, the report of activities of the French Left Opposition youth, "Karl Marx's Confession", an article on the Paris Commune, reprints of two proclamations of the Comintern, complete the lively number of our youth paper, Young Spartacus.

Comrades are urged to order donations. Get subscriptions and donations for our paper.

YOUR LEADERS DON'T WANT TO FIGHT!

However, it still remains to be known why the social democratic leaders speak at all: regarding polemics, non-aggression pacts and the disgusting manners of the Communists, instead of answering this simple question: in what way shall we fight the Fascists? For the simple reason that the social democratic leaders do not want to fight. They cherished the hope that Hindenburg would save them from Hitler. Now they are waiting for some other miracle. They do not want to fight. They lost the habit of fighting long ago. The struggle frightens them.

Stamper wrote regarding the actions of the Fascist banditry at Elsenheim: "Faith in right and justice has not yet died in Germany." (Vorwaerts, February 14.)

It is impossible to read these words without being revolted. Instead of a call for a fighting united front, we get the consoling words: "Faith in justice has not died." Now, the bourgeoisie has its justice, and the proletariat its own too. Armed injustice always comes out on top of disarmed justice. The whole history of humanity proves this. Whoever makes an appeal to this self-evident "ghost" of "justice" is deceiving the workers. Whoever wants the victory of proletarian justice over Fascist violence, must agitate for the struggle and set up the organs of the proletarian united front.

It is impossible to find in the entire social democratic press a single line indicating genuine preparation for the struggle. There is not a single thing, merely some general phrases, postponements to some indefinite future, nebulous consolations. "Only let the Nazis start something. They march forward step by step, they tranquilly take over one position after another. These petty bourgeois reactionary malcontents do not care for risks. Now, they do not care to risk anything at all; they are sure in advance that the enemy will retreat without a fight. And they are not mistaken in their calculations."

Of course, it often occurs that a combatant must retreat in order to get a good start for a leap forward. But the social democratic leaders are not inclined to make the leap forward. They do not want to leap. And all their dissertations are made in order to conceal this fact. Just a short time ago they kept asserting that so long as the Nazis do not quit the ground of legality, there is no room for a fight. Now we get a good look at what this legality was: a series of promissory notes on the coup d'Etat. Still, this coup d'Etat was possible only because the social democratic leaders lull the workers to sleep with phrases about the legality of the coup d'Etat and console them with hope of a new Reichstag yet more important than those that preceded it.

The Fascists can ask for nothing better.

Today the social democracy has even ceased speaking of struggles in the indefinite future. On the subject of the already-begun destruction of the working-class organizations and press, the Vorwaerts "reminds" the government not to forget that "in a developed capitalist country the conditions of production group the workers in factories." These words indicate that the leadership of the social democracy accepts in advance the destruction of the political, economic and cultural organizations created by three generations of the proletariat. "In spite of this" the workers will remain grouped by the industries themselves. Well then, what good are proletarian organizations if the question can be solved so simply?

The leaders of the social democracy and the trade unions wash their hands, and relegate themselves to the sidelines while waiting, "grouped together by the industries," break the bonds of discipline and begin the struggle, the leaders, obviously, will intervene as they did in 1918, in the role of pacifiers and mediators and will force themselves on to the workers' backs to re-establish the positions they have lost. The leaders conceal from the eyes of the masses their refusal to fight and their dread of the struggle by means of hollow phrases about non-aggression pacts. Social democratic workers who leaders do not want to fight!

THEN IS OUR PROPOSAL A MANEUVER?

Here the social democrat will again interrupt us to say: "Since you do not believe in our leaders' desire to fight against Fascism, isn't your proposal for a united front an obvious maneuver?" Even more, he will repeat the reflections printed in the Vorwaerts to the effect that the workers need unity and not "maneuvers."

This type of argument has quite a convincing sound. In actuality it is an empty phrase. Yes, we Communists are positive that the social democratic and trade union functionaries will continue to evade the struggle to the best of their ability. At the critical moment a large segment of the working class bureaucracy will pass directly over to the Fascists. The other segment, which succeeds in exporting its carefully hoarded financial resources to some other country, will emigrate at the opportune moment. All these actions have already begun and their further development is inevitable. But we do not confuse this segment, today the most influential in the reformist bureaucracy, with the social democratic party or the entirety of the trade unions. The proletarian nucleus of the party will fight with blows and it will carry behind it a good-sized section of the apparatus. Exactly where will the line of demarcation pass between the turncoats, traitors and deserters, on one side, and those who want to fight, on the other? We can only find this out through experience. That is why, without possessing the slightest confidence in the social democratic bureaucracy, the Communists cannot abstain from addressing themselves to the whole party. Only in this manner will it be possible to separate those who want to fight from those who want to desert. If we are mistaken in our estimation of Wells, Breitscheid, Hilferding, Crispian and the rest, let them prove that we are liars by their actions. We will declare a mea culpa on the public squares. If all this is merely a "maneuver" on our part, it is a correct and necessary maneuver which serves the interests of the cause.

You social democrats remain in your party because you have faith in its program, in its tactics and in its leadership. This is a fact with which we reckon. You regard our criticism as false. That is your privilege. You are by no means obliged to believe the Communists on faith, and no serious Communist will demand this of you. But on their side the Communists have the right to put no confidence in the functionaries of the social democracy and not to consider the social democrats as Marxists, revolutionists, and genuine socialists. Otherwise, the Communists would have no need for the setting up of a separate party and a separate International. We must take the facts as they are. We must build the united front not in the clouds, but on the foundation which all the previous development has laid down. If you sincerely believe that your leadership will lead the workers to struggle against Fascism, then what Communist maneuver can you distrust? Then what is this maneuver of which the Vorwaerts is continually speaking? Think this out carefully: Is this not a maneuver on the part of your leaders who want to frighten you with the hollow word "maneuver" and thus keep you away from the united front?

(Conclusion in the next number)

—L. TROTSKY.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879, published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

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Saturday, April 1, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 21 (Whole No. 169)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.
Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy.

The Crisis in German Communism

Two days before the German Reichstag elections forty thousand Fascist storm troops, preceded by two hundred armed "auxiliary police" in Nazi uniform, marched through the streets of central and western Berlin. They were greeted by most of the Schupo (German police) with the Fascist salute. It was effective election propaganda, but more than that, it was an attempt to put force behind the Fascist claim that they are the "masters of Berlin." To the extent that one can speak of weight of election figures, the claim appeared to have been confirmed two days later; though the real contest is yet to come. The streets of Berlin will undoubtedly witness some serious aspects of this contest.

Out in the West End the brown-shirted paraders were greeted by Fascist flags from practically every window. In that section of the big and petty bourgeoisie they could return the greetings to their friends, not excluding the rich Jews. But in Berlin North, the working class section which includes Wedding, on that very same day the whole section was isolated by a strong police cordon and every house ransacked while the terror and the arrests were mounting. To have horns, hands is sure grounds for suspicion and almost proof of guilt.

Such is now the normal procedure of expressions of everyday life not only in Berlin but throughout Germany. The contest for final and complete assertion of power is on and increasing in intensity even though, compared to what is to come, this is mere guerrilla warfare.

The False Outlook of the Stalinists

The election results expressed a serious setback to the revolutionary vanguard. Not even the screaming and empty boasts of victory made by the Moscow *Pravda* can hide that fact nor does this in the least change the reaction to these results within the disorganized ranks of the practically annihilated vanguard. The setback weighs heavy upon them. During these years of growing Fascist danger the Stalinist leadership of the official Communist party tried to combat Fascism and social democracy as two sections of the same camp—Fascism and social Fascism. That was the official policy of the Stalinized Comintern.

At the eleventh Comintern plenum held in April 1931, that is after the German Reichstag elections of September 1930 in which the Fascists recorded their first great forward sweep, Thaelmann, reporting on the German situation, said:

After September 14, after the sensational successes of the National Socialists, its supporters throughout Germany nourished great expectations. We did not at that time permit ourselves to be misled by the panicky sentiment which partly existed within the whole working class and at any rate within social democracy. That there were even within our own ranks certain comrades who not only signalled but also overestimated the great danger of this development of Fascism, that is known to most comrades. But we (Thaelmann and fellow bureaucrats—A. S.) declare soberly and serenely that September 14 was in many respects Hitler's best day, which will be followed not by better days but by worse.

Thaelmann in his report recognized that the social democratic workers have a different ideology of civil war from that of the Fascists, and that he proceeded to state the essence of the Stalinist view as follows:

"On the other hand we will witness that the Social Democrats will succeed also in Germany, as they are now already in a measure succeeding, to form terror groups for the civil war from their mass supporters, which will surely in the future fight side by side with the Fascists against us on the other side of the barricade."

Up until the very last moment, that is to the actual establishment of the Hitler government, on January 30 of this year, the Stalinists maintained that the main attacks must be concentrated upon the "social Fascists." What are the results of this policy?

The actual results are that the originally false policy of the incompetent party leaders has so far saved the social democratic bureaucracy. As a party, the S. P. votes cast for a workers party in Germany indicate conscious support for its policies. According to this there are today seven million workers still under social democratic influence and following the social democratic leaders. Perhaps one may reduce the number by about one million, allowing that many for various functionaries, trade union, co-operative and what is left of social democratic local governmental officials. Its former petty bourgeois support in general has already gone to Hitler. This leaves nevertheless the conscious support of six million workers, the solid section of the proletariat, workers engaged in industry, in the main employed workers with the tools of production in their hands. That is yet a formidable strength.

The social democratic bureaucracy has been saved because it was not at all put to the test in action before the eyes of these six million workers. They can now continue to prate about opposition to Fascism and sabotage action. Would it not have been far better to put them to the test and inevitable exposure so as to be recognized in their true light in front of these six million workers? Is it not now clear that a real Communist pressure for a united front

Alternatives in the Decisive Class Battles

In its genuine sense with social democracy, would not only have united the working class but would also have forced the hands of this treacherous bureaucracy? But it is precisely the fatally wrong policy pursued of centering the attacks against "social Fascism" instead of a united front with the working class in the streets, to sweep the elections and to sit in the government claiming the imposing support of seventeen million votes to be used as a preparation for the final coup d'état. This is the catastrophic record of the policies pursued by the Stalinist leadership to date.

In increasing measure the Fascist bands roam the streets exercising themselves, training themselves for the big battles in assassinations upon the workers. One look at a Nazi storm troop reveals its make-up. Speaking in a political sense it is the rag tag and bob tail of society. Their appearance is in general that of roaming bandits. Its ranks contain primarily petty bourgeois elements to a large extent recruited from the disorganized section, those impoverished by the inflation and the crises. The slum proletariat which go to make up part of its ranks is generally recruited from those who as a regular part of their lives are down on the lowest step of the social ladder, and the shady elements. But it recruits also other more or less demoralized proletarian elements. For example in Germany today there are about two to three million workers who have been unemployed so long that they have lost practically all semblance of unemployment insurance. A frightful demoralization results. These elements divide mainly between the C. P. and the Fascists, the most conscious going to the former.

Fascist-Stahlhelm Unity Aims at Working Class Destruction

A goodly portion of these elements are attracted by the socialistically colored demagoguery of the Fascist movement. However as it nears the pinnacle of power, the movement changes its program and its whole structure likewise undergoes a change. The petty bourgeois elements begin to recede toward the background and the movement assumes its real role of championing and defending the big bourgeoisie—the last defenders of the capitalist system. This change is already in the making in Germany.

The Stahlhelm on the other hand makes quite a different impression, not less reactionary but still different. They represent the old

Prussian soldier type. They love to cover themselves with the decorations of war days, especially the iron cross. When they meet they click their heels and salute in the stiffest military fashion. In composition the Stahlhelm is made up of bourgeois, petty bourgeois of the more solid layers especially from the rural towns, and even workers from the Prussian landed estates. At its inception it was for the republic and democratic. Today its ideology is reactionary. In the recent elections it had a common ticket with the German nationalists. Jointly they express the political organization of the von Papen-Hugenberg-Seldte section of the Harzburg united front. The differentiation between this section and its bigger and much more turbulent violent half-brother, the Nazi, is still to come. And it may have some serious reverberations.

The common goal of destruction of the working class movement found them easily united. To the reactionary bourgeoisie the brown hordes promised something which it had never enjoyed before—complete security against strikes. They embody its hopes of doing away with the hated and troublesome working class demands. Their ravaging fury, worked up on high and heavy promises, is therefore unleashed first of all and most directly against the Communists. But the aim is much broader, as the many repressions against the social democrats show, yes, even going beyond to any section suspected of being allies to the working class parties. The broad aim is, of course, necessary if the Fascists are to realize their hope of conquest. But within it, also, the dangers of complications for the reactionary camp. Because of this it will surely yet have to make its retreats. Thus in more ways than one are the possibilities of difficulties in the Fascist path apt to become breathing spells for the proletariat, openings under the heavy attacks which it can utilize the better to gather its forces.

Workers Possess Remarkable Collectivity and Organizational Discipline

Meanwhile this heavy pall hangs over the working class, weighing upon it like an alp. The burden is carried in silence. But it is a grim silence foreshadowing serious events. It is something unnatural to witness German workers looking at a swaggering Fascist storm troop with eyes which express recognition of the enemy and then speaking their thoughts to one another in a careful whisper not destined for outside ears. No semblance of freedom of expression exists. For a long time all working class meetings and demonstration of any kind are totally prohibited. The same is the fate of the press, social democratic practically as well as the Communist.

Some Fundamental Aspects of the Present Crisis in Germany

In the last issue of *Die Weltbuehne* (the radical bourgeois Berlin periodical) to reach here, Hellmuth von Gerlach, the well-known pacifist, who has since been reported under arrest and subject to the tortures of the Fascist police, quotes the following conversation between a Nazi leader and a prominent French journalist:

Nazi: "We know quite well that Germany needs fifteen years to come to power again economically and fifteen more in order to be in shape as a military power."

Frenchman: "But the corridor?"

Nazi: "The question of the corridor can be solved of itself, without war. It won't take long before Russia cracks. Then we leave the Voles the Ukraine as far as Odessa and we, in turn, get the Corridor and Danzig." (Weltbuehne, February 28.)

This solution of the Nazi chief, in of course, rather oversimplified. In their calculations, the German reactionaries, intoxicated with their recent and rather easy successes, are counting without their host—the international working class. The latter on the other hand has not as yet, by far, said its last word. But it is necessary to face the situation clearly, to look eye to eye with the facts. And the facts point to a shifting of the specific gravity of the world political situation from Germany where world reaction has been able to put a feather into its cap, to Soviet Russia, which is from all indications, the next butt of its attack. The defense of the Soviet Union as the fortress of the world revolution stands first on the order of the day for the international proletarian movement. A genuine defense of the world revolution and its Soviet fortress requires a re-counting and an evaluation of the setback already suffered in Germany.

The Warning of the Opposition

When the International Left Opposition first sounded the alarm over the Hitler danger and raised the implications it had for the USSR and the progress of the world revolution, the Stalinists accused us of a counter-revolutionary design to draw the attentions of the workers away from the threat of Japanese invasion in the East. In doing this, the shining lights of bureaucratic Centrism only exposed their own lack of foresight, their own poverty of fundamental international perspective and orientation. Blinded by their "practicality," by their empiricism, these pretenders to Communist leadership only see a danger when they come up square against it. So it has been with the Hitler danger, to which they are only now, two years after the Bolshevik-Leninists

warned against it, waking up. The Left Opposition foresaw the danger in its time thanks to its internationalist orientation, the guiding line for which is furnished by the Marxist conception of the permanent revolution. Only that conception, viewing the class struggle as an international phenomenon and its revolutionary solution as a solution to be realized decisively only on a world scale, provides the foresight that is necessary in coping with the problems posed for the Communists in the present epoch. The Stalinist conception of "socialism in one country," redefining, as it does, the fundamental ideas of Marxism, of necessity leads to blind groping, to the bungling of the strategic problems posed, to the perpetration of crimes against the revolution, to the heaping up of defeats for the proletariat.

The breath-taking events of the last few weeks and months in Germany are a case in point. The Fascist reaction is almost without obstruction consolidating its power and preparing for its next steps in the East. These blows are struck in the face not of an unorganized proletariat, but of the best organized working class in the whole capitalist world. Germany possesses not only the strongest social democracy in the world, but the strongest Communist party—outside of the USSR—as well. In accounting for the events that have transpired, in analyzing the setback that has been suffered, it is therefore indispensable and of the greatest import to probe the basic policies of these two tremendous forces, the policies which failed to stand the test and the leadership that failed to stand the test. The basic policies of the social democracy have long been those of treachery to the working class and the betrayal they achieved in helping Hitler to power was all the less surprising because it merely complemented their treacheries of 1914 and 1918. The key to a successful resistance of the Fascist danger naturally rested with the Communists and their ability to win the majority of the working class from the social democracy and for revolutionary struggle. That involved, above all, the highly important and concrete question of the application of the Leninist united front tactic. But in evaluating the events, it is once more necessary to give a complete characterization of the social democracy, especially insofar as it has a bearing also upon an understanding of the Stalinist role in the situation.

The German social democracy started out on its road of working class betrayal by substituting for

The Left Opposition organ *Die Permanente Revolution* has been banned until the end of May.

There have been no mass demonstrations in Berlin since the mighty Reichsbanner meeting in the Lustgarten on Sunday, February 19. It was estimated well above 150,000. The Reichsbanner troops formed a solid gigantic square in the center. But they listened to their just elected leader, Karl Holtermann, proclaim the empty phrase previously coined by the Stalinist Renegade "We come after Hitler!" Then the demonstration dispersed. Such an event leaves a distinct impression of gigantic forces at hand but not being utilized.

On February 27, the social democrats of Berlin had engaged the "Sportplatz" for a commemoration of the fiftieth year of the death of Karl Marx. The commemoration speech was made by Friedrich Stampfer, the editor in chief of the *Vorwaerts*. But he had no more than commenced saying: "To be a Marxist requires a great knowledge, whereas to be an anti-Marxist one does not need to know anything," than the police found sufficient grounds to call a halt. The meeting was broken up. Moreover, it is now reported as a common opinion in capitalist political circles that when the newly elected Reichstag opens in the Potsdammer Markstrasse church there will be admission for neither Communist nor social democratic deputies.

In Germany the highly developed technology has been accompanied with a horrologing industrial discipline. In turn this has produced deep-rooted working class organizations and possessed the workers with a remarkable quality of collectivity and organizational discipline. The highly socialized production has produced in the German working masses its high degree of such consciousness and of class consciousness as an inevitable result of a social system based upon class divisions. The German workers live practically the whole of their social lives within workers' organizations, in the political, economic and social spheres. They have their own workers political parties, trade unions, consumers co-operatives, workers sports organizations (Friends of nature, football, anglers, etc.), workers freethinker associations, etc., etc., together in the huge people's houses, existing in every city, in workers' movies and theatres and so forth. The German workers are born into organizational institutions and mostly receive their burial from them also. Broadly speaking, that is, excluding the C. P. and its auxiliaries, all these organizations are distinctly of a social democratic ideology and under social democratic leadership. As usual the Social party bureaucracy permits a wide latitude of opinion within these organizations, so long as its own direction and control is not seriously threatened.

(To be continued.)

—ALNE SWABECK.

World Economic Situation Today

(Continued from last issue)

The factors which presided at the birth of the crisis may be resumed as follows: overproduction, the excessively high level of prices, and the inflation of credit. When production will be reduced to the point where it does not suffice any more even for the reduced consumption, so that the world stocks of raw materials begin to be drawn out, when prices will be reduced to the point where many producers will have to go out of production, on the one hand, while a certain amount of buying is encouraged by the low level on the other; and when the deflation of credit and the release of liquid capital has lowered the basic level of interest rates to the point where hungry capitalists will be more and more tempted by speculative affairs, then we have the economic framework within which a recovery can take place, provided the bourgeoisie is politically in position to assert its interests as against the other classes of society.

But, if these economic and political conditions render an upturn possible, they are not sufficient of themselves to produce such an upturn. For this, the capitalists must find the means of establishing their profits and restoring the circulation of capital, for under capitalism the making of profits and their realization in the accumulation of capital determine economic activity or inactivity. Under the conditions of crisis, profit is to be found in unblocking the circulation of capital by reducing production, and in the super-exploitation of the proletariat by all methods—wage cuts, higher hours, speeding up. It is only when the capitalist again begins to find his profit in increasing production that he recovers in industrial and commercial activity begins again.

Now capitalist statistics are not kept with a view to facilitating Marxian economic research. The data are insufficient for even an approximate estimate of the rate of surplus value, and even the rate of profit can be estimated only on the basis of very incomplete and delayed data. The law of uneven development plays an important role here—the figures for France, for instance, are in general published much later than those of other large countries, while America has no official statistics at all on unemployment. Different figures arrive with different delays, ranging from 24 hours to two months, and often are not comparable among themselves.

For these reasons we have to be guided by rather summary and incomplete indications. But they will suffice to give us the broad lines of the present world developments.

Perspective for Coming Period
As early as August of last year, in studying these questions at Trinkipio with comrade Trotsky, we

How It Stands Today and Its Next Perspectives

called the attention of our comrades to the following facts: that the prices of commodities after an unprecedented decline, had begun to rise; that industrial production in certain lines, such as steel, was no longer sufficient even to maintain fixed capital; that interest rates had reached such a low point that speculation was beginning to take hold of the markets, and that in general the most important preconditions for an ultimate recovery were beginning to be outlined.

This perspective was reinforced by the beginning of the wave of workers' resistance in England, later in Germany, where it was accompanied by a beginning of re-employment of laid-off workers. Comrade Trotsky had proven as far back as the Third Congress of the C. I. in 1921, in an economic situation which in certain ways resembled the present one, that a recovery under certain conditions would result in reinforcing the militancy and aggressiveness of the workers. He polemized against those who believed that the perspectives of working class action depended on the uninterrupted intensification of the crisis, and that a recovery would weaken the fighting spirit of the proletariat. He showed that while, in fact, a long period of capitalist stabilization, such as that before the war, there could no longer be a question of such a stabilization within the general crisis of capitalism, but rather only of a partial and temporary recovery. As all well know, the events fully confirmed him. In America, for instance, the great railway shop strike of 1922 came after the turn in the crisis toward recovery was no longer doubtful.

We have continued to study the later developments of the situation. In September and in October, we reported that the first uncertain signs of an ultimate recovery, in the liquid and intangible realm of stock exchange speculation and in the commodities markets, had been consolidated for the time being without making further headway, between the high points of August and the lows of June, but that only a little progress could be seen in the tangible domains of industrial production and in trade.

"There is nothing surprising in this. We must not expect the recovery to be uniform and homogeneous, any more than the crisis which preceded it or the period of stabilization before that. The law of uneven development is fully manifested here: uneven development among various countries, and among different branches of economic life. In America, for instance, in 1929, industrial production began to fall after the month

Left Wing Criticizes Provisions of New Illinois Mine Contract

(Continued from page 1)

equally as true that a union of the working class will ALWAYS face similar conditions and the united front of the bosses, the state and the labor fakers. The question is: will the two year contract, with no essential difference from the Lewis contract, strengthen or weaken the PMA in the struggle against the operators, the state and the Lewis machine? Our opinion is that the present contract will weaken rather than strengthen the union in the struggle. This is the opinion of the Left wing in the PMA.

The Right Wing Wants "Peace"
The unions came into existence through mass pressure and mass struggles and can only grow through such struggles. The growing Right wing in the union want less mass struggles and long contracts and the respect of the "best people" in the mining towns. The Left wing wants "peace," but the Left wing knows that you can only have "peace" if you are strong enough to maintain the union and its conditions. It is the Left wing and the progressives who are carrying on the dangerous work in Franklin county, men whom the Stalinists call traitors.

We may ask the question: How much work will the PMA miners obtain this summer? Very little. In fact, a strike struggle for a better contract, rallying the UMWA miners throughout the nation behind this program will cut the ground from underneath the Lewis control and strengthen the PMA. The PMA is far stronger today than it was when first organized and a far greater influence. It has an excellent chance of winning, for years undisputed in the leadership of the Bolshevik party and the Communist International which arose in the struggle against the social democracy and its treachery, assumes thereby all the greater significance. The whole past of the social democracy anticipated their role in the Hitler disaster. But why did not the Communist party, the German section of the Bolshevik International prove equal to the task? This is the paramount question that is posed by the German events. This is the question upon the answer to which depends the successful preparation for the tasks that face us at present. Without the correct answer to this question it will be impossible to make up for lost time, to repair the losses already suffered and to arm for future action.

—SAM GORDON.

(Another article on this question will follow in the next issue.)

Chicago R.R. Conference

The Association of Railway Executives concluded a meeting at the Drake Hotel in Chicago that was attended by executives of fifty nine roads. They held a one-day closed session and elected V. Fletcher as general counsel of the association. None of the members would comment on the proceedings or the plans but the *Chicago Tribune* says the following: "It was understood that four major issues dominated the discussions: plans for railroad relief; consolidations, mergers, and readjustments in the industry; reduction of passenger rates; revision of the wage scales."

What more need be told to the working class? They want government help for their bankrupt industries, mergers and reduced passenger rates to meet modern bus and air transportation and more wage cuts for the workers. This is the railway executives' method of reorganizing to find a way out of the crisis. It is the same method of reorganization used by the other exploiters.

The executives of the fifty-nine roads realize that the necessity of unity in fighting the depression so that they can shift the burden on the working class and small stock holders. The 21 crafts of the railway industry have not yet realized this need on their part. The workers in every terminal must establish railroad councils of representatives of the 21 crafts. They must follow the lead of the Minneapolis Railroad Council to fight the plans of the railroads.

—B. J. FIELD.

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of June, but the solemn warning of the world crash was given only by the break on the New York Stock Exchange in October. On the other hand, industrial production in France continued to increase until the month of June, 1930. We must therefore expect still more striking disparities, even apparent contradictions, in the course of the development of the world crisis.

What conclusions do we then draw from an examination of the available statistics?

1. For several months now, the world crisis, instead of continuing to grow sharper, seems to have stabilized itself at a level fairly close to the lowest point attained so far.

2. The political and economic preconditions for a recovery exist. It is therefore not excluded that the present temporary breathing-spell may develop to the point of becoming a real recovery, that is, the crisis may then be transformed into a depression.

3. On the other hand, in view of the intensity of the crisis, the political as well as the economic convulsions in the world capitalist system (rise of Hitler), and the progress of internal contradictions within the general crisis of post-war capitalism, it is unlikely that such a recovery could be followed by a prolonged period of stabilization, not to speak of prosperity. On the contrary, it is rather probable that the unresolved and unresolvable contradictions will be aggravated by the efforts of each country to draw the maximum of profit from the recovery, under conditions where the bourgeois slogan of "international collaboration" has become more ridiculous and lying than ever.

4. The class struggle could in all probability take on even greater sharpness under such conditions, and the radicalization of the masses, based on a stronger strategic situation for the worker whose labor would again be in demand, could be extended, beginning with more effective resistance in the field of economic struggles, up to the most advanced political demands.

The Reformist Theory and the Stalinists

That the reformists should vacillate, between the hope of a near future of social peace and the fear that the crisis will never finish, that is only to be expected. Their theoreticians have deformed the Marxian analysis of the crisis to the point of assimilating it to the "American" doctrine that the capitalist, in his own well-understood self-interest, should pay higher wages in order to increase the purchasing power of the workers.

That is the logical consequence of the theory of social collaboration, in which the worker disappears as the creator of surplus value and appears as a simple consumer. Under these conditions, according to the social democrats, if the capitalist out of sheer meanness continues to reduce wages instead of increasing them during the crisis, evidently will never end.

But that the official Communist parties should use such a line of reasoning, when they say that only a bourgeois optimism can foresee the "end of the crisis," because the reductions in wages continue the crisis, that is a cause for surprise. For obviously, the reductions in wages serve to re-establish the profit of the capitalist, which is the moving power of economy under a capitalist regime.

For this reason Varga, in the *Imperialism*, is compelled, first to deny obstinately that there are any symptoms of an ultimate recovery, second to admit the existence of a "stagnation at approximately the present level," of "the ultimate attainment of the bottom of the crisis," of the "bottom of the crisis" itself.

All this is the purest "third period," this time rebaptized "end of the partial stabilization of capitalism." Already after three and a half years of crisis it seems fair enough to say that the partial stabilization is over. There is nothing to be surprised at therefore in the fact that the theoreticians of the C. P. of Germany, in their monthly paper *Die Internationale*, have begun to speak of a "fourth period." For this they were soundly scolded in an issue of the *Imperialism* last year, as being "in appearance very radical, but having for its actual result a weakening of the work of the Communist parties." And the "third period," then, not to speak of the "end of capitalist stabilization?"

The Stalinists prefer to keep to the fallacious perspectives of the radicalization of the masses through the crisis without taking into account the historical experience and even that of the recent past. But it is not only a question of criticizing; we must prepare ourselves, theoretically and practically, to take our place in the revival of the militant spirit of the working class, foreseeing as clearly as possible the turns of the objective situation, and adapting our strategy and our tactics to it. The slogans for which the International Left Opposition has been struggling for years—workers' control of production, credits and economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, the Soviet United States of Europe—seen in these perspectives, acquire the greatest importance for the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat.

—B. J. FIELD.

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Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 23, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 22 [WHOLE NO. 169] NEW YORK, SATURDAY APRIL 8, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

The Tragedy of the German Proletariat

By Leon Trotsky

The most powerful proletariat of Europe, by its place in production, its social weight, the strength of its organizations, has manifested no resistance since the arrival of Hitler to power and the violent attacks against the workers' organizations. This is the fact on which one must base all future strategic calculations.

It would be patently stupid to believe that the subsequent evolution of Germany will go the Italian road; that Hitler will strengthen his domination step by step without serious resistance; that German Fascism will enjoy long years of domination. No, the further fate of National Socialism will have to be drawn from the analysis of the German and international conditions, and not from purely historical analogies. But this much is already evident: if, from September 1930 onwards, we demanded of the Communist International a short range policy in Germany, it is now necessary to work out a long range policy. Before the decisive battle is possible, the proletarian vanguard will have to reorient itself, that is to say, it will have to understand what has happened, distribute the responsibilities for the great historical defeat, trace out the new road, and in this manner regain confidence in itself.

The criminal role of the social democracy requires no commentary: the Communist International was created fourteen years ago

precisely in order to snatch the proletariat from the demoralizing influence of the social democracy. If it has not succeeded up to the present time, if the German proletariat found itself impotent, disarmed and paralyzed at the moment of the greatest historical test, the direct and immediate blame falls upon the leadership of the post-Leninist Comintern. There is the first conclusion that must immediately be drawn.

Under the perfidious blows of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Left Opposition maintained to the very end its fidelity to the official party. The Bolshevik-Leninists now share the fate of all the other Communist organizations: the militants of our cadres are arrested, our publications forbidden, our literature confiscated. Hitler even hurried to suspend the *Bulletin of the Opposition* appearing in the Russian language. But if, together with the whole proletarian vanguard, the Bolshevik-Leninists bear the consequences of the first serious victory of Fascism, they cannot and will not bear even a shadow of the responsibility for the official policy of the Comintern.

Since 1923, that is, since the beginning of the struggle against the Left Opposition, the Stalinist leadership, even if indirectly, assisted the social democracy with all its strength to derail, to befuddle, to enfeeble the German proletariat: it halted, it curbed the

workers when the conditions dictated a courageous revolutionary offensive; it proclaimed the approach of the revolutionary situation when it had already passed it by; it worked up agreements with petty bourgeois phrasemongers and windbags; it limped impotently at the tail of the social democracy under cover of the policy of the united front; it proclaimed the "third period" and the struggle for the conquest of the streets under conditions of a political ebb and weakness of the Communist party; it replaced the serious struggle by leaps, adventures or parades; it isolated the Communists from the mass trade unions; it identified the social democracy with Fascism and rejected the united front with the mass workers' organizations in face of the aggressive bands of the National Socialists; it sabotaged the slightest initiative for the united front for local defense, at the same time it systematically deceived the workers as to the real relationship of forces, distorted the facts, passed off friends as enemies and enemies as friends—and drew the noose tighter and tighter around the neck of the party not permitting it to breathe freely any longer, nor to speak, nor to think.

Today, Thaelmann is arrested. Faced by the triumphant reaction, the Bolshevik-Leninists are in the same ranks as Thaelmann. But the policy of Thaelmann is the policy of Stalin, that is, the official policy of the Comintern. It is precisely this policy which is

the cause of the complete demoralization of the party at the moment of danger, when the leaders lose their heads, when the party members, disaccustomed from thinking, fall prostrate, when the principal historic positions are surrendered without a fight. A false political theory bears within itself its own punishment. The strength and the obstinacy of the apparatus only augment the dimensions of the catastrophe.

Having surrendered to the enemy everything that could be surrendered in such a short space of time, the Stalinists are trying to rectify the past by means of convulsive acts which only increasingly clarify the whole chain of crimes committed by them. Now that the press of the Communist party is stifled, that the apparatus is destroyed, that the bloody pennant of Fascism waves with impunity over the Karl Liebknecht House, the Executive Committee of the Comintern is starting out on the road of the united front not only from below but also from above. The new zigzag, sharper than all that preceded it, has not, however, been effected under the impulsion of the Executive itself; the Stalinist bureaucracy has abandoned the initiative to the Second International. The latter has succeeded

in taking hold of the weapon of the united front, of which it has been in mortal dread up to now. To the extent that it is possible to speak of political advantages under the conditions of a panicky retreat, they are to be found exclusively on the side of reformism. Forced to reply to a direct question, the Stalinist bureaucracy chose the worst way: it does not reject an entente of two Internationals, but neither does it accept it; it plays hide and seek. It has come to such a lack of self-confidence, to such degradation, that it no longer dares to show itself to the world proletarian face to face with the leaders of the Second International, the branded agents of the bourgeoisie, the electors of Hindenburg who blazed the trail of Fascism.

In a special appeal of the Executive on March 5: "To the Workers of All Countries," the Stalinists do not say a word about social Fascism as the main enemy. They no longer speak about the great discovery of their leader: "The social democracy and Fascism are not antipodes but twins." They no longer insist on saying that the struggle against Fascism demands as a preliminary the defeat of the social democracy. They do not breathe a word about the inadmissibility of the united front from above. On the contrary, they carefully enumerate those cases in the past where the Stalinist bureaucracy, unexpectedly for the work-

ers and for itself, found itself forced to improvise proposals for the united front to the reformist socialists. Thus do artificial, false and chimerical theories found-er in the fury of the historical tempest.

"Taking into account the peculiarities of each country" and of the impossibility, which allegedly flows from them, of organizing the united front on an international scale (the struggle against "exceptionalism", that is, the theory of the light wingers on national peculiarities, is suddenly forgotten), the Stalinist bureaucracy recommends to the national Communist parties to address proposals for a united front to the "Central Committees of the social democratic parties". Only yesterday this was proclaimed a capitulation to social-Fascism! Thus do all the great lessons of Stalinism for the last four years fly under the table into the wastebasket. This is a whole political system reduced to dust.

Matters do not rest there: having declared for the moment the impossibility of the conditions for a united front on the international arena, the Executive immediately forgets it and no more than twenty lines further on it formulates the conditions under which the united front is admissible and acceptable in all countries, in spite of the difference in national conditions. The retreat, before Fascism is followed by a panic-stricken re-

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What of Rakovsky?

Stalin is still silent. No news from Christian Rakovsky. The embassies keep still. In spite of the numerous news items that have appeared in the press, the wreckers of the German revolution refuse to let go of their secret. IF THEY HAVE ASSASSINATED RAKOVSKY, THEY DO NOT DARE TO SAY SO. IF HE IS STILL ALIVE, THEY ARE AFRAID TO ADMIT IT. This fact alone gives the measure of their panic, their fear of the action of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Let us speak frankly—By what right do the Stalinists complain that the Hitler embassy refuses to give out news of the fate of Thaelmann, WHEN THEY REFUSE TO SAY WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY? YES, in the name of what revolutionary conception?

Let us develop our campaign. THE CENTRISTS WILL HAVE TO ANSWER FOR THEIR PAST. RAISE THE QUESTION OF RAKOVSKY AT EVERY MEETING!

VICTOR SERGE ARRESTED

Victor-Serge has just been arrested in Leningrad. Once again, the Stalinist police is acting in the dark. It has been impossible for us up to now to obtain definite information as to his fate, nor the reasons for his arrest. Back in 1928 Victor-Serge was arrested, shortly after his expulsion from the party as an Oppositionist. After two months he was released, under the pressure of the campaign which was carried on at the time. Again we must rise up, demand an accounting, help our comrades who struggle in the vanguard against those who are preparing the ruin of the October Revolution.

RIAZANOV AND SMIRNOV ARE DEAD

N. Riazanov has just died in deportation, at Saratov, to which the vengeance of Stalin has exiled him. This Bolshevik, this Marxian scientist, underwent the fate of all the intransigent Communists who struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. He died at his post, as a faithful disciple of Marx and of Engels, in the service of whose ideas he had spent his life. Stalin did everything to shorten his life, for his purpose remains the same: TO DESTROY THE BOLSHEVIKS PHYSICALLY. After trying to defile Riazanov by implicating him in the "Menshevik trial", Stalin banished him under police constraint, chased him out of the Marx-Engels Institute which he had entirely organized and created. And Riazanov died in deportation, while Messrs. Rumin and Co. have again become free engineers at Magnitogorsk.

V. Smirnov, former leader of the old group of "Decists" (democratic centrists), who was close to the Opposition in the years 1926-1927, has also just died in exile.

And how many other revolutionary workers, how many of ours, are falling today, when more than ever their firmness, their experience are indispensable to the revolution.

A tenacious and persevering activity in support of our imprisoned and deported comrades is needed. We are at present considering the formation of a Relief Committee, about which we shall say more later.

Defend the Class War Fighters

SNEEVLIET UNDER ARREST

Comrade Sneeveliet, president of the NAS of Holland (revolutionary trade union organization), remains in prison, accused of conspiracy for the manifesto signed by him, appealing to the Dutch sailors to show their solidarity with the mutineers of The Seven Provinces. The Centrists have not mentioned this arrest in any one of their publications! The workers of Amsterdam have held enthusiastic demonstrations for his release. We declare our complete solidarity with the revolutionary action of comrade Sneeveliet and all those Communists hit by the terror for their support of the rebellious Indonesians.

SPAIN

Not a word from the IRA on Nin and Laoire.

The International Red Aid continues to maintain a shameful silence on the fate of our Spanish comrades, among whom are Nin and Laoire, persecuted for inciting the military to disobedience. The readers of the Militant will remember the vicious way in which these comrades were arrested by the "socialist" police and how they were,

for weeks, held incommunicado with no reason given for their incarceration. We must also ask our comrades to recall that the Stalinists did not hesitate to call these and other of our comrades—counter-revolutionists. Speak up in your ILD branch and demand their immediate release. The ILD must be a genuine class defense organization and not a sectarian body for the defense of supporters of the official regime of Stalinism.

INDO-CHINA

For the Sending of a Workers Delegation!

The International Red Aid has slowly awakened to the case of the thousands of Indo-Chinese victims of French imperialism. But of course, they slander the imprisoned Left Opposition militancy. That does not prevent the bureaucrats from being forced to accept in its entirety our slogan, send a workers delegation to Indo-China.

Hitler and the Red Army

America has reproduced European capitalism on a grandiose scale, but it has reproduced European socialism only on an insignificant scale. American social democracy has never been anything but a caricature of European social democracy. This "law of uneven development" has also retained all its force so far as Stalinism is concerned. The CPUSA is weaker than any of the European parties yet the Stalinist bureaucracy in America carries out all the zigzags and all the mistakes with a fabulous exaggeration.

A year and a half ago, the Stalinists thought that an attack on the USSR by Japan was a matter of days, and on this "prognosis", dictated by the bourgeois press, they tried to base their whole policy. We on the contrary declared that, as long as it had not assimilated Manchuria, the danger of an attack by Japan was absolutely unlikely. The American Stalinists accused us in this connection of being in the service of the Japanese general staff. In general, these gentlemen draw their arguments from sewers and drain-pipes.

We declared furthermore that the danger of a Fascist victory in Germany—a danger for the world revolution and above all for the Soviet Union—was more real and more imminent than the danger of Japanese intervention. The European Stalinists shouted that we were "panic-stricken". The American Stalinists, more impudently, declared that we were consciously aiming to distract the attention of the world proletariat from the imminent danger in the East to the Soviet Union. The events brought their verification.

For a year and a half, the "imminent" Japanese aggression has failed to take place (obviously this does not mean that the danger of Japanese intervention does not exist in general). During this time, Hitler has come to power and, with a few blows, has defeated the principal ally of the USSR, the German Communist Party, weakened in advance by the lies and the falsity of Stalinism.

A year and a half ago, we wrote that the Red Army, in its principal mass, ought to turn its face to the West to have the possibility of smashing Fascism before it can destroy the German proletariat and unite with European and world imperialism. In answer to this, the American Stalinists, the most stupid and impudent of all, declared that we wanted to drag the USSR into a war, interrupt its economic upbuilding and assure the victory of imperialism. The old fable says that nothing is so dangerous as an ignorant friend. To appeal for military actions against Japan while there was not and could not be an immediate danger in that direction, meant to distract attention from the real danger of Fascism. Obviously the Stalinists carried out this task,

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Stalinists Beat Up Oppositionists

On Sunday, April 2, a group of members of the Spartacus Youth Club went to distribute Young Spartacus and the Militant to the New York District membership meeting of the YCL held at Stuyvesant Casino. Our comrades waited until the intermission period, and as the YCLers came out, we started to give out copies of our papers. We had distributed some two dozen copies when a couple of the "leaders" came down and began to tell us that we were not to be allowed to distribute here. We tried to discuss in a comradely manner, asking them what valid reason there could be for attempting to prohibit this. The best way to understand the viewpoint of any organization is to read and study what they propose. This was and is the only way in which any young Communist can hope to combat the ideologies which are alien to the interests of the working class—by analyzing them.

Several of them, however, whom we have met before, of the fanatical type, refused to discuss with us at all. "We have instructions to prevent any distribution," one of them stated, "and if you continue you will suffer the consequences!" Meanwhile a "strong" squad had been organized up stairs by the bureaucrats in the membership meeting and they now came hurrying down the stairs. We had been pushed away from the entrance and now without any warning they began to rip the papers from our arms. Working themselves into a fury, the young specimens of Stalinist argumentation launched into an attack upon our comrades. Outnumbered many times and with papers under our

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New Organ of German Left

The first issue of the new paper of the German section of the International Left Opposition has just been received here. It is called *Unser Wort*, and is published in Prague. Hitler has apparently not been told that this is a counter-revolutionary organization, and has therefore banned the former publication of the German Left Opposition, *Die Permanente Revolution* until May 31, without any prospect that it will be permitted to resume.

It will be recalled that according to the Stalinist press, the German section of the Left Opposition capitulated to the official party and was liquidated shortly before Hitler took power. The new paper is the best proof of the vitality of the Opposition in Germany. It contains an analysis of the perspectives of Communism under the present regime in Germany, letters from German workers and comrades Trotsky's "Talk with a Social Democratic Worker".

In accordance with the decision of the International Conference of the Left Opposition, all members have been asked to contribute a day's pay for the specific purpose of helping the German section. This money should be raised as quickly as possible so that it can be transmitted at once, in view of the vital and urgent needs of the German Opposition and the enormous tasks which now face it. The American League has set itself the quota of two hundred dollars to be raised for our comrades in Germany and their work, and we appeal to all friends of the Opposition to help us reach the quota as soon as possible.

2nd Gillespie Meeting

Conference Again Rejects New Federation Plan

Gillespie, Ill.—The April 2 conference called by the Gillespie Trades and Labor Assembly adjourned, adopting a policy of coordinating the work of the Left within the A. F. L. with the work of building new industrial unions from the unorganized workers. The conference adopted the name of "Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee". It was attended by 164 delegates, representing 26 organizations, with the Progressive Miners of America having 61 delegates, and the Unemployed Councils 30 delegates. The rest of the delegates were from AFL, IOWA and some independent unions and several TUUL groups. The workers' political organizations represented with fraternal delegates were the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Young Spartacus League and the Young Peoples Socialist League.

The highlights of the conference were the struggle between the delegates who wanted a new federation of labor and those who wanted an educational committee; by the fact that the Progressive Miners of America were the solid backbone of the conference, the heavy work on the floor for a correct policy carried on by a group of delegates around delegates Fraser and Steed of the Progressive Miners and the policies of the Left Opposition were vindicated 100 percent; and the action of the TUUL delegates and the Stalinists who had the largest caucus present, but had to trail behind the policies of the Left Opposition and the militant miners. One thing can be said for the Stalinists. With their new turn, they are doing far better than before, they are learning to work with other forces, they are learning how to retreat as well as advance but are still very clumsy and antagonized a considerable number of delegates and left a bad taste in the mouths of many delegates when the conference adjourned.

The report of the policy committee brought out the different tendencies at the conference and the main struggle of the day's proceedings. After reaffirming the policy of the previous conference, Weber, for the policy committee, read three proposals introduced by delegate Fraser as follows:

Policy Committee Proposals

1. The response to the initiative of the Gillespie Trade and Labor Council, as indicated by this conference representation, shows that a sufficient basis for the creation

of a new federation of labor is lacking and therefore this conference definitely rejects this project.

2. Due to the limited and sectional character of this conference we cannot at the present time form a permanent organization. Such an organization of the Left and progressive forces on a national scale is a perspective to be aimed at. The three conferences at Gillespie have taken the initiative and prepared the ground for one that will eventually develop upon a broader national scale through cooperation of all Left wing and progressive forces.

3. The conference goes on record as recommending the program of January 29 session to the consideration of the workers who are struggling for the regeneration of the labor movement and its liberation from reactionary policies and leadership. This conference decides upon the continuation as a committee to keep in touch with sympathetic trade union bodies and will be ready to act jointly with them in the preparation of a broader conference on a national scale.

Around point one of these proposals the conference almost split. The "new federationists" were insistent, but finally the motion passed with an amendment by delegate Lore. The amendment said we continue as an organization to carry on work in the trade unions and independent unions. These delegates aimed their amendment to the tail of that organization,

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OPEN FORUM

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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ation of the tendencies within the Progressive Miners of America, the second article on the German situation by Sam O'ordon, a reply to the second article of the Lovestone group in attacking the stand of the Left Opposition on the German question, etc., etc. We have been forced also to omit from this number the continuation of comrade Trotsky's article which began in the last issue (A Talk with a Socialist Worker). The next issue will publish it in all likelihood, together with a new article by Trotsky on the threatening situation in Austria, which is gaining in significance every day.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

The Stalinist Shift To the Right

The second session of the Congress Organization Committee of the New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference revealed that the turn of the party on the united front is showing a dangerous drift to the right. Palmer of the Federated Press, chairman of the committee, reported the following: Some time between the first and second sessions a little informal meeting took place in Palmer's office. There were present two members of the Communist Party, Muste of the CPUSA, and Palmer. They called Norman Thomas on the phone to discuss with him the question of drawing the S. P. into the Mooney movement.

Dicker with Thomas

Politically this meant that they were asking Thomas to lay down the conditions on which the S. P. would participate. Thomas, according to the report, pledged himself personally to work for the participation of the S. P. on the basis of a management committee for the National Congress to be held in Chicago, consisting of representatives of the C. P., S. P., I.L.D., U.I.W., five trade unionists, and three liberals. This unofficial arrangement was submitted to Mooney for his approval. He wired back adding two representatives of the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee.

The Left Opposition immediately demanded that the entire proceedings be made public and that all future negotiations be conducted openly before the entire working class. This demand provoked a discussion. The discussion revealed much confusion on the part of the Stalinists who are in control of the Committee. Politically the discussion revolved around the united front. The feeble attempts of the Molders' Defense representatives to settle the matter on a legal-technical basis were simply brushed aside. It was obvious that the question could not be discussed aside from its political essence. The Stalinists gave their political interpretation a Rightist content. They refused to put the conference on record against the slanderous attack on the Chicago Congress by the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party. This statement, issued on March 24, says that the Communists use the Congress as a tool to wreck other working class organizations. **Left Action.** Muste's organ quotes the statement without comment, though it is an active participant in the conference and probably will be in the Chicago Congress.

Winter, Nessin, Moore, Ballam united to hamstring the attempt to make the negotiations public. They so qualified the conference pronouncements that what will be issued will omit the essential facts given above and give a highly distorted picture of the proceedings.

It has come to this. Yesterday our Stalinist masters of revolutionary strategy and tactics shouted down the wind that we could make no united front with the "social fascist leaders". Today they are beginning to crawl on all fours before these treacherous fakery. They are trying to prove to the Thomases that they are good Communists! They are in full flight from the ultra-Leftism of yesterday. And they bow down before the old idol of Right opportunism!

Bureaucrats Fall Out

In the discussion Winter and Nessin once more took different stands. Nessin again advocated a Rightist position. Winter's role is becoming clearer. He is carried along in the Right drift. His job is to put a plausible face on the thing. His proposals are designed to make it possible to point to efforts made for a genuine united front. This may fool some for a time but as the party swings further to the right this false face artist will be assigned other chores.

Ballam poured oil on the troubled waters and evoked the anger of Moore. It is a pitiable sight to see these bureaucrats fall out among themselves. How sharp must be the fight in the party if it is carried out into the open at every meeting! Why is it confined to the top? Why isn't the party membership allowed to participate in the discussions? Why is there no discussion in the party press?

The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot allow the party membership to intervene in its disputes. That would be disastrous for its position and prestige. So it maneuvers desperately to retain its weakening grip on the party. But its base is narrowing and the day of reckoning is approaching. Then as now the Left Opposition will know how to act to build the party shoulder to shoulder with the party membership.

—T. STAMM.

Communism and Syndicalism

by LEON TROTSKY

Some fundamental considerations on the relation of the party to the trade union movement with particular reference to the experiences of the French labor movement. . . . 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street, New York.

Chicago Meet Adopts Joint Protest

Chicago.—The mass meeting on the German situation held by the Chicago branch of the Communist League, proved to be a great success. Over two hundred workers gathered at Redifer Hall on March 26, to hear the position of the Left Opposition on the united front and the turn of the Communist International, presented by comrade Albert Grotzer.

The main feature of the meeting was the discussion that followed Grotzer's speech. An invitation was extended to any party representative in the hall to take the floor and present the position of the party. One active party member, Hans Pfeiffer was given twenty minutes in which to present the position of the party and to defend its line. His remarks only further strengthened the position of the I. L. O. But he made a plea for the unity of the Communist forces, and declared that he would investigate the charges of violence against members of the Left Opposition and protest such methods of solving disputes between Communists. As an active member of the Unemployed Councils he extended a public invitation to the Opposition to participate in the State Hunger March; an invitation that was at once accepted by the Chicago organization.

In the course of the discussion a resolution on the German situation was presented by a member of the Chicago Left Opposition, who proposed its adoption and suggested further that the resolution be sent to the German consulate and the Daily Worker and Militant for publication. This proposal was carried unanimously with an amendment that a committee elected by the mass meeting go over the resolution before sending it out. As a reflection of the sentiment of the meeting a committee was elected representing the Communist party, the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club. The party was represented by comrade Hans Pfeiffer (an aldermanic candidate who drew 1100 votes in his ward) and Norval Allen, a Negro comrade. They met together with Joe Giganti and Al Grotzer of the Left Opposition, and Nathan Gould of the Spartacus Youth Club.

The resolution signed by the committee elected by the mass meeting represents further evidence of breaking down the walls between the party members and the Left Opposition. It signifies that the campaign on German has not been in vain; that it has penetrated the ranks of the class-conscious workers. The bankruptcy of the line of Stalinism becomes more and more evident in the course of the active life of the movement.

Resolution Adopted

Approximately 200 workers, representing various revolutionary tendencies, gathered in mass meeting to discuss the German situation at Redifer Hall, 30 North Wells Street, in Chicago, on Sunday, March 26th, 1933, under the auspices of the Communist League of America (Opposition), record their strenuous protest against the Fascist terror reigning in Germany today against the proletariat of that country and its revolutionary leadership, the Communist party and the Young Communist League, also against the terror inaugurated against the class conscious working masses in the social democratic party and the trade unions that are struggling against Fascism.

The German bourgeoisie through its henchmen, Hitler and the National Socialists have been persistently attacking the German proletariat.

Today, aside from the hundreds and thousands whose "heads have rolled in the sand" following the attacks of the Fascist forces, thousands of leaders and members of the Communist party are rotting in the Fascist dungeons and undergoing tortures paralleled only by that of the medieval period.

Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, Meck and Remmele, the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany are in prison. Direct information as to their condition is not available. But that they are victims of the "mustard-rub" and the "castor-oil" has already leaked out.

In this regard, we assembled in mass meeting today, protest and demand the immediate cessation of the murder and torture of the German working class and its leaders by the Fascists.

We demand the immediate release of comrade Thaelmann and other leaders of the German Communist movement.

We demand the release of all victims of Fascism notwithstanding their political tendencies.

Forward to the revolutionary united front of the working class organizations against Fascism!

For the defense of the German working class against Fascist attacks!

For the proletarian revolution in Germany.

Submitted by the Communist League of America (Opposition) Signed The Committee elected by the meeting.

HANS PFEIFFER, member of the Communist Party of America. NATHAN GOULD, member of the Spartacus Youth Club of Chicago.

JOE GIGANTI, member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

NORVAL ALLEN, member of the Communist Party of America.

ALBERT GROTZER, member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

A "United Front" At Any Price

Davenport, Iowa.—A united front conference was called for March 27, 1933 by the official party. The conference was called a united front action against hunger. Again the party has shown how it zig-zags from one extreme to another. I am going to give a review of this conference as it is of great importance to the workers, not only in the Tri-Cities but throughout the entire country. According to the number of delegates that voted there must have been 72 delegates. There were many local unions represented with the Tri-City Federation of Labor also officially represented.

While the Resolutions Committee was meeting Tony Minerich, representing the state anti-hunger march committee, was seated as a delegate and spoke for one hour. The pitiful part of Minerich's speech was that he actually said nothing of interest outside of stressing the united front at all costs and making a bid for unity with the leaders of the Federation of Labor in the Tri-Cities at all costs.

After that a general discussion took place with several workers participating. Much confusion existed. The representative of the Left Opposition spoke presenting the policy of the Left Opposition the name of the branch.

During the morning session the Credentials Committee tried to side-track the seating of the Left Opposition delegate by hemming as to the name of the organization and by announcing that it has only ten members so it is a question of whether it should have a right to a seat or not. But upon a slight insistence when it came to voting the delegate was recognized. This had the full right of the floor to the discomfort of the party leaders. The party itself was officially not represented, but its leaders were delegates from the Unemployed Council, and other party auxiliaries, some of them not even existing.

Rank Stalinist Opportunism

After the discussion, the Resolutions Committee reported. Wilson was the reporter, bringing in a resolution against intimidation of workers and against forced labor which was adopted unanimously. A resolution to endorse the state hunger march in Illinois on April 7 was also adopted by the conference. Then a resolution on investigation of the conditions of the unemployed and to bring in suggestions as to remedies and to deal with unemployment generally was brought in, with clauses in the resolution that one Catholic, one Jew, one Protestant, one Chamber of Commerce, one Retail Merchant Association, one Unemployed Council, one Federation of Labor be represented on this committee to investigate these conditions. A healthy reaction on the part of the delegates was immediately had, and on a motion of one of the trade unionists the resolution was voted on paragraph by paragraph. The paragraph which dealt with the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association came in for quite a discussion. On the motion of the delegate from the Left Opposition, seconded by several in the hall, it was moved to strike-out the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association. A discussion took place where Left wingers after Left wingers, party members and sympathizers and some trade unionists opposed the adoption of the paragraph, with the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. fighting for its adoption, with the delegate of the Left Opposition taking the lead against its adoption.

It looked as if the paragraph would be rejected by the conference when Jack Wilson, the party organizer, made the closing speech which lined up the party and its followers who spoke against its adoption but who voted for it after the speech of Jack Wilson, with only the vote of the Left Opposition against it.

Then the next resolution on Germany, against Hitlerism and Fascism was recommended not to be adopted as it didn't concern the workers of Rock Island County and was turned down by the conference with only the vote of the Left Opposition against turning it down. This was the statement of party representatives.

The Tom Mooney resolution was also brought up without recommendation by the resolutions committee and here again the Left Opposition, through its delegate, made a motion to adopt the resolution. The reactionaries made a fight against the adoption through making an amendment. The gathering fairly rocked as the struggle for the resolution was put up, and in a very sharp talk the representative of the Left Opposition made his position clear, not only on the German resolution which dealt with the German situation, but pointing out that it would be an actual betrayal if this resolution was voted down. This forced the party through Jack Wilson to come out in favor of the resolution.

Then a compromise was made not to elect a delegate from the conference but to endorse the resolution and recommend it for favorable action to the local unions and the organizations represented at the conference.

The Party has gone from one extreme of no united front to united front at all costs. It may be asked "What price united front?"

The Right wing of the party can be seen by the actions taken at the conference. The party tried to hide its face even to the point of not sending official delegates. Nobody spoke officially in the name of the party. Not one criticism

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Four sessions have already been held on the following topics: The Fight for Party Democracy; "The New Course" by Leon Trotsky; The Defeat of the German Revolution, 1923—"The Lessons of October" by Leon Trotsky; The Opposition Program for Industrialization. The Left Opposition Program for Collectivization. The Anglo-Russian Committee. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927.

The sessions are held on WEDNESDAYS, at 8 P. M.

The Second Gillespie Conference

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but behind this motion the "new federalists" rallied against the combined forces of the other delegates.

After these motions passed the policy committee recommended that the conference endorse the TULU conference in Detroit in September and send fraternal delegates. They read off the entire agenda. The Stalinists saw no inconsistency in opposing a new federation along with the Left Opposition and other Left wing delegates, but at the same time asking the conference to endorse the TULU conference. This gave ammunition to the Right wing elements and those who had just advocated a new federation, and they used it effectively. The spirit of the conference went down a few notches. When delegate Fraser obtained the floor he moved that we cooperate and send fraternal delegates, and pointed out why we should not endorse. The Stalinists compromised and agreed to this and it carried by 107 for and 15 opposed, but only after much harm had already been done.

Next the policy committee asked for 15 fraternal delegates and again the opposition forces made hay. But again, when delegate Fraser could obtain the floor, he moved that we send three delegates. Again the TULU supporters compromised and this motion also carried by an overwhelming majority.

Later they elected the fraternal delegates to the TULU conference. Five were nominated and all unanimously elected. The delegates are: Hugo Oehler, Sol Leckie, Hank Mayer, J. Cronkin and Hines. The conference unanimously passed resolutions in favor of the Franklin County strikers; Taylorville frame-up victims; and for mass pressure; Mooney; and also elected delegates to attend the Chicago conference; for the Springfield Hunger March and for the release of Minerich and others who were arrested; for the Scottsboro boys and against the danger of Fascism in Germany.

Another motion was passed to set up a joint committee of action with the TULU to carry on work in different areas. This is putting the cart before the horse and making a mechanical caricature out of the motion quoted above. United front action of such bodies must spring out of concrete struggles and not mechanical paper organizations. The established here and there. All through the conference a struggle had to be put up against the new "federalists" on the one hand, and the Stalinists who desired to hurry the process of development; and with their wrong tactics shifted the conference toward a new federation under the arm of TULU. Between these two forces flirting dangerously with a new federation, the young committee received some hard knocks.

The Stalinist Proposal

Another struggle developed over the motion presented by the Right wing socialists who asked for the endorsement and sending of delegates to the "Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington, which is not a united front and has excluded all Left wing and Communist forces. The Congress is a political rallying center for reformism against the revolutionists and class conscious workers and is to be used as an anti-Communist rally. Our delegates opposed this and pointed out what is meant, recommending that first a working class organization be invited, and if not, we do not send delegates. The Left wing socialists and other class conscious workers supported this proposal. The TULU delegates, the Stalinists and Gerry Allard supported the motion to send two delegates against the above recommendations. The motion to send two delegates was carried and Weber and Allard were elected.

At the beginning of the conference a delegate from Georgia farmers had a proposal to tax the capitalists out of existence. The resolution was read and motion to endorse carried without the Stalinists saying a word.

A New Executive Committee was elected giving the miners the largest delegation. The Left Opposition gave Young Spartacus League were given the right to put representation on the Executive. The

was made of the reactionaries. All compromises were made in favor of the leaders of the A. F. of L.

—GEO. J. PAPCUN.

(Continued from Page 1)

delegates from the Left Opposition declined, stating that we welcome the attitude of the conference and that there is no political discrimination here and hope this will continue to enable working class political organizations to send fraternal delegates, but if we go on the executive, our members will be elected through the different unions they represent.

The new committee received some hard blows from the "new federalists" and the blunders of Stalinism at the conference and although it crippled the work there are still sufficient signs of strong militant life, that it can grow to be a force if a correct policy is applied.

—HUGO OEHLER.

The Kincaid Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

of terror against the PMA miners, killing, raping, kidnapping, smashing the union's relief stations, bombing workers' homes, beating up progressive miners.

Evidence Proves Frame-Up
The three main witnesses of the state are Peabody men and the evidence consists of contradictory and frame-up material. But this does not mean we have "practically won" the case. Two doctors testifying for the state contradict each other on the shooting of the mine boss who was killed. One says the bullet came from the rear and the other said the shot was fired from the front. Another Peabody witness says he saw Mattozo with a sub-machine gun, while another says the defendant had a rifle. Further contradictions in the testimony of the Peabody witnesses were brought to the surface. One says that Smith who was in the car with the mine boss, fired at the relief station over his left shoulder while Smith says he fired ahead. The mine boss who was killed, was seated in the back seat of the same car.

It is a clear case of frame-up but this does not prove that Peabody is losing. They had a slimy case against Mooney and countless other class war prisoners and yet these men were sentenced. The workers must not leave the case in the hands of the courts controlled by the Peabody Coal Company.

We must use all legal means at our disposal but under and around these necessary defense measures a powerful mass movement of the American workers must be organized to fight for the release of the frame-up Kincaid miners on trial at Taylorville.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Stalinists and the Upholsterers

The attention of the entire New York movement should be called to the latest example of how not to make the united front and the consequences. The scene is the Furniture Workers Industrial Union of the TULU. On February 16, this union took the initiative and called a shop ("united front") conference consisting of workers from a number of shops, union and non union, for the purpose of devising ways and means of effecting the unity of the entire trade into a single militant union. At the conference a Unity Committee of 32 was elected to carry out the ideas of the conference, namely: (1) the organization of united shop committees to fight against wage cuts and layoffs and (2) the organization of one strong union in the upholstery trade.

A sub-committee of 12 was also elected to visit the membership meeting of Local 70 of the UIU of the A. F. of L. They were to ask for the endorsement of a printed leaflet calling for the unity of the trade. The leaflet called on all upholsterers in the shops to unite regardless of union affiliations, to organize shop committees and to fight wage cuts and layoffs.

It passes human understanding, or just plain common sense why a committee from the A. F. of L. union was not invited to participate in the preparations. How can a union man or sympathizer understand that we are really fighting for unity when we fly in the face of this simple organization procedure? So intimidated are the Stalinist union functionaries by "social-fascism" that it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be induced even to SEND the leaflet to the union itself, that is to say, to the secretary of the

(Continued on Page 3)

Huan Ping and Chen Du-Siu

Fresh in the memory of all readers is the despicable role played by the official Stalinist press in connection with the arrest and imprisonment of our comrade Chen Du-Siu, leader of the Chinese Left Opposition. This founder of the Chinese Communist movement, and the leader of the party during the whole of the revolutionary period, was the special object of Stalinist hatred because he honestly acknowledged the role he had played in the Chinese revolution and revealed at the same time that this was to be attributed to the fundamentally false and Menshevik policy of the Comintern. At the time of his arrest, the Stalinist journals all over the world could scarcely contain themselves with joy. Instead of helping arouse the spirit of solidarity of the workers to save comrade Chen from the imprisonment and execution at the hands of the Kuo Min Tang butchers with which he was threatened, the Stalinists hastened to assure all and sundry that Chen was an agent of the Kuo Min Tang!

Comrade Chen is still imprisoned, and no news about him can be obtained. But only a short while after his arrest, took place the arrest of one of the official party leaders, Huan Ping, "Commissar of Foreign Affairs" of the short-lived Canton Soviet of 1927. In this instance, the case was made the subject for an international agitation. In this protest movement, of course, the party was only doing its elementary duty, in which they were criminally remiss with regard to the arrest of comrade Chen Du-Siu, and are so to this day.

Now we receive the news from a Left Oppositionist in Shanghai that while comrade Chen's fate continues to remain unknown, Huan Ping, like so many Stalinists before him, has turned renegade and joined the Kuo Min Tang—thus escaping from the fate which the counter-revolution held in store for him!

The organ of the Left Kuo Min Tangist, Wang Chin Wei, the People's Tribune of February 16, 1933, prints a sensational article by Huan Ping—"Why I Left the Communist Party". In this article, the renegade repudiates his whole Communist past, "exposes" the Communist International and the Chinese party and announces that "as a result of my conversion to the Kuo Min Tang, I was thus released, together with comrades Yu Pei and Hsu Shih-Keng, who have also come to the same conclusions." Yu Pei was nothing less than Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Hsu a member of the presidium of the Communist International and head of the red trade unions of Shanghai. "It is essential," concludes the turncoat, "before anything constructive can be undertaken, that the Communist movement, which in many respects is hardly distinguishable from common banditry, be completely suppressed. It was in order to assist the National Government in this campaign, and also to rectify my past errors, that I, together with comrades Yu Pei and Hsu Shih-Keng, have left the Communist party, and will strive, under the banner of the Kuo Min Tang, for the attainment of the goal which I have always had in view—the betterment of the conditions of the Chinese workers and peasants."

Like Bessedovsky and other creatures of Stalinism, Huan Ping was a mighty Trotsky-Killer before he jumped over the fence into the camp of the reaction. The bureaucratic regime in the Comintern trains up such types, whose only qualifications for leadership are their servility to the apparatus, a willingness to be made the scapegoat for the blunders of their superiors in the machine, a cynical ever-readiness to sign statements "to rectify my past errors" unquestioning obedience to which all careerists, adventurers and spineless place-hunters are able to adjust themselves. The genuine revolutionists, who think for themselves and have the courage to express unpopular opinions and defend them—are expelled from the party and consigned to the category of counter-revolutionists. Therein lies the essence of explanation of how the Chen Du-Sius could be expelled from the party, baited by the bureaucracy and left in the lurch when attacked by the class enemy, while the Huan Pings could rise to leadership, be defended by the bureaucracy and, having been trained in the school of irresponsibility, betray the revolution at a crucial moment.

The communication from our Shanghai correspondent, which contains some very interesting information, will be found below.

Shanghai.—The Japanese drive into Jehol is now in full swing. The Chinese defenders have been collected before the first onslaughts, although there has been some fierce fighting. A combination of circumstances has acted to compel the Nanking Government and its cohorts in the North to make at least a show of resistance to this latest Japanese advance. There is no official sincerity. Nanking has no desire to fight and is putting up nothing more than a show, wantonly sacrificing the lives of countless Chinese soldiers in a struggle it does not take seriously. This lack of seriousness is sufficiently indicated by the fact that not a single airplane has been sent into Jehol to aid the Chinese defenders, while the Japanese are reported to be using over 100 bombers. The Nanking Government reserves its airplanes for bombing re-

Meanwhile Huan Ping was taken to Nanking and there are reasons for believing that he has ratted to the Kuo Min Tang. It is reliably reported that he is living in a private residence in Nanking under surveillance, since the government is not satisfied as to the genuineness of his conversion to Kuo Min Tang principles. But that he is alive and not in jail is definitely known.

Whether reports of Huan Ping having become converted to Kuo Min Tang principles as a result of his arrest are reliable or not, the fact is there have been so many such "conversions" of late that one sounds quite credible. However, a statement entitled "Why I Left the Communist Party", which seems to bear the stamp of authenticity, and purportedly written by Huan Ping, appears in the February 16 issue of the People's Tribune, organ of the Kuo Min Tang "Leftist". Wang Chin Wei, I enclose this article for your information and use. It speaks for itself.

February 28, 1933 —ROBERT.

All comrades and readers of the Militant are requested to help us build up as large as possible a section of the paper devoted to the life and work of the Left Opposition branches throughout the country and events in the class struggle. Report your activities! But bear in mind the limitations of space. Reports should be brief and to the point and as sparing as possible. Every comrade should feel himself a part of the paper and its contents, so that the Militant may accurately reflect the work and progress.

★ WITH THE SPARTACUS YOUTH MOVEMENT ★

Hathaway Before Y.C.L. Membership

The speech of C. A. Hathaway, party district organizer at the New York Y. G. L. membership meeting Sunday, April 2, was an outline much the same as the one he delivered at the recent party membership meeting.

Hathaway has had two weeks in which to dig up new quotations and arguments. Therefore it took four and a half instead of two hours to clarify the YCLers on the united front.

After an hour and a half on the banking crisis which he does not yet understand, Hathaway came to Germany. First, by a flood of quotations from the 11th and 12th Plenums of the ECCI he proved that the question of Hitler's coming to power was not a matter for the YCL. As the forces of revolution rise, the forces of counter-revolution come to a head. Hathaway, therefore, concluded that the coming of Fascism into power is a necessary prelude to the proletarian revolution, and not a vital danger to the working class.

He remarked that in Italy and in Poland, Communist parties still exist and carry on activities. He regarded the fact that the German party is putting out an illegal paper as a proof that the party could adapt itself successfully to Hitler's tactics.

But already the Nazis admit that there are 8,000 held in their concentration camps, and Dutch Communists put the number at 80,000. Daily the German party loses its best members drop out, discouraged or terrorized. If Fascism can consolidate its power, the German party will be only a tiny nucleus, all hopes of immediate revolution lost. And Hathaway maintained that the party can function under Hitler without serious losses!

Hathaway, as a good Stalinist, could not admit that there is a revolutionary crisis in Germany, and that if the party does not or can not act it will suffer practical annihilation. Instead Hathaway took refuge in false sentimentalities and still false hopes. His "The party is still fighting," sounds very much like a Communist equivalent for the New Leader's jubilation after the German elections, "The Iron Front stands like a rock."

Finally Hathaway got to the united front, and here the finest results of his two weeks' research were revealed. The first was his argument to prove that there has been no change in the basic position of the Comintern on the united front. There are three forms of the united front, the united front from below, the united front with the reformist leadership, and the intermediate form of united front with the leadership and rank and file. The united front with the reformist leadership was practiced until 1927 when the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was dissolved—what this led to Hathaway omitted to say! Then at the 6th Congress of the Comintern it was discovered that the social democrats had become the ruling parties, and hence any united front with their leadership was impossible, a betrayal of the proletarian revolution. But now the social democratic parties are again in opposition, and so a united front with the leadership is again possible.

He forgot to mention that in 1917 the Bolsheviks entered into a united front with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, who constituted the provisional government against Kornilov. He forgot to say that the Anglo-Russian Committee united fronted to the betrayal of the general strike. He forgot all the blunders the Stalinists made in the united front from above. No—in 1928 the C. I. discovered the social democratic party was in a bourgeois government. That's the whole explanation of the turn!

Hathaway's next argument was equally ingenious. The Trotskyists, he stated, believe that there are only minor differences between the social democrats and the Communists. Therefore they feel that criticism in a united front is useful, because they hope that thereby the social democracy will be reformed. But we real Communists (i. e. Stalinists) know that there can never be a real united front with

the social Fascists. Therefore the better to expose them, and the better to show our sincerity in making the united front call, we offer to refrain from criticism of the social democrats during the united front action!

This miserable rationalization is either a denial of the possibility of the united front, or else it is a camouflage for such united fronts as that in China where the C. P. entered and merged in the Kuomintang. Without Communist criticism betrayals such as that by the Trade Union leaders are inevitable. By criticism we can loosen the hold of the reformists upon the masses, and by our acts we can make these masses accept Communism. The masses of Russia, just as the masses of Russia, came to accept the Bolsheviks.

This four and a half hour speech, filled with confusion, contradictions and outright mis-statements was supposed to clarify YCLers, many of whom are so new in the movement that they do not even know the previous united front from below policies, and have almost no idea of Communist history. Is it to be wondered that they were still confused when they left the hall? Is it to be wondered that even the Stalinist bureaucrats themselves bewail the low political level of the Y. C. L.?

A YCLer.

N. Y. YOUTH CLUB SOCIAL. The New York Spartacus Youth Club will hold an affair for the Young Spartacus Saturday evening, April 8th, at 126 East 16th Street. There will be dancing, entertainment and refreshments. All comrades are urged to attend.

YCL OFFERS UNITED FRONT

In line with the turn of the Communist party and Young Communist League, comrade Helen North, in the name of downtown section of the YCL, appeared before the Spartacus Youth Club meeting of March 30th and asked the Club to elect delegates to a preliminary conference for youth unemployment relief to be held April 9th. She stated that all youth groups, clubs and Yipsels circles in the neighborhood were being approached for this Conference.

Comrade Bill Dansker, chairman of the meeting, greeted the offer of the YCL and pledged the wholehearted cooperation of the Spartacus Youth Club.

This is the first time that the YCL has officially appealed to any section of the Left Opposition for a united front. It is not merely a result of the new policy of the official party but also a sign of the growing influence of the Left Opposition in the Young Communist League.

The Morale of the Russian Proletarian Youth

It is difficult to speak about the morale of the youth. Among the young people there is a process of differentiation going on all the time. One section is evolving to the side of the opposition but it remains dissatisfied with critical discussions only, and demands action and organizational formalities. However, many are frightened by the experiences of opposition in the past, and therefore, although fully aware of the seriousness of the entire situation, they seek for some other new way out. For the last period, there has begun an increasing influx to the Left Opposition of new people who were never before sympathetic to us. Thus, for instance, recently I had the occasion to meet some youngsters from the N—, a printing plant; in the past, they answered all objections with the reply, "You'll show me!" but now one of them took the floor at a party meeting and announced that "the opposition was correct on many points, and it was time to take stock of the past." Another comrade (from the same place) left the party and to all objections to the effect that his attitude was wrong and no method of political struggle, he replied, "I refuse to bear responsibility for the struggling of the party and of the working class." Both were

expelled from the party and fired from their jobs. Another section of the youth seeks its way out of all that is occurring by switching over to another track, chiefly, to study in science is the only genuine salvation from all political intrigues.

Thus, for instance, one of the workers in the Control Commission of the Ukrainian Regional Commissariat of Agriculture, apropos of the expulsion of a number of youngsters said, "I agreed with them in a great deal, but if I don't do the expelling, I'll be expelled myself." And, continuing the conversation, he added, "If I thought I would be permitted to finish the university course, I'd leave party. I'm tired of all these interminable talks. What is white today was black yesterday and so on to infinity...but who'll guarantee that another leadership will be any better? No, as I see it, the only way out for me personally lies in the sphere of science." The comrade who told me this had spent ten years in the YCL, working throughout all this time in industry and conjointly with his work studying first in the Workers' Faculty and later in the university. There is left only to add that many others find their way out in drunkenness and debauchery. But, fundamentally the youth tends to become militant, assuming a critical attitude to what is transpiring, and seeking to formulate themselves theoretically as well as organizationally.

As among the youth so also among the party members the same processes are to be observed, only in a "milder" form. The dissatisfaction with conditions in the party and in the country surges over the barriers of party discipline. And on the other hand, there is also to be observed apathy; people have grown tired of waiting for the promised boons of the first five year plan, all the more so as the scissors in the meantime have spread unbelievably, which is to be gathered both from press reports and the conditions as they actually obtain.

The authority of the "chief" is now no longer equal to zero but to some infinitely great negative quantity. There was a period when he was spoken of without malice, and without much consideration—that is to say, as something inevitable, but now all that has changed. Now the "chief" is at times spoken of as the greatest wreck of the revolution. I have had the occasion to hear from many—even from workers in the apparatus—that his removal would be a relief to the best, lead to the rehabilitation of the party regime, etc., etc., December 1932 —R.O.V.

Throughout the last period there is to be observed, with an ever

increasing tempo, the return from exile of many former Oppositionists, now "former" capitalists. Most recently there have arrived a great many from Khar'kov—many had been arrested there—and chiefly among the arrivals are the "former" "former" capitalists. The returning capitalists landed directly in solitary confinement. In exile, there are those who are not admitted into the colonies. I—either because the statements they have filed regarding their capitulation, and their admission of the correctness of the general line were deemed insufficient; and a "complete disarming" was demanded from them. (The authorities as a rule deal much more harshly with such people than with the exiles; their position is made more unendurable with every passing month—if they refuse to disarm (e. g. the case of V. Borschev, a worker from a printing plant in Sytnik). 2—because they disagreed with the political classification of the Oppositionists as such. For instance, V. Zarachov and Magaril in Tashkent. (They were exiled for the second time because suspected of renewing their Opposition activities.)

The colonies live in isolation under conditions of semi-starvation; for instance Katya X with her year-old infant was sent to Cherdin; she was given no work; her husband was placed in solitary confinement. Her only request in letters to friends has been that her baby be looked after and not allowed to die. At the end of her three-year term of exile, she was sent away under convoy to Central Asia, with a daily allowance of fifty kopeks (a pound of bread costs two to three rubles). The picture of other colonies is not brighter. The material conditions of the exiles are horrible.

Nevertheless, the morale among the comrades is militant. Many are ailing, in particular, Solntzev (scurvy); notwithstanding the fact that the latter has served his time, he remains in confinement. His wife wanted to apply for a transfer to exile but he refused to make any statements whatsoever.

As a result of a hunger strike—three men who were sick were let out. Of them, one died. Musya was freed after she had lain in bed for six months; she was sent off under convoy, to Minusinsk, where she is now together with Kossol. She is again sick in bed. Her spirits are still high but in her letters to relatives she writes, we shall see each other soon. Geyev has been brought back to Moscow from solitary confinement in Uppar Ural. Because of pernicious anemia, he has lost his eyesight. November, 1932. ONE OF US.

1,000 N.Y. Youth Protest Fascism

Over one thousand young workers and students massed before the German consulate last Saturday noon and marched to Rutgers Square, in a protest demonstration against Fascism. A delegation of thirteen which included a representative of the Left Opposition youth, was elected to present a resolution protesting the terror campaign of the Hitler regime, demanding an immediate step to the terrorism, and the release of all political prisoners. Mr. Swartz, the German consul, refused to listen to the demonstration.

The demonstration was organized by the Youth Committee Against German Fascism elected at the United Youth Conference Against Fascism held in New York, March 24th and 25th, as a united front of all youth organizations. For the first time in the history of the Left Opposition, it signed a joint call for the Conference with the official Young Communist League.

The demonstration was the first genuine united front action yet organized against German Fascism. The various organizations participating marched under their own organizational banners and the leading groups, including the Left Opposition, speakers at the various meetings places. Comrade George Clarke spoke for the Left Opposition.

As yet the Youth Committee Against German Fascism represents predominantly Left wing and Communist groups. The Rand School Students Ass'n., which to the shame of the Young Communist League had initiated the united front, withdrew at the eleventh hour, the Friday before the demonstration, under the pressure of the leaders of the Socialist party, by a vote of 32 to 23. This pressure is shown by the false report in the April 1st issue of the New Leader that the Rand School students had decided to withdraw from the united front on the previous Tuesday.

The students of Brookwood Labor College who had participated in the Conference, walked alongside the Saturday parade in order not to break Socialist party discipline. The New York Yipsels were definitely instructed to boycott the demonstration under threats of disciplinary action. One Yipsel who had voted at the Rand School Students meeting for a continuation of participation in the united front was officially criticized by the City Central Committee of the Y. C. L. At the same meeting of the delegation of the Youth Committee Against German Fascism appeared once again to offer the Yipsels a sub-committee of five was elected to take up the question with the Socialist party. Although the sentiment was strongly in favor of

participation, four of the five elected were among those who were strongly against affiliation to the Youth Committee Against German Fascism.

The Yipsels, the Young Circle League—youth of the Workers' Circle—and the League for Industrial Democracy have arranged for a mass demonstration against German Fascism for Saturday, April 8 in Union Square. The Youth Committee Against German Fascism has offered to elect a joint arrangements committee to coordinate this demonstration, and in any case has pledged the cooperation of its affiliated organizations.

Members and sympathizers of the New York Spartacus Youth Club will meet at 126 East 16th Street at 11:30 A. M. to go in a body to the Union Square demonstration.

New Expulsions in Brownsville

The advice of comrade Hathaway to "arouse a lynch attitude in all Communists" against the Left Opposition has been taken up by the aspiring bureaucrats of mass organizations affiliated to the Communist party. So fearful have the "leaders" of the American Youth Club become of "Trotskyist" influence that they have actually whipped up a veritable lynch campaign against those members who question their policies, and refuse to kow-tow to a party controlled executive machine. The member's cry for more discussion on the differences between the official party and the Left Opposition is met with slander and expulsion. The member asking for debate has the finger of expulsion pointed at him. A few of the more energetic bureaucrats have discovered a remarkable method of serving the interests of the club—snying on their fellow members. This spy system is working havoc with club activities. Members fear to confide in each other. Suspicion rides high.

The club executive committee meets behind closed doors. Its snobbish members have divorced themselves from the rank and file, half of whom consist of raw workers with no political background. All this is furthering the discontent of the membership, which is realizing that the present policies of the American Youth Club are leading to its speedy corruption and demoralization.

The result of the attempts "to protect the members from 'Trotskyist' influence" has been an exceedingly low level of political education which is superficial because of its one-sidedness. Two expulsions have occurred in the past month, comrades Leyton and I. We were excluded, under the all-embracing danger of disruption. Both were known to have sympathies for the Left Opposition, and a campaign of discrimination and slander was conducted against both of us prior to our expulsion.

It was decided at an executive meeting during my absence, to recommend to the membership my removal from the post of assistant organizer and to place me on a three months probation in the Unemployed Section of the club. My case was postponed three or four times, until I was expelled from the YCL. I was expelled from the YCL for refusing to fight against the Left Opposition. When my sympathies for the Left Opposition were firmly established the Executive Committee changed its recommendation to that of removal from office; three months' probation in the Unemployed Section; and no voice in any of the other activities for the duration of these three months. One Executive Committee member, who was opposed to the proposal, was rebuked by the organizer for his willingness to allow such elements who are against the interests of the club "full freedom to break up our organization." It was a clear case not of punishment for a crime but of punishment "to prevent a time" of hanging first and determining the guilt afterward.

During the trial the organizer accused me of believing that there should be reports of minority opinion on the Executive. When questioned by a member as to when the membership had passed a resolution forbidding minority reports the organizer explained that the constitution contained nothing concerning that point but that he was acting according to his knowledge of working class organizations. This reveals the high handed, arbitrary, bureaucratic rulings of the Stalinist clique.

Members now assure me that I would have remained in the club had I not attempted to organize a Marxist class outside the club. Discovery of this fact caused the Executive to make an amendment asking for expulsion. Their "explanation" is that such a step is an attempt to create factions in the club. To these epigones the formation of a Marxist class removed from Stalinist influence constitutes a counter-revolutionary act.

The expulsion of comrade Leyton and I are but precedents and warnings to a membership that is being driven to a point where they will soon be too cowed to raise their voice in protest. But that there are still militants left in the club is evident by the discontent of the rank and file and their contempt for the "aristocracy of labor," as 'they term the snobbish leaders.

—J. ELLIOTT.

Joint Meet of League and Weisbord Lays Ground for Close Collaboration

A meeting held on Saturday, April 1, 1933 between representatives of the National Committees of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Communist League of Struggle (the Weisbord group), adopted a joint declaration on the relationships between the two groups which we print below, as the first step towards a further consolidation of the Left Opposition in this country.

As is known, our League has been engaged for some time in a dispute on fundamental questions with the Weisbord group, concerning which our readers have been informed in the columns of the Militant. In the course of this dispute, a considerable degree of clarity has been attained, which now makes possible another step forward in the collaboration of the organizations and their eventual fusion.

The joint meeting was made possible by a declaration from the C. L. S. to the National Committee of

our League which marked a new advance on its part towards our fundamental position, especially on the question of Centrism. The former position of the C. L. S. and of Weisbord on this question, is rejected and the declaration says that "the group as a whole fully accepts Comrade Trotsky's views on this question as obtained through reports of his discussion with Comrade Weisbord last summer through his letters to us and his discussion of the question in print, particularly in his pamphlet 'What Next?'."

In reply our National Committee proposed a joint meeting with the C. L. S. asking its cooperation with the League in the next period on the following basis:

"(a) Acceptance by the Weisbord group of the theses adopted by the Preliminary International Conference of the I. L. O. (b) that it adopt an attitude toward the League as the American section of the International Left Opposition and cease differentiating between and contrasting the one to the other; (c) that the Weisbord group discontinue its claims to be a section of or to represent the I.L.O.; that after a transition period of cooperation between the two organizations on this basis, during which the possibility of joint work is tested, the question of a fusion between the two organizations be referred to the National Conference of the League for discussion." The joint meeting which followed the proposal of the C. L. S. by the Weisbord group. Following a discussion, the nature of which is indicated by the declaration printed below, a declaration was finally adopted unanimously, which indicates the nature of the discussion and the further steps that are to be taken. We print the full declaration below:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION) AND THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE

1. Previous discussions and correspondence between the Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Communist League of Struggle have established the principle ground for common work and a possible eventual fusion of the two organizations.

2. With this fact as the point of departure the joint conference of representatives of the two organizations agrees upon a program of collaboration.

3. In this collaboration the Communist League of Struggle adopts the following standpoint:

(a) It accepts the theses of the International Preliminary Conference of the International Left Opposition.

(b) It regards the Communist League of America (Opposition) as the American section of the International Left Opposition and supports it as such.

(c) It will enter into collaboration with the Communist League of America (Opposition) in various activities with the objective of a fusion with it and will conduct itself accordingly in this collaboration.

(d) Criticism of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the secondary points of difference, which may appear in the "Class Struggle", will be regulated in content and tone by the above standpoint.

4. The Communist League of America (Opposition), on its part, will welcome the cooperation of the Communist League of Struggle in concrete activities and will facilitate the fusion of the two organizations after the actual possibilities of common work have been sufficiently tested in the period of collaboration between the organizations.

5. It is agreed that the Communist League of Struggle shall be given the opportunity to bring its special point of view on the remaining differences before the membership of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the forthcoming pie-conference discussion and at the national conference.

6. The decision on the question of the integration of the Communist League of Struggle into the Communist League of America (Opposition) is to be made by the forthcoming national conference of the latter after opportunity has been given, by the intervening period of collaboration and discussion, to judge the maturity of the conditions for this action and the necessity for it. The undersigned representatives of the two organizations at the joint conference will work for this consummation.

FOR THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

(Signed) Max Shachtman

J. P. Cannon

FOR THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE

(Signed) Albert Weisbord

Sam Fisher

Vera Buch

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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Saturday, April 8, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 22 (Whole No. 169)

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.

Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy.

Oppositionists Slugged at YCL Meet

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arms. We defended ourselves as best we could. We were glad to note that even during the fracas, some of the YCLers tried to stop the fight and said we should be allowed to distribute the paper.

Someone had put in a call for the riot squad, and we heard the sirens of the approaching automobiles. We had time to distribute a number of papers to workers who came up to us and asked for them, adding their protest against the shameful conduct of the attackers. We left almost immediately for we had no desire to give the cops any excuse for interfering in our dispute with the YCLers and possibly cause the membership meeting to be disturbed.

An hour or so after, when the meeting adjourned, three of us went back and walked down Second Avenue and met the YCLers leaving the meeting. A number of the comrades stopped to speak to us and tell us that they in no way supported the physical attack upon us; and did not think that the YCL leadership would condone the action or had done so.

These comrades were mistaken in the latter opinion. We have it from several of the members of the YCL present, that the group went

over to Hathaway and asked him if they should stop us from distributing. Hathaway shrugged his shoulders and by not attempting to explain to these hotheads that this was no way for workers, let alone Communists, to settle their disputes, thereby lent tacit support to the action. Hathaway may evade or deny this but his words at the Party membership meeting two weeks ago are on record: "We should have a lynching attitude toward the 'Trotskyist.'" That is clear and indisputable. With such direction and leadership one can hardly blame only the young comrades who took the words at their face value and proceeded to carry out the shameful and anti-Communist action at the Stuyvesant Casino. How much they harmed the YCL and the ideas of Communism in the eyes of the workers who witnessed the attack, they cannot understand. Such hoodlum and gangster methods can only repel any honest worker. He knows too well the club and the fist of the police to be convinced simply because it is a so-called Communist who uses the same method.

We warn these young people: If they have the interests of the YCL at heart, they will stop these hoodlum tactics and meet us on political grounds

Leon Trotsky: The Tragedy of the German Proletariat

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from the theoretical commandments of Stalinism. Chips and fragments of ideas and principles are thrown out along the road like so much ballast.

The conditions for the united front put by the Comintern for all the countries (committees of action against Fascism, demonstrations and strikes against wage reductions) present nothing new, on the contrary, they are the schematized and bureaucratized reproduction of the slogans that the Left Opposition formulated much more clearly and concretely two and a half years ago and for which it was registered in the camp of social-Fascism. The united front on such bases could yield decisive results in Germany; but for that end it should have been carried out in time. Time is an important factor in politics.

What is therefore the practical value now of the proposals of the Executive? For Germany, it is at a minimum. The policy of the united front assumes a "front," that is, stable positions and a centralized leadership. The Left Opposition put forth the conditions for an active defense with the perspective of passing over to the offensive. Now, the German proletariat has reached the state of a disordered retreat, without even rearward battles. In this situation, voluntary unions of Communist and social democratic workers may and will be realized for various episodic tasks, but the systematic realization of the united front is inexorably thrust back for an indefinite future. There must be no illusions on this score.

About fifteen months ago, we wrote that the key to the situation in the hands of the German Communist Party. The Stalinist bureaucracy has now lost this key out of its hands. Great events outside of the will of the party will be necessary to give the workers the possibility of drawing up short, of fortifying themselves, of rebuilding their ranks and of passing over to an active defensive. When this will occur, we have no way of knowing with precision. Perhaps much quicker than the triumphant counter-revolution hopes. But in any case, it is not those who issued the manifesto of the Executive who will direct the policy of the united front in Germany.

If the central position has surrendered, one must fortify oneself in the approaches, one must prepare points of support for the future offensive. This preparation signifies, inside of Germany, the critical clarification of the past, support to the vigorous spirit of the vanguard of the militants, their reassembly, the organization of rearward combats wherever it is possible waiting meanwhile for the moment when the various fighting groups will draw together into a great army. This preparation signifies at the same time the defense of the proletarian positions in the countries closely connected with Germany, or located right near it: in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in the Baltic countries, in Scandinavia, in Belgium, in Holland, in France and in Switzerland. Fascist Germany must be surrounded by a powerful circle of proletarian fortifications. Without for an instant ceasing the attempts to halt the disorderly retreat of the German workers, it is necessary forthwith to create fortified proletarian positions around the frontiers of Germany for the struggle against Fascism.

In the first rank comes Austria, which is immediately threatened by the Fascist cataclysm. One can say with certainty that if the Austrian proletariat were to seize power now and transform its country into a revolutionary battleground, Austria would become for the revolution of the German proletariat what Piedmont was for the revolution of the Italian bourgeoisie. It cannot be predicted how far the Austrian proletariat, pushed forward by the events but paralyzed by the reformist bureaucracy, will advance along this road. The task of Communism is to help the events against Austro-Marxism. The policy of the united front is one of the means. The conditions which the manifesto of the Executive takes over so tardily from the Left Opposition thus retain all their force.

However, the policy of the united front embraces within itself not only advantages but also dangers. It easily gives birth to combinations between leaders behind the back of the masses, to a passive adaptation to the ally, to opportunist vacillations. This danger cannot be warded off save under the condition of two express guarantees: the maintenance of full freedom of criticism of the ally and the re-establishment of the full freedom of criticism within the ranks of one's own party. To refuse to criticize one's allies leads directly and immediately to capitulation to reformism. The policy of the united front without party democracy, that is, without the control of the apparatus by the party, leaves the leaders a free hand for the opportunist experience which supplement the adventurist experiences.

How has the Executive acted in this case? Dozens of times the Left Opposition predicted that under the blows of events, the Stalinists will be compelled to recoil from their ultra-Leftism and that, placing themselves on the road of the united front, they will com-

mence to commit all the opportunistic treason which they attributed to us only yesterday. This time too the prediction has been realized literally.

In making a dizzying swing towards the positions of the united front, the Executive tramples upon the fundamental guarantees which alone can assure a revolutionary content to the policy of the united front. The Stalinists take into consideration and accept the hypocritical and diplomatic claims of the reformists to a so-called "mutual non-aggression." Breaking with all the traditions of Marxism and of Bolshevism, they recommend to the Communist parties, in case the united front is realized, to "abandon all attacks against the social 'democratic' organizations during the joint action." That's just what it says: To abandon all attacks (!) upon the social democracy (what a shameful formula!) means to abandon the freedom of political criticism, that is, the principal function of the revolutionary party.

The capitulation is engendered not by practical necessity but by the panicky state of mind. The reformists come and will come to an agreement to the extent that the pressure of events and the pressure of the masses force them to. The demand for "non-aggression" is blackmail, that is, an attempt of the reformist leaders to extort an auxiliary advantage. To submit to blackmail means to build

up the united front upon rotten foundations and to give the reformist business men the possibility of blowing it up under some arbitrary pretext or another.

Criticism in general, all the more so under the conditions of the united front, should obviously correspond to the real relationships and preserve the necessary proportions. The absurdities about "social-Fascism" must be refuted; it is a concession not to the social democracy but to Marxism. It is not for the treachery of 1918 but for its evil work in 1933 that the ally must be criticized. But criticism, like political life itself, of which criticism is the voice, cannot be halted for an hour. If what the Communists disclose corresponds to the reality, they serve the purposes of the united front, pushing forward the provisional ally and, what is more important, giving a revolutionary education to the whole proletariat. To abandon this fundamental duty is the first stage in that criminal and shameful policy which Stalin foisted upon the Chinese Communists with regard to the Kuo Min Tang.

Matters stand no better with regard to the second guarantee. Having denounced criticism of the social democracy, the Stalinist apparatus does not even think of giving the right of criticism to the members of its own party. The turn itself is effected, as is the custom, after the manner of a bureaucratic revelation. Not a sin-

gle national congress, no international congress, nor even a plenum of the Executive, no preparation in the press of the party, no analysis of the policy of the past. And there is nothing astounding in this: at the very first steps in a discussion in the party, each thinking worker would ask the functionaries: why have the Bolsheviks been expelled from all the sections and why are they subjected to deportation and to firing squads? Is it only because they dig deeper and see further? The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot permit such a conclusion. It is capable of no matter what flop or turn, but to present itself honestly before the workers, to face the Bolshevik-Leninists—that's something it cannot and does not dare to do. Thus, in the struggle for its own preservation, the apparatus depreciates its new turn by undermining in advance the confidence in it not only of the social democratic workers but also of the Communists.

The publication of the manifesto of the Executive is accompanied by yet another circumstance, extraneous to the question we are examining, but which throws an exceedingly glaring light on the present position of the C. I. and on the attitude of the leading Stalinist group towards it. In *Pravda* of March 6, the manifesto is published not as a direct and open appeal of the Executive of the Comintern situated in Moscow—as was

always the case—but as the translation of a document from *Humaine*, transmitted from Paris by the telegraphic agency Tass. What a stupid and humiliating ruse! After all the successes, after the realization of the First Five Year Plan, after "the entry into socialism," the Stalinist bureaucracy no longer dares to publish in its own name the manifesto of the Executive of the Communist International—that's how it feels itself on the international arena.

The manifesto is not the sole reply to the initiative of the Second International. Through the intermediary of paper organizations—the revolutionary trade union oppositions (R. G. O.) of Germany and Poland, the Anti-Fascist alliance and the so-called Italian General Confederation of Labor, the Communist International is convening for the month of April a "Pan-European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress." The list of those invited, as is proper, is confused and vast: factories (they say "factories," although by the efforts of Stalin-Losovsky the Communists have been ousted from practically all the factories in the world), local labor organizations, revolutionary, reformist, Catholic, belonging to a party or not, sports, Anti-Fascist and peasant organizations. And more: "We wish also to invite all those individuals who are really fighting for the cause of the workers." Having comprom-

ised for a long time the cause of the masses, the strategists appeal to the "individuals," to those heretics who have found no place in the ranks of the masses but who, just the same, "are really fighting for the cause of the workers." Barbusse and General Schoenbach will once more be mobilized to save Europe from Hitler.

Here we have a ready-made libretto for one of those charlatan-like presentations with which the Stalinists are in the habit of masking their impotence. What has the Amsterdam bloc of the Centrists and the pacifists accomplished in the struggle against the aggression of the Japanese bandits? Nothing. Out of respect for Stalinist "neutrality," the pacifists have not even issued a manifesto of protest. Now a new edition of the Amsterdam Congress is being prepared, not against war but against Fascism. What will the anti-Fascist bloc of vacated "factories" and impotent "individuals" do? Nothing. It will issue a hollow manifesto, if, as a matter of fact, things go this time as far as the holding of a Congress. The tendency towards individualism has two faces: opportunistic and adventurist. The Russian Social Revolutionists in the old days extended the Right hand to the liberals and held a bomb in the left hand. The experience of the last ten years attests that after every great tragic defeat provoked or at least aggravated by the pol-

icy of the Comintern, the Stalinist bureaucracy sought implacably to refurbish its reputation with the aid of some grandiose adventure or another (Esthonia, Bulgaria, Canton). Doesn't this danger exist now too? In any case, we deem it necessary to raise a voice of warning. Adventures which aim to replace the action of the paralyzed masses, disorganize the masses still more and aggravate the catastrophe.

The conditions of the present world situation, as well as the conditions of each country in particular, are just as deadly for the social democracy as they are favorable to the revolutionary party. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has succeeded in converting the crisis of capitalism and of reformism into a crisis of Communism. Such is the balance sheet of the uncontrolled command of the epigones for the last ten years.

Hypocrites will be found to say: The Opposition is criticizing the party which has fallen into the hands of the executioner. Blackguards will add: The Opposition is helping the executioner. By combining a specious sentimentalism with venomous falsehood, the Stalinists will endeavor to hide the Central Committee behind the apparatus, the apparatus behind the party, to eliminate the question of responsibility for the catastrophe, for the false strategy, for the disastrous regime, for the criminal leadership: that means helping the executioners of yesterday and today.

The policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China was no less disastrous than it is at the present time in Germany. But there, the affair took place behind the back of the world proletariat, under conditions which were reprehensible to it. The voice of the Opposition hardly reached beyond the USSR to the workers of the other countries. The Chinese experience went practically unpunished for the Stalinist apparatus. In Germany, it is entirely different. All the stages of the drama developed before the eyes of the world proletariat. At each stage, the Opposition raised its voice. The whole course of development was announced in advance. The Stalinist bureaucracy calculated the Opposition, imputed to it ideas and plans alien to it, expelled all those who dared to speak of the united front, helped the social democratic bureaucracy demoralize the united local defense committees, cut the workers off from the slightest possibility of emerging upon the road of the mass struggle, disorganized the vanguard, paralyzed the proletariat. In this way, opposing the united front of defense with the social democracy, the Stalinists found themselves with the latter in a united front of panic and of capitulation.

And now, finding itself right in front of ruin, the leadership of the Comintern fears light and criticism more than anything else. Let the world revolution go lost, provided that vain prestige may live: the bankrupts sow confusion and smear up the traces. The fact that the Communist Party of Germany lost "only" 1,200,000 votes at the first ballot, with a general rise in the number of voters of from three to four millions, is proclaimed by *Pravda* as an "enormous political victory." In the same way, in 1924, Stalin proclaimed an "enormous victory" the fact that the workers in Germany, who were withdrawing without battle, had still given the Communist party 3,000,000 votes. If the proletariat, deceived and disarmed by both apparatuses, has this time given the Communist party almost five million votes, this signifies only that it would have given it twice or three times that number if it had been able to show that it is capable of taking and holding the power. But it gave the proletariat nothing save confusion, zigzags, defeats and distress.

Yes, five million Communists still succeeded in reaching the ballot box, one by one. But in the factories and on the streets, there aren't any. They are disconcerted, dispersed, demoralized. Under the yoke of the apparatus, they have lost the habit of independence. The bureaucratic terror of Stalinism has paralyzed their will-power before the turn came for the terror of the Fascist bands.

It must be said clearly, plainly, openly: Stalinism in Germany has had its August 4th. From today on, the advanced workers of this country will speak of the period of the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy only with words of hatred and curses. The official German Communist Party is doomed. From now on it will only decompose, crumble and melt into the void. German Communism can be reborn only on a new basis and with a new leadership.

The law of unequal development acts also upon the fate of Stalinism. In the various countries, it finds itself in different stages of decomposition. To what degree the tragic experience of Germany will serve as an impulsion to the rebirth of the other sections of the Comintern—the future will show. In Germany in any case the swan song of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been sung. The German proletariat will rise again, Stalinism never. Under the terrible blows of the enemy, the advanced German workers will have to build up a new party. The Bolshevik-Leninists will give all their forces to this work.

—LEON TROTSKY.

The Crisis in German Communism

(Continued from last issue)

Within these general workers' organizations the Communists have played their role; but the "third period" policy shows its disastrous results. The Stalinist party leaders, with the inauguration of this "period," began to interpret its aim of winning the workers to Communist leadership not by maintaining its activities within these mass organizations and in this manner winning them over, but by splitting away the Left wing and the Communist opposition to form their own small organizations in every field. It resulted, even though not always in new organizations at least in every case in an exodus of all Communist elements. Rival trade unions were formed (R. G. O.), rival free-thinkers, football clubs, anglers' clubs, etc. But the overwhelming majority of the workers remained in the social democratic organizations and by and large also under their ideology and leadership. The new opposition organization vegetated in an isolated and sectarian existence.

Stalinist Leaders Prevented Trend Toward Communism

The Stalinist leaders, caught in the vise of their own policy, could not tolerate criticism; they made a bureaucratic caricature of the correct principles of centralization and discipline. The membership within these rival organizations were deprived of all rights of serious discussion and participation in decisions. They could not find themselves at home in these organizations which were stripped of their function and stagnated. The party bureaucracy became most strongly expressed in the struggle against criticism of and opposition to its false policies. For example, Schulz would become an Oppositionist. He would be expelled from the party. Next the demand would be made for his condemnation and expulsion from all other organizations under party direction, from the RGO, from its freethinker society, from its chess players' clubs, anglers' clubs, etc. Such a method could only help to alienate the workers from Communism and benefit the treacherous social democratic chiefs.

These are only some of the examples of the Stalinist methodology considered apart from the general strategy, by which the party leaders sought in their way to prepare the proletariat for its present fatal situation. In no wise could it correspond to the rhythm of working class developments. While the German workers went through a period of radicalization culminating in the great strike wave extending throughout Germany during the latter part of last year, in many instances forcing the trade union bureaucrats into the fight, the disastrous and criminal Stalinist party leadership policy and the independent trade union sects could only serve as a brake upon the general movement. The social democratic leaders, despite all their sell-outs were not dislodged from their positions but had their authority re-inforced. For the workers there was no other choice than to remain within their fold.

In this sense the Stalinist Centralism circumvented the constantly growing working class trend toward Communism. That sympathy for Communism increased, is proved by the various parliamentary elections where the party, with certain temporary retreats, continued to record gains, not at all commensurate with the Nazi gains, but gains nevertheless. One can say that election after election strengthened the party victories in the field. But not so in actual struggle or in trade union and working class contact within the industries. Despite the parliamentary election victories the party could not lead in struggle against the constantly growing Fascist reaction. It remained paralyzed and powerless. By its policy and methods the Stalinist leaders saved the social democratic bu-

The Alternatives in the Decisive Class Battles

el Fascism and seriously weakened the Communist vanguard. Again and again the solid hold which the social democracy has upon the workers in the industries has been proved. Most recently in the Betriebsräte (factory council) elections in the Berlin municipal electric and gas works held March first. One may say that workers employed by a municipal tend to conservatism but nevertheless the results are illuminating.

In the gas works 3,838 votes were counted, of which the socialists received 2,352, Communists 1,298, and Nazis 161. The Communists lost the absolute majority which they had formerly held here. In the electrical works 3,829 votes were cast, of which the socialists obtained no less than 3,084, the Communists 160, and the Nazis 85.

Within the clerical staff of the municipal gas and the electric works the council elections gave the following results. In the gas section out of a total of 2,064 votes cast, the socialists obtained 1,151, the Nazis 413, and a neutral moderate ticket 499. There was no Communist ticket. Among the clerical staff of the electrical section out of a total of 2,547 votes the socialists polled 3,916, the Nazis 443, and the Communists 135. In all four elections there was a 90 percent participation.

Here is again telling proof of workers following the social democratic leaders and not at all considering themselves partners in the same camp with the hated Nazi. On the contrary, it proves that the workers are holding fast to the socialist party just at the period of its severe persecution by the Fascists and their campaign for the Hitler parliamentary ticket.

But it also gives telling proof of the weakness of the Communist party among the workers in the industries. All in all, however, it is one more excellent reason for a genuine united front between the C. P. and the S. P. That is yet the key question. No other way exists to defend the German working class, its rights and its organizations against the murderous onrush of the brown hordes than through a united working class.

Socialist Bureaucrats and Stalinists Partners in Betrayal

The social democratic leaders completely accept the Hitler Reichstag election victory. They seek solace in their own statement that, "Germany is not Italy," meaning thereby that Hitler cannot accomplish the destruction of working class wrought by Mussolini. While this is true in the sense that Hitler faces a far more powerful working class, a potentially far stronger antagonist than did Mussolini, yet the Weis, Braun and Severing group repeat the treason of their Italian fraternity. They have succeeded in maintaining their party intact but they continue to sabotage all struggle. They thereby keep the road open for Hitler.

But we have sought in vain also for any sign of struggle initiated by the Stalinist party leadership. By their own course they have arrived at a situation where the party is unable to fight, where it is being shattered and wiped out by the first heavy blows of Fascism in power. The party leaders paraphrased the social democrats. They said: "The difference between Mussolini and Hitler is basically that the latter has no economic conjuncture ahead of him." True as this is in its abstract sense, when substituted for measures of struggle it becomes entirely false. The economic conjuncture alone will not defeat Hitler. For that is required a united working class, oriented, organized and prepared for such a huge task. In that the party

leadership failed completely to even take the initial steps for working class defense. They also laid the road open for Hitler to smash the workers' organizations beginning with the party itself. The extent of its destruction is illustrated by the one example among many others of an important functionaries' conference called in the Ruhr region by special courier from the Central Committee. It was called shortly before the elections and sixty functionaries were to participate. Of this number only five showed up.

The sad truth is that today, at the time of this writing, the party which should function as the proletarian vanguard exists no longer. Its press, its meetings and all its public activities are completely prohibited. But it issues no leaflets, it gives no leadership whatever, its own leaders are either under arrest or fugitives, its headquarters are taken over by the police, its nuclei are disorganized and a frightful demoralization has seized its membership. The party is betrayed by its Stalinist leadership, it is sacrificed by an impotent bureaucracy, the strength of its numbers failed to the vanishing point because it meant nothing when associated with an utterly false ideology, false perspectives and policies. Today is being recorded in Germany and with fatal consequence to the working class throughout the world the greatest crime of Stalinism.

What is becoming of the Comintern? Undermined and almost reduced to impotence by its controlling Stalinist clique it has likewise failed to function and to show the way. When feeble attempts in regard to the German situation were made by it they were made upon a false road. What will be its future if the Fascists finally conquer in Germany? This question embodies such serious consequences that it is difficult to fully contemplate today. One thing is certain. We see now the eclipse of Stalinism in Germany and perhaps in the whole Comintern. But a far more serious aspect of the present situation is the question of the eclipse of the Comintern itself, if not of the Soviet Union. The Stalinist regime has long ago reduced the Comintern to an appendix purely of the interests of its own bureaucratic clique in the Soviet Union. What will the destruction of strongest Comintern party outside of the Soviet Union, the only mass party outside of the Soviet Union mean? The mere practical aspect of this question rolls up enormous difficulties. Through the German party were maintained the solid contacts with the proletariat of the western world despite the white terror rule of Poland and the Baltic states in between. Germany being added to that iron ring of Fascist and semi-Fascist dictatorships practically destroys this contact. The Stalinist regime will concentrate yet more purely within the Soviet Union in an attempt to give life to its reactionary utopian theory of socialism in one country. It will pay even less attention to the Comintern than before. Hence its utterly criminal complacency in face of the mortal danger threatening the world proletariat. And what of the political consequence of the destruction of the strongest party existing within a capitalist country? Will that not mean almost a death blow to the Comintern additionally weakened by the effects of a defeat of such gigantic consequences as a defeat in Germany today?

Fall of Stalinism Signals Rise of Left Opposition

These, of course, are considerations arrived at on the basis of the furious onrush of German Fascism capturing one strong position after another and already having eliminated its main opponent—the Communist party. They must yet take into account the possibilities which despite all still exists of the German working class

yet being able to rally in time the powerful resources lying dormant within its ranks. But it is necessary to be prepared for the worst variant. For such possibilities, however, the party of Stalinism will no longer give the initiative or leadership. Now there remains as the revolutionary hope only the international Left Opposition. It is true that compared to the giant task our ranks are still extremely feeble. But the Left Opposition possesses the first and most important requisites. We possess the weapon of a Marxist approach, of Marxist analysis and of a Marxist program. Of truly monumental importance is such a weapon today.

It was by virtue of this that the Left Opposition in the past, facing the failures of Stalinism, could show the correct road. When the Comintern, hamstrung by the Stalin regime, failed in this decisive situation to give leadership or even to speak to the world proletariat, the international Left Opposition began seriously to solidify its ranks in the international conference held recently. Delegates from eleven different countries participated and began in a small measure to prepare our organization for its great tasks. When viewed in combination with the silence and failure of the Stalinist Comintern one must say that in that fact alone lies an enormous importance. That was a signal for the new epoch which are now entering. A signal for the falling of Stalinism and the rise of the Left Opposition.

—AINE SWABECK.

Three Expulsions

Davenport, Iowa.—On March 18, 1933 the Left Opposition Branch of the Tri-Cities was forced to expel S. R. Claussen for cowardice, moral and physical degeneracy, for breaking the discipline of the branch and attacking the Left Opposition publicly. The expulsion also took place of H. and J. Behr for connection with the Police Department and agents of the Chamber of Commerce. This was done after a trial where these people practically admitted the charges. Claussen is 21 years of age, a fellow who thinks he is a little bit better than the ordinary worker. He is about 5 ft. 4 in. in height. Mr. and Mrs. Behr are husband and wife who have had and are having contact with the police and carried information to agents of the Chamber of Commerce.

These three individuals attacked Communism openly in the press when they were confronted with facts. The party, through the unemployed Council and through Tony Minich who is at the present time the organizer of the TUUL in the mining region, have made open attacks against the Left Opposition, and have used every method possible to take away all halls from the branch of the Left Opposition in the city of Davenport. They have further attacked through personal slander the comrades of the Left Opposition, with the assistance of the local newspapers and the local Chamber of Commerce plus the American Legion. This was done through the fact that the three above mentioned people were officers of the Union of Unemployed, and had a special meeting where we were harassed by the police of this city.

The Union of Unemployed Rank and File held a meeting where 100 workers were present and condemned their action. The branch of this city warns all workers against those degenerates and calls on all party members to demand of the party the reason for the united front between these individuals and the organizers of the Party. We call upon all workers to repudiate this leadership which is undermining Communism in its desperate attempt to stop the influence of the ideas of the Left Opposition in the Tri-Cities.

Communist League of America (Opposition) Tri-City Branch

Hitler and the Red Army

(Continued from Page 1)

not because they desired the victory of Hitler, but out of political blindness. At the same time, we must be just to them: if they had desired the victory of Hitler, they could not have acted otherwise than they did. Now that Hitler is in power, and his whole policy compels him to prepare a coup toward the East (the revelations of the Polish-Ukrainian program of Goering are sufficiently eloquent) the Stalinists say, "We now prepare to call on the Red Army in the socialist construction."

But even leaving aside the question of help to the German proletariat, there remains the question of the defense of socialist construction against German Fascism, the shock troops of world imperialism. Do the Stalinists deny this danger? The most that they can say is that Hitler is not yet today, capable of carrying on a war. This is true, and we said so some time ago. But if Hitler, today incapable of carrying on a war, will be capable of tomorrow—and he will not be able to avoid carrying on war—does not a correct strategy demand that Hitler be prevented from preparing his blow, that is, that the German workers get rid of Hitler before he gets rid of the German workers? Marxists have often made fun of "parliamentary cretinism," but kolkhoz cretinism is not worth a bit more. One cannot sow grain and plant cabbage with his back turned to the West, from which, for the first time since 1918, comes the greatest threat, which can become a mortal danger if it is not paralyzed in time.

Or have the Stalinists perhaps assimilated the pacifist wisdom of the "purely defensive" war being the only permissible one? "Let Hitler attack us first, then we will defend ourselves." This was always the reasoning of the German social democracy. Let the National Socialists first openly attack the constitution, then, well, etc. Still, when Hitler openly attacked the constitution, it was already too late to think of its defense.

He who does not outstrip the enemy while he is still weak; who passively lets him strengthen and reinforce himself, protect his rearward, create an army for himself, receive support from abroad, assure himself of allies; who leaves to the enemy the complete liberty of initiative; such a man is a traitor, even if the motives for his treason are not to render service to imperialism, but consist of petty bourgeois weakness and political blindness.

The "justification" of a policy of waiting and evasion under these conditions can only be weakness. This is a very serious argument, but we have to give a clear account to ourselves of it. We must say: the Stalinist policies in the USSR have so thoroughly disorganized economy and the relations between proletariat and peasantry, have so badly weakened the party, that the necessary premises for an active foreign policy do not exist today.

We take into consideration the force of this argument. We know that the consequences of a lying policy become transformed into objective obstacles along the road. But we draw the conclusion: a fundamental change in the policy, the methods, the leadership of the party is necessary, in order to assure the Soviet State, in addition to everything else, of a real capacity for defense and freedom of initiative internationally.

—L. TROTSKY.

Laying a stable basis under the MILITANT is the best way of assuring its regular and unhampered appearance. The most stable basis for the MILITANT is a large subscription list. Get subs from your friends and comrades!

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 23, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 23 [WHOLE NO. 170] NEW YORK, SATURDAY APRIL 15, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

AUSTRIA NEXT IN ORDER! Austrian Bonapartism

By Leon Trotsky

The situation in Austria is not qualitatively different from the situation in Germany, but only lags behind it in its development. After the political life in Austria had fallen under the press of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany, the culmination in Austria is drawing closer not by days, but by hours.

Austria is passing through a period that is analogous to the period of Brüning-Papen-Schleicher in Germany, or to the period of Field in Bavaria, that is, the period of semi-Bonapartist dictatorship, which maintains itself by the mutual neutralization of the proletarian and Fascist camps. For Austria too we prefer the term Bonapartism (in contradistinction to all other purely descriptive and absolutely meaningless formulations such as clerical-Fascism, legitimist-Fascism, etc., etc.), as a very clear characterization of the feature of a government that veers in between two irreconcilable camps; a government that is forced to an ever increasing degree to supplant its social support that is ebbing away from under its feet. There is expressed in the tendency toward Bonapartism the urge of the possessing classes to escape an open break with legality, a long period of civil war and the bloody Fascist dictatorship by means of military and police measures that are screened by the paragraphs kept in reserve in democratic constitutions.

There obtain historical epochs when the social foundation of the government "above all classes" grows at the expense of the extreme wings—during these periods Bonapartism can place its seal upon an entire historical epoch. But the Austrian "Bonapartism" of today like the German of yesterday, can have only an episodic character, lasting in the short interval between the democratic regime and the regime of Fascism.

It is true that the "Bonapartists" in Austria have a much wider parliamentary base and that the Fascists are much weaker than was the case in Germany. But, in the first place, the Christian Socialists are melting away while the Nazis are growing apace; secondly, behind the backs of the Nazis stands the Austrian Fascist movement. The question is settled by dynamics. Theoretical

*The "Arbeiter Zeitung" itself disturbed the ghost of Bonapartism when it wrote about the "10th Brunner of Dollfuss"; but the social-democratic sheet uses this only as a literary rattle. We would seek in vain from the Austro-Marxists, in general, for the analysis of politics from the class viewpoint. They require Marxism only to explain the past; but they motivate themselves in actual politics by psychological combinations that are second hand and by the hope that everything will turn out somehow in the end.

Illinois Hunger March Smashed

The April 7th State Hunger March organized by the Illinois Committee of the Unemployed Councils was smashingly smashed by the armed state forces—the combined forces of the state militia, the state highway police, the county sheriffs and their deputies, and, in some localities, the American Legion—under the direct leadership of Governor Homer. A conference of county sheriffs with Gov. Homer was held several days previous to the State Hunger March and immediately after that there began a reign of terror and arrests against the Hunger Marchers.

In the northern part of the state, after the large Chicago delegation met the delegation from Rockford at Ottawa, the Hunger Marchers were attacked by the state highway police and gassed and clubbed. Over fifty Hunger Marchers were arrested and Earl Lockner, the chairman of the Illinois Committee is still being held in jail. After the battle with the police in which the marchers defended themselves courageously, they were forced to turn back toward Chicago. In Peoria, Bloomington, Decatur and other places the police placed barriers on all the highways leading to Springfield, stopped every auto and questioned every person on the way toward Springfield. And if they could not give a good account of themselves they were turned back; even farmers coming into town to sell their eggs had to go thru a hard drilling by the state highway police.

In the southern part of the state the state authorities were even more vigilant, especially in and around Macoupin County where the miners have organized powerful Unemployed Councils. In Virden, a small mining town, the whole town was placed under mar-

analysis, as well as the fresh experience in Germany equally bespeak the fact that the Viennese police and bureaucratic dictatorship cannot long maintain itself. Matters are rapidly coming to a head. The power must be taken either by the Fascists or by the workers.

The Possibility of Postponement
We do not know what is going on back-stage. But there cannot be any doubt that the governments of those countries which surround and oppress Austria have brought into action all the levers. Not a single one of these governments, not even Italy, has any interest in seeing the power in Austria pass into the hands of the Fascists. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy see, indubitably, in this situation the highest trump of the whole game; in their eyes the revolutionary activity of the Austrian proletariat must needs be supplanted by financial and other different sorts of pressure that can be brought by the nations of the former Entente. This reckoning is the most fallacious of all. The hostility on the part of the victor nations toward national socialism was one of the reasons for its explosive growth in Germany. The

American Committee Appeals for Exiled Russian Bolshevik-Leninists

Under the blows of Stalinist persecution and the increasing hardships of the crisis in the Soviet Union, thousands of our comrades of the Russian Opposition, in prison or exile, are enduring such privations that their very lives are in danger. Comrade Trotsky, as chairman of an International Committee for Help to the Imprisoned and Exiled Bolsheviks (Left Opposition) has written an appeal for help, which we publish below.

An American Committee of this committee has been organized, consisting of Sidney Hook, treasurer; Max Eastman, Diego Rivera, V. E. Cartwright, Herman Simpson, and B. J. Field, secretary. This committee is appealing for support to all friends of the October Revolution who want to help keep physically alive the tremendous revolutionary forces represented by the imprisoned and exiled Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in Soviet Russia.

We ask the friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition to support the work of the American Committee and contribute as liberally as possible to the fund which it is raising.

To All Friends of the October Revolution:
In the prisons and in the places of deportation of the Soviet Union there are thousands of Bolsheviks who built up the Party during its

illegal period, who took an active part in the October Revolution, who fought during the civil wars, who laid the foundations of the Soviet State. Even now, all of them remain absolutely devoted and firm soldiers of the proletarian revolution. In the time of danger for the Soviet State they will constitute the surest detachment in its camp. They were subjected to persecution only for having criticized the policy of the leading faction—within limits where internal criticism constituted the vital element of Party democracy within Bolshevism. Among the deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition, the figure most widely known throughout the world is Christian Georgievich Rakovsky, former member of the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, Soviet Ambassador in Paris and in London.

A great part of the Left Opposition tried in 1928-1929 to be reinstated into the Party at the price of renouncing its right to criticism. There were several thousand internal capitulations of this kind, bound up to a certain extent with exaggerated hopes in the Five Year Plan. The experience of the past four years has resulted in the majority of the "repentant" becoming again the object of ferocious persecutions. Suffice it to say that among those arrested and deported during the last few months and above all during the last few weeks are: Zinoviev, one of the founders of the Party, permanent member of the Central Committee, Chairman of the Communist International and of the Petrograd Soviet; Kamenev, one of the closest collaborators of Lenin, permanent member of the Central Committee, adjutant to Lenin in the position of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, I. N. Smirnov, one of the indefatigable founders of the Party during the years of Czarism, member of the Central Committee, leader of the struggle against Koltchak, member of the Council of People's Commissars; Preobrazhensky, the oldest member of the Party, one of its best-known theoreticians, member of the Central Committee, who carried out until very recently important diplomatic functions abroad. One could also cite scores of names of the best-known revolutionary Bolsheviks (V. Kasperova, L. S. Sosnovsky, B. M. Eitlin, V. Kossir, N. I. Muralov, F. Dingelstedt, V. M. Smirnov, Sapronov, Grunzel, Matchekovsky, Ostfensky, Pereversev, and others), who, during the most difficult years, constituted the framework of the Party, and along with them, hundreds and thousands of the younger generation (V. B. Klatin, the son; Solntsev, Magid, Yakov, Nevelson, Stopalov, Poznansky, Sernux and others) who went through the years of the civil war, through the years of enormous difficulties and of grandiose victories of the proletarian regime.

The situation of the imprisoned and deported Oppositionists, the majority of whom have been separated from their work and their family for the past five years, is absolutely extraordinary. They represent the Left wing of the Bol-

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Friday April 21, 1933 at 8 p. m.
IRVING PLAZA HALL 15 St. Irving Pl.
for the Benefit of 'THE MILITANT'

Start Fund for German Left

We have already called the attention of our readers to the Fund which is being collected on an international scale to assist the German section of the International Left Opposition in its work. Our comrades are carrying on under the greatest of difficulties. The first issue of its paper "Unser Wort" (Our Word), which came out less than two weeks after the proscription of the whole Communist press by the Hitler regime, has now been followed by the second number, this time six pages. Our comrades report that the copies of the paper which are smuggled from Czechoslovakia into Germany, are eagerly read and spread from hand to hand by the militant workers. But the obvious difficulties created by the terror regime make it imperative that the vanguard throughout the world should lend financial assistance to our German comrades. It is towards this end that the preliminary International Conference of the Left Opposition decided to establish a Fund for the German Opposition. Every member of the Opposition throughout the world is being assessed a day's wage for this purpose. In addition, we are making an urgent appeal to all our friends and sympathizers to contribute speedily and generously to this fund. The New York branch has already set itself the goal of \$75.00; the other branches will act correspondingly.

The need is great and urgent! The response should be generous and speedy! Send all funds to 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Unique Russian Film to Be Shown

Announcement has just been made of the first private movie showing of the first authentic and actual pictures of the important events and actions of the Russian Revolution.

The most important film you have ever seen, one you will want to see over and over.

The filming of these events was taken by over one hundred camera men working directly under the various governments and noted officials and leaders in Russia.

The life and time of the Czar and his family. The July 17th revolution. The Kornilov Counter-Revolutionary Attempt. The Rule of Milukov. The Acts of the Social Revolutionaries. The Rise of the Bolsheviks. The Role and Deeds of Lenin and Trotsky and other leaders of Bolsheviks. The growth of the Soviets. The Bolshevik Insurrection and Rise to Power. The Civil War on the various fronts. The Red Guards and Red Army in action from the uprising through the years. Grand Scenes of all the Russian Congresses of the Communist International. The Bolsheviks and the Death of Lenin. The Exile of Trotsky to Princeton.

This and more is to be seen in the greatest film on the history of Russia and the Russian Revolution.

This is a limited, private and subscription performance under the auspices of the Film Club of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). No tickets at the door. Members must obtain subscription tickets in advance. Subscriptions are strictly limited to the seating capacity of the hall. The film will be shown at the LABOR TEMPLE, 242 East 14th St., New York City, on Saturday, May 6th, 1933 at 8 P. M. sharp.

Members, obtain your subscription ticket at once at the headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition), 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Convict Patterson United Mass Protest Must Save Scottsboro Boys

A viciously prejudiced jury composed of twelve representatives of the poisonous ideology of the reactionary, capitalist South brought in a verdict of guilty against Haywood Patterson, the first of the new trials ordered by the United States Supreme Court. According to Alabama law the jury is charged with the duty of fixing the penalty. This jury decided on death in the electric chair.

With this verdict the blood-lust ridden, southern capitalists have reaffirmed their intention to snuff out the lives of all who dare to resist and struggle against the intolerable conditions to which capitalism reduces the workers and share croppers in the South in its ruthless scramble for profit. That is the significance of the verdict for our class and our cause. As far as the Scottsboro boys themselves are concerned, it is not at all a verdict arrived at after due process of law. There is no such thing for workers in capitalist courts. It is murder done according to the dictates of the law and with due regard for the devious course of "justice" in the higher courts. It is class murder.

From the legal point of view the state had no case. Its witnesses were the usual social riff-raff shirked up by the prosecution in frame-up cases. A notorious prostitute was its chief witness. And her testimony was flatly contradicted by Ruby Bates' sensational repudiation of her former evidence. Other evidence introduced by the defense left no doubt that the state's chief witness was a perjurer. The weakness of the state's legal case was compensated for by extra-legal "arguments". Fiery crosses flamed against the night sky from the hills surrounding the town. Armed mobs threatened to storm the jail, lynch the boys, the witnesses and the defense lawyers. Armed militiamen were on duty in the courtroom. The prosecution appealed to local prejudice throughout. But in its summation it reached the depths of narrow-minded provincialism and medieval bigotry. To read it is to make the blood boil. All of this, inevitable and to be foreseen from the beginning, outweighed the legal evidence or lack of it.

That is how it was in the Mooney and the Sacco and Vanzetti trials; the same frame-up, prejudice, intimid-

ation, corruption and infaming of ignorance and vicious prejudice in these monuments to capitalist bestiality are lessons which have been burned into the consciousness of the workers the world over. Large sections of the workers know what these trials are worth. Their experience teaches them daily what capitalist justice is. In their understanding it is an inseparable part of the capitalist system.

The capitalist press, the haud-maiden of these brutal orgies, has not been slow to discharge its duty to its masters. It pretends to be astonished by the verdict. The New York World Telegram feigns astonishment. It is sure that the verdict will be overturned in the higher courts. By this perfidious hypocrisy it strives to keep alive the illusion that justice is impartial, above the classes. The Times also bemoans the sad miscarriage of justice. But it cannot see what remains to be done. Perhaps the Governor of Alabama will pardon the victims or commute their sentence to a term of imprisonment! That is the Times' way of saying that the case is a legal one, a matter of "justice", not to be taken out of the channels of bourgeois democracy.

The N. A. A. C. P. says the same thing but says it more openly. The attack on the I. L. D. and the Communist Party for organizing a mass protest movement, which the Times only implies, the N. A. A. C. P. makes explicit. The record of this reformist organization in the Scottsboro Case is a foul blot on the pages of the struggle of the Negroes for economic, political and social equality. From the very beginning of the case it assisted the prosecution to the best of its ability. It strove with all its resources to hamstring the defense organized by the I. L. D. All through the fight it rabidly attacked the I. L. D. and the Communist Party. Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays of its legal staff, and prominent in its executive councils, offered to enter the case on condition that all the lawyers in the defense would agree to disassociate themselves from all organizations. This was equivalent to a demand that the I. L. D. retire from the case.

The black thread of treachery runs through the policy of the N. A. A. C. P. and its white, liberal supporters and executives: John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Clarence Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hays, etc., etc. And it runs through it today. At the last meeting of its directors they adopted a resolution on the Scottsboro Case. It was reported in the Times of April 11. The Times says: "The board commended the 'firmness and fairness in which Judge Horton conducted the trial'—And,"—adopted a resolution at the meeting—expressing the belief

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Genuine United Front for Mooney Formed by the St. Louis Workers

St. Louis. A genuine unity movement to mobilize the workers of this city for the freedom of Tom Mooney, is now well under way. Besides the organizations which have already endorsed the movement, efforts are being made to draw in every other working class organization in the city. Below is to be found the call sent out by the "Free Tom Mooney United Front Committee", through its secretary, comrade Martin Payer, who is also secretary of the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

TO ALL DISTRICT COUNCILS, LOCAL UNIONS, LODGES, TO ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL, FRATERNAL, CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, GREETINGS:

In accordance with the stirring call issued from San Quentin prison by TOM MOONEY, the St. Louis Molders' Defense Committee has taken the initiative in organizing a "FREE TOM MOONEY UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE" of all unions and working-class organizations to fight for the immediate FREEDOM OF TOM MOONEY and to work for the building of a large FREE TOM MOONEY NATIONAL CONGRESS to be held in Chicago, Illinois, April 30th to May 2nd, 1933. We are sending you herewith the call for the election of delegates to this Congress.

The freedom of TOM MOONEY is rightfully the deepest concern of the entire working-class. It was because MOONEY was a fearless fighter in behalf of organized labor and for better working conditions that he was framed and has already spent nearly 17 years of his life behind prison bars.

In order to give the widest possible support to TOM MOONEY, we feel it is necessary and timely that in St. Louis (in addition to the mass-meeting on the day of Mooney's new trial, April 26th, we also organize a joint demonstration and parade on May 1st in support of the fight for MOONEY'S FREEDOM. This will give added weight and pressure to the NATIONAL MOONEY CONGRESS in Chicago and serve to unite broad masses in the struggle.

We therefore call upon your organization to endorse the MOONEY MAY-DAY DEMONSTRATION AND PARADE IN ST. LOUIS and also to send three representatives to the United Front May-Day Conference which will be held at Turner Hall, 1508 Chouteau Avenue, on Sunday afternoon, April 16th, at 2 P. M. sharp.

SHOW SOLIDARITY OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN ST. LOUIS while our delegates are deliberating in the Chicago NATIONAL MOONEY CONGRESS on the next steps in the fight for the FREEDOM OF TOM MOONEY AND ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!

Forward to the Freedom of Tom Mooney!
For a Mass Mooney May Day Demonstration!!
FREE TOM MOONEY UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE

Endorsed by:
Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee,
Unemployed Councils in St. Louis,

Moscow Trial Starts

The trial that is taking place in Moscow at present, involving the British organizers of sabotage connected with the Metro-Vickers concern, throws light upon the feverish efforts of the foreign imperialists to hasten the collapse of Soviet economy, brought to a critical state by Stalinist mismanagement. As we go to press, the stories cabled from across still bear a confused and contradictory character. We expect to have a critical account and an evaluation of the proceedings in a coming issue of The Militant.

Roosevelt Reforestation Swindle

Tens of thousands of American boys are being herded into regular army camps, presumably for forestry training. A quarter of a million will be regimented by May 15, according to Robert F. Wagner, national head of the "Civilian Conservation Corps". The government is pushing for the full quota of 250,000 by the middle of May, when the reforestation program is to begin in earnest.

The 1,800 supposedly homeless youths from New York who boarded the buses for Fort Slocum are the first victims of a novel brand of efficiency known as the "New Deal". According to the government plan, each of the nine military corps areas from New England to the Pacific Coast, will be recruiting or "conditioning" centers for the forestry workers of that area. They will be given army work clothes, army grub and live

in army barracks. They will all get military training in the form of infantry drill under the strict discipline of superior officers. "Education" and "recreation" will be completed supervised by government authorities.

"We intend to make self-supporting men of them," says Adjutant Murray of Fort Slocum. Let's see what he means by that. Do the men actually receive the \$30 per month that they are promised? Not at all. The "investigators" of the New York Home Relief Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare are instructed to supply 7,500 unemployed young men between the ages of 18 and 23 from off the relief list. They are neither homeless nor wandering. \$25 of every \$30 earned by the worker is to be deducted and turned over to the Home Relief Bureau which promptly deducts that amount from the family budget, plus \$150 per week (or over \$6 per month) from the food budget. Others are removed entirely from the Welfare list. Anyone who knows the narrow margin upon which "relief" families live, knows what hardships these deductions are.

Now the Home Relief Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare has on its lists 180,000 families, or almost a million individuals. It spends ten million dollars a month caring for them. Of these there are about 60,000 of what is called "work relief" under the City Commission Work Bureau. Each man works five days every other week, or a maximum of ten days a month. For this he gets \$45 a month, but he is cut loose and must support his family on this sum. These on Home Relief, however, average \$35 to \$45 per month. The budgets are pared down to an almost unbelievable

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OPEN FORUM

The Farmers' Revolt and the American Workers

Speaker:
JACK WEBER

International Workers School Hall
126 East 16th Street
Sunday, April 6 1933, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 15 Cents
Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Perth Amboy

THE TRAGEDY OF THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT
MUST A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY BE ORGANIZED IN GERMANY?

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON,
National Secretary, G. L. A. (O.)

ALBER WEISBORD,
National Secretary, C. L. S.
on Sunday, April 23, 1933,
8:30 P. M.

at the OLD Y. M. H. A. HALL
Smith and McLennan Sts.
ADMISSION 15 CENTS
Joint Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) and Communist League of Struggle.

Friday April 21, 1933 at 8 p. m. **SPRING DANCE & FESTIVAL** Jazz Orchestra - Songs - Other Features
IRVING PLAZA HALL 15 St. Irving Pl. for the Benefit of 'THE MILITANT'
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition) and Proletarian Club.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Hundreds at Toronto Meeting

Toronto.—The voice of international proletarian solidarity with the German toilers, again rang out to Toronto as Jewish and German workers jammed to capacity two halls, in a stirring protest demonstration against Fascism and Jewish pogroms in Germany; hundreds of other workers again had to be turned away for lack of accommodation. Such was the response to the leaflet issued just one day previous, calling for international proletarian action against Fascism.

The "United Front Conference" which called this mass demonstration is doubly significant; first because it is the first real united front organized by the workers in Canada against Fascism, and secondly because it marks the first united front of Communist and reformist organizations held in Toronto for a number of years. While as yet the conference has been limited to Jewish proletarian bodies it was announced at the sitting by the sponsor, the "Left Poale Zion", that the labor party (reformist) has made plans to call a similar conference of all the English trade unions and labor organizations shortly to which they would become a part.

The call of the Comintern for united front action of the Communist and reformist organizations, even at this late date has already had its response. Significant is the fact that the Left Poale Zion and not the Stalinists sponsored this conference. The Stalinist press even at late as two weeks ago in an editorial reply to the Militant denied that a change of policy had taken place and that united front action of Communist and reformist organizations was permissible.

The Left Opposition was represented at the Conference by the Unzer Kampf Club and Spartacus Youth organizations. Let us now refer back to the mass demonstration itself.

The first speaker was our comrade M. Spector. The response from the gathering at his appearance must have nettled the Stalinist leaders, as it showed that their campaign of slander against him was a flop.

Comrade Spector in a true internationalist speech pointed out that Fascism was not just a Jewish question but one of the international working class. That the Jewish problem would only be solved with the victory of the proletariat over capitalism. The success of Fascism meant war against the USSR which we must defend with our last drop of blood. Organized united front action of whole international proletariat would defeat Fascism. The L. O. welcomes a real united front action of Communist and reformist organizations against their common enemy. For two years we have fought for its realization.

I will pass over the speeches of the Left Poale Zion the German worker and the light wing representative and come to that of com. Ehrlich, the Stalinist spokesman. Comrade Ehrlich also made a very able speech on behalf of his group. Comrade Ehrlich did not lack the gall to stand up and say, "we always stood for united front action of Communist and reformist organizations, and that it was the reformist leadership who alone were against this." The "united front from below only," "social-Fascism"—where, oh where, lie ye buried!

After writing the above, the latest issue of the Kampf, the Stalinist organ, in the Jewish language came off the press, with a report of the conference, in which they say, "...The struggle against Fascism cannot be widely developed if the Conference will base itself on representatives of organizations which don't exist and have no following amongst the masses", (i. e., the Spartacus Youth Club, Unzer Kampf. If this is true then we ask the editors of the "Kampf", why the continual venomous attacks against us in your press. Is it logical for a paper to write editorials against people "who don't exist" and "have no following"? The editors of the Kampf are not so illogical; they are only trying to cover up the truth, which is the growth of the Left Opposition and the crisis inside their own ranks. Workers Unity also devotes more than a whole page of the last issue to refuting the ideas of the "handful of Trotskyists" who don't exist. Even the C. L. D. L. (I. L. D.) must also condemn the "half dozen Trotskyists who have no following".

Further on in this "report" we learn that "Spector voted against all the proposals of the Left wing and supported the Left Poale Zion." Do the editors of the "Kampf" believe this also? No! We know their reply, "What are a few lies more or less when it is all in the interests of the revolution?" Unfortunately for the political position of the Stalinist leaders, the number of lies seem to be growing more and more, and the interests of the revolution have not obtained any gains by such methods.

GREEK L. O. IN ELECTIONS

In view of the opportunist election tactic of the official party which appeared on the ballot as the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc—the Greek Archio-Marxists (Left Opposition) participated independently in the recent election. It succeeded in bringing the full Communist program before the workers at rallies as well as in advancing the campaign for a united Communist party.

A Stalinist United Front in 'Frisco

San Francisco.—After an unbelievably long delay the Communist Party in San Francisco decided to have a united front mass meeting in protest against the Fascist terror in Germany. It seems that the protest mass meeting of the Jewish population against the persecutions of Jews reminded the Stalinist leadership that something is going on in far-away Germany. But at this point the great strategists of small maneuvers were immediately confronted with the problem of how to get up the meeting. It is all right for the Communist Party in New York to call a united front mass meeting in its own name. These hard boiled Easterners can stand the sudden change of temperature. But how will the sensitive Californians with their inflammable imaginations stand the sudden change of the hot temperature of the "Third Period" to the cool realization of the bankruptcy of the theory of "Social Fascism"? The bureaucratic imagination put so severely to the test of its life, flares up in the racket of its previous experience and lands... on the Workers Cultural Federation. That small, till now obscure organization will start the great tempest which will sweep Hitler off his feet! The united front mass meeting will be called by this organization... with "the wholehearted support" of the Communist party!

When I came to that "united front" conference I found there some thirty people, mostly representing themselves and almost all familiar faces. The small room was so big and the anticipations of the strategists so modest that the representative of the I. L. D. told us that the next meeting will take place in a smaller room: it will be less expensive.

When the names of the delegates were being called I handed in the following note: "Being a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), an organization which is fighting in the front against the danger of Fascism in Germany, I ask to be seated at this united front conference as a fraternal delegate." And as soon as his chance came a party bureaucrat jumped up and made a motion not to seat me. Another supported him by saying that there is no organization of the Opposition in the city. I reminded him to no avail that at the Tom Mooney united front conference the delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union was seated as a full-fledged delegate though there is not even a single coffee stand which it controls in this city. The German Cultural Association was adamant in not listening to reason.

Anyway the delegate of the A. F. of L. Union of the Bakery Wagon Drivers, an old timer in the left wing movement, asked for the floor and vigorously protested against bringing this kind of factional fight into the united front. He said that "if a corrupt A. F. of L. faker would come in he would get the floor right away, but when a militant worker who is willing to fight against Fascism is offering his cooperation, he is shouted down. These are the methods of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party just as well as the opportunist leaders of I. W. W." After that some of the delegates asked me again to explain what kind of an organization the Left Opposition is, which I willingly did. That closed the discussion. A motion was carried to send a telegram to the German ambassador in Washington with the request to deliver it to Hitler. Except that little accident with the "Trotskyist", everything went so smoothly that even the Moscow Art Theatre could not do better: the rules were very well distributed.

L. GREEN

For the Opposition!

Form American Section of International Commission

(Continued from Page 1)

sheviki Party and of the world labor movement. That is just why they were struck down during the years of political ebb in the U. S. S. R. and of successful counter-revolution in the whole world. The repression which has struck them becomes more difficult as the events confirm the correctness of the criticism and the warnings of the Left Opposition. The shortage of supplies in the U. S. S. R. now renders exceedingly difficult the existence of all strata of the population, even in the industrial and cultural centers of the country. It is not difficult to imagine the unbearable physical privations to which are subjected the thousands of opponents of the ruling faction, scattered throughout prisons and in the most distant choked-off points of Siberia and Central Asia. Never before have the deported suffered such privations as today. In the years of the revolutionary high tide, the liberal and radical bourgeoisie rendered substantial assistance to the deported and the imprisoned. In the years of world revolutionary ebb, of world crisis and of famine in the U. S. S. R., the vanguard of the October Revolution can expect support only from its most devoted and its true friends.

How necessary and urgent this support is, is attested best of all by this extract from a letter from Moscow which I have just received: "I want to write to you especially with regard to the deportees, and their difficult situation. Difficult is the least one can call it. Their situation is horrible. The comrades are literally given up to their fate—hunger and the elements. They are not given work. They are deprived of rations, they have insufficient warm clothing, they are never through with sufferings, cold and hunger. Yesterday came—a rare event—a letter from V.: 'They want to get us by hunger. We will not do penance. We are right. We will die of hunger, but we will not do penance.' 'We make collections, but it is very risky here: to help the Oppositionists with a chevron means to fall into the lists of enemies, and to be deported. And money does no good, since, in the places of deportation, it is impossible to buy anything and from here we can send practically nothing. We need foreign coupons, we need foreign exchange.'"

"To whatever you can afford, undertake a campaign for the benefit of the deported Oppositionists. The question is one of the physical destruction of our comrades; sincere and devoted revolutionists. Many of them have proved for decades their fidelity to the revolution, to Bolshevism, to the Soviet State."

In appealing to you for help, I am fulfilling an elementary duty toward my friends, my compatriots in ideas and in arms. I hope that you will accomplish your duty toward the fighters of the October Revolution. Modest as the help of each one may be, we must make sure of it, for the need brooks no delay.

Subscriptions can be sent to the following address: SIDNEY HOOK, Treasurer of the American Communist Party, 234 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Accounting for the sums received and for their distribution will either be published in the press or sent periodically to all the subscribers.

L. TROTSKY.

Chairman of the Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition).

Illinois Hunger March Smashed

(Continued from Page 1)

among the miners. To portray the horrors of the unemployment among the Illinois miners needs someone with a Dantesque imagination. And now that the summer months are almost upon us, the economic situation throughout the state is growing worse, with factories and coal mines closing down. More and more workers are forced to organize in order to get their relief from the state. That is why the state officials mobilized the armed forces of the whole state to combat and crush the Hunger March. But despite the reign of terror that was let loose against the unemployed workers, the workers responded in great masses to the call of the Unemployed Councils for the March on Springfield. In many localities many hundreds gathered and waited to go to Springfield, but were unable to start because of the lack of transportation.

After the Hunger March was smashed and the various columns of the Marchers were forced to turn back to their home towns, the Governor issued a statement that he would allow an audience to a committee of twenty, picked by the Hunger Marchers. After the Governor had put on a reign of terror the like of which has never before been attempted in the state of Illinois, this gesture was nothing more nor less than a Cornish hug and a political snare.

The Left Opposition warned the state committee in advance that this maneuver on the part of the Governor was nothing more than political chicanery and that to go before the Governor with a committee of twenty would not only be capitulating to him, but also, a betrayal in the eyes of the thousands of unemployed workers who took part in the Hunger March, and that the correct revolutionary

policy under the circumstances would be to boycott the Governor. In line with this policy the Hunger March Fraction of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club issued a statement. The statement was then shown to several of the Hunger Marchers and the result was that they immediately saw that our policy and statement was correct and refused to go to see the Governor. But, of course, the Stalinist bureaucrats, had only one political tactic—handed down to them from above. When it was smashed by the enemy they were left in a quagmire and could not see through the trap laid for them by the Governor. So when the committee appeared before the Governor, he cuttily chided the committee for organizing the whole demonstration. And so, again, if the Stalinists had accepted the correct policy of the Left Opposition the movement could have been ahead, at least, a few steps.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Left Opposition) ON THE HUNGER MARCH TO SPRINGFIELD.

Governor Horney has invited a committee of twenty representatives of the Hunger March (State) to Springfield to consult with him at 4 P. M. on April 7, 1933. Bearing in mind the events which preceded this invitation, we have decided to emphatically boycott this "liberal" offer of the Governor and to issue this statement to the workers of the State of Illinois:

The Governor, after violating the rights of the workers by submitting them to terror and attack, has ironically requested a meeting with himself and the delegates of the Hunger March, which is, in essence, a request for the participation

ants of the march to sheepishly bow to the tyranny, constitutional violations, and terror of the State officialdom.

Before inviting this delegation to the Capitol, Horney had ordered his armed forces to terrorize the Hunger Marchers break up all meetings and gatherings of the unemployed; stop all columns of marchers coming to Springfield by tear gas bombs, clubs, and martial law. Active leaders of the marchers have been arrested in all parts of the State. Armed guards patrol all roads leading into Springfield. The April 6, Springfield meeting was broken up and the April 7, demonstration prohibited by the armed forces of the Governor.

The striking miners of Illinois have been terrorized by the state police and company gunmen. The miners of the P. M. A. have fought the combined guards of Horney, Leahy, Lewis and Robinson thru mass pressure and have organized their union. Today the miners and workers of Illinois intend to use mass pressure to obtain immediate relief and other demands as listed in the program of the Hunger March.

The bosses and their Governor fear the mass pressure of the workers and are doing everything possible to stop it. The Governor fears the mass pressure of the unemployed workers and has resorted to brute force which succeeded in smashing the March. Governor Horney, office boy for the Leahy Coal Co. and other capitalists, will "allow" us to send a lobby-committee of 20 to present our demands. Such a gesture can serve only to separate the leaders from the masses. The bosses and their Governor "urge" the workers to stay home and to send a committee in place of masses of unemployed. Such a committee without the workers, he will consent to see.

Workers' Committee to visit the Governor, without the masses behind them, or after the masses have been driven out by boss terror, have no power. Such a committee will be used by the Governor to fool the workers, notwithstanding the intentions of the committee. Only the mass pressure of the workers can be of value in fighting the bosses. Just to the degree of mass pressure exerted by our class, precisely to that degree will the capitalists and their government apparatus grant us our immediate demands.

Workers! Do not let the terrorism of the bosses stop us in our struggle for our demands. We must return to our cities, to our unemployed councils, to our workers' organizations to increase the activity, to insure and to prepare for the exertion of mass pressure that will be powerful enough to smash the terror of the bosses and their government, as instituted in the state of Illinois.

Horney's terrorism against the workers, employed and unemployed, is the prelude to a period of increased terror against the strike of the Illinois miners under the leadership of the P. M. A. as well as new attacks against the unemployed.

We call upon all workers in the state of Illinois to continue and prove with increased activity to bring about the mass pressure necessary to break this new offensive. A united front of all trade union, unemployed and labor organizations is an absolute prerequisite to the accomplishment of this task. We call upon you to demand:

1. For immediate relief for all unemployed, (\$5.00 for single workers, \$7.50 for families of two, etc.)
2. Unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the state.
3. The six-hour day—five day week, with no reduction in pay.
4. Long term credits to aid recognition of the Soviet Union.
5. Rescinding of martial law and withdrawal of all troops from the coal areas. Repeal of the criminal syndicalist law.
6. No discrimination against negroes and strikers. For the right to picket, demonstrate and organize. For the right of workers to the highways.
7. For the immediate and unconditional release of all leaders of the Hunger March arrested in the struggle.

Hunger March Fraction, Communist League of America, Spartacus Youth Club

Neumann Is New Leader

Unser Wort, the illegal paper of the German Left Opposition, reports in its second issue:

The Stalinists have already found a scapegoat for their latest political crime. Ernst Thaelmann has been deprived of his function on the grounds of "improper conduct" and... his successor bears the name of none other than Heinz Neumann!

In a year ago Heinz Neumann, was discarded for "big theoretical mistakes". Neumann's confusionism was only different in its shading from that of Thaelmann. In the factional struggle that ensued, Thaelmann came out on top. Neumann went to Moscow to recognize his mistakes and conceded Thaelmann's correctness on all questions. "An important chapter of struggle had been concluded on the ideological front."

Now Thaelmann has suffered shipwreck and "holous politics" the "disrupter" of yesterday has become the "historical leader" of today. But the patron of the "theoretician" is not one whit better than Thaelmann.

Fortunately, the Stalinists have lost every shred of authority among the advanced workers in Germany. The workers are turning toward revolutionary Marxism, which the Left Opposition alone embodies and represents.

—SOL LANKIN.

Voices from Germany

The Condition of the Party After the Fascist Victory

(We publish below extracts from letters or correspondence from Germany. Everyone will understand that we have had to change the names. But all the notes we publish below are taken either from illegal leaflets or journals published by the Opposition, or from letters. Every fact reported is strictly exact. From this is outlined a tragic, but true picture. What the proletarian needs above all in these trying days is the truth, and not the bragadoccio of bankrupt bureaucrats. After having seen things as they are, every proletarian will be better able to know what is to be done: to fight tenaciously for the triumph of the ideas of the Left Opposition.—Ed.)

FROM THE BERLIN DISTRICT (March 10)

For several days we have been asking all the party comrades: "How do you estimate the situation and the perspectives of the struggle against Fascism?" I have seen dozens of workers. A categorical and unanimous opinion was the result. The conclusive victory of Hitler is generally estimated as assured and inevitable.

"As an organization, the party scarcely exists any longer. After the loss of the legal apparatus of propaganda and of the bureaucratic apparatus, it has scattered like ashes. Social democrats and trade unions are powerless. Mass resistance is impossible. Scattered and not very significant actions in the least case; in case of an attempt at battle: decapitation."

A number of every lamentable concrete examples are given of the state of the party organization. In the large centers of the Rhine, the party has not had any meetings of the nuclei since January 30. Meetings of 60 functionaries are called out of whom 5 came together at one time and 17 at another. No leaflet has been issued by the party, at Cologne for example.

Since the prohibition of the press, the apparatus has vanished in thin air, without leaving behind any instructions. In the Cologne district (3,000,000 inhabitants), the Communist party has had 14,000 members for years. Official figures show that in 1932 there were 15,368 new members and 43,174 dropping out, that is a fluctuation of about 100 percent. This is characteristic for a whole number of districts. One of the principal leaders was a member of the Nazi party for nine years and participated in the Fascist putsch in Bavaria in 1923!

The Youth (400 members) could not even get together a general meeting; nobody came. All this is symptomatic and true to different degrees in all the districts, especially in Berlin.

Since the occupation of the Liebknecht House, isolated groups are thinking of self-defense, but, abandoned by the leadership, without plan, and only by individual methods.

Here, a large number of party members consider that there is nothing more to look forward to from the party, and that only the trade unions can save the situation by taking the initiative in the struggle. Complete passivity. A comrade from I. L. D. reports that a nucleus (typical) has lost 41 out of 154 members in the last few months.

In S., before the elections, there were many party members who had the point of view: "First Fascism and then we come." The pressure of Fascism will lead to the formation of a broad united front from below. Meanwhile, no general strike, no fighting cartels, but the formation of partisan troops to disarm and "liquidate" the storm troops. It should be said that the Fascist storm troops were weak in this district. Two days before the burning of the Reichstag, the International Red Aid organized a meeting where the speaker spoke for two hours against the "main enemy"—social Fascism—without mentioning a word about Hitler.

In M., the initiative in the partisan struggles proceeds more from the members of the Reichsbanner than from the Communist party—which is waiting for instructions which do not come.

It is this state of the party which is making a deep impression upon the comrades and is making them draw the following conclusion: Stalinism has ideologically shattered the proletarian vanguard; it has thus delivered the proletariat to the Fascist executioners whose victory is assured in advance.

FROM THE BRANDENBURG DISTRICT (Berlin)

In the intellectual and leading centers of the social democracy is to be observed a spirit of fear-stricken capitulation. The prohibition of the Reichsbanner in Thuringia took place without the slightest protest. In Leipzig, the leaders claim that they are prepared to defend their own against the storm troops if they attack as Nazi bands and not as police!

In Berlin, the terror has shattered—is it only for the time being?—the party. In spite of the attempt to live on the basis of "groups of five", not a single leaflet, no instructions come to these groups. An instructor who came to speak exclusively an organizational questions, is interrogated: "What have you to say about the political situation?" He replies: "Do not talk to me about it, we ourselves don't know where we stand!" It is the intention to preserve only an organization of restricted cadres, excluding the majority of the members.

The discouragement is great: comrades no longer even dare to

thing of physical self-defense. In Charlottenburg, the storm troops make expeditions; they beat up and kill active Communists, openly, in the streets, before the eyes of other comrades who are part of the defense organizations but who look on at these acts of terror without budging. They are beginning to apply the Italian method of castor oil; workers are martyred, are "killed in flight". The terror is beginning in the factories; for the time being—the workers remain motionless.

ON THE TRADE UNION POLICY OF THE PARTY

(From a circular of the Left Opposition in Saxony towards the end of February.)

Hitler is chancellor. We are before the great. Soon the Communist party itself will be dissolved and with it all the workers' organizations. More than ever, the immediate creation of an Opposition Left wing inside the trade unions, the re-entry of the Left Trade Union Organization into the free trade unions, presents itself as a question of prime importance. Before the 12th Plenum, the party demanded the presentation at all costs of Red lists for the elections to the factory councils. The most active comrades, forced to present Red lists in the factories and to carry out this policy of the R. T. U. O. in the reformist federations, were kicked out by the hundreds, and lost the leadership of the opposition in the trade union federations, and in part, lost even the slightest contact with the members of the reformist trade unions. This line has led to the isolation of our party from the organic masses and has delivered them, bound hand and foot, to the reformist bureaucracy. The party must dissolve the independent federations and lead the R. T. U. O. towards an opposition within the trade unions.

(The following letter was sent to us by a sympathizer. It paints, in living terms, the heroic struggle of the German proletariat against the Fascist bands and Hitler's police.)

Hamburg.—We had just finished our dinner when young J. who had gone to his room, came back running. "Listen to the machine guns, there is some shooting at Rotenburg." "That's it, it's the revolution!" We run to the window. There is a frightful massacre. We witness a horrifying battle. Some neighbors are all aroused against the Communists. "They are going to seize something", etc.

"The shots grow rarer. I go out. I run. Soon I detect searchlights in the sky. I march in that direction. There are workers hustening there too. After about a quarter of an hour's walk I reached the Communist district, Rotenburg. Cops everywhere in squads. In one corner is a crowd of workers and cops. I keep on walking. All of a sudden: 'Hands up!' I kept right on. At the next corner: 'Clear the streets! Stop or we shoot!'"

The people crowd into the doorway, I along with them. After about five minutes, we go out again. This is the place of the tragedy. The searchlights scrutinize every shadow, every door, the roofs, the sidewalks. The moment we stop, a ray of light blinds our eyes. The cops in helmets keep the crowds moving with nightsticks and revolvers in hand. Some among them are carrying a kind of sub-machine gun.

I circulate among the workers, discuss with them, observe everything that is going on. A troop of 150 Nazis is marching into the Red quarter (as they have been doing for more than a week), the workers shoot at them from the windows and from the roof-tops; the Nazis return the shots, the police with them. This morning, the same thing in Barnbeck.

To come back to the original subject. First of all, the social democratic leaders do not want any alliances. The Communists, beaten down and pursued, adopted the tactic of mixing with every socialist demonstration. Sunday, the socialist leaders, finding that Communists were participating in great number in their march, had them driven out by the police. Many socialist workers protested. That same night the social democratic papers published a circular of the Communist OEC recommending to the functionaries to mix with the causing disorder and to force the socialist leaders to call the police against the Communist workers. Wels is basing himself upon this document in his rejection of the united front.

Finally, the next day at 3:30 P. M., the dramatic moment: The Reichstag is burning. The press denounces the Communists and published so-called documents that were supposed to be found in the Karl Liebknecht House. There are arrests. March 1, 1933

Communism and Syndicalism

by LEON TROTSKY

Some fundamental considerations on the relation of the party to the trade union movement with particular reference to the experiences of the French labor movement. 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street, New York.

For the United Front of Defense Against Hitlerism

(Continued from last issue)

The united front must have its organs. There is no need of imagining what these may be. The situation itself is dictating the nature of these organs. In many localities, the workers have already suggested the form of organization of the united front after the manner of defense cartels basing themselves on all the local proletarian organizations and establishments. This is an initiative which must be grasped, deepened, consolidated, extended to cover the industrial centers with cartels, by linking them up with each other and by preparing a German workers' congress of defense.

The fact that the unemployed and the employed workers are becoming increasingly estranged from each other bears within itself a deadly danger, not only to the collective agreements but also for the trade unions without there even being any need of a Fascist crusade. The united front between social democrats and Communists means before all the united front of the employed and unemployed workers. Without that, any serious struggle in Germany is quite unthinkable.

The Red Trade Union Opposition (R. T. O.) must enter into the free trade unions as a Communist fraction. That is one of the principal conditions of the success of the united front. The Communists within the trade unions must enjoy the rights of workers' democracy and in the first place, the right of full freedom of criticism. On their part, they must respect the statutes of the trade unions and their discipline.

The defense against Fascism is not an isolated thing. Fascism is only a cogwheel in the hands of human capital. The aim of the crushing of proletarian democracy is to raise the rule of exploitation and labor power. There lies an immense field for the united front of the proletarian; the struggle for the daily bread, extended and sharpened, lends directly under present conditions to the struggle for the workers' control of production.

The factories, the mines, the large estates fulfill their social functions thanks only to the labor of the workers. Can it be that the latter have not the right to know where the owner is directing the establishment, why he is reducing production and driving out the workers, how he is fixing prices, etc.? We will be answered: "Commercial secrets." What are commercial secrets? A plot of the capitalists against the workers and the people as a whole. Producers and consumers, the workers, in this two-fold capacity, must conquer the right to control all the operations of their establishments, unmask fraud and deceit in order to defend their interests and the interests of the people as a whole. The struggle for workers' control of production can and should become the slogan of the united front.

On the ground of organization, the forms necessary for the cooperation between social democratic workers and Communist workers will be found without difficulty; it is only necessary to pass over from words to deeds.

THE IRRECONCILABLE CHARACTER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

Now, if the common defense against the attack of capital is possible, can we not go still farther and form a genuine bloc of the two parties on all the questions? Then the polemic between the two would take on an internal, pacific and cordial character. Certain Left social democrats, of the type of Seydewitz, as is known, even go so far as to dream of a complete union of the social democracy and the Communist party. But all this is nevertheless a vain dream! What separates the Communists from the social democracy are antagonisms on fundamental questions. The simplest way of translating the essence of their disagreements is this: the social democracy considers itself the democratic doctor of capitalism; we are its revolutionary grave-diggers.

The irreconcilable character of the two parties appears with particular clearness in the light of the recent evolution of Germany. Leipzig laments that in calling Hitler to power the bourgeois classes have disrupted the "integration of the workers into the State" and he warns the bourgeoisie against the "dangers" flowing from it (Vorwaerts, February 15, 1933). Leipzig thus makes himself the watchdog of the bourgeois state by desiring to preserve it from the proletarian revolution. Can we even dream of union with Leipzig?

The Vorwaerts prides itself every day on the fact that hundreds of thousands of social democrats died during the war "for the ideal of a finer and freer Germany"... it only forgets to explain why this finer Germany turned out to be the Germany of Hitler-Hugenberg. In reality, the German workers, like the workers of the other belligerent countries, died as cannon fodder, as slaves of capital. To idealize this fact is to continue the treason of August 4, 1914.

The Vorwaerts continues to appeal to Marx, to Engels, to Wilhelm Liebknecht, to Bebel, who from 1848 to 1871, spoke of the struggle for the unity of the German nation. Lying appeals! At that time, it was a question of completing the bourgeois revolution. Every proletarian revolutionist had to fight against the particularism and provincialism inherited from feudalism. Every proletarian revolutionist had to fight

against this particularism and provincialism in the name of the creation of a national State. At the present time, such an objective is invested with a progressive character only in China, in India, in China, in India, in Indonesia and other backward colonial and semi-colonial countries. For the advanced countries of Europe, the national frontiers are exactly the same reactionary chains as the feudal frontiers were at one time. Quite true! But these chains have become aged, infirm and have fallen into senility. The nation, like all economy, and democracy, as a form of the domination of the bourgeoisie, have been transformed into fetters upon the productive forces and civilization. Let us recall again Goethe: "All that is born is doomed to perish."

A few more million beings may be sacrificed for the "corridor" for Alsace-Lorraine, for Malmedy. These disputed bits of land may be covered with three, five, ten rows of corpses. All this may be called national defense. But humanity will not progress because of it; on the contrary, it will fall backward into barbarism on all fours. The way out is not in the "national liberation" of Germany, but in the liberation of Europe from national barriers. It is a problem which the bourgeoisie cannot resolve, any more than the feudal lords in their time were able to put an end to participation. Hence the coalition with the bourgeoisie is doubly reprehensible. A proletarian revolution is necessary. A federation of the proletarian republics of Europe and the whole world is necessary.

Social patriotism is the program of doctors of capitalism; internationalism is the program of the grave-diggers of bourgeois society. This antagonism is irreconcilable.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

The social democrats consider the democratic constitution to be above the class struggle. For us, the class struggle is above the democratic constitution. Can it be that the experience undergone by post-war Germany has passed without leaving a trace, just as the experience undergone during the war? The November revolution brought the social democracy to power. The social democracy spurred the powerful movement of the masses along the road of "right" and the "Constitution". The whole political life which followed in Germany evolved on the basis and within the framework of the Weimar republic.

The results are at hand: bourgeois democracy is transformed legally, practically, into a Fascist dictatorship. The secret is simple enough: bourgeois democracy, just as the Fascist dictatorship, are the instruments of one and the same class: the exploiters. It is absolutely impossible to prevent the replacement of one instrument by the other by appealing to the Constitution, the Supreme Court at

Leipzig, new elections, etc.; what is necessary is to mobilize the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. Constitutional fetishism brings the best aid to Fascism. Today this is no longer a prognostication, a theoretical affirmation, but the living reality. I ask you, social democratic worker: If the Weimar democracy blazed the trail for the Fascist dictatorship, how is one to expect it to blaze the trail for socialism?

—But can't we social democratic workers win the majority in the democratic Reichstag? —That you cannot. Capitalism has ceased to develop, it is putrefying. The number of industrial workers is no longer growing. An important section of the proletariat is being degraded under continual unemployment. By themselves, these social facts exclude the possibility of any stable and methodical development of a labor party in parliament as before the war. But even if, in the face of all probability, the labor representation in parliament should grow rapidly, would the bourgeoisie wait for a peaceful expropriation? The governmental machinery is entirely in its hands! Even admitting that the bourgeoisie allows the moment to pass and permits the proletariat to gain a parliamentary representation of fifty-one percent, would it not raise itself by its own strength? Don't forget that Russia was the most backward country of Europe. The proletariat there constituted only a tiny part of the population. In this country, the dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily had to assume the harshest forms. Hence the consequences which flowed from it: the development of the bureaucracy which holds the power and the chain of errors committed by the political leadership which has fallen under the influence of this bureaucracy. If at the end of 1918, when the power was completely in its hands, the social democracy had entered boldly upon the road to socialism and had concluded an indissoluble alliance with Soviet Russia, the whole history of Europe would have received a different orientation and humanity would have arrived at socialism in a much shorter space of time and with infinitely less sacrifice. It is not our fault that this did not happen.

Yes, the dictatorship in the Soviet Union at the present time has an extremely bureaucratic and distorted character. I have personally criticized more than once in the press the present Soviet regime which is a distortion of the workers' state. Thousands upon thousands of my friends in the prisons and the place of exile for having fought against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now even if one judges the negative sides of the present Soviet regime it is necessary to preserve a correct historical perspective. If the German proletariat, much more numerous and more civilized than the Russian proletariat, were to take the power tomorrow, this would not only open up immense economic and cultural

stifling of freedom of opinion? No, not for me.

—It's just because you are not disposed to tread the road of the revolution and the dictatorship that we are both unable to form one single party. But nevertheless allow me to tell you that your objection is not worthy of a conscious proletarian. Yes, the privations of the Russian workers are considerable. But in the first place, the Russian workers know in the name of what they are making these sacrifices. Even if they should undergo a defeat, humanity would have learned a great deal from their experience. Now in the name of what did the German working class sacrifice itself in the years of the imperialist war? Or again, in the years of the unemployment? (To what do these sacrifices lead, what do they yield, what do they teach? Worth of man are only those sacrifices which blaze the trail to a better future. That's the first objection I heard you make. The first, but not the only one.

The sufferings of the Russian workers are considerable because in Russia, as a consequence of specific historical factors, was born the first proletarian state which, from an extreme poverty, is obliged to raise itself by its own strength. Don't forget that Russia was the most backward country of Europe. The proletariat there constituted only a tiny part of the population. In this country, the dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily had to assume the harshest forms. Hence the consequences which flowed from it: the development of the bureaucracy which holds the power and the chain of errors committed by the political leadership which has fallen under the influence of this bureaucracy. If at the end of 1918, when the power was completely in its hands, the social democracy had entered boldly upon the road to socialism and had concluded an indissoluble alliance with Soviet Russia, the whole history of Europe would have received a different orientation and humanity would have arrived at socialism in a much shorter space of time and with infinitely less sacrifice. It is not our fault that this did not happen.

There is no other road. —What is to be done under such conditions? My social democratic interlocutor will ask. —The proletarian revolution. —And then? —The dictatorship of the proletariat. —As in Russia? The privations and the sacrifices? The complete

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An Interview with Leon Trotsky

(We are glad to print the following interview given in principle by Leon Trotsky to comrade B. J. Field in connection with an article published several months ago by a bourgeois apologist for the Stalinist regime. As the interview deals with questions of more than passing interest, it retains all its value as an exposition of the Bolshevik-Leninist standpoint on questions in dispute in the Communist movement.—Ed.)

LENIN AND SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

In the question of the united front as well as in all the broad questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, the Left Opposition regards itself as continuing the authentic Bolshevik line, as against the efforts of the Stalinist faction to revise it in an empirical and bureaucratic manner.

This sense of the continuity of the revolutionary tradition runs clearly through the answers which Trotsky gave to the writer's questions on the issues of principle which Mr. Fischer, following the Stalinists, takes for granted as having been decided against Trotsky's views.

Here are his answers:

Question: "Lenin and all his followers were convinced at that time (in 1917) that only a revolution abroad could save them from certain doom. . . . They did not hope to survive unless revolutions in Europe and Asia weakened external hostility and gave Russia a breathing space for domestic entrenchment," says Mr. Fischer. Was Lenin speaking only in an immediate military and political sense of saving Russia from defeat and subjugation, or did he have in mind the whole perspective of Russia's developing on its own soil through the dictatorship of the proletariat to the ultimate Communist goal?"

Trotsky: "That affirmation of Mr. Fischer's, like a series of others, proves his lack of familiarity with the theory and the history of Bolshevism. In 1917 there was not a single Bolshevik who considered possible the realization of a socialist society in a single country, and least of all in Russia. In the appendix to my History of the Russian Revolution I give a detailed and documented study of the ideas of the Bolshevik party on the October revolution. This study, I hope, will make it impossible in the future to ascribe to Lenin the theory of Socialism in a single country. Here I will limit myself to a single quotation, which in my opinion has a decisive character, Lenin died in January, 1924; three months later Stalin expounded in writing Lenin's conception of the proletarian revolution. I quote word for word: '...to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and to establish the power of the proletariat in one country, still does not signify the full victory of Socialism. The main task of Socialism—the organization of Socialist production—remains still in the future. Is it possible to fulfill this task, is it possible to achieve the definite victory of Socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, it is impossible. For the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the efforts of one country are sufficient—for this we have the testimony of the history of our revolution. For the definitive victory of Socialism, for the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient—for that are required the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries. . . . Stalin closes the exposition of these ideas with the words, 'Such are in general the characteristic features of Lenin's conception of the proletarian revolution' (Problems of Leninism, emphasis mine).

"Only in the Fall of 1924 did Stalin discover that it is especially Russia, as distinguished from other countries, which can by its own forces build up a socialist society. . . . After having established its power and assumed the leadership of the peasantry," he wrote in a new edition of the same work, 'the victorious proletariat can and must build up socialist society.' Can and must! The proclamation of this new conception is closed by the same words, 'Such are in general the characteristic features of Lenin's conception of the proletarian revolution.' In the course of a single year Stalin ascribed to Lenin two directly opposed conceptions of the fundamental question of socialism. The first version represents the real tradition of the party; the second took shape in Stalin's mind only after the death of Lenin, in the course of the struggle against 'Trotskyism.'

Question: "Is there reason to believe that the world revolution, or a series of social upheavals on the Eurasian continent, ceased to be an immediate possibility by 1921?"

Answer: "What shall we call an 'immediate possibility'? In 1923 the situation in Germany was profoundly revolutionary, but what was lacking for a victorious revolution was a correct strategy. At that time, I wrote a study about this question, 'The Lessons of October,' which served as a pre-text for my elimination from the government. In 1925-27 the revolution in China was destroyed by the false revolutionary strategy of the Stalinist faction. To this last question I consecrate my book, 'Problems of the Chinese Revolution' (issued by the Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1932). It is quite clear that the German and Chinese revolutions in case of victory would have changed the face of

Answer Given to Views Of Louis Fischer

Europe and Asia, and perhaps of the whole world. Once again, he who ignores the problems of revolutionary strategy would do better not to talk about revolutions at all."

Question: "Is it true that 'a revolution germinates only in national soil, that it does not result from imported money or pamphlets or agitators, and that the capitalists will do more than the Communists to undermine capitalism?' Is it true that 'by its very existence a truly Soviet, near-Socialist system . . . must further the cause of revolution in other countries,' and that 'a strong Socialist Soviet Union is the most effective stimulus to world revolution'?"

Answer: "The statements quoted in this question contradict each other. That the existence of the Soviet Union has an international revolutionary significance is a commonplace equally recognized by friends and foes. In spite of the existence of the Soviet Union, however, the proletarian revolution during the past years has not recorded a victory in any other country. In Russia itself the proletariat conquered in spite of the fact that there was no Soviet State in existence at the time elsewhere. For the victory are necessary, not only certain objective conditions, internal as well as external, but also certain subjective factors—the party, the leadership, the strategy. Our differences with Stalin are entirely of a strategic character. Suffice it to say that it was carried through, in 1917, the policy of Stalin, the Soviet State would not be in existence today. It is therefore not true that the mere existence of the Soviet Union is capable of assuring the victory of the revolution in other countries. But it is also false that the revolution ripens and comes to development only in the national soil. Otherwise what purpose is served by the Communist International?"

Question: "Granting that a capitalist economy, the more highly it is developed, becomes the more dependent on other countries, is it less true of the Soviet Union, because it is developing toward a Socialist economy?"

Answer: "National self-sufficiency or 'autarchy' is the ideal of Hitler, not of Marx and Lenin. Socialist economy cannot reject the huge advantages of the world division of labor: on the contrary, it will carry it to the highest development. But in practice, it is not a question of the future socialist society, with an established internal equilibrium, but of the given technically and culturally backward country which in the interests of industrialization and collectivization is forced to export as much as possible in order to import as much as possible."

Question: "Is it true that the theory of the permanent revolution, which is the platform on which you have fought Stalin since 1924, was 'born in a time of Bolshevik mental depression' caused by a series of failures both at home and abroad, or does this theory represent a consistent line found in all your political writings and actions after 1903—Mr. Fischer makes both statements?"

Answer: "The theory of the permanent revolution, in contradiction to the theory of socialism in one country, was recognized by the entire Bolshevik party during the period from 1917 to 1923. Only the defeat of the proletariat in Germany in 1923 gave the decisive push to the creation of Stalin's theory of national socialism: the downward curve of the revolution gave rise to Stalinism, not to the theory of the permanent revolution, which was first formulated by me in 1905. This theory is not bound to a definite calendar of revolutionary events; it only reveals the worldwide interdependence of the revolutionary process."

Question: "The statement is made that 'Trotsky would not have neglected Soviet home industry any more than Stalin would ignore the usefulness of the Third International.' Do you agree with the conclusion that 'there are no whites and blacks in this picture. It is a matter of proportion and shade'?"

Answer: "Such an affirmation is possible only because of lack of familiarity with the history of the struggle between the Stalinist faction and the Left Opposition. The initiative of the Five Year Plan and of the accelerated collectivization belongs entirely to the Left Opposition, in unbroken and sharp struggles with the Stalinists. Not having the possibility of employing myself here with long his-

torical researches, I will limit myself to a single illustration. The Dnieprostroy is considered with right as the highest achievement of Soviet industrialization. Yet Stalin and his followers, (Voroshilov, Molotov, and others) a few months before the beginning of the work were decided opponents of the Dnieprostroy plan. I quote from the stenographic report the words spoken by Stalin in April, 1927, in the plenum of the Central Committee of the party against myself as chairman of the Dnieprostroy commission. There is talk . . . of our constructing Dnieprostroy through our own means. The means needed are great, several hundred millions. Let us not get into the position of the peasant who, after accumulating a nest-egg, instead of repairing his plough and renewing his equipment, buys a gramophone and goes bankrupt." (Laughter) 'Can we ignore the decisions of the Party Congress that our industrial plans must be adapted to our resources?' Yet comrade Trotsky openly ignores that decision of the Congress." (Stenographic notes of the Plenum, page 110.)

"Simultaneously the Left Opposition in the course of several years carried on a struggle against the Stalinists in favor of collectivization. Only when the kulak refused to deliver grain to the State did Stalin, under the pressure of the Left Opposition, accomplish a sharp turn. Being the empiricist that he is, he moved to the opposite extreme and set as a task for two or three years the collectivization of all the peasantry, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, and the compression of the Five Year Plan into four years. The Left Opposition declared that the new tempo of industrialization were above our forces, and that the liquidation of the kulaks as a class in the course of three years was a fantastic task. If one wishes to say so, we find ourselves this time 'less radical' than the Stalinists. Revolutionary realism tries to draw the maximum advantage from every situation—that is what makes it revolutionary—but at the same time it does not permit us to set ourselves fantastic aims—that is what makes it realistic."

Question: "If we accept the views that the policy of Stalin has a purely empirical character, is determined by the circumstances of the moment and is incapable of seeing far ahead, how can we explain the victory of Stalin's faction over the Left Opposition?"

Answer: "Above, I emphasized the significance of revolutionary strategy. Here I must come back to the decisive importance of objective conditions. Without a correct strategy the victory is impossible. But even the most correct strategy cannot give the victory under unfavorable objective conditions. The revolution has its own laws: in the period of its culmination it pushes the most highly developed, determined and far-seeing stratum of the revolutionary class to the most advanced positions. Yet the proletariat has not only a vanguard, but also a rearward, and besides the proletariat there are the peasantry and the bureaucracy. No one revolution up to now has brought all that was expected of it by the masses. Hence the inevitability of a certain disillusionment, of a lowering of the activity of the vanguard, and consequently, of the growing importance of the rearward. Stalin's faction has raised itself on the wave of reaction against the October revolution. Look back at history—those who guided the revolution in the time of its culmination never kept their leading positions long after the turning point. In France, the leader of Jacobinism perished on the guillotine; with us, the change of leadership was achieved by means of arrest and banishment. The technique of the process is gentler, but its essence is the same."

Question: "How do you reconcile your criticism of the Soviet Union in the capitalist press with your revolutionary sympathies? Is it true that you are 'turning the thinking youth away from Russia,' offering enemies of the Soviet regime the best possible arguments and material, and giving 'extra-duals and near-Communists an excuse for maligning Moscow and abstaining from participation in revolutionary action'?"

Answer: "The Soviet State does not need either illusions or camouflage. It can claim only that world authority which is confirmed by the facts. The clearer and deeper the public opinion of the world, in the first instance the opinion of the working masses, will understand the contradictions and the difficulties of the socialist development of an isolated country, the higher will it appreciate the results achieved. The less it identifies the fundamental methods of Socialism with the zigzags and errors of the Soviet bureaucracy, the less will be the danger that, by the inevitable revelation of these errors and of their consequences, the authority, not only of the present ruling group, but of the workers' State itself, may decline. The Soviet Union needs thinking and critical friends, such as are capable not only of singing hymns in the hours of success, but of not shrinking in the hours of defeat and danger. Journalists of the type of Fischer can accomplish a progressive work in defending the Soviet Union from calumnies, malicious inventions and prejudices. But these gentlemen overstep the limits of their mission when they attempt to give us lessons of devotion to the Soviet State. If we fear to speak of dangers, we shall never conquer them. If we close our eyes to the dark sides of the workers' State which we have helped to create, we shall never reach socialism."

Delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Communist Party (Opposition) were nominated for the committee of Action. Gebert tried in the same old way to suggest that only mass organizations be represented.

—IRVING BERN.

Reforestation Swindle

(Continued from Page 1)

able minimum and paid in credit tickets. There are today hundreds of large families close to starvation on this budget. The reforestation camps are being recruited from among those now receiving relief.

Homeless Still Homeless

What becomes, then, of the homeless and the wandering? There was a great agitation before the elections about them. The Scripps-Howard syndicate, for example, estimated that 500,000 of them roam the country. The January census of the Committee on Care of the Transient and Homeless showed 1,225,000 homeless and transient people in the United States, of whom 200,000 are youths. Boys and girls, unable to go to school, unable to get a job, a burden to their poverty-stricken family, join the ranks of migrant youth in a futile search for work in other cities. A restless tide is moving across the United States, hitch-hiking, walking, riding the freights, begging, stealing, living as they can. They are treated as traditional hoboes—a night in jail, a meal of beans and coffee and twenty-four hours to get out of town. They are clubbed by railway detectives and hoboed with petty criminals in jail. The good citizens demand government action to relieve the municipalities. Something had to be done for the American "beg priors."

So, the democrats fervidly promised, if elected, to take care of them also. At the same time, liberal and progressive groups clamored for the reforestation of land denuded by the lumber and paper interests in the heyday or rugged individualism. An ideal scheme to kill two birds with one stone, and all it cost! Conservation and Unemployment Relief. However, they are in this dilemma: Either they use conservation funds for municipal relief, in which case they do not reach the wanderer; or, if they recruit the latter, then conservation funds cannot be allocated to city relief. America's homeless youth is lost in the shuffle of the "New Deal."

What about the dignity and honor of honest toil, ask the army men? The men get \$5.00 a month for doing the work of regular foresters. It is exploitation in the crudest sense. It is humiliating to the person and degrading to the class. Out West they call this racket "kyp labor." And it is well named. Investigators of the Public Welfare use economic pressure on families to get their "quota" of hobo labor into camp. One realizes the bitter irony of this situation: Workers "volunteer" for their six months' enlistment.

With the hazy self-interest of the business men they have converted a twenty million dollar reforestation fund into a new scheme for pauperizing workers and creating the basis for national conscription labor. "Citizens Conservation Corps" means human cannon fodder trained with funds intended for unemployment relief. The Democratic party in power, like its Republican predecessor, to rise out-

of the crisis by still further exploiting and degrading the working class. Against this the American worker can and will organize a struggle.

1. Full time wages for forestry workers!
2. No victimization of those who refuse conservation enlistment!
3. Abolish the relief "deductions" system!
4. Organize within the camps for better conditions!
5. Payment of City Relief in cash!
6. Unemployment Insurance.

—CARL COWLEY.

The Chicago May Day Conference

Chicago.—The Communist party in Chicago concludes another vest-pocket united front for May Day. The united front from below, then the middle and every once in a while from behind, has driven the party with its back to the wall.

John Williamson made the keynote address. He pointed out that the call was sent to the Socialist party and A. F. of L. organizations calling upon them to unite for one May Day demonstration. In his speech he at last realized that Germany is the most important country in the international situation. After speaking for some time on the party's call for a united front with all organizations, he started to call the S. P. and A. F. of L. social-fascists, etc. Such ignorance! According to your (Williamson's) own definition of social-fascism, it is the greatest danger. Now, if that is no, why do you call for a united front with them—with their organizations?

The Y. P. S. L. sent a letter stating that it was willing to cooperate, but that it could not send any delegates until the County Committee of the S. P. approved of their action. The Socialist party stalled for time by telephoning and delaying meeting after meeting, called to establish joint proposal for action.

Yes, we know that the S. P. leaders are afraid of a united front, for they have much to lose. We must force them into action! I out with it! Admit that the tactics of united front from below were wrong and that you have made a turn (the E. C. C. I. Manifesto). Otherwise the S. P. workers are confused as to whether you want to unite without their organizations or a genuine united front. Amid such confusion their leaders can continue to mislead them, as one delegate said, "On Monday you call the socialist workers social-fascists, and on Tuesday you expect them to unite with you."

Delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Communist Party (Opposition) were nominated for the committee of Action. Gebert tried in the same old way to suggest that only mass organizations be represented.

The Scottsboro Case

(Continued from Page 1)

that a different verdict would have been obtained had not the Communist Party entered the case. . . . It feels that the only remaining hope for the boys is to remove from the already overwhelming prejudices which militate against them the additional burden of Communism." "It called for the organization of a 'new defense committee.'"

The capitalist press and the N. A. A. C. P. and all the other agencies of capitalism are working overtime to counteract the spontaneous mass protest that is arising against this monstrous verdict. They are hammering on all keys the theme of justice. That is their function in capitalist society. But it is no part of the I. L. D.'s role or policy to conduct a course which leads support to such illusions. Yet this is what it has done. We want our criticism to be clearly understood. The light of the I. L. D. from the first day of its courageous entry into this case has been an inspiring struggle against some of the most reactionary practice of a predatory capitalist South. It has held aloft the banner of mass struggle on behalf of nine innocent Negro class-brothers in the face of a reign of terror. It lit the spark which kindled a blaze of protest on four continents. It took a long step forward on the road to the unity of the white and black workers by showing the black workers that white workers were leading the struggle in which they were vitally involved.

But some time last summer the I. L. D. allowed the mass movement here to lag. Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court it did nothing to organize the workers into a gigantic protest movement behind its legal defense. It did not call the united front conferences to set the workers in motion.

Instead it made the mistake of riding the wave of protest. And it retained as its chief defense lawyer, a notorious gangster lawyer, a Democrat, a patriot. Moreover, it allowed him to attack the Communist party in the capitalist press without reply. It allowed him to repeat his attacks on the mass movement which had saved the boys from the electric chair with out making any public reply.

Worse than this, it allowed Liebowitz to dictate the line of the defense. It permitted him to confine the defense to legal lines, to order a National Students' League delegation out of town. It permitted him to say in the capitalist press that he would not tolerate any demonstrations by radical and Communist organizations. The capitalists took pains to give the impression of a fair trial. It chose an "objective" jurist to try the case. Horton was careful to avoid any appearance of hostility to the defense. He unquestionably favored the prosecution in his denials of motions for mistrials moved on the outrageous speeches of the prosecution. But he made

Bonapartism and Fascism In the Austrian Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

most ill-fated, degrading and ruinous for the proletariat is to bank upon the co-operation of the imperialist governments of the countries surrounding Austria.

Even if we were to allow that because of the traditional flabbiness of all Austrian parties as well as because of the influence of external and temporary causes (the pressure of France and of the Italian Entente), the apprehension of the Hitlerites to push matters to the end, just might—allowing in the culmination even in this case would turn out to be postponed by means of some kind of a mob-organized Austrian Bonapartist compromise—and a postponement of this kind could have an extremely unreliable and a very temporary character. The process thus checked would burst out in the course of the next few months or even weeks with a redoubled force and at a tenfold tempo. To build its policies upon checks, misperceptions, the plustering up of cricks, and petty political moralisms would mean for the proletariat to extend more time for the still weak Austrian Fascism in which to achieve its murderous mission.

"THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY"

On the other hand, confined himself to vapid generalizations on the subject of the "superiorities" of bourgeois democracy over Fascist dictatorship. As if the struggle is taking place between two schools of state law! Kingsley aptly remarked, "every state is reducible to armed detachments of men with the material appendages in the nature of jails, etc. At present this 'essence' of the state has been completely revealed in Austria. The political struggle which has developed in the course of a number of years upon the bones of democracy has been pushed back up against the clashes between armed detachments. It is necessary to call this fact by its name, clearly and precisely, and to draw from it all the necessary practical conclusions."

Instead of this, the Austrian social democracy demands an admission on our part that the struggle is being carried on "for democracy." As if the question lies in this at present! It goes without saying that we are not ready to make any concessions whatsoever to the Austro-Marxists as regards the theoretical and historical

The Austro-Marxists Are Chloroforming the Proletariat

Despite the experience of Italy and Germany, the leaders of Austrian social democracy do not understand the situation. In order to live and breathe, these people must fool themselves. They they cannot do otherwise than by fooling the proletariat.

Bauer places the blame for the defeat in Germany upon the Communists. We are not the ones to defend German Stalinists! But their chief crime consists in their having given the social democrats the possibility of preserving their influence upon the basic part of the German proletariat and of leading upon it the lactic of debasing and fatal capitulation, despite all the crimes and betrayals committed by the social democracy. In essence Bauer's policies are no different from the policies of Weis-Stampfer. But there is a distinction: Bauer will be unable to shift the responsibility upon the Austrian Stalinists who have managed to doom themselves to complete impotence. "The Austrian social democracy is not only the leading party of the proletariat, but it is the strongest, as regards the population, social democratic party in the world. The political responsibility lies upon the Austrian social democracy, solely and entirely. All the more fatal will prove to be the consequences of its present policies."

The Austro-Marxists say:—If we are deprived of "liberty," then we shall fight to "the end." By such subterfuge they want to "gain" time for their vacillations, when in reality they are losing the most precious time for the preparation of defense. After the enemy deprives them of liberty, it will be a hundred times more difficult to fight, for the liquidation of rights will be accompanied by military and police destruction of the proletarian press and the proletarian apparatus. The enemy prepares and acts while the social democracy bides its time and whines. The Vorwärts also repeated times immemorial: "Woe to Fascism, if it ventures against us!" The events have demonstrated the value of such rhetoric. The party which proved incapable of giving battle when it held in its hands almost impregnable positions and powerful resources will crumble into dust when it is completely expelled from the legal arena.

(To Be Continued)

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

will disassociate us from that trash and put all these matters in their true light." Against whom is this directed? Surely not against us. We warned against it in time.

Whether the party and the I. L. D. will disassociate themselves from this trash remains to be seen. We hope they will. And the sooner the better. Much time has been lost and much damage done. The first step to repair it is to repudiate Liebowitz's statements and tell him to confine himself to the purely legal aspects of the case.

But that is not enough. The central and most immediate task is to organize the protest movement of the workers. If that is not done the protest movement will and other leaders and be directed into reformist channels. There are signs of this already. Upon receiving news of the verdict the Amsterdam News, a petty bourgeois Negro newspaper in Harlem, began a petition campaign against the death sentence. Plans are already under way to organize a march from all parts of the country on Washington to protest the verdict.

The party says that the struggle must rise to a higher stage. But it has not given the signal to organize it. This it must do without delay. The masses are burning with a sense of outrage. They are eager to fight. They seek leadership. Only the Communist party can give correct leadership and direction to the struggle and save the movement from being diverted into channels harmless to the capitalists. That is its duty in the situation.

Call the united front conferences! Organize the protest movement of the workers! Let their indignation mount to the skies! United, they can smash the Scottsboro frame-up! The Scottsboro boys shall not die!

—T. STAMM.



Unite on May 1st Against World Reaction!

Red Baiting in Illinois

The P. M. A. Under Fire

In recent days, the reactionary press in Illinois has even attempted to work up a "red scare" in the Progressive Miners Union. Having failed to break the magnificent movement of the progressive miners by frontal attack, the coal operators have decided to supplement the physical terror of the state forces and the Lewis gangsters with a campaign of ideological fear within the union. They have developed a great solicitude about the political opinions of some of the leading miners in the union—especially Jerry Allard. And with their well-known concern for the welfare of the miners they are warning them to get rid of him and all others whom they identify as Communists or class struggle militants. They are saying in effect to the miners: "We have nothing against you as coal miners. As a matter of fact, in that capacity you are necessary for the production of our profits. What we object to is the fact that you have broken with the Lewis unionism, which suited us to perfection, and have begun to fight for your rights. If you will give up this idea and stop listening to people who stir up the spirit of class militancy and resistance, we will be satisfied. In other words, if you will transform yourselves into sheep, we will eat you up and then we will have peace together."

The attack on Allard as a Communist, conducted in sensational articles in the "Taylorville Breeze" and other organs of the big interests, is obviously a part of the general campaign of reaction against the Progressive Miners. The object of the "red scare" is to discredit the union before public opinion and thus to prepare the ground for more terrorist aggression, to intimidate the membership and consolidate the conservative right wing in the union (the concealed agents of Lewisism, and to drive the official leadership of the union at a faster pace on the path of conservatizing the organization. If they can succeed with this campaign of demoralizing the union from within, then the "Progressive Miners" organization as a center of resistance to the capitalists and an inspiration to the miners throughout the country, as well as to the working class generally, will have become a thing of the past.

The Enemy's Aim

The game of the operators and their agents is an old one. And there is only one way to meet it, as all experience has shown. That is to assert the independence of the union. To reject all advice offered to it by the class enemy. The union will not thrive and grow by conciliating the bosses, by capitulating to their ideology, by "domesticating" the union and making it acceptable to the bosses. This is what the bosses want. This is what they are aiming at with the new Communist bait. To understand this and to fight against it is the elementary duty of the leading elements in the union, including Allard and the other individuals under attack.

But the response made to the attack in the "Progressive Miner" up till now does not in the least indicate an understanding of this strength of the enemy and underestimating the inner resources of the progressive miners' movement, as is always the case with "progressives" of all hues, they are trying to counter the brutal offensive of the class enemy with a "clever" strategy of camouflage and capitulation. They seek to ward off the attack by denying the "charges" of any Communist influence in the union. Thus, by implication, they disavow any tendency toward class struggle militancy, which is what the bosses really mean when they talk of Communism. Thus they lay the ground for the proscription not only of Communists but of all class struggle militants inside the union. And by that they concede the main demands of the bosses. Allard too, who should know better, allowed himself to fall in with this worthless strategy.

The class conscious members in the progressive miners' movement have to recognize the real purpose of this new attack of the class enemy on the ideological front. The operators and their tools have been unable to smash the movement in open struggle. Now they are trying to demoralize it from within, to rob it of the militancy which called it into life and sustained it in struggle—to purge it of those very qualities which have distinguished it from the corrupt unionism of Lewis and, eventually, to drive it back into the Lewis camp. Now is the time to call to mind the tragic fate of the previous insurgent movements which

were disorganized and defeated by those very methods. Now is the time for the real militants, who have carried the new movement on their shoulders in struggle and sacrifice, to remember the bitter experiences with Walker, Howat, and Edmondson and to say to all the leading forces in the new movement: "Nobody can lead us again onto this slippery path which leads to demoralization and defeat."

The Present Course of the P. M. A. Leadership

The present trend, however, is in this direction. The course of the official leadership over a considerable period now has been to seek a "stabilization" of the union at the expense of its class struggle character. The negotiations and proposed agreement with Governor Doremus, the ban on the demonstrations for the Taylorville prisoners, the new wage contract—in all these, and in a number of other important questions, the course of

(Continued on Page 4)

Russian Movie; May 6th, 8 p.m. Labor Temple

As announced in the previous issue of the Militant, a unique film of the Russian Revolution will be exhibited at a limited and private showing on Saturday, May 6, 1933. This film to be shown complete for the first time, reveals the actual and authentic pictures of all the important events and actions before, during and after the Russian Revolution, and covers a period of 20 years of Russia's life.

A record of events from the first decade in the 20th century, from early Russia in Czarist days through the death of Lenin and the exile of Trotsky to Leningrad; the July uprising; the Kornilov movement; the Social Revolutionists; the rise of the Bolsheviks; the role of Lenin and Trotsky and other leaders of the Bolsheviks; the Soviets; the rise to power of Bolshevism; the Civil War on the various fronts; grand scenes of all the Russias; the Comintern—this and more is to be seen in this outstanding factual film of the historic Russian revolution.

The film is being shown under the auspices of the Film Club of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America, (Opposition). The Committee in charge of the details wishes to announce to the Film Club members that they must obtain their SUBSCRIPTION TICKETS IN ADVANCE, if they wish to view the film. This is a limited, private showing and no tickets can be obtained at the door.

Members, obtain your subscription ticket at once at the headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition), 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

S. P. Sabotages Mooney Struggle

The fourth session of the Congressional Committee of the New York United Front Tom Mooney Conference established that the course of the Stalinists in their back-door bargaining with the Socialist party failed to bring the latter into the movement. Palmer reported that on Thursday, April 23, Clarence Senior informed the negotiations committee that the N. E. C. of the S. P. had decided not to approve the Chicago Mooney Congress.

WHY WE MISSED AN ISSUE

During the past week the Militant received numerous, anxious inquiries from its readers and friends asking why it had to skip an issue. No one, and least of all the small staff which struggles with mountainous obstacles to get out the paper, has to be reminded of the fact that the loss of an issue in these times is, not merely a technical setback and a loss of time, but a political setback as well. That is why the whole movement watches the appearance of the Militant with such close attention.

But it could not be helped. Here is the reason. Our financial crisis, which has been deepening with the increasing depth of the general crisis of capitalism, came to a head last week with an accident, which made our linotype useless. A fire burned up the keyboard. To heap Pella on Ossa the press broke down.

Just as these burdens were thrust on our shoulders our creditors took it into their heads to press

hardest for payment. The linotype company presented us with a foreclosure notice; the landlord served us with an eviction notice, the paper company cut off our credit; and a number of other people dunned us persistently.

Under these circumstances there was no alternative. We were forced to skip the issue. To make matters worse we were unable to take together enough money to get our letters to our friends appealing to them to help us in the emergency. A mountain of correspondence had accumulated awaiting postage. At this point let us say that even this form of assistance will be a great help in the circumstances.

By almost unbelievable efforts, by straining every nerve and resource to the breaking point we repaired the press and linotype. They are working once more. But the situation remains as desperate as before. A factory ninety per cent completed is useless for productive purposes. The structure

necessary to insure the regular appearance of the Militant has not yet been rebuilt. We are still facing the loss of our machinery and the loss of our home.

It is simply unthinkable that these catastrophic "materialize." But it will unless everyone understands that this is the danger and acts accordingly and promptly. We must, we will overcome this crisis. We must have help immediately—\$200.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe and raise the necessary sum—resolute sacrifice. The movement is straining itself to the limit. It calls now on all its friends to make a concrete demonstration of their sympathy for the ideas of the Left Opposition, for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism, for the clarification of Marxism, the Militant. Save the Militant!

Air Mail! Wire! Rush funds immediately to THE MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

Inflation Bill Deceptive

Roosevelt Retreats before Petty Bourgeois Pressure and Threatens Workers' Standard with New Measures

The prospects of inflation have been brought considerably closer by two actions undertaken by Roosevelt in the last two weeks: One is the embargo on gold, which cut the paper dollar internationally, as well as nationally, from gold and left it free to find its own level. The immediate result was a decline in the international price of the paper dollar to a discount of 16 percent, that is, an American dollar became worth 84 cents in any gold-standard currency such as the French, Dutch or Swiss, and also in the English pound, which remained stable during this period in relation to the gold currencies. Since then, the dollar has been rising steadily, and as of April 28 was quoted at a discount of 8 percent, i. e., had risen from 84 to 92 cents in gold.

In its dealings with other countries, in the exchange of commodities, capital and services, the United States received in 1932, \$131,000,000 than it paid out, against \$100,000,000 in 1931. This balance is payable directly or indirectly in gold. As long as the balance of payments remains in favor of the United States, the dollar will tend to rise toward par, because it will tend to receive more claims on the world's gold than it pays out.

The gold embargo alone therefore does not constitute inflation, which is a depreciation of the paper currency in comparison with gold. The door to inflation was thrown wide open by Roosevelt's second step, the demand from Congress for legislation authorizing him to choose any, all or none of four different kinds of inflation—through bank credit; the issue of unsecured greenbacks, the use of silver purchased in large quantities

up to a price above the present market, and the redemption of the gold dollar to mean a smaller amount of gold, down to a reduction of 50 percent from the present.

This step appears to represent a maneuver of Roosevelt's under pressure from the petty bourgeoisie, especially the agrarian petty bourgeoisie, terrified by the inflation and direct action of the farmers' movement. The first test of strength came in a bill for silver currency inflation, which was defeated 43 to 33. The size of the minority and the continued agitation among the farmers decided Roosevelt to change his tactics, where Hoover would undoubtedly have continued in bull-headed opposition, both representing primarily the interests of monopoly finance-capital as against all other classes. Roosevelt's maneuver consists in offering first the appearance of inflation, through the gold embargo and the speculative rise in stocks and commodities which followed it; to be followed, in accordance with the amount of pressure put on the government by the petty bourgeoisie, by as little concessions to their demand for inflation as practicable, the so-called "controlled inflation," should inflation on a substantial scale become necessary, finance-capital will arrange itself (through re-borrowing from the Federal Reserve banks, through depreciation of the value of claims against the banks in the form of deposits, through increased speculation in stocks and commodities to counterbalance losses in bank investments) so as to obtain as much benefit or as little loss as possible, in the domestic sphere. On the international scale, American inflation would mean a loss of strategically advantageous positions in the export of capital, and would relatively strengthen the position of French capital, and of English capital to the extent that it was able to work out a temporary agreement with French capital. This latter perspective, pointed out in the Militant of March 8, has been verified by the recently announced Anglo-French banking and currency arrangements.

Intention?—Rather Dedication! Actually what has happened since the "bank holiday" has been a process of steady deflation, not inflation at all. Since March 8, the lowest point of the banking crisis, the Federal Reserve banks have increased their holdings of gold by over \$700,000,000, and reduced the total money in circulation by over \$1,500,000,000, both decidedly deflationary measures tending to increase the value of paper money in terms of gold, therefore to increase the buying power of the dollar. The latest available figures, those for the week ending April 26, 1933, show that this deflation is still going on—gold holdings increased over \$30,000,000, and money in circulation decreased \$74,000,000.

During this period also, interest rates have been coming down, a further sign of deflation, indicating that the demand for money is less than the amount available for offer. Roosevelt's policies, up to the sharp turn taken by the gold embargo and the introduction of the four-way inflation bill, were

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Fascist Terror Rages Against German Masses

Fascist Germany presents today a frightful picture of devastation of a once powerful revolutionary and working class movement. The Communist party has been destroyed, vanishing under heavy, well-aimed blows. The Stalinist policy delivered the party, and with it the working class, gagged and bound to the Fascist hordes.

The Socialist party is crippled apparently beyond recovery. Only its parliamentary skeleton is still attempting to maintain an humble, subservient existence. The trade unions are beginning to feel the Fascist lash. Many of their headquarters are sacked and now the preparations are in full swing to turn them into Fascist state organs. All Communist and even social democratic delegates are unceremoniously removed from the factory councils and replaced by Fascists, that is, where the councils are not dissolved altogether and new elections prohibited.

The savage howls of the roaring Fascist bandits who murder, pillage and destroy are pierced by the heart-rending groans from the torture chambers. The bestialities which actually take place are indescribable.

This is the crowning height of the many bitter experiences suffered by the German proletariat since the first serious act of treason performed by the social democratic chieftains on August 4, 1914. This first step was only the beginning of the later unbridled wrecking, the drowning in blood of the workers' revolutionary struggles of 1918 to 1921, the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the perfidious collaboration in the restoration of capitalism.

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Workers Must Join Forces in Big Demonstration Despite Sabotage of Socialist Party Leaders

The working class faces May Day this year in the midst of a wave of international reaction, in a period of internal as well as external crisis. With bestial brutality bloody Fascism has smashed the proudest, the best organized, the traditionally strongest working class of capitalist Europe—the German proletariat, 50,000 thousand of its staunchest and most courageous fighters languish in the dungeons of sadistic Hitlerism. The Brown Shirt pest continues its penetration of every club, of every street, of every home, Austria, a small country but a tremendous citadel of working class power stands next in order.

The dark powers of Europe, inspired by the victory of Teuton Fascism, are pitting their heads together at Rome, plotting a new holy alliance, a crusade against Communism and its living fortress, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In Japan reaction stalks the land. In China the proletariat does not yet dare to lift its bleeding head. In India the spurred heel of British imperialism spurs into the prostrate backs of the people.

And in our country too, in America, after nearly four years of economic stress and unprecedented impoverishment and misery, capitalism is consolidating its forces for a "solution" that can only further enhance the enslavement of the masses of toilers in the cities and on the farms.

Never since the days of the catastrophe of 1914, has the working class faced such a difficult time, never before has it been so threatened with attacks from without and with disintegration from within. The German debacle hangs like an ominous shadow over the future of the proletariat. Attacked by an enemy armed to the teeth, favored by a wave of unrest and disillusionment and hope born of the economic convulsion of world capitalism, the organized forces of the working class of Germany have receded from the scene, beaten without a struggle.

The treacherous role of the social democracy in this miserable surrender was clear long before the fact. Social democracy has long ago, in the first great debacle of August 4, 1914, demonstrated its impotence and its capacity for working class betrayal. Nothing better could have been expected from it. Victory could come only upon the condition of the thorough unmaking of these traitors, upon the dissolution of the bonds between them and the masses who have followed them. Victory could come only if the Communist party carried out this task, if it itself proved its capacity for struggle.

It was precisely the failure to carry out this task, it was precisely the disregard for its importance; the shirking of this duty for the utopian bureaucratic dream of "socialism in one country" that has made the Stalinized Communist party of Germany and Communist International a partner of the so-

cial democracy in the monstrous crime against the German working class, in the effortless capitulation before Nazism. The betrayal of 1933 stands the death-knell for both the social democracy and Stalinism, for the two great distortions of revolutionary Marxism. The struggle of the working class against capitalism is from now on inextricably tied up with the merciless extermination of these two pestilent currents within its own breast.

Left Opposition Must Lead

The lead in this struggle of the working class belongs historically to those revolutionary fighters, who, in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin, swept over the head of a thoroughly discredited Menshevik social democracy to the October victory; to those heroic figures who in the years of the Civil war and intervention stood at the head of every front in defense of the proletarian fortress; to those indefatigable Marxist battlers who, when reaction followed reaction with the betrayal of the German social democracy for a second time in 1918, when petty bourgeois reformism filtered into the ranks of the Communist movement through the agency of bureaucratic Stalinism, stood alone but firm in the defense of the Leninist standard of world revolution against national socialism and pointed out time after time, the revolutionary road to be followed—in China, in Great Britain and last but not least, in Germany itself. The lead belongs to the Trotsky and Rakovsky, to the thousands of tried and tested Bolshevik-Leninists following them in the International Left Opposition.

The attack of the forces of reaction can be countered successfully only by a struggle against disintegration from within, by the application of the Marxist policies of the International Left Opposition, in the Soviet Union itself, as well as in the capitalist countries. Against the forces of reaction must be forged the forces of progress, of revolution. This difficult task, this duty imposed by the dark situation threatening the international working class, can be solved only by the reestablishment of Marxist clarity within the Communist movement and by enforcement of the Leninist united front tactic in the general working class movement.

The May Day mobilization stands under the sign of this task. Every Communist must be made aware that only a rejection of the disastrous policies of Stalinist centrism, only a reestablishment of the Marxist perspective of permanent revolution, can prevent the destruction of October and halt the hand of reaction. Every worker must be made to realize that only the establishment of a solid, united working class front can withstand the dastardly schemes of the capitalist class in its attempt to lead the proletariat into the new Dark Ages of wage-slave savagery.

Socialist treachery and Stalinist bungling have helped the Nazis to turn May Day in Germany into a black day of the proletariat. The international holiday of the proletariat is celebrated in Berlin this year as a day of nationalistic debauch under the flag of the hooked cross. The workers in the rest of the world and here in America must show their indignation. They must protest against the Brown Shirt May Day in Berlin by a powerful united Red demonstration of internationalism. They must show the Nazi murderers by this demonstration that the international working class is girding its loins for battle.

On May 1st the whole world must know that every section, tendency and shade of the revolutionary and labor movement can stand together in a fight for a common battle can weld its forces in a united front. We have great objectives to attain the world over. In the U. S. the great battle for the release of Tom Mooney and freedom for the Scottsboro boys will be given a tremendous impetus when the proletariat fills streets in serried ranks on May 1st.

Socialist Party Sabotage

In face of this, how criminal are the perfidious actions of the treacherous leaders of the Socialist party in splitting the ranks of the workers. These fakers have turned down the genuine offer of the united Front May Day Committee, composed of Communists, Mustekes, I. W. W.s, etc., for one demonstration in New York. Their obsequious, bootlicking services to the capitalist class need no other proof than this. Not content with this vile treason in breaking the workers ranks the S. P. fakers make

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Scottsboro March On Capital

Legally, the Scottsboro Case stands as follows: an appeal is being taken by the defense from the death verdict of the Decatur jury; the trial judge has continued the cases of the other defendants on the ground that a fair trial under the present circumstances is impossible; and, irony of ironies, he places the blame for the prejudiced atmosphere on Liebowitz. The L. D. has applied for a writ of habeas corpus for two of the boys on various legal grounds.

With the temporary lull on the legal front the mass protest movement alone occupies the center of the stage in this great class drama in which we are fighting for the democratic rights of the Negroes and the unity of the black and white workers. In the forefront of the protest and defense movement stands the march on Washington scheduled to arrive there on May 8.

The March to Washington

The march was first projected by the Ilard, petty bourgeois newspaper, The Amsterdam News. Riding the crest of the first wave of the spontaneous protest of the Negro masses this paper issued a call for fifty thousand to march on the capital. With the entry of the L. D. on the scene, the initiative in organizing such a demonstration passed into its hands. Since then the Amsterdam News has shown that its first burst of enthusiasm was not sustained by the determination necessary to

carry out this mass action and the L. D. is undisputed leader of the march, as, indeed, it should be.

If the L. D. is the undisputed leader of the march then, leaving objective conditions aside for the moment, the responsibility for its success or failure as an organized mass demonstration rests squarely on the L. D. A successfully organized march can raise the protest movement to the masses to greater heights. It can inspire the terrorized masses of the south to struggle for their democratic rights and draw them further into united mass action with the white workers. And since the whole movement is being conducted under the banner of militant mass action, which the whole working class knows, in this instance, to be the banner of Communism, a successful march must increase the prestige of Communism in the eyes of the masses.

Conversely a poor organized march with no spirit, the morale of which is low will react on the movement unfavorably. The spark of enthusiasm and contagion will not be struck. The L. D. would lose prestige and the prestige of Communism would also suffer.

It is from this point of view that we criticize the preparations for the march. The call asks all participants to supply their own food and the organizations sending re-

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

League in Action in Philadelphia

Philadelphia.—A sectional united front conference against elections was called on March 30. The Unemployed Councils of West Philadelphia called it. The conference made an effort to be broad—in composition only. It was almost treason to connect local with national or international problems. No trade unions were represented, one Y. P. S. L. local, one church. Nothing was said at the conference of social-fascists or of a "united front from below". As a matter of fact the party made a complete somersault and now appears ready to enter into united fronts with social reformists, without reserving the right to criticize. In such united fronts Bender, the conference leader, feels like a fish in water. He said: "This conference was called to compel our representatives in the legislature to keep their promises;" and "that only by mass action can the workers end their misery".

Comrade Roberts criticized the narrow parliamentary base as well as the creation of illusions that under capitalism the workers can end their misery. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can do that, but in order to lay the foundation it is necessary to fight back the attacks of the bosses, "the real fruit of our victory lies not in the immediate result but in the ever-expanding union of workers". At the conclusion of the speech Roberts was given a good round of applause.

The Communist party as an organization was not represented until reminded in the resolutions committee by comrade Hirsch of the Left Opposition. As usual, our proposal of long-term credits to and recognition of the Soviet Union, was rejected as having nothing to do with the conference. A proposal that all workers' organizations from the Soviet Union down to the smallest workers' group boycott German goods, met with same rebuff.

We did, however, succeed in passing some resolutions, which the conference leaders had completely forgotten. They were: (1) against the commissary plan; (2) social insurance at the expense of the government and employers; (3) against Roosevelt's reforestation plan; (4) six-hour day, five-day week without reduction in pay. Of particular interest are the last two. The narrowing down of the conference proved a boomerang to the Stalinists. Resolution number 3 was met with the objection by a delegate from the Paolo Zionists but this was beyond the scope of the conference.

The conference adjourned with the election of a committee of action which is to carry on the work of the body. Roberts was elected to this committee. Nothing was said about our class war prisoners (Tom Mooney, etc.). When, after the conference, Roberts asked the reason for this, the cynical answer was given: "Do you want us to be here all night?"

On March 31 comrade Sam Gordon delivered a lecture on "Danger Signals in Soviet Economy". Despite the rain the meeting was well attended by workers desirous of hearing the views of the Left Opposition. Several Communist party members and sympathizers took the floor in the discussion and asked questions. Comrade Gordon made it clear that we refuse to conceal shortcomings by gloating over doubtful successes. Comrade Gordon pointed out the reasons for the weaknesses of Soviet economy and the solutions for the difficulties, to be found not in the Stalinist conception of socialism in one country but in the Leninist theory of the permanent revolution. A lively discussion ensued in which the point of view of the Left Opposition was brought home. A great deal of literature was sold.

The Anti-Nazi Demonstration in Philadelphia

The Stalinist policies and tactics permitted the rabble, the capitalist politicians to capitalize on the anti-Semitism of the Nazis and to divert it into safe channels. This Thursday, April 6 the C. P. of Phila. arranged a protest demonstration against Hitlerism under its own name at Rensselaer Plaza. Not even the rain can account for the fact that only 500 workers participated in the parade. Preparation were extremely meager. Only the closest party circles participated. Almost all were foreign born and Negro workers—who due to lessons of the past responded quickest against Fascist terror. Not all the cheers for the C. P. of Germany and the U. S. A. could remove the doubt, still unvoiced, from the minds of these workers as to the correctness of the Stalinist policies.

The paraders were glad to see us of the Left Opposition in the march with them. Perhaps we were right after all. The comrades were unable to understand the absence of an attack on the socialist position. No campaign of clarification and of honest explanation is undertaken. Only this week has the party begun a discussion. This demonstration should be an indication to the party members that only a sincere and honest thru can bring results and extend the influence of Communism among the masses.

—L. R.

Stalinist Opportunism in Mpls. Elections

Minneapolis.—On April 22 the United Front Conference for the Workers Ticket Election Campaign was held in Minneapolis. The major part of the conference work was expended on clearing up wreckage wrought by the party's opportunist policy at the "preliminary" conference held some weeks before. The opportunism of the district leadership consisted in this: they attempted to get around the deep-seated prejudices of the reformist-minded worker by approaching him with a "united front workers' ticket" behind which would hide the C. P. At the same time this form for the Communist ticket would allow the party to unite with individual candidates who have a following in the labor movement and that would bring to the polls votes for the C. P. candidates on the "Workers ticket". Just such an individual did they have in Walter Frank, a free-lancing radical who has made the circuit of all political tendencies in labor movement, and is at present flirting with the party in the P. S. U. and T. U. C. for Unemployment Insurance. He was endorsed by the party-controlled conference upon his endorsement of the "workers ticket" platform which consisted primarily of immediate demands and was void of the revolutionary aims and objectives of Communism. It did not even uphold the need of an independent working class political party, a Communist party.

Frank was out to be elected, he accepted the help of the party, and had promised nothing in return.

Walter Frank's first leaflet practically told the workers they needed no political party, but instead "Workers Unity". The result was that the party's backstage dealings with this opportunist office-seeker had to be exposed by the Left Opposition. We frankly told all party members we met that if the party persisted in its opportunism we would file a Communist candidate against Frank in that ward. As though the local Stalinists saw the light from somewhere, they issued a leaflet one week before the second "United Front Workers Ticket Conference" violently attacking Frank, repudiating his endorsement by the party, calling for support of the "Workers ticket" platform on the grounds of its "class struggle" character, in other words made a fair, general statement of the Communist program and principles.

At the conference proper they submitted a platform with paragraphs added, others deleted, and on the basis of it proceeded to "thrash" Frank for being what he always was in the united front, an opportunist radical politician, Frank's defense before the workers in the conference was that the party had broke its agreement with him and had changed the original platform. A disgusting melee.

Meanwhile the Opposition delegates were unscathed on the report of the credential committee. An honest party member made the report. When he came to the matter of why the Opposition should not be seated, he stopped, went into a huddle with the leaders, came back and stammered out the "reasons". The chairman drove the motion through the meeting without allowing discussion. While the conference rejected Frank, the only non-party candidate, and thus destroyed its united front character, the party continued to call it a united front, for well thought-out opportunist reasons. It is to be the name, the cover for the C. P. a demagogic frill, to pick up workers and store-keepers votes. The Germanic candidates, all Communists, have election cards bearing no mention of Communism, just "candidate on workers' ticket". Leninists are the same, carrying the name of the Conference with occasional mention of "endorsed by C. P.". At an aldermanic campaign meeting the Opposition criticized this aspect of the party campaign. Petty functionaries rose one after another, each giving a more confused, opportunist, explanation of the "united front workers ticket". A confused Farmer-Labor party faction leader in the Ward F. L. P. Club who was chairman of this meeting arranged for the Workers Circle branch, sided with the party arguments on an "election united front" cited the "wise" policy of the party in the farmer-labor united front of 1924-28, greeted this "new" policy, and then unconsciously clinched the truth of our contention for the party not to play with election united fronts. He said, "Did not we have in this ball (Workers Union Ass'n.), a Left wing of four hundred followers, did not the party lead us into the Farmer-Labor party? Why did it leave us there? Was it not because you told us it was a working class party?" The last election united front policy of the party founded, nurtured, and built the formidable reformist Farmer-Labor party, a bulwark against Communism in the masses. This last united front election policy launched the opportunist Walter Frank into his race for political office with the label, "workers candidate", fighting for "workers unity". Despite the masquerade of names and the comedy of endorsements, the Left Opposition will support the Communist candidates in the city elections, and campaign for them on a clear-cut anti-spoken Communist banner and program.

—C. FORSEN.

The S. P.'s Continental Congress

The role of social reformism, how it arises and grows, has been sufficiently established by the Marxists since the post-war period. It grows simultaneously with the advance of the revolutionary movement. Its aim is to act as a brake upon rising tide of struggle. The more acute the class struggle the more active do the reformists become. They pretend at a struggle, only to retreat, cripple and destroy such conflicts at their decisive moments. In the "democratic era" of capitalism they flourish like the proverbial mushrooms after a rain. When capitalism resorts to an open and naked dictatorship (Fascism) as in Germany they are thrust aside as a hindrance to the process of completely decapitating the proletariat.

Quite contrary to the "third period" theorists of Stalinism, social reformism in the United States is not dead, nor is it in the process of extinction. The "span of life" of reformism in this country is not the point under discussion at present. The decisive question is whether or not reformism has the possibilities of activity and growth under the given conditions and state of class struggle in the United States. And to this we must answer in the affirmative. To deny the "Fascist Hoover Government" and "Fascist Commissions" as the Daily Worker does in its most delirious moments, results only in confusion and error. In doing that it signifies that the path of reformism has already been beaten and is covered with the foot-prints of American Fascism.

Four years of crisis have torn deep roles in American capitalism. They have posed weaknesses that appeared absent during the "prosperity" years. The impact of the crisis is demonstrating to American imperialism more clearly than ever, that it must direct and base its economy on a world scale. We will witness a greater participation of the United States in world affairs on the political field, and an intensified activity in the sphere of international economy. In preparing for this stage, American capitalism must first of all settle accounts at home. It proceeds to lower the standard of living of the American working class nationally. Since the crisis a series of interrupted wage-cuts has taken place. This process is being completed. And it is being completed, thus far, without apparent resistance by the working masses.

Whatever the level of recovery may be it will be carried through by smashing the living standards of the masses. That is inherent in the situation. American capitalism has not yet been seriously burdened with the problems of relief and social insurance. With brutal callousness it has resisted every demand for these. To expect that these demands would have been

I. L. D. Refuses Aid to Greek Worker

On April 22nd last year, Nick Gramataikis, unemployed worker, was arrested while participating in the unemployed demonstration at City Hall which was turned into a blood bath by the savage attacks of the police. The city's "honest" on horseback, and foot charged into the crowds trampling them under hooks and beating them with clubs, men and women alike, indiscriminately. When a woman comrade was being brutally clubbed, Nick Gramataikis fearlessly intervened. This resulted in his arrest.

The Daily Worker of April 23, 1932 gave considerable prominence to the story of the arrests and police brutalities, but failed to mention the name of any of the workers arrested except that of George Powers, the leader of the demonstration. Two days later it announced a mass protest demonstration against the party terror to be held April 29th. It failed to report this demonstration and never once did it mention the names of these class struggle victims.

In the hands of the police, the unemployed worker Gramataikis was frightfully beaten, causing him to be confined in the hospital at Welfare Island for about a month. On the expiration of this sentence, he was sent to Ellis Island for deportation.

At the time of his arrest and during all these events, Gramataikis was a member of the Spartakos Club, the Party's Greek workers' organization and he was defended by the I. L. D. After being held for a month or more at Ellis Island, he was released on bail, a \$1,000 bond being put up for him. This bond was given by a surety company and the security for it was provided by a member of the Spartakos Club.

Since that time, some petty quarrels arose between Gramataikis and the ruling clique at the Club, the Stalin clique causing his expulsion. Soon after this took place, he received a notification from the Ellis Island authorities to present himself there, informing him that the surety company which had posted his bond was in the process of liquidation, and that he was required to put up a new bond. The letter of notification was addressed to him at the Spartakos Club and was not delivered to him by them until the very evening before he

Communists Must Break Thru 'Closed Door' Policy

granted without an intensive struggle on the part of the workers is a serious error. It is precisely because of a national scale such struggles were absent and serious resistance was not recorded, that the ruling class in this country was able to carry through its drive against the masses to lower their living standards and at the same time refuse aid to the unemployed without serious difficulties.

The weakness of the subjective factor: the state of consciousness of the American workers, are flowing from this the absence of a mass Communist party with correct policies, and a militant labor movement, is in the main the reason for the lack of great class battles. Whatever struggles have taken place were at best sporadic, intensive though some of them may have been. The gains however were small and localized and thus their scope is entirely too narrow. The bulk of the struggle was carried on almost primarily through the direct initiative and activity of the Communists.

Growing Mood of Struggle

The crisis will prove to be a great impulsion to the class-conscious development of the American workers. This is evidenced by a growing mood of struggle seen in great demonstrations of unemployment, the auto strikes, the movement of the Illinois miners, and the recent organization of the "Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee" at Gillespie. In all of these events the Communists have played an active and leading role. This role will increase with the development of the struggle. It is important to remember this.

With these remarks let us examine the call for a "Continental Congress of workers and farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington on May 6 and 7. The leading elements in framing the call and the conference are the socialist and their allies in the American Federation of Labor. The one of the call is adorned with a cartoon showing how labor is driving the moneybags out of the Capitol. This cartoon is supposed to describe the statement of William Green, arch-reactionary head of the A. F. of L., also appearing on page one, as an introduction to the call itself.

Green declares: "For we shall soon be on the march... We shall FIGHT with every legitimate weapon at our command... We have come to what we are determined shall be the END OF SUPPLYING... We prefer the council table, but we do not shun the BATTLEFIELD... I am ready to LEAD the hosts of labor into a BATTLE... The die is cast for

THE BATTLE out of which labor expects a new America?" (Emphasis mine—G.)

What strange words, coming from the reactionary leader of the organized labor movement who has done everything in his power to throttle the slightest note of militancy in its ranks. The apostle of class collaboration will lead the hosts of labor into a battle, a battle for a new America!

This is the introduction to the call addressed to the workers and farmers of the United States, to convene and "draw up a program to right the grievous wrongs we have suffered and set up a national council of the working people in the city, state and nation to ensure its realization". And to this congress are invited: "(a) Progressive organization of farmers; (b) Organization of Labor; (c) Cooperative Societies; (d) The Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties; single taxers; and other liberal political groups; (e) Labor fraternal bodies and unemployed leagues; WHOSE PURPOSES ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE OBJECTS OF THIS CONFERENCE." The call further declares: "Through the vigilance, the strength of a just cause, and the pressure of our democratic mass strength we shall ENJOY to win for all men, women and children of this Nation a TRUE FREEDOM—FREEDOM FROM POVERTY, HUNGER AND ECONOMIC INSECURITY." (Emphasis mine—G.)

The mere statement of Green, veneered with a dash of militancy, is an indication, above all, of a fear of a developing movement of the American proletariat for militant struggle. This fear is accentuated by the thought that this developing movement may form under the leadership of the Communists who have until now been the main factor in those class struggles already taking place. It is axiomatic that when a Green wishes to do battle in the interests of the proletariat the real purpose in such militancy is to check the movement of the workers, to choke it before it begins, or if unsuccessful in that, to canalize it into the stream of reformism.

Aim of Conference

In that respect at least there are no differences between Green and his socialist comrades who signed the call and have taken the initiative in bringing about the conference. They are going to bring about a true freedom, a freedom from poverty, hunger and economic security. Under what kind of program will this political, economic and social change take place? Under the program adopted at this congress that will be attended by the widest variety of elements. Is this a merely another utopian plan? No, its main aim is to lead off and destroy at once the growth of the revolutionary movement. To do this it is not enough to organize a united front movement in the struggle for the demands of the suffering unemployed. These people must rely upon something else, a substitute offering for social reorganization that will sound "reasonable and capable of achievement" and yet be a far cry from the revolutionary program of the Communists.

Isn't this clear in the nature of the call? To secure this aim all organizations are invited except the Communists and revolutionary workers. Even the single taxers (!) are invited. But the Communist party, the T. U. U. L. and the Unemployed Councils, the revolutionary wing of the proletariat are not invited. The intention is to build a movement that will go into "battle" for a "true freedom". What kind of a battle and what kind of true freedom will this be when the heart of the proletariat is to be excluded from participation? The answer is: there will be no battle nor a true freedom if the leaders of this movement carry through their purpose of excluding the revolutionists from the conference. The real aim is the building of a reformist movement that will attempt to check the rising class-conscious American proletariat.

That the socialists, who consistently profess their "adherence" to Marxism and socialism, take the lead in this movement only testifies to their theoretical and political degeneration. It is in the name of Marxism that they are creating this movement. It is in the name of socialism that they are attempting to bring about a true freedom in joint "struggle" with the reactionary labor leaders, liberal political groups, single taxers, etc.

The Communist, revolutionary and militant workers must break through the closed-door policy of the congress. The congress without doubt, will be attended by many workers' organizations of all shades of opinions and aims. While exposing the program of disunity and reformism, the Left wing must count with the demand for a genuine united front. It must fight against the exclusion of any section of the working class. It will have to present a counter-program of action, free from the confusing reformist class consciousness of the American workers. Such a tactic, intelligently and correctly carried out, will win the support of the workers assembled in the congress. It may prevent the emergence of an organization whose main purpose will be that of fighting the Communist, and turn it into an organization of militant class struggle whose purpose will be to fight for the interests of the working masses.

—ESTHER FIELD.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

NEW SUB DRIVE

Well we're back at you. We're off on a new sub drive. This one is scheduled to run from now to the end of June, roughly about six weeks. And it's got to hum from start to finish.

THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN

As a result of our German campaign, we're a bigger organization now. We cover a greater amount of territory. There are more of us. The Militant reaches and is read by a greater number of workers. Interest in it is keener. All the objective requirements exist for a successful drive.

It's just a question of putting your back into it. There is urgent reason to put this drive over with a great big bang. The financial situation of the Militant is not what it should be. It's shy and tuck to get the issue out. All kinds of troubles descend on us. One week it's the press, the next it's the linotype. We laugh them off. They're growing pains. Our battling average is pretty high.

But how about it in the field? Are you in this thing? Are you lying awake at nights contriving schemes to get subs to put a sounder and firmer and wider base under our paper? If you are you will welcome this drive. If you have been sleeping too soundly now is the time to get up and hop to it.

Have you got all three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky? Here is your chance to get a set for nothing. All you have to do is to come out on top in this sub drive. That is the goal every comrade can shoot at. Let's repeat it so there'll be no misunderstanding about it. To the comrade who gets the greatest number of subs by the 30 of June we will give without any strings tied to it a set of the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky.

And to console the runner up, to save that smart that you get from rambling along that almost and if tangent we'll give a bound volume of the Militant, either format, new or old, according to your fancy. Now isn't that something? So whale away comrades.

CLUB PLAN SUBS

Yes. Everything goes. All subs count. New ones, renewals, club plan subs. We want to pile up a total that'll put all the former records in the shade.

But if you're smart you'll concentrate on the club plan prepaid cards. That's where the heavy scoring will be done. You haven't forgotten about them? You remember they come in minimum units of four, prepaid (don't forget that; that's important). And each one at 50c is good for a regular \$1 half-year sub. And they count for four subs. A tip to the wise—

Now if you're very wise, you'll pay close attention and follow out our advice to the letter. Take two dollars, shoot them in here for four of these prepaid cards and ring up a starter of four subs. Then you can go out and resell these cards. When you resell them you have your two dollars back. Now shoot them in again for four more prepaid cards. As far as you're concerned they're the same two dollars. But they're working overtime piling up a score toward the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution. What could be simpler. Somebody once called it a revolving

fund. That's one name for it. But call it what you will it's a swell way to build the Militant.

If you don't like revolving funds that shouldn't stop you from getting four of these cards. You can give them away to unemployed workers. One way or another you can use these prepaid cards to build the Militant. So pitch in. Give it a boost. Help put the drive over. Get started right away.

Of course New York will have an advantage being closer to home and being able to start sooner. But New York has had to occupy second place before. It isn't always a New York comrade who comes out on top. If memory serves us right it's usually a comrade from some other city who shows the race a clean pair of heels. If you're west of the Hudson mail it a handiecap race and set out to give New York a drubbing. But you'll have to stop some. So let's go!

And watch next week's issue for the first reports.

Unity on May Day

(Continued from page 1)

a united front with the Police Department! First they attempted, with rotten congratulations to the new police commissioner to whom they stated: "We have always cooperated with the police and have not attacked them", to get the police to deny the united front demonstration the right to "Unite Square on May 1st."

"The pressure and the anger of the workers without and within their ranks forced these vile 'socialist' lackeys to retreat from this dastardly maneuver. But they were not to be deterred in their 'cooperation' with Commissioner Bohm, the smasher of the March 6th, 1930 demonstration, to keep the workers divided. Gorber, Lee, Claessens and their strike are now dickering with the police chief not only to prevent a united demonstration but to prevent the socialist workers, who will demonstrate on Union Square before the United Front demonstration, to remain and join the latter demonstration. They demand of their collaborator, Bohm, that the 'Square be cleared' before the United Front parade enters it! ! !

The workers must close their ranks in a united manifestation of international solidarity. The socialist brethren of Weis and Breit-scheid and all those who have directly sold out the German workers to Fascism, have rejected every effort toward a joint Communist and socialist demonstration. They have preferred, following the masses' policy in an effort to sabotage united struggle. The American workers must show the socialist saboteurs that they have learned their lesson from Germany. They must show that they will not permit their ranks to be split, that they will march together on the First of May, in spite of everything.

Workers, make the First of May, a day of united proletarian action! Show that the tragedy of the German proletariat will be avenged by learning the lessons of reformist betrayal and Stalinist national socialism which made it possible demonstrate under the banner of Leninist internationalism, under the banner of the Bolshevik Left Opposition!

Alteration Painters United Front

The "new United Front policy" of the Comintern is now making its appearance in the trade union field. The mechanical application of this policy by the Alteration Painters Union is a half-hearted attempt to correct some of the worst errors of the old "Third Period" sectarianism. But Centralism here also shows its halfness and inadequacy to advance a policy and a perspective that meets the demands of the present situation. Without a real change there can be no improvement.

Recently the Alteration Painters Union sent an open letter to the central bodies of the A. F. of L. Painters Union, outlining the conditions in the trade, and calling for the organization of a large conference representing the membership of both unions for united action for the improvement of the conditions of the painters in this city.

It is quite obvious that this is not sufficient, as an examination of the problems and the relation of forces in the industry will show. The painters in the city are divided into three groups, the first being the unorganized, who constitute the majority, the second are the workers in the A. F. of L. which controls the bulk of the organized painters and the third is the militant minority which is isolated in the Independent organizations the Alteration Painters' Union.

In such a situation the key to left wing strategy is the struggle for unity, because the workers, experiencing drastic reductions of their wages and working conditions, widespread unemployment, on the one hand, and the disunity of the painters, on the other, feel the need of a unified struggle and will support the militants if they are convinced that the militants are really fighting for this policy. This would also facilitate the task of organizing the unorganized.

This struggle for unity in the present situation should be formulated as follows:
J. Propose to the District Council of the A. F. of L. that the

Alteration Painters Union be admitted as a body with full membership rights.

2. On this basis to revive the Left wing in the A. F. of L. to fight for the unity of the two organizations.

3. All the independent work of the A. P. U. will be strengthened in the meantime because the union will be in a position to justify its independent existence and to prove to both the organized and unorganized workers that the bureaucrats in the A. F. of L. are against the unity of the painters and that the A. P. U. is leading the struggle for unity.

Even for such a proposal as made in the open letter, this broad tactic is necessary (call for united action pending unification). The present proposal hangs in mid-air as it gives no perspectives, let alone that of unity in one organization.

The militants now isolated in the Alteration Painters Union must follow a policy which aids the revival of the Left wing in the A. F. of L. and coordinates the struggle for unity. The Stalinists have shown time and again that they do not know how to do this. It is necessary to follow the tactic outlined above which proceeds from the trade union policy of the Left Opposition. This policy shows the way to build a real influence for the Left wing among the painters of this city.

—WILLIAM KITTY.

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Vol. VI, No. 24 (Whole No. 171)
SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1933
Subscription price: \$2.00 per year.
Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy

Some Fundamental Aspects of the Present Crisis in Germany

(This is the second of two articles on this subject. The first appeared in the *Militant* of April 11.)

All the elements of the objective situation favored the revolutionary solution of the German crisis under the leadership of the Communist party. The crisis was brought to a head by the ravages of the world economic depression. The social democracy was becoming increasingly discredited by the collapse of all social legislation—"practical" reformism—in the country (the Stalinist leadership of the party even went to the fantastic extreme of declaring the social democracy exposed as "social fascists"—twin brothers of fascism). The progress achieved by the Five Year Plan was a powerfully vivid demonstration of the superiority of planned socialist economy (the Stalinists themselves even went further with monstrous exaggerations of the successes and the proclamation of the establishment of a classless society within the next few years). What more could be desired? Yet the Communist Party of Germany failed miserably in the face of the tasks and the possibilities.

It is impossible to grasp the extent of this failure and the responsibility of the Stalinist faction for it without considering the particular policy, pursued in the light of fundamental perspective. The highly unrealistic policy of the ultimatum united front from below was not accidental. It flowed directly from the whole zigzag course initiated by the rise of the petty bourgeois current of Stalinism within the Communist International. It is this basic perspective—or rather, lack of perspective—which prepared the German catastrophe and it is for that reason that the disastrous policy in Germany can and must be stigmatized as a policy of betrayal.

Bolshevism grew and developed in the struggle against the treacherous petty bourgeois ideology of social democracy. In this struggle it led the proletariat of Russia to victory and showed the working class of the world the way, creating for it the Communist International in the fire of combat. Stalinism arose within the Bolshevik party and the Communist International as a reaction to Bolshevism, feeding upon the fatigue of the Soviet masses after the years of the strenuous civil war and upon the temporary defeats of the West European proletariat in the years 1918 to 1923. It was in all respects a hangover from the petty bourgeois ideology of the pre-Bolshevik period. Stalin had as late as March 1917 held on to the idea that it is the task of the provisional (democratic) government to "consolidate the achievements" of the revolution in which the masses were the chief actor. On the higher plane of the situation created by the October Revolution, Stalinism reproduced all the basic defects of the social democracy—its national reformism, its short sightedness.

The German social democratic bureaucracy, raised to power in the trade unions and mass organizations by the struggle of the working masses within the framework of the bourgeois state, rejected the Marxist perspective of the permanent revolution even within the narrow bounds of their own country. They rejected the proletarian dictatorship for the Weimar Republic. Their basic motivation was the fear for the preservation of their bureaucratic powers, the little posts and positions which the petty bourgeois layer of the movement had attained to. In the end, their shaky policy inevitably caught them within the trap of its own logic—and landed them in the lap of Fascist reaction.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, raised to power within the Soviet state by the October revolution is no more and no less than this same petty bourgeois bureaucracy reproduced on a higher historical stage. The anxiety for its own self-preservation and perpetuation has also been its guiding line. It is along this line that Stalinism started on its career with an attack upon the Marxian conception of the permanent revolution defended by L. D. Trotsky and the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists. The Stalin faction declared a struggle to the end against the permanent revolution in 1923. Two years later it broadened this breach with Marxism by setting up the theory of the possibility of establishing a socialist society in a single country—for all "practical" purposes, in Russia.

Within the framework of national boundaries the perspective of the permanent revolution signified steering a course toward the proletarian dictatorship. Only the dictatorship of the working class could serve as a conclusive guarantee for the completion of the democratic revolution. On the international scene, created by the establishment of the first workers' republics, this perspective pointed out a course leading to the extension of the October revolution to the rest of the world. Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in several of the advanced capitalist countries could assure the establishment of a socialist society in Soviet Russia with all its economic backwardness. This basic perspective called for a policy of intense attention and active aid to the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, in the first place. Secondly, it called for an internal policy of strengthening the Soviet regime by increasing the share of the socialist sector in economy so as to maintain the alliance of the

working class and the peasantry as the practical base of the proletarian dictatorship. The rejection of the fundamental perspective meant, in reality, also a rejection of the policies flowing from it.

By repudiating the perspective of revolutionary realism the Stalinists deprived the Soviet government and the Communist International, of which they had gained control, of the possibility of conducting a consistent policy corresponding with the practical tasks. The utopianism of their theory of socialism in one country predicted their utterly barren strategy and tactics in the problems which arose.

The perspective of the permanent revolution coupled with the Leninist evaluation of the imperialist wars and revolutions, signified struggle. That is above all what the petty bourgeois wants to avoid. The petty bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy preferred to console itself with the possibility of shutting itself off from the rest of the world. On the basis of the theory of building a socialist society within the isolated Soviet state, Stalinism proceeded to heap disaster upon the international proletariat.

The problem of the Chinese revolution arose. The task there was posed as one of not throwing Chiang Kai-Shek (the national bourgeoisie) into the arms of imperialism, of not giving the imperialists an occasion for intervention against Soviet Russia where socialism could be established if foreign intervention was forestalled. The defenders of the permanent revolution, the Bolshevik-Leninists pointed out that the problem was one of strengthening the bonds between the Chinese masses and the Soviet Union, that the Chinese masses could be won as fighting allies only through the development of the proletarian revolution and the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship. That required the independence of the Chinese Communist Party and a course toward Soviet Russia.

The Stalin faction had its way. For the sake of not losing Chiang Kai-Shek, it handed over the Communist party to the bourgeois puppet Min T'ang—bag and baggage. The result is well known. Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese bourgeoisie received all the Stalinist aid gleefully and in due time slaughtered the vanguard of the working masses; made their peace with the imperialists and in 1929 came to the brink of a war against the Soviet Union itself.

The problem of the British General Strike and the movement that preceded it, is an equally illuminating example of the period of outright opportunism that followed immediately upon the heels of the orientation toward "socialism in one country". The disasters of the Chinese revolution and the British General Strike on a large scale and all the lesser disasters on a smaller scale as well as the bankruptcy of the opportunist policy within the Soviet Union itself—the bloodless insurrection of the kulaks in the spring of 1928 finally opened the eyes of the Stalinist empiricists—pushed the bureaucracy toward a sharp turn to the

The Scottsboro Bill

One purpose of the march is to present a bill to Congress. This bill, the Civil Rights Bill, provides for the enforcement of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the U. S. Constitution. This raises the fight for the democratic rights of the Negroes to a higher political plane. It dramatically focuses attention on one of the burning problems of the American revolution. Before the eyes of the entire nation the Communists will lead a march on the citadel of American imperialism to demand that capitalism declare itself openly on the question of those provisions in its constitution which "guarantee" to the Negro masses political equality with the white population.

Such a march can acquire a tremendous force and significance if it is a culminating point in a mass movement. That is not the weakness of this march. It is not the highest wave in an organized protest movement. Preceding it there have been no united front conferences of working class organizations from coast to coast. There has been a burst of protest against the Decatur verdict. This is the basis for the organization of a protest movement, but it cannot replace the protest movement itself. And it is a fatal error to try, even with the best and sincerest of motives, to make it a substitute for an organized protest movement.

But the march is projected. The party and the I. L. D. must bend every effort to organize it and rally the masses of workers behind it. In the first instance this

extreme Left.

Again it was a matter of self-preservation. Soviet economy was at an impasse. The tactics of the "bloc of four classes" in China and of the Anglo-Russian Committee had only increased the isolation of the U. S. S. R. and undermined the basis of the bureaucracy itself. The zigzag of the ultra-Left which initiated the famous "third period" clearly revealed the political character of Stalinism as that of a vacillating bureaucratic Centrism.

Its method appeared clearly as the method of empiricism, of trial and error—lacking in all foresight and irresponsible in its consequences. The policy of ultimatum, of commands from above, was substituted for the policy of opportunistic blocs. In place of the united front with any one and every one and under all conditions came the united front "from below only". The highest fruit of this blind policy, which was accompanied by a growing disinterestedness in the progress of the international Communist movement, was the debacle of January 1933 in Germany. The failure of the German Communist Party to lead the working class against the Fascist onslaught, its miserable disappearance from the scene, is the culmination point of the whole headless course of Stalinism in the Communist International.

The collapse of the Communist Party of Germany deprives the Communist International of its one great mass party and the Soviet

Social Democracy Passive Before Menace of Austrian Fascism

The Bonapartist regime in Austria has registered some important advances in the past few weeks. All of these are directed, of course, against the social democracy as the organized representative of the workers. The latter is showing ever less inclination toward serious resistance, restriction of itself to bare protests and meaningless gestures.

On March 31, the Dollfuss government dissolved the Republican "Schutzbund", the socialist defense organization, after more than ten years of its existence. The "Schutzbund" has grouped around it the most militant section of the Austrian proletariat and has always been the only real bulwark against the ambitious putschists from the monarchist and Fascist camps. On the night when the dissolution decree became known, the working class masses of Vienna killed the thoroughfares in all parts of the city with spontaneous protest demonstrations and rallies.

The official reply of the social democracy was not a mobilization of its forces, embracing the vast majority of the working class and consequently, of the entire Viennese population; it was a plea with the Bonapartists to be cautious, to consider the "consequences" of withdrawing the right of legal existence from the "hands of those who have been responsible for the maintenance of law and order. In the country up to the present." All that the Otto Bauers could do was to warn their masters against the "blind wrath of the masses" and

Scottsboro March on Wash.

(Continued from Page 1)

representatives to provide transportation for them. It is not a little matter to ask workers to suspend their activities, pull up their stakes, so to speak, and march to Washington at the risk of serious fighting with the police and armed forces of the state. Workers will ask: how are we to be fed, transported there and back, and defended if attacked? The preparations do not answer these questions in a way to encourage workers to participate in the march.

The S. P., the A. F. of L. and the Negroes

The terrific pressure which the party is bringing to bear on the S. P. leadership over the Mooney and May Day issues is the direct result of its turn from the ultra Leftist policy of the united front, from below to one which comes from above to one which comes from below. If the party means it seriously it will apply that pressure now on the A. F. of L. and S. P. bureaucracies to enter a united front movement to get the Scottsboro boys out of jail.

Here is the weapon with which to strike at the reactionary restrictions against Negroes in the A. F. of L. unions. Here is the weapon with which to strike smashing blows at the whole system of Jim Crowism. Here is a means of forging the unity of the white and Negro masses in struggle.

Great opportunities lie before us. To realize them we must bend every effort to organize the movement and set the masses in motion. The key to the problem is the united front. Concretely now, that means the open approach to the S. P. and A. F. of L. for united front conferences. This the party must do without delay, openly before the eyes of the working class. No back door negotiations with the Clarence Seniors! No hiding behind Frank Palmers and Musters! In this work the Left Opposition will do its loyal best as it has done for years in the Mooney movement. The delegation sent by the New York Branch of the League to place itself at the disposal of the Scottsboro Action Committee for work in the movement was assigned the task of distributing leaflets in Harlem calling on the workers to attend a monster Mooney-Scottsboro mass meeting. Our comrades are going on the march to Washington. And every where the Left Opposition is calling on the party to issue the call for united front conferences and approach the S. P. and A. F. of L. to build the defense and protest movement.

—T. STANN.

Union of its strongest ally in the capitalist world. It is the last item in the balance sheet of ten years of the rule of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement. The course of Stalinism, which began with the repudiation of the concept of permanent revolution, has wound up in the most frightful isolation of the workers' fatherland. The Stalinist bureaucracy too, has been caught within the trap of its own logic. It has endangered the existence of the Soviet Union from without and from within.

Hitler's Brown Shirts are on the march. The alliance between the workers and peasants—the practical basis of Soviet economy and the proletarian dictatorship—is being threatened by that same headless, un-Marxian course which has led to disaster in Germany, by the course of vacillating bureaucratic Centrism. No time is to be lost. If Communism, if the Soviet Union is to live, Stalinism must be destroyed. Only the reestablishment of the Marxian perspective of the permanent revolution, only the return of its defenders—of L. D. Trotsky, Rakovsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists—to their rightful posts can aid in cleansing the working class vanguard of the petty bourgeois poison which had been paralyzing it and clear the road for the effective defense of the fortress of the proletarian revolution and for a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the International.

—SAM GORDON.

Fascist Terror Rages Over Germany Stifling All Workers' Organizations

(Continued from Page 1)

ism after the working class defeat of 1923, until the completed preparation of the road for Fascism. But to this must be added the bitter experience of the Communist party, numerically the strongest outside of the Soviet Union, but Stalinized in every fibre of its bureaucratic apparatus, which has now experienced its August 1934. Though its leaders are now undergoing the most horrible tortures nevertheless this must be laid out loud.

Workers Under Bestial Tortures

The Nazis are advancing through streams of blood and tears. The horrible tales which come from the specially arranged Fascist torture chambers almost defy description. In their naked reality the actual events are much more hair-raising than the dribbling accounts would indicate which are smuggled out and find their way to expression outside of the German borders. I will attempt to relate a few examples culled from reports of eye-witnesses, for obvious reasons not giving names of the reporters, whose veracity, however, need not in the least be doubted. Our comrade relates: "In the Nazi barracks they whip the Communists and break their fingers in order to get from them confessions and addresses. 'In the Nazi barracks in Hiedemannstrasse there lay in one room about 150 Communists who had been tortured until they were half dead. They were all undressed and when they were naked had to run the gauntlet until they broke down.'"

In Spandau, near Berlin, almost all Communists were arrested and taken into the barracks to be tortured. A woman comrade was taken from her bed at night, taken into the barracks to be horsewhipped and thrown into a cellar. When consciousness returned she noticed that she was not alone but was surrounded by others groaning or dying. Some are allowed to go out after they have been tortured; others never see daylight again.

The "Kasematens" in Spandau is an old antiquated prison to which most of the "bigger game" is being brought. There are incarcerated Thaelmann, Torgler, Pieck and Koenen, among many other Communists. But there are also such victims as Lehman Russbildt, the chairman of the "League for Peoples Rights". Whom the Fascist, symbolically it seems, put in chains, leaving him unable to move for days at the time. An eye-witness relates the beastly beatings that were administered to Thaelmann every night so that the once robust figure is now but a living corpse. A special confession was demanded from him in the form of a declaration all made ready for him to attach his signature. It was to prove among other things that the Communist party had organized terror groups to murder and to pillage, giving names of alleged

commanders of these groups. It was to prove that the C. P. was supported by the Soviet government, alleging the manner in which funds were turned over.

The significance of the attempted direct connection of the Soviet government cannot be underestimated. It is but one out of many similar attempts, such as in the burning of the Reichstag building and others to stir up a popular hatred of the Soviet Union and pave the road for intervention. There are among the flamboyant declarations of Goering the one proposing to carve out a bigger piece of the Ukraine for Poland so that she may object less to the return of the Corridor to Fascist Germany. In general the Fascist press concerns itself very studiously at the present time with reports and estimates of the fighting capacity of the Red Army.

But the gruesome torture tales continue. Right along, corpses are found throughout the Reich and reported "killed by persons unknown." Eye-witnesses also relate having seen victims in the Berlin prison of the police presidium brought there from the Fascist barracks with their eyes cut out or with their teeth smashed by ride bolts. They tell of the unfortunate prisoners being thrown on the floor, trampled upon and kicked in the abdomen. It is the Fascist storm troops who administer the tortures. This became too much even for some of the old hardened Schupos in the Berlin Moabit police station. About a dozen of them protested and were immediately dismissed.

A certain C. P. functionary, B. Hamer, who had once been a Fascist officer but remained loyal to the party had his legs so badly crushed in the prison tortures that it became necessary later to perform an amputation. Storm troops went to the home of Ruth Fischer, once a party leader, and not finding her home, smashed all they could lay their hands on and took her thirteen year old boy as a hostage.

It is not only the Communist victims who suffer barbaric mutilations but social democrats as well. Karl Borkel, the editor of the Chemnitz Volksstimme was beaten to a pulp and died in the street. However, the torture methods applied to the socialist member of the Reichstag Sollman, from Saarbruecken, are of the kind which put the notorious Spanish inquisition entirely in the shadow. A Fascist storm troop broke into his home, destroyed all furniture and beat him into insensibility. To bring him back to consciousness his socks were torn off and a lighted torch applied to his feet. As he writhed in pain one of the gang threw mustard into his eyes saying: "There is your black-red-and-gold dirty pig, your national mustard colors." After that they forced his mouth open and urinated into it.

Finally his body was literally dragged along the streets in a parade headed by music and when the orgy was over, it was thrown into a coal cellar.

Some of the capitalist papers, fearing that the terror may bring too serious repercussions, at times endeavor to soothe the pains a bit by explaining this regular part of the Fascist system as merely some isolated excesses. That, however, is not at all the viewpoint in high Fascist circles. Goering made that perfectly clear in his speech at Essen, on March 10, where he said: "I refuse to have the police appear in the role of protectors of Jewish department stores. It is about time to put a stop to every scoundrel calling for police protection. When you claim that here or there people have been captured and maltreated, one can only answer that: Where anyone planes, there the shavings fly."

Yet there is some evidence of "efforts" to halt the "isolated excesses". Recently a certain celebrated Berlin lady, a demimonde, threw her fashionable home open to a big blow out. The whole diplomatic corps was much in evidence. These gentlemen were brought there by their private chauffeurs and somehow a Nazi storm troop considered this a big occasion and in order to keep in trim, went to work battering some of the poor chauffeurs to pulp. That was obviously an "excess" and the papers promptly carried a warning from Fascist headquarters. After that the American ambassador, Sackett, could cable to his papers at home that law and order prevails in Germany.

The Fascists themselves were surprised at the ease and speed with which their brutal onslaughts succeeded in consolidating their position in power. That fact we need not doubt in the least. It is confirmed by events. The absence of resistance from the workers increased the tempo of the attacks to a speed which in itself became an ever greater provocation. This lack of resistance only caused the Fascists to be so much more merciless, not needing to fear anything in their way. An army in open retreat becomes an easier prey for the enemy whose ferocity increases with each step in pursuit. And in this case the tortures inflicted upon the working class are an integral part of the Fascist consolidation of power.

In this there is a serious lesson to be learned by the working class elsewhere who still cling to reformist illusions or depend upon capitalist democratic constitutions and remain unprepared while the reaction strengthens its forces. Every lesson of the German events should be hammered home, never to be forgotten. They must play an important role in guiding the preparations for the future. For it is a certainty that this consolidation of Fascist power in Germany inaugurates a new reactionary period, no one can say for how long, but we can clearly perceive its fateful implications. It will not at all be what the Stalinists conceived of their "third period" estimates. But it will nevertheless again become pregnant with new revolutionary possibilities.

The German proletariat was disarmed by the illusions which inevitably resulted from the perfidious policy of its social democratic leadership. They, who became the inheritors of the monarchy, allowed and themselves helped to prepare for the counter-revolution to conquer by stages. That is the lesson embodied in their rule from Noske through the bourgeois coalitions, the emergency decrees of Brüning, Papen and Schleicher to Hitler. The German proletariat was disarmed by the Stalinists sabotage of every correct measure of defense. In this lies the sad testimony to the serious weakness of a revolutionary party which rests upon the foundation of a false ideology and is paralyzed by bureaucratic incompetence. The German proletariat failed to receive the support from its international basis—the Soviet Union and the Comintern. And it must be said plainly that the guilt of the catastrophic defeat suffered is not only to be laid at the doors of those who were directly charged with the leadership of the German working class but must be traced to the highest seat of Stalinism in the Comintern and the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Its departure from the road of international revolutionary policy marks the most serious retreat for the world movement which is fraught with sinister implications for the future. One may rest assured that the Fascist enemy will endeavor to pursue its gains relentlessly. Its mission of destroying the German working class organizations is not finally completed so long the Soviet Union remains a bulwark.

With frightful accuracy the Left Opposition warnings of the course of events have come true. They were given correctly and in time because they rested upon the basis of a Marxian analysis. But they were not heeded. It is on this basis also that we have long ago sounded the alarm in regard to the course which will be pursued in the next stage. That is the one in which the Fascist spearhead, already pointing Eastward, will be concentrated upon the efforts to destroy the workers' republic. But the Stalinist policy—the retreat from revolutionary internationalism—is also disarming the proletarian fatherland. Its defense can be secured only through the most implacable struggle against Stalinism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

S.P. Splits Mooney Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

a matter between the united front committee and the S. P. but a matter between Mooney and the S. P. The Left Opposition protested against this pessimistic and capitulationist attitude. We moved that the Congress Organization Committee issue a leaflet to the S. P. and A. F. of L. workers calling on them to raise the question in their organizations and to demand that their organizations participate in the Chicago Congress. The motion carried unanimously, the Stalinists voting for it.

This was the same motion made by us at the first session of the Committee in March. At that time the Stalinists exerted themselves to defeat our proposal. The responsibility for the loss of time is on their shoulders. The loss of time acquires great significance in view of the latest developments in the movement to free Mooney. According to the New Leader, the N. B. C. of the S. P. voted six to five against participation in the Chicago Conference. Thomas is quoted as saying that the S. P. must participate because it cannot afford to give the appearance of blocking unity. This reflects the pressure on the S. P. leadership both from without (Mooney and the C. P.) and the penetration of this influence into the socialist movement itself. The entire Chicago Ypsel movement has had its charter revoked because of its participation in united fronts with the Communists.

Had the party adopted a correct approach to this aspect of the united front problem, had it approached the S. P. openly before the eyes of the members of both parties and the entire working class, it could have increased the pressure on the S. P. leadership, forced it to vote favorably on the question of the participation of the S. P. in the Chicago Congress and succeeded in broadening the movement. The advantages to the movement and Communism in the united front are clearly indicated and need not be discussed at this point.

But Hathaway, Stachel, Palmer and Muste, having drawn losing cards against the S. P. bureaucracy, have rigged up a "Management Committee for the Chicago

Congress which is calculated to mitigate the disappointment of the party members who still have faith in the infallible line. On the Management Committee are included "such well known socialists as Professor Robert Morris Lovett, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr and Frans Daniels."

The reports of the sessions of the Congress Organization Committee and the developments reported in the labor and radical press have served to illuminate the roles of the S. P., the Stalinists and the "progressives" in the Mooney movement.

The Lovestonites have played a far smaller role. All of it has been disruption and sabotage. The April 15 issue of the *Workers Age* reports that Zimmerman of the Lovestone group was elected manager of Local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U. of Lovestonites in Local 22.

How this influence is exerted to build the movement for Mooney's release can be seen from the same issue of the paper. Under the revealing head, "Union Hits N. Y. Mooney Meet", the *Workers Age* prints a letter from the Local to Mooney. The letter informs Mooney that the Executive Committee of the Local approved the action of the Lovestone group in withdrawing from the March 12 New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference.

The reason speaks for itself. "From the report of our delegates it is evident that the official Communist party, which has apparently captured control of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, is bent upon running the 'show' for its own aggrandizement, and is determined—under all circumstances—not to permit a genuine united front of all workers' organizations, regardless of their political or social views."

As we go to press delegates are on their way to the Chicago Congress from all parts of the country. Present reports indicate that it will be a very large gathering with possibilities which extend far beyond the defense movement. And Mooney is standing trial on the last indictment against him. Both events will be reported in the forthcoming issues of the *Militant*. —T. STANN.

Austria Is Next in Order

(Continued from last issue)

By their seemingly dreadful but in reality pathetic chorus of "if we are attacked," the Austro-Marxists reveal their genuine suffering, they still hope that they will be left in peace, that things, God help us, will not go beyond mutual threats and waving of fists. What this means is that they are chloroforming the proletariat to facilitate Fascist surgery. A genuine proletarian politician on the contrary would be duty bound to explain to the Austrian workers that their class enemy, himself, has been caught between the paws of history; that no other way out remains for him except to destroy proletarian organizations; that in this instance there is no escaping the mortal struggle; and that this struggle must be prepared for in accordance with all the rules of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Otto Bauer has been hinting that in the event of a direct attack on the part of the enemy, the workers will resort to a general strike. But this too is an empty threat. We have heard it more than once in Germany. The general strike cannot be produced out of one's vest pocket. The workers may be led to a general strike, but to do so one must fight and not play hide and seek with reality; a call to battle must be issued, one must organize for the struggle, arm for the struggle, widen and deepen the channel of struggle, not confining oneself to the legal forms of struggle, i. e., the framework dictated by the armed enemy. And first of all, the party itself must be permeated through and through with the idea that unless it engages in a decisive battle, it is lost.

It is quite possible that the Central Committee will actually issue a call for a general strike, after the "open," (that is to say, the decisive) blow had been dealt. But this would mean that after leaving the stage, one calls upon the masses to a naked protest, or manifestation of impotence. Just as the liberal opposition call upon the people not to pay their taxes after the monarch had told it to go to hell. As a rule, nothing ever came of it. In all probability, the workers will not respond at all to the belated and hopeless appeal of a party already smashed.

But let us allow that the Fascists will give the social democracy time enough to call for a general strike at the last minute, and that the workers will respond solidly to the call. What then? What is the goal of the general strike? What must it achieve? In what forms must it develop? How should it defend itself against military and police repression, and against the Fascist pogrom? Wiseacres will reply that it is impossible to answer such questions beforehand. That is the usual subterfuge of people who have nothing to say, who hope in their hearts to get along without fighting, and who consequently shy away in cowardice and superstition from questions of military resources and methods.

The general strike is only the mobilization of revolutionary forces but still not war. To utilize the general strike successfully as a demonstration or a threat, i. e., to confine oneself only to the mobilization of forces, without engaging in battle—that is possible only within strictly defined historical conditions; whenever matters touch an important but still a partial, task; when the enemy wavers and waits only for a push in order to retreat; when the possessing classes are still left with a wide field for retreat and maneuver. None of this obtains at present, at the time when all the contradictions have reached their highest intensity and when every serious conflict puts on the agenda the question of power and the perspective of civil war.

The general strike could prove to be a sufficient means for repelling the counter-revolutionary overturn only in the event that the enemy is unprepared and lacks sufficient forces and experience (the Kapp Putsch). But even in the latter case, after having repelled the adventurist onset the general strike only restored fundamentally that situation which obtained on the eve of the conflict, and consequently gave the enemy opportunity to utilize the experience of his own defeat and to prepare better for a new attack. But the general strike turns out to be completely insufficient even for defensive purposes in the event that the enemy is powerful and experienced, all the more so if he leans upon the state apparatus, or even has at his disposal its benevolent "neutrality".

No matter what the basic reason for the conflict may be, under the present conditions the general strike will close the ranks of bourgeois parties, the state apparatus and the Fascist hands, and in this united front of the bourgeoisie the preponderance will fall inevitably into the hands of the most extreme and determined elements, i. e., the Fascists. When face to face with the general strike, the counter-revolution will be compelled to stake all its forces on one card in order to break the ominous danger with a single blow. In so far as the general strike remains only a strike it inevitably under these conditions dooms itself to defeat. In order to snatch victory the strategy of the strike must grow into the strategy of the revolution, it must elevate itself to the level of resolute actions, replying with a double blow to every blow. In other

Bonapartism and Fascism in the Austrian Crisis

words, under the present conditions the general strike cannot serve as a self-sufficient means for the defense of an impotent democracy but only as one of the weapons in the combined struggle of two camps. The strike must be accompanied with and supplemented by the arming of the workers, the disarming of Fascist bands, the removal of Bonapartists from power, and the seizure of the material apparatus of the state.

Once again we repeat if the establishment of a Soviet regime cannot be realized without the seizure of power by the Communist party—and we admit that this is altogether excluded by the unfavorable correlation of forces in the immediate future—then the restoration of democracy, even temporarily, is already unthinkable in Austria without the previous seizure of power by the social democracy. If the leading worker's party is not prepared to bring the struggle to its conclusion then the general strike by sharpening the situation can only hasten the crushing of the proletariat.

The Austro-philistine will catch up these words in order to immediately deduce reasons in favor of "moderation" and "caution." For, is it permissible for a party to take upon itself the grandiose "risk" involved in the revolution? Any methods of struggle? As if the Austrian proletariat has the freedom of choice! As if millions of workers can depart for their villas in Switzerland like Otto

Brann! As if a class can duck mortal danger without incurring any danger! As if the victims of Fascist Europe, with its perspectives of new imperialist wars, will not surpass one hundredfold the sacrifices of all revolutions, past and future!

TODAY, THE KEY TO THE SITUATION IN THE HANDS OF THE AUSTRIAN PROLETARIAT.

Otto Bauer welcomed with ecstatic amazement the fact that the German workers gave seven million votes to the social democracy in the election, despite the closing down of the newspapers, etc., etc. These people opine that the emotions and the thoughts of the proletariat are created by their pliant articles. They have conned Marx and the history of Europe but they have not the slightest inkling of what inexhaustible reservoirs of power, enthusiasm, perseverance and creativeness the proletariat is capable of unfolding whenever it is assured of a leadership which to any degree corresponds to the historical background.

Isn't it obvious right now that had there obtained a far-seeing revolutionary policy from above, the German workers would have long since overthrown all the barriers blocking their road to hegemony, and moreover that they could have done so with immeasurable and incomparably less sacrifices than the inevitable sacrifices of the Fascist regime? The same must also be said about the Austrian proletariat.

Of course, the policy of the united front is obligatory at present also for Austria. But the united front is no panacea; the crux of the matter lies in the context of

the policies, in the slogans and in the methods of mass actions. With the reservation of preserving complete freedom of mutual criticism—and this reservation is unalterable—the Communists must be prepared to make an alliance with social democracy for the sake of the most modest mass activities. But in so doing the Communists must give themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the march of developments in order to disclose at every stage the incongruity between the political goal and the reformist methods.

The united front cannot merely signify a summation of social democratic and Communist workers for beyond the confines of the two parties and outside of the trade unions there still remain Catholic workers and unorganized masses. Not a single one of the old forms of organization which are laden down with conservatism, inertia, and the heritage of old antagonisms can suffice for the present tasks of the united front. A real mobilization of the masses is unthinkable without the creation of elected organs which directly represent the trade, industrial and transport enterprises, corporations and factories, the unemployed and the contingents layers of the population which gravitate toward the proletariat. In other words, the situation in Austria calls for workers' Soviets, not so much in name as in their nature. The duty of the Communists is to persistently bring forward this slogan in the process of struggle.

The circumstance that Austria is separated geographically from Germany and lags behind the latter in its internal evolution could play a decisive role in the salvation of Germany and of all Europe—under a hold and virile policy of the proletarian vanguard. Proletarian Austria would immediately become the Piedmont for the entire German proletariat. The victory of the Austrian workers would provide the German workers with what they lack at present, with a material drill ground, a comprehensible plan of action and hope for victory.

Once set in motion the German proletariat would immediately prove itself to be immeasurably more powerful than all its enemies taken together. Upon the parliamentary democratic plane, Hitler with his 44 percent of human dust appears much more imposing than he would on the plane of the actual correlation of forces. The Austrian social democracy has behind it approximately the same percentage of votes. But whereas the Nazis lean upon the social by-product which play in the life of the country a secondary and to a major degree a parasitic role, there is behind the Austrian social democracy the flower of the nation. The actual relative weight of the Austrian social democracy exceeds over ten times the relative weight of all the German Fascists. This can be completely revealed only in action.

The initiative for revolutionary action can come at present only from the Austrian proletariat. What is there necessary for it? Courage, courage, and once again, courage! The Austrian workers have nothing to lose but their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer Europe and the whole world! Prinkipo, March 23, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

VOLKSEITUNG SALESMEN

We wish to record a little incident here which was insignificant in its results but highly illuminative while it lasted. Last Saturday the N. Y. minutemen of the German Brown Shirts came to Teutonia Hall to gorge themselves with food and drink in celebration of Hitler's 44th birthday. Several scores of them attended this monstrous anniversary. And to protect them from the wrath of the workers they came surrounded by a veritable cordon of cops.

About a hundred and fifty party members held a protest demonstration opposite Teutonia Hall. Several party speakers spoke from the platform regarding the audience on Roosevelt Fascism, etc. It began to look to little like a united front so the party chairman summoned the editor of the *Volkseitung*, a reformist sheet from the crowd. He took the platform making an outrageously reformist and pacifist speech. All the party members applauded vociferously. The Left Opposition was denied a speaker.

Then came the piece de resistance of the evening. The chairman of this party controlled and attended meeting distributed the *Volkseitung* from the platform! How far will the party swing to the right go?

In the *Militant* of March 10 we said, "The workers must be told plainly, without exaggeration or hysteria, that there is a possibility that the present banking crisis may develop into a period of inflation, which will amount to a wage cut. Such a situation must be met with a demand for higher dollar wages, to compensate for the lower buying power of the dollar if it develops. Representatives of the workers should determine the amount of increase needed. The struggle for such higher wages must be waged in as broad a front as possible, as it will gain in strength, if fought on a national basis and be proportionately weaker if it has to be fought out from shop to shop." We also proposed that such workers' committees could well carry along with them the petty bourgeois masses, organized into consumers' leagues, into committees for the suppression of abuses such as hoarding, substitutions, unjustified price advances, etc. On such a basis, the struggle for immediate demands could, under Communist leadership, develop to the "boldest revolutionary demands, to workers'

about it. Create a Communist party ready to struggle, that is our answer.

XII.

The leader of the party in Wednesday, one of the strongest workers' districts, has called upon us to work in common so as to build from the ruins. The Left Opposition must fulfill the task which history poses before it.

A party comrade read, by accident, comrade Trotsky's pamphlet, "How to Defeat Fascism". After reading it, he said to us, "I have been blind for years. I had confidence in our C. C. Now I see that I have deceived myself. Continue to give me literature. I want to continue to fight but with clear view and open eyes".

XIII.

Here is how the party sowed confusion among its members; when the appeal of the E. C. C. I. appeared, which the party distributed, many comrades of the C. C. P. said it was a fake, a maneuver of the socialist party and that it could not originate from the E. C. C. I.

Leon Trotsky on Hitler's Victory

Reprint of Article in 'Manchester Guardian'

The old view about the backwardness of countries seized by dictatorship can no longer be maintained. Though it was possible to apply it to Italy, with some exaggeration, it cannot possibly be applied to Germany, which is a highly developed capitalist country in the very heart of Europe.

There is one common reason for the collapse of democracy: capitalist society has outlived its strength. The national and international antagonisms which break out in it destroy the democratic structure just as world antagonisms are destroying the democratic structure of the League of Nations. Where the progressive class shows itself unable to seize power so as to reconstruct society on the basis of socialism, capitalism in its agony can only preserve its existence by using the most brutal, anti-cultural methods, the extreme expression of which is Fascism. That historic fact appears in Hitler's victory. In February 1933, I wrote as follows in an American review:—

"On the analogy of the electrical industry democracy may be defined as a system of switches and fuses directed against the violent shocks of national or social struggle. No epoch in the history of man has been so filled with antagonisms as our own. The switches of democracy are fusing or breaking under the violent pressure of class and international antagonisms. That is the kernel which explains the rapid rise of dictatorship."

My opponents relied on the fact that the process had only laid hold of the fringe of the civilized world. But I replied: "The strength of internal and world antagonisms is not declining but growing....Gout!

Inflation Bill Deceptive

(Continued from page 1)

decidedly deflationary also—the balancing of the budget by reducing expenditures was forced through against the workers in government service, the veterans and pensioners (the inflationary way of balancing the budget would have been through increasing borrowings involving eventually printing more money, or gambling on an increase in prices or rate of taxes to bring in more money while not reducing expenses). The restoration program, the addition to being a step toward the militarization of the homeless youth and the unemployed, was also a deflationary step, making it easier for private capital to cut wages down to the standard set by the government, of \$1 a day and keep.

The development of the cyclical crisis during the period following the bank holiday showed the presence of forces making for the kind of limited and unstable improvement which is possible within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism. Steel production, electric power consumption, carloadings, and similar indices showed a steady increase during this period, apart from the usual seasonal changes. Its noteworthy fact that this was in spite of the actual deflation which was going on during this period, which would normally tend to reduce business activity.

We repeat—the question of inflation has not been settled, but it has been brought considerably nearer. The possibility of inflation, or the "open door to inflation," was recognized in previous articles in the *Militant* (March 8, 10) where its contradiction with the actual deflationary policies of Roosevelt and the banks was shown, as well as the diversity of class interests within the bourgeoisie on this question. The divergence of interest and the contradictions are reflected in Roosevelt's latest maneuvers, which have the character of a sharp turn without at the same time decisively answering the question.

The Daily Worker and Inflation

In the *Militant* of March 8 we criticized the Stalinist "two-class" policy of demanding repayment of deposits to "small depositors" as involving a contradiction with the fight against inflation, as well as its political falsity. Since then, although some 5,000 banks out of 18,000 failed to reopen after the bank holiday, we note that the *Daily Worker* has dropped this slogan.

In the *Militant* of March 10 we said, "The workers must be told plainly, without exaggeration or hysteria, that there is a possibility that the present banking crisis may develop into a period of inflation, which will amount to a wage cut. Such a situation must be met with a demand for higher dollar wages, to compensate for the lower buying power of the dollar if it develops. Representatives of the workers should determine the amount of increase needed. The struggle for such higher wages must be waged in as broad a front as possible, as it will gain in strength, if fought on a national basis and be proportionately weaker if it has to be fought out from shop to shop." We also proposed that such workers' committees could well carry along with them the petty bourgeois masses, organized into consumers' leagues, into committees for the suppression of abuses such as hoarding, substitutions, unjustified price advances, etc. On such a basis, the struggle for immediate demands could, under Communist leadership, develop to the "boldest revolutionary demands, to workers'

control of production as a road to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The *Daily Worker* has finally waked up to the fact that the fight for higher wages and unemployment relief is the proletarian answer to inflation, and has made this the first slogan in a group of seven demands. The last of these, however, is ridiculously impractical and anti-Marxist—"Housewives, organize to fight higher prices." It means attempting to carry on the economic class struggle at the point of consumption, in the grocery store, instead of at the point of production, in the factory, a trade unionist and not a Marxist approach.

Nowhere is the struggle for immediate demands in the fight against inflation linked up with the ultimate aims of the revolution; they remain purely isolated slogans and thereby opportunistic ones. Nor is any concrete proposal made for carrying these demands into action, such as the organization of workers' representatives on a broad united front basis and on a national scale to determine the extent of the wage cut which is concealed behind inflation. The function of a Communist party is leadership, not the mouthing of mere pious wishes.

The party should immediately proceed to the elaboration of a concrete program for the organization of the fight for higher wages beginning as a defense against inflation, and should agitate among all strata of the workers for the calling of a nation-wide united front conference to fight inflation.

—B. J. FRIED.

P. M. A. Under Fire

(Continued from page 1)

the official policy has tended to narrow down the differences between the Progressive Miners and the type of unionism against which the rank and file rose in revolt.

Since the inception of the new movement the Left Opposition has warned against a repetition of the cruel experiences of the past and urged the militant elements to consolidate their forces in a firm left wing on a policy of class struggle. This warning must be repeated again now when the demoralizing agitation of the bosses is reaching into the union and finding direct and indirect supporters there. The Left wing must rally its forces for a resolute counter-attack. In the circumstances the strategy of the militant forces cannot reconcile itself with that of the leading circles in the union. The Progressive Miners of America is the product of a miners' revolt. Its preservation and further development depends on a sustained militant policy which is impossible without a free participation of Communists in the union. The progressive character of the union, which has distinguished it from the Lewis organization, cannot be maintained if it permits the bounding of Communists. At the present stage this is precisely the crux of the problem of the P. M. A. What is a progressive union for if it allows the operators to dictate the opinions of its membership? An open fight for the right of workers of all political opinions—including Communists—to participate freely in the life of the union is the only way to reply to the attack of the reactionary press.

The resolutions of the local nations and of the Ladies' Auxiliary, printed in the "Progressive Miner" show that the rank and file can be mobilized to fight on these lines. What is needed is an organization of the fight and leaders who are equal to it.

—J. P. CANNON.

—L. TROTSKY.

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when Hitler should have finally abandoned legal methods. Thus the social democracy not only summoned the Fascists to power through Hindenburg but allowed them to carry out the governmental revolution by stages.

"The policy of the Communist party has been thoroughly wrong. Its leaders started from the absurd axiom that social democrats and National Socialists represented 'two varieties of Fascism', that they were, in Stalin's formula, not opposite poles but twins." It is undoubtedly true, that social democracy, like Fascism, stands to defend the bourgeois regime against the proletarian revolution. But the methods of the two parties are entirely different. Social democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in trade unions. The mission of Fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive union of Communists and social democrats should have been based on this antagonism. But blind leaders refused to take this line. The workers were left divided, defenseless, without plan or prospects, before the attacking enemy. This position demoralized the proletariat and strengthened the self-confidence of Fascism.

Predictions

Two and a half years ago, in September 1931, I wrote as follows: "Fascism has become a real danger in Germany; it expresses the extreme hopelessness of the bourgeois regime, the conservative part played by the social democrats in relation to that regime, and the incompetence of the Communist party to shake that regime. Whoever denies that is either blind or boastful."

I expressed this idea in a series of pamphlets which have appeared during the last two years in Germany. Thus in October 1931, I wrote:

"The advance of the National Socialists to power means, above all, the extermination of the flower of the German proletariat, the breaking up of its organizations, the destruction of faith in itself and in its future. In view of the much greater ferocity and bitterness of social antagonisms in Germany, the hellish work of Italian Fascism will probably appear mild and almost humane when compared with that of German National Socialism."

The Stalinist faction said that this was panic-mongering. Out of the vast political literature devoted to this question I shall only refer to a speech made by the official leader of the German Communist Party, Thaelmann, before the Executive Committee of the Communist International in April 1931, when he exposed social pessimism—i. e., people who were capable of foresight—in the following words:

"We have not allowed panic-mongering to divert us from our path.... We are convinced that the 14th of September, 1930 (when the Nazis won 107 seats in the Reichstag) was Hitler's best day, and that now he cannot expect to do better, only worse. Our estimate of the development of that party has been confirmed by events.... Today the Fascists have no reason to be pleased."

That quotation is enough! Thus, while bourgeois democracy was collapsing Fascism was assisted to power by the united efforts of the leaders of both the workers' parties.

Hitler's Difficulties

Hitler's government has lost no time in setting a fast pace. It announces that it will educate the Communists in concentration camps. Hitler promises to exterminate the social democrats, that is, to achieve, in much harder conditions, the task which was beyond the strength of Bismarck and Wilhelm II. Hitler's political army is made up of officials, clerks, shopkeepers, tradesmen, peasants, all the intermediate and doubtful classes. In point of social consciousness they are human dust.

It is a paradox that Hitler, for all his anti-parliamentarism, is much stronger in the parliamentary than in the social plane. The Fascist dust remains dust after each new counting of heads. On the other hand, the workers are united by the process of production. The productive forces of the nation are strongly concentrated in their hands. Hitler's struggle for control is only beginning. His main difficulties are before him. The change of trade and industry is changing the relation of forces not in Hitler's favor but in favor of the proletariat. The mere fact of the reduction of unemployment will increase the self-consciousness of the workers. The spring which has been too tightly compressed must ease itself. After the extraordinary decline of the workers' economic struggles can be expected with confidence.

Hitler's principal difficulties are before him, like his principal struggles. In the international arena further gestures and phrases cannot be expected from Hitler in the immediate future. He has too long and sanguinary a war to fight out inside Germany for him to think seriously of war against France. On the other hand, he will try with all his strength to prove to France and the other capitalist states the necessity of supporting him in his providential mission of fighting Bolshevism. Allowing for all diversion, the foreign policy of Fascist Germany is essentially directed against the Soviet Union.

Prinkipo, March 1933.

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L. O. Scores at Chicago Mooney Congress

LEON TROTSKY

The Collapse of the C.P.G. and the Opposition's Tasks

The question of the fate of German Communism stands now at the center of attention of all our sections. So far as can be judged, the majority of comrades are inclined to the belief that in Germany the question of Communism is a question of a new party. There are others, however, who consider such a formulation of the question as incorrect and maintain that the old slogan of a "reform" of the party along Leninist lines should be retained. This is the position, for instance, of two Spanish comrades, of two German comrades, who speak in the name of whole groups and of one Russian comrade. I do not doubt that their objections reflect the mood of quite a considerable part of the Opposition. It would be ungrateful if the need for such a serious turn did not produce in our midst different shadings and disagreements. It would be unworthy of the Opposition if we were incapable of discussing in a comradely, yet matter of fact, fashion the disagreements which have arisen. Such a discussion can result only in the further growth of the Opposition and in the strengthening of inner democracy. In what concerns the essence of the objections themselves, I cannot agree with them, although psychologically I can understand them. The mistake of the above-mentioned comrades consists in that they proceed from the formulas of yesterday and not from the facts of today. We must learn how to correct and replace the formulas in the light of new events.

During the last three years our calculations have been based on the ability of the German Communist Party to make a timely change in policy under the pressure of the masses. If our prognosis of yesterday were defined more sharply, it would be expressed as follows: "We cannot know as yet to what degree the German working class is weakened by past mistakes, zigzags and defeats and to what degree the sabotage of the Stalinist bureaucracy in combination with the capitulation of the social-democracy, have paralyzed the energies of the proletariat." We have frequently expressed the hope that the very approach of the Fascist danger would close the ranks of the proletariat and give rise to a power of resistance which would

not allow Hitler to capture all positions at once. And every day in the advance of Hitler, even though he be already in power, would inevitably release a greater flow of confidence among the workers. The beginning of Civil War in its turn should have engendered a decomposition in the government camp and in the Fascist army itself. Vacillations in the camp of the enemy, should have again, in their turn, heightened the offensive force of the proletariat, etc., etc. Such was the dialectic perspective which we considered probable; at any rate, not excluded. And because of that, we had to, it was our duty to, exhaust all possibilities contained in the situation of yesterday.

However, now it would be insane to be ruled by an old perspective which has been cast aside by events. The Spanish comrades ask: "Is it possible that these few weeks" (Continued on Page 2)

SOLVE THE CONTRADICTION!

Our appeal to save the MILITANT has met with an immediate and fine response. A comrade in Cleveland shot in fifteen dollars. Comrade Wright in New York saved our linotype from the sheriff's clutches by paying the overdue notes. And Comrade A. Konikow in Boston took over the payment of the monthly notes, thus insuring its future use to us. Comrade Karner dug up a loan of fifty dollars to pay our electric and gas bills. Comrades Gordon and Clarke raised a donation of thirty dollars. Our comrades in Boston put their heads together and raised eight and a half dollars which they applied to their MILITANT account. Excellent!

But good as was this response it enabled us to get out only a two-pager! And it, by no means, solves the problem. Next week's issue is still hanging in the balance. Only the same continued prompt response will enable us to get back to a more "normal" basis.

SOLVE THE CONTRADICTION!

This situation, this financial sword of Damocles, which threatens every issue, is not a symptom of decline. Far from it! All the evidence points in the opposite direction.

Take the Chicago Mooney Congress! Our delegation represented forty-five thousand workers! Among our delegates were the representatives of the fifteen thousand left-wing miners of the P.M.A., the most advanced section of the American working class. Through the influence of the P.M.A. in the Congress, comrade Cannon was elected to the Resolutions Committee; and upon the insistence of the miners' delegation, to the Permanent National Committee. Without a doubt the Chicago Mooney Congress is, so far, the high watermark of the influence of the Left Opposition in the United States.

Who does not know what an indispensable part the MILITANT played in the hard years of preparation for this signal advance? It is a long record of great sacrifices in the struggle to overcome apparently insuperable difficulties. As our horizons widen the role that the MILITANT must play becomes even greater. Great tasks face us. We must not fail in a single one of them. Least of all can we afford to let the MILITANT stagger under the burden.

But therein is the danger. The MILITANT is encircled by a ring of debt. The financial crisis of the MILITANT stands in the sharpest contrast to our work ahead. Worse than that! Its failure to appear regularly and in full size hampers the work in the field. When the "main organizer" falters the whole movement is affected.

This contradiction cannot be tolerated. It must be overcome. Smash the circle of debt!

Act quickly! Next week's MILITANT must appear on time and in full size. Important material is being held over. The Manifesto of the International Left Opposition to the World Anti-Fascist Congress; material on the Four Power Pact, translated from Unser Wort, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition; and many other important features cannot see the light because of the pressure of space.

Solve the contradiction! No more two-pagers! And every issue out on time! Air mail! Wire funds! To the MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

39 Delegates Representing 45,000 Workers in Solid Left Opposition Bloc. Makes Pressure Felt on Policy and Resolutions. Cannon Elected on Permanent National Com.

Progressive Miners Decisive Mass Support of Marxist Wing

Because of lack of space we are printing only a sketchy news report of the Chicago Mooney Congress in this issue. A full report by comrade Grotzer, an analysis of the great battle fought by the Left Opposition on the floor of the Congress by comrade Cannon, a series of illuminating paragraphs by comrade Oehler and the resolutions adopted at the Congress will appear in the next issue.

The outstanding mass organization present was far and away the Progressive Miners of America whose delegation was headed by comrade Alford. These delegates represented the crystallized left wing in the P.M.A., that is to say, the most advanced section of the American trade unions. Their influence counted heavily against the ever-weaker attempts of the Stalinists to sew up the united front conference with their routine, machine control, directed, in the first instance, against the Left Opposition. The P.M.A. delegation threw its weight into the scale against the Stalinists to elect comrade Cannon to the Resolutions Committee. And upon its demand comrade Cannon was elected to the Permanent National Committee.

The C.I. Retraces Steps 'New Deal' Diplomacy May 1 Manifesto Returns to "United Front From Below" Washington Parleys Prepare New World Conflict

There is no end to the crimes of Stalinism. Those serious Communist workers who have hoped that the heavy blows of Fascism in Germany might have served to give conclusive warning to the Comintern bureaucracy and to bring about a fundamental change of line, must have been overcome with dizziness by the newest crime of Stalinism. We refer to the entirely unexpected and breathtaking reversion to the infamous "united front from below" in the manifesto issued by the Communist International on the occasion of May Day and printed in a special Sunday edition of the Daily Worker on April 30.

Only six weeks before, the Communist International had issued a resolution, first published in the Manifesto of Paris on March 6, instructing the various parties to approach the Central Committees of the socialist parties and trade union centers in their respective countries, for united front negotiations and at that, to refrain from attacking the latter in the course of the united front activities.

The practical change of line that

resulted brought a swing to the ultra-right which necessitated a warning on the part of the Left Opposition against new opportunistic excesses on the style of the discredited bloc with Chiang-Kai-Shek and the Anglo-Russian Committee. In the United States too, this turn toward opportunism became increasingly evident and at the various Mooney-Scottsboro and May Day conferences and committee meetings, the representatives of the Left Opposition had as their main task, the struggle against opportunistic distortions of the united front by the Stalinists. That was before April 30.

"New . . . Not Negotiations"

On April 30, the C. I. May Day manifesto, printed in the Daily Worker, not only has no word to say any longer about approaching the Central Committees of the reformists or against attacking them. It tells us in so many words: "Now we need United Front from below, not negotiations with top leaders!"

The reason? "For the leaders of the Second International, negotiations with officials on delay, hindering, and disrupting the united front of the working class."

The worker in the street cannot help being amazed by this lightning-quick swerve to the former, ruinous policy. The Communist worker can hardly believe his eyes. For years he had been breathing and talking "united front from below". On March 6, his International leaders tell him, now we must approach the top leaders (the Central Committees). A little bit confused, but as a disciplined comrade, the Communist functionary approaches the Central Committees of the S.P. and the A.F. of L.

Some go even so far as to let socialist speakers go unretired, without distinguishing themselves from their reformist jabbering. Some go to the extent of even distributing the socialist press from Communist platforms. (Witness

The series of conversations in Washington, intended to prepare for the international economic conference in London on June 12, between Roosevelt and MacDonald, Herriot, Jung, Bennett and others, were supposed to lay the foundations for an international understanding based on good-will and mutual cooperation. The avowed purpose was to prepare for the abolition or reduction of tariff barriers and other hindrances to international trade, to stabilize the currencies of the world, and to raise the level of international prices. There was even a suggestion of extending the "new deal" of peace and brotherliness to include the preparation for a real disarmament conference.

All these illusions were shattered even before the first of the conferences, MacDonald, set foot on dry land. The decision of Roosevelt to impose a gold embargo, precipitated a sudden depreciation of the dollar in the foreign exchange market, strengthening the ability of American capital to compete on foreign markets in the export of goods, at the same time as it weakened the ability of American finance capital to finance the export of capital. It amounted virtually to a declaration of financial war against Great Britain and France, by the ruthless assertion of the right of American capitalism to deal with its problems in its own way without regard to the pretense of an international understanding.

The British counter-attack was not long in coming. Two blows were struck — a trade agreement with Argentina which favored the export of British goods in competition with those of the United States, and the announcement that the British fund, for the manipulation of foreign exchange against the manipulations of Roosevelt, would be doubled.

The insincerity of the official declarations of the purposes of the conference had, of course, been made clear long before this by the

fact that Soviet Russia, one of the largest buyers and sellers of goods on the earth, had not been invited to participate.

But if the Washington conference and the international conference to be held in London are not the purpose which they are officially supposed to have, that is far from meaning that they have no purpose at all.

On the contrary, the terrible pressure of the crisis has forced the antagonists between and among the imperialist powers into a more critical stage. Capitalism, organized nationally, cannot organize its contradictions peacefully on the international scale.

It was proposed, for instance, by some bourgeois economists to pool the world's central banking gold reserves in one place, such as the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, and issue an international currency against it. This immediately raises the question of who would protect the gold. There is no political organization corresponding to such an economic task.

(Continued on Page 2)

The "Daily Worker" and the Defense of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists

Due to technical difficulties, we had to hold up the publication of the following letter till the present issue. It is a reply to the Daily Worker's slanderous attack upon the American Committee of Help to the Russian Bolsheviks (Left Opposition), sent to the press by its secretary.—Ed.

April 26, 1933.
To the Editor of the Daily Worker, Comrade Editor,
The Daily Worker of April 25th, under the heading "Norman Thomas Sympathizes with British Spies" carries an editorial describing our committee and characterizing its efforts. It describes this committee as "a group of renegades and adventurers who set up a special organization, the career of which is dedicated to calumniating the Soviet Union," and as "the American branch of an international organization headed by Trotsky who in all his actions lives up to the characterization of Comrade Stalin as leader of the advance-guard of counter-revolution." The rest of the article is mostly taken up with a vicious and slanderous attack on Sidney Hook, and other members of the committee. Nowhere, of course, is there the slightest attempt to show any connection with either Norman Thomas or the British spies.

We consider it necessary, first, to state our own position, and second, to expose the two fundamentally false statements quoted above: that the tried and tested Bolsheviks whom we are trying to save from hunger and privation are a gang of counter-revolutionaries, and that we are calumniating the Soviet Union by pointing to the harsh conditions of life in all strata of the population in the Soviet Union, and particularly to the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition.

We are not conducting a general humanitarian appeal for men in distress, nor on the other hand are we appealing only to those who ac-

cept the principles of the Left Opposition. Most of the members of our committee are not members of the Left Opposition. We appeal to all friends of the October Revolution to help save from actual physical extermination, a group of fighters who have been in the forefront of the revolution in the Bolshevik camp, for the sake of what they have done and what they can do for the revolution. We have received unimpeachable evidence of the frightful conditions under which these men are suffering, and the recent removal of Bakovsky to a distant point in northern Siberia, the deaths of D. B. Riazanov and of V. Smirnov in exile, confirm our fears that the physical existence of these men is in danger. We have a right to ask that all friends of the October Revolution, for the sake of the revolution, help us keep these men alive.

And in fact, so far most of our contributions have come from members and sympathizers of the Communist Party.

It is charged that these men are counter-revolutionaries. Well, anyone who claims to be a Marxist come forward with one single Marxist reason why hundreds and thousands of revolutionary fighters, who have gone through the Czarist terror, through exile and prison, through the civil war and the famine, should have gone over to the counter-revolution precisely when the socialist revolution is achieving great triumphs, in spite of all mistakes and difficulties? It is not a question of one individual or a handful, but of thousands, of an essential part of the cadres of the revolution. Is any Marxist satisfied with such a vulgar bourgeois "psychological" explanation as the "reason" of one individual, as the "egotism" of thousands of the Russian Bolshevik cadres of yesterday were transformed into counter-revolutionaries? And on top of tremendous victories and successes of the dictatorship, at that?

That those victories and suc-

(Continued on Page 2)

Martial Law Reigns in Farm Area, Prepare for National Grain Strike

Fifteen hundred farmers, assembled at a convention of the National Holiday Association in Des Moines, Iowa, have voted drastically to relieve their misery and to save off the attack of the bankers and the government in their much-flaunted but highly deceptive "reorganization" schemes. The shadow of the stirring anti-foreclosure battles at Lemars, Denison and other centers of the farm fight area, the convention went way above the head of the hen-livered organizers and leaders in the militant sentiment of the farmers.

A. C. Townsend, the National Partisan League organizer, warned the farmers that they were being forced into "bloody revolution". "Let her come," somebody shouted and the shout was greeted with loud cheers. The convention adopted the proposal for a grain strike to be begun May 13 and to sweep over no less than thirteen of the decisive agricultural states.

Several days before, 600 farmers, protesting against attempts of insurance companies and banks to foreclose mortgages, dragged Judge C. C. Bradley from his courtroom in Lemars, Iowa, when he refused to swear he would sign no more mortgage foreclosures. The judge was released only after he had been roughly handled by the enraged men. In Denison, the farmers, 600 deputies and prevented them from selling the farm of J. F. Shields. More than 13 counties in northern Iowa are affected by this wave of struggle.

The financiers, the American Legion, the pulpits have all risen en masse against the embattled farmers and the national guard has been sent into action. Martial law has been proclaimed by Governor Clyde Herriag in Plymouth County where the farmers are most active. The civil courts in the same county have been suspended and court martial substituted. It is reported that

many will be tried on charges of criminal syndicalism.

A bill against foreclosures, which was passed recently by the Iowa General Assembly, has been declared unconstitutional by the District Court and this decision is being used as the basis for further foreclosures and sheriff's sales under the guard of troops. The cry of "Red agitation" has been raised in the effort to scare the farmers and to justify the measures against them.

The wave of militancy on the farms is all the more noteworthy since it shows that the farmers are not being taken in by the hullabaloo about Roosevelt's "New Deal". The struggle is going on in spite of the administration measures, especially the so-called "controlled inflation", which is supposed to aid in the solution of the agrarian crisis. The rebellion of the farmers can and should be co-ordinated with the movement of the workers against the Roosevelt program which will further depress the living conditions of the city toilers.

To expect the farmers, in their location, to carry the fight through to the end or to expect them to give the lead in a mass revolt against the attacks of capitalism is mere utopia. The farmers can and will fight against capitalism only under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party.

The need of the moment is a national working class movement to fight against impending inflation wage cuts, a national organization which will get contact with the broad movement of the farmers and conclude fighting agreements with it. For that, it is necessary for the Communist party to creep out of its sectarian ground-hole and take the lead. The main task is to rally the workers for united action. Under the leadership of a united working class, the fighting alliance of the proletariat and the farmers can open up dreamed of vistas of successful action.

The roll call: from St. Louis—representatives of 3,000 in the local united front Mooney conference; from Minneapolis—representatives of 5,000 workers in the Teamsters Union; from Los Angeles—a representative of 5,000 workers in the Los Angeles Unemployed League; and, of course, the representatives from the Gillespie Trade Union Conference and Progressive Miners of America—30,000 workers.

As the Congress proceeded the decisive weight of our delegation made itself felt. Other forces were attracted to our banner. Left Socialist, Yipsel, United Workers Party, I.W.W. and other P.M.A. delegates voted with us on various questions. On our minority-report amendment to the main resolution we mustered the largest minority vote of the Congress.

The Stalinist steering committee attempted once again to reel off a hollow masquerade for a united front. Once more the Marxist wing of the movement raised its voice for a serious consideration of policy and program. Fighting tooth and nail we carried the day. We quote from comrade Oehler's notes:

"Until the afternoon of the third day the conference was, in the main, just one long mass meeting. In fact, the Stalinists intended to call off the third day's session to enable them to carry on two days of mass meetings, to wind up with the big May Day Stadium mass meeting and end up the conference by passing a manifesto bursting with propaganda, but void of a concrete program of action. At the end of the first day the mass protest of the delegates prevented the change in plans, caused the Stalinists to retreat and continue with the three-day session. On the second day they forced the election of a Resolutions Committee, a committee the party 'forgot about' while they kept everybody entertained with propaganda speeches but nothing substantial on policy and program."

We can sum up our participation

(Continued on Page 2)

GALA BENEFIT PROGRAM

Maria Theresa
of the original Isadora Duncan group, in a series of dance interpretations

Maria Winetskaja
star of the operatic and concert stage, in a program of folk songs

Albert Meiff
violin virtuoso, formerly of the faculty of the Curtis Institute of Music

Diego Rivera
in a chalk-talk, on his widely-discussed frescoes in Radio City

And -- For the First Time in America!

Diego Rivera
in a chalk-talk, on his widely-discussed frescoes in Radio City

Saturday Evening, May 13, at 8.15 p.m.
TOWN HALL, 43rd St. and 6th Ave.
Tickets: 35 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1.00; Boxes \$2.00.
Now on sale at International Workers School, 126 East 16th St., and at Town Hall box office

Auspices: International Workers School

C.I. Retraces Steps in May Day Manifesto

(Continued from Page 1)

the case of the demonstration against the Hitler-Birthday Celebration in Teutonia Hall, New York. See the Militant of April 29).

Now, in the May Day Manifesto, the International leaders once more tell him: "Now we need United Front from below, not negotiations with top leaders!" Can the Communist worker help bring about this? Can this latest step do anything but increase the confusion in the Communist ranks? Can such people, who change their policies with the weather, expect to maintain their authority or even to be taken seriously at all?

What Will Be the Consequences?

The revolutionary movement is not a game of leap frog and no matter how deeply the disease of bureaucratic centrism, of unexplained commands from above may have penetrated into the ranks of the Communist party, the Communist worker cannot go on switching his line of march with such fierce twists indefinitely. The laws of friction have their function in politics as well. And any one of these numerous Stalinist turnabouts, without explanation and without previous preparation, must finally serve as the straw that breaks the camel's back.

The bureaucratic reversion to the "united front from below"—if, in its aim to cover up the bankruptcy of the whole previous Stalinist "third period" course, it does not stop with the mere mouthing of phrases in manifestos—is bound to call forth a violent reaction within the ranks of the party. Many responsible and serious comrades breathed a breath of relief when the March 6, C.I. resolution cleared the road for actual progress in mass united front actions.

The Leninist united front tactic applied to the American socialists in the Mooney and May Day conferences and actions has thrown the reformist party into convulsions and brought about successful and concrete results.

The question of the united front has sharpened the internal conflict within the S.P. tremendously and the treacherous, die-hard stand of the Hilquit faction has served to increase the Left wing trend within it.

The whole Chicago district of the S.P. and other numerous Y.P.S.L. locals have been expelled by the Hilquit clique on the very issue of the united front with the Communists, which the former have carried through in several localities.

The powerful May Day demonstrations and the healthy reactions of the socialist workers to them were in themselves the best vindication for the Leninist united front tactic. And all this has taken place within the brief period of the six weeks, in which the C.I. had given up the blunders of the "united front from below".

The responsible party comrades could not have overlooked all these developments and could not have missed their significance. The Stalinist bureaucrat will have a difficult time explaining to him what it is that prevented the leaders of the Second International from using "negotiations with officials on top" as "merely a method of delaying, hindering and disrupting the united front" on March 6 and why this suddenly becomes a fact only on April 30.

The serious Communist workers will reply to the bureaucrats and say to them: We know very well that the socialist leaders will attempt to delay, hinder and disrupt the united front of the working class. They always have.

What the Serious Communist Workers Will Say

We also know that the masses of reformist workers do want united actions. They have shown it on May Day, they have shown it by their struggle against the disrupting leaders inside their own ranks.

We can see, furthermore, the process of swift disintegration that is overtaking the Second International after the collapse of the German social democracy and the impending debacle of "Austro-Marxism". The reformist fakers have already begun to be alarmed and it is to be expected that in the future they will especially exert themselves with shouting for working class unity and for united action in the future.

The socialist masses are moving to the Left and the socialist misleaders will use every possible "Left" ruse to maintain their control of them. The task of exposing the reformist betrayers and of loosening their control of the masses that follow them is all the more urgent in this especially favorable situation.

The Leninist united front tactic, therefore, holds all its force as the only method of fulfilling the revolutionary task of the moment. It is our duty to apply it. We have no interest in replenishing the shattering prestige of the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy. Our interests coincide with the needs of the revolutionary working class.

The Left Opposition will continue its work of explanation and clarification and fed common ground with Communist workers on this basis. Together with them and in merciless struggle against criminal Stalinism, it will help in re-establishing the Marxist party of the international proletariat.

—S. GORDON.

Mooney Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

tion in the Congress in the words of Cannon: "the greatest by-far-advance we have yet made in establishing our identity and prestige in the united front movement." The Left Opposition will not rest with that. Mooney is still in jail. Much remains to be done. The movement must rise to greater heights. And with it will rise the star of the Left Opposition.

The Congress was a smashing reply to the sabotage and disruption of the Socialist Party leadership. It is true that they held back large sections of the workers from participation in the Congress. But the Congress itself is an excellent take-off to overcome the division of the workers and unite the ranks for Mooney's release.

That depends on the further application of the correct united front tactic. We are striving with might and main to hold the party to the correct line. The Stalinists are swinging far to the right. The policy they pursue will be a result of their opportunism and the correct Leninist policy of the L. O.

It will be an uneven policy. Here it will be weak, there strong, depending on the strength of the Left Opposition.

The May Day Manifesto of the C. I. can affect this struggle only adversely. If the party attempts to revert to the united front, from below as the C.I. demands, the good work done so far in the Mooney movement — and not only in the Mooney movement — will be wrecked.

This must not happen. We do not believe that the party rank and file which has seen with its own eyes how fruitful the united front tactic can be for the movement and Communism will permit the C.I. bureaucrats and their cablegram appointees to ram this down their throats. The party members must take a definite stand against this new "turn" and press hard to retain what we have won at such great cost.

The Left Opposition will continue to fight for a correct united front tactic. Only with the use of this instrument can we build the movement to free Tom Mooney.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon

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Saturday, May 6, 1933

Vol. 6, No. 25 Whole No. 172

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.

Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy.

Washington Conversations Prepare the Ground for New World Conflicts

(Continued from Page 1)

On the contrary, as the nation, the political expression of imperialism, has assumed increasingly heavy tasks (deeper intervention into economic affairs, tariffs, subsidies, government financing of private corporations, etc.) the international political organization of capital, the League of Nations, has increasingly proved its impotence (note especially the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in relation to the policy of the League of Nations).

The struggle for world markets, carried to a higher point by the force of the crisis, is being met with a series of proposals, constituting the program of the economic conference of London, which amount to a restoration of the "free market" of the Manchester liberals. At the same time it is proposed by government action, that is, by the negation of the free market, to stabilize currencies and raise world prices.

Nor are these aims separate and distinct. The contradiction cannot be solved even by attacking it part by part, one problem at a time. The connection of currency stabilization with the struggle for markets has been amply shown by Roosevelt's action on the gold embargo and by Great Britain's counter-attack. The connection between the international price level and the international movement of commodities is equally close; the purpose of the manipulation of trade barriers and wage levels has been to maintain as high a level of prices internally as possible, while at the same time exporting competitively as much as

possible and thus breaking down the international price level.

Basic Conflict: Anglo-American Interests

The forthcoming economic conference, prepared for by the conversations at Washington, will therefore be a battleground of conflicting imperialist interests. The basic conflict between the United States and Great Britain, which has already blazed out in the preliminary skirmishes centering around the gold standard and the Argentine market, will be moved to another international arena. Appropriately enough, after Washington comes London.

It is entirely probable that agreements of a technical character may be reached as to currency regulation, perhaps even as to certain details of trade restriction. These will not minimize the conflict of imperialist interests, but on the contrary prepare the ground for it.

Monopoly capital will not voluntarily abdicate, through international agreement, the specific advantages which it derives from its control of the national State. Nor will it create any international political authority which can decide from above on such questions of life or death as the struggle for markets. The only kind of international agreement which is possible is that which is imposed by a victorious nation, or bloc of nations, on a defeated enemy bloc; in other words, the Treaty of Versailles on a still further enlarged scale. By exhausting the alternative possibilities of rather impossibilities of peaceful agreement, as well as by opening up the direct economic and

SHAW AND STALIN

George Bernard Shaw, the patron saint of Russia and the man who read Marx before Lenin, is no ordinary person. No indeed! With-out attempting to analyze the peculiarities of the Fabian mind, it is illuminating to point out the tendentious similarity of ideas which exists between one of the authors of Shavian Socialism and the theoretical exponent of socialism in one country.

In his speech a few weeks ago, Shaw, emphasizing the inadvisability of applying Marx's doctrines to England or Russia (he didn't say whether they were or any country) extolled the virtues of Stalin because he had deleted Marx. Shaw mentioned that at the time the Labor party was organized in England they knew about Marx and German Socialism, but when it was brought before the English public there was not a single word about Marx in it. He simply forgot to mention the fact that Marx, in studying the development of capitalism, used not Germany for his experimental work but England. His monumental achievement, Das Kapital, con-

cerns itself chiefly with the growth of capitalism in England. Why then did the leaders of the Labor party find it inadvisable to apply Marx's conclusions to the very country from which they were drawn? The shameful betrayals of the English proletariat are no accidents. They are only the by-products of a consistent policy laid down at the very outset.

Yet this host disciple of Marx finds his counterpart in the best disciples of Lenin. Stalin is a great leader, he says, because he is a nationalist. All the mistakes made by the other Communists (presumably he means Lenin and Trotsky, although no names are mentioned) were due primarily to a Marxian policy. From this line of reasoning it follows that the October revolution was a mistake, a defeat; while the nationalist policy of Stalin which brought ruin to the Chinese and German revolutions was no mistake but a great victory. It is only necessary to ask, for whom? The Stalinists, long before Shaw discovered them, also knew how to call a defeat a victory. The infallibility of the leadership is preserved, even with the aid of Bernard Shaw. This mountebank has the temerity to say that Stalin has been successful in his policies.

As for America, Shaw advises us to scrap our constitution. But how? Not a word about this. Unquestionably he would prefer to have us throw overboard not a Hefline but an anchor, since it makes no difference to him whether we use Marxism or Stalinism. However, in this all important matter the Left Opposition will eventually prove to the American working class, as well as the world proletariat, that this can only be done under the banner of Marxism.

—D. BELLOWS.

The «Daily Worker» and the Defense of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists

(Continued from Page 1)

coses are incomplete and in part even contradictory, must not only be admitted but emphasized, in considering the situation of the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition. Where do we get the idea that there is a shortage of food and manufactured goods in the Soviet Union, that the production of many branches is unsatisfactory in quality and quantity, that many areas which had been prepared for sowing this spring are suffering from a shortage of seed? From the official publications of the Soviet Government, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of its organizations from Pravda, Isvestia, Economic Life and the rest? Do these facts constitute counter-revolutionary calumny when Pravda and Isvestia print them, or only when someone else prints them, accepts them, or draws the necessary conclusions from them?

The Daily Worker, in the same issue as it denounces our committee for "calumniating the Soviet Union," writes in the same tone and in part using the same figures as the optimistic article of the "Ignorant" and "misleading" bourgeois correspondent of the New York Times, Walter Duranty (see Daily Worker of May 3), on the increased area of spring sowing. It has consistently concealed the difficulties and dangers of the economic situation in the Soviet Union. Is that supposed to be Leninist policy? Has the Daily Worker any excuse for denouncing the appeal of this committee as "calumny of the Soviet

Union" merely on the ground that it points to the real difficulties and dangers of the present crisis in the Soviet Union, as affecting the situation of the deported and imprisoned Left Oppositionists?

Evidently the childish argument is implied, that whoever tells an "unfavorable" truth about the Soviet Union is "objectively" aiding the counter-revolution. And Pravda? And Isvestia? Does anyone think that the real counter-revolutionists are not fully informed of the real situation in the Soviet Union, its strength as well as its weakness, and have to wait for us to tell them about it?

No—it is obvious that the whole editorial is nothing but a piece of political blackmail and ideological terrorism, intended to turn away support from our appeal by threatening open attack and veiled insinuations against those who realize, as we do, the urgent necessity of preserving the physical existence of thousands of tested revolutionaries who collectively constitute an enormous reservoir of revolutionary energy and experience. Such writing is a disgrace and a scandal to the Communist movement. Our answer is to rebuke our efforts to relieve the desperate situation of the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, and to call on all friends of the October Revolution to assist us.

With revolutionary greetings, The American Committee of the International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition).

By B. J. FIELD,

The Collapse of the C.P.G. and the Left Opposition

(Continued from page 1)

can replace the perspective of long months or civil war? Of course, they have replaced it. A few weeks, even days have destroyed completely the possibility of that more favorable variant on which we counted. Hitler seized the material apparatus of power. He routed without the least resistance the apparatus of the Communist party, deprived the German workers of the press, forced the reformists to break with the Second International and to submit to the Fascist regime.

A United Front Now?

The sharp change in the situation is clearly revealed in the question of the united front. To propose a united front in Germany between the two parties now would be doctrinaire stupidity. There was a period when the social democratic apparatus found itself under the yoke of advancing Fascism on one side and the pressure of its own masses on the other—that time should have been utilized. Now, after the defeat, the social democracy licks the boots of Hitler and sees in that the only means for its salvation. If two years ago Breitscheid considered it necessary to scare the bourgeoisie by a bloc with Communists, now Wels and Co. are interested in receding demonstratively not only from the Communists but from the Second International itself.

The proposal of a united front now would only place the Communist C. P. G. in a ridiculous position and would be of service to the social democratic party administration. Politics knows no absolute formulas. Its slogans are concrete, that is, timed to definite circumstances. (What has been said above does not, of course, exclude, even today,

The German Workers Will Rise Again; Stalinism Never!

agreements between the Communist and the social democratic organizations in the enterprises, in the districts, etc., as well as agreements with other Left wing groups which will inevitably break off from the official social democracy).

The average German worker as well as the average Communist feels like a traveler who has suffered shipwreck. His organizations, press, his hopes for a better future—all are drowned in the waves of Fascism. The thoughts of the shipwrecked are directed not toward building a new ship but toward getting shelter and a piece of bread. A depressed spirit and political indifference are the inevitable consequences of such gigantic catastrophes. But the political awakening of the more enduring, of the firm, and courageous will inevitably be tied up with the thought of a new ship.

As characterizing the present situation in which the deepest layers of the German proletariat find themselves, I consider most important the report that in the majority of enterprises the old shop committees have been ousted and replaced by cells of Nazis. This "reform" passed so quietly that the foreign press did not even reflect it. But this is not a matter of the editorial board of a newspaper, or of the Liebknecht House, or even of a parliamentary faction, that is, it is not a matter of distant heights, but of the very base in production of the proletariat—the shop. The lack of resistance against the ousting of shop committees denotes an acute paralysis of the will of the masses under the influence of treachery and sabotage

at the top.

The Isolation of the Apparatus

The Communist party has gathered during the last years up to six million votes. Into the struggle it did not draw even one hundred thousand. Even the members of the party did not respond to the appeals of the C. P. G. This fact alone indicates the frightful isolation of the apparatus. With each day this isolation will grow. The masses are not interested in shadings and trifles. They take events in toto. The masses will inevitably turn their backs to the party which quailed their anxiety with empty formulas, with boasts of the victories of tomorrow and led headlong to a catastrophe.

The situation of the German Communist Party changed so radically within the two or three weeks of March as in "normal", "peaceful" times it could not have changed in two decades. The imperialist epoch in general, is an epoch of sharp turns. One must learn to follow them attentively so as not to trip and crack one's head. We must not delude ourselves, we must give ourselves a full account of the extent of the catastrophe—of course, not to become tearfully downcast, but to start according to a new plan, the long and stubborn work required on a new historic base.

Nearly all those opposing, object to the comparison of August 4th, 1914 with March 5th, 1933: the social democrats, you see, betrayed the proletariat consciously and by that came nearer to the seats of power; the Stalinists, however, "did not know" how to defend the proletariat and landed in jails. This difference is, of course, very essential and not accidental. But we don't have to exaggerate its political significance. In the first place, the majority of the social democracy even in 1914

C.I. at Crossroads—International Proletarian Revolution or Extinction

wanted, not to carve out a career, but to "save" the proletarian organizations, just as the leaders of the German Communist Party, blind to the commands of the Moscow bureaucracy, think first of all of their apparatus. Secondly, if in 1914 the social democracy came nearer to the seats of power, yet in 1933, despite all its baseness and degradation, it came nearer to jails. We need not doubt that in the end it will be crushed and will yet have its Mattoties; but does this change our general estimate of reformist policy?

We condemn the apparatus of the German Communist Party not for "stupidity" or "inability" (as certain comrades express themselves absolutely incorrectly) but for bureaucratic centrism. It is a matter of a certain political current, which bases itself on a definite social strata, first of all in the USSR, and adopts its policy to the needs of this stratum. Until the latest events, the question of what factor would win out in the German Communist Party—the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy, or the logic of the class struggle, remained open. Now the question is completely answered. If events of such gigantic import could not correct the policy of the German Communist Party, it means that bureaucratic centrism is absolutely hopeless. And from this follows the need of a new party.

The Argument of the "International Scale"

But the question is solved on an international scale, object the opponents who turn a correct historic

thought into a super historic abstraction. The question of the victory of the proletariat—also solved on an international scale. This does not prevent the proletariat of Russia, which attained its victory in 1917 from still waiting for the victory in other countries. And the opposite process can also develop unevenly: while the official German Communist Party is liquidated politically, in other countries, and primarily in the USSR, the party has not yet been subjected to a decisive test. Historic events unfold themselves, irrespective of the chess board of the Comintern.

But the Comintern bears the responsibility for the German defeat? Absolutely true. In the court of history, however, just as in an ordinary bourgeois court, not the one who bears the principal responsibility is found liable, but the one who has been caught. Now, alas, the apparatus of the German Communist Party has been caught between the tongs of history. The distribution of punishment is really "unjust". But justice in general is not an attribute of the historic process. And there is no appeal from it.

However, let us not slander the court of history: it is much more serious than the bourgeois court. The liquidation of the German Communist Party is only a stage. It will not stop there. If other sections of the Comintern will learn the German lesson they may rightfully deserve leniency of history. Otherwise they are doomed. In this way, the march of history gives to the other sections still some additional time to reconsider. We, the Left Opposition, are only the historic interpreters of the march of development. That is why we do not break with the Third International.

(To Be Continued)

Gala Affair

An exceptional evening of artistic entertainment has been arranged by the International Workers School for its gala benefit program to be held next Saturday evening, May 13, at 8:15 p.m. at the Town Hall, 43rd Street and 6th Avenue.

Maria Theresa, of the original Isadora Duncan group, will appear in three groups of dance numbers to music by Chopin. Her style represents the most authentic interpretation of the classical dance with which she has been associated for years by all lovers of the dance.

Diego Rivera is not only the greatest mural artist of this generation, but has won a unique position as a speaker on art from the proletarian viewpoint. To the interest always aroused by his appearance as a speaker is added the fact that his subject will be the work which he is now in process of completing at Radio City, which has aroused such wide-spread discussion; to top it all, for the first time in America he will deliver a

chalk talk to illustrate his lecture. Maria Wineska is an established reputation both in the opera-houses of this country and abroad, and as a singer of folk songs. Her rich and powerful voice and her sympathetic understanding will contribute to make the evening one to be long remembered.

Albert Meiff taught violin playing, in association with Effrem Zimbalist, at one of the premier musical conservatories of the world, the Curtis Institute of Music, for five years. His playing is both brilliant and solid, and will have a sure appeal for all music-lovers.

Tickets are priced at 35 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1.00, box seats \$2.00, and are available at the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th Street, as well as the Town Hall box office.

In view of its extraordinarily high level and diversity, as well as the cause which it represents, this entertainment program not only deserves but will richly reward the fullest support.

May Day Throughout the World

May 1st was a red letter day for the revolutionary working class of New York. With a militant spirit running high, with the determined slogans of Free Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys from the capitalist frame-up dungeons, and jeers and hoots for the bloody rule of Hitler rising loud above the din of New York traffic, more than 100,000 working men and women marched and demonstrated under the red banner of proletarian revolt. This demonstration marks a

milestone in the proletarian struggle for emancipation. It was one of the largest and most enthusiastic turnouts seen on the streets of New York for years.

The efforts of the leaders of the S.P. to break the unity of the revolutionary forces on May Day and their shameful collusion with the police did not succeed in dampening the ardor of the demonstrators nor stopping the powerful impulsion towards a common front of struggle on May Day. The salutary and perspicacious act of Carl Winters in calling upon the Socialist workers not to leave the Square after their demonstration had concluded, but to wait for the United Front demonstration that was beginning to march in, and the cheers that greeted him in face of the provocation of the police proved again the dynamic power of the Leninist united front policy and the innate possibilities inherent in it.

Both the strength and the weakness of the party were brought to light on May 1st. The May Day demonstration showed what reserves of sympathy are latent in the working class for Communism, but the inability of the party to mobilize these masses in its every day struggles, to rally them in the factories and the trade unions, to integrate them in the party is striking testimony to the blinders and criminal course of Stalinism—proof of what a brake Bureaucratic Centrism is upon mass action and the growth of the Communist movement. On the other hand, it took only the most elementary application of the united front tactic to bring huge masses into the streets and to begin a movement of the socialist workers away from the morass of reformism and towards the camp of Communism. The continued and correct application of this tactic can create a serious dent in the ranks of the social-democracy. The latest zig-zag of the C.I. (described in another part of this issue) if accepted and carried out will arrest this process and throw the party back into the isolation from which it is beginning to emerge.

The Left Opposition, whose tactics and policies were vindicated again on May 1st, marched in the United Front parade under its own banners and slogans. More than 150 members and sympathizers of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) formed one of the most militant contingents of the demonstration. From its ranks echoed the only real international slogans of the entire parade. Thousands of workers heard our shouts of "Long live the International of Lenin and Trotsky," and as we marched into Union Square, hundreds and thousands of party members and sympathizers cheered and applauded this slogan for the regeneration of the proletarian International. A great step forward for the Left Opposition! A new era opens before the vanguard of the Communist movement!

In Europe May Day passed under the sign of reaction and under the effects of the German defeat. May 1st in Paris, once the home of the Commune, was observed by poodles! No disorders and demonstrations, says the capitalist press. In Berlin the hideous swastika replaced the hammer and sickle, the plans of Hitler for a conscript, enslaved German working class, were masters of the day. The proletarian banner lay furled in the torture chambers and concentration camps of the bestial Brown shirrs. Vienna was silent as the grave as 8,000 troops guarded the streets. In this city, where practically every inhabitant is a member or sympathizer of the Socialist party, no demonstration took place. The bankruptcy of Stalinism and the treachery of social reformism is graphically illustrated by the pitiful showing made in the capitals of Europe, once the citadels of proletarian revolt.

Soviet Russia was the only bright spot amid these heavy clouds of reaction. The cries of solidarity of the Russian working class for their German brothers in the toils of Fascism should have been heard long ago but even these shouts transformed into concrete action can once again herald the dawn of a new day for the upsurge of the European proletariat. A new rise of internationalism means the doom of Stalinism but the upsurge of a Soviet Europe and a Soviet world.

The Foltis Fisher Strike

Lessons of Stalinist Blunder Policy in the F.W.I.U.

Jay Rubins article, "Striking a Cafeteria Chain," in the April issue of "Labor Unity" contains a number of misstatements and misleading impressions which might hamper the effectiveness of the Food Workers Industrial Union.

I. He says, "The membership and some of the leadership had little faith in the possibilities of the Foltis-Fisher workers. This lack of faith expressed itself clearly by the membership not participating actively in this work."

The fact is that it was not the membership, but the leadership, which failed for a long time to see the possibilities of the Foltis-Fisher workers. The Foltis-Fisher organizational drive was started early in 1932 on the initiative of a group of comrades in the Cafeteria Department of the F. W. I. U., and was carried out in accordance with a plan proposed by them. For a period of months these comrades had the greatest difficulty in convincing the leaders of the necessity of this work.

At the beginning, the office committee mechanically appointed two of the comrades who had proposed this plan to carry it out, without discussion or consultation with the membership. Then they put in charge of this work Comrade Obermeyer, who had already applied for a passport to the Soviet Union, and was, to the knowledge of the F.W.I.U. preparing to go to the Soviet Union in a short time.

Naturally, under these conditions, the work was carried on half-heartedly. An additional excuse was found in the fact that summer was coming on and that many of the members would go to work in summer camps. As a result, three months more were allowed to pass by without results. The work was completely dropped until the Fall, by which time Comrade Obermeyer had left for the Soviet Union, without leaving any responsible comrade in charge or any preparations for further work, or any explanation or justification of this negligence.

Naturally it would not be correct to blame this comrade for this action without placing the responsibility on the F.W.I.U. and the leadership of the union, where it belongs.

II. Comrade Rubins fails to point out that the tactical line followed in the handling of the strike was vacillating and opportunistic. He says, "The union exposed this move (making the workers buy shares—J.G.) on the part of Foltis as a means of breaking up the organization built by the workers, as well as a way of indirectly cutting the wages of the workers."

The Foltis-Fisher workers were very indignant at this move of Foltis, but the union utterly failed to utilize this indignation in an organizational manner, and particularly to point out to the workers that this was an indirect wage cut, and thus to help prepare the strike, and thus to help prepare the strike.

When the strike was called, the Central Strike Committee decided that it must be spread to all the stores in the chain, in a week's time. This meant a large distribution of leaflets, mass picket lines, demonstrations, and in general dramatizing the strike so as to bring it to the attention of the unorganized food workers.

Falling into a Trap
Instead of this, the leadership fell into the trap laid by the bosses, of fake negotiations for a settlement, in order to stall for time, and further demoralize the strikers. The only Foltis-Fisher stores which were struck were those where the F.W.I.U. groups had already been organized, meaning 8 shops out of 20, with about 100 workers, of whom not more than 50 percent participated in the strike activities from the beginning.

In spite of the decision of last year's Food Workers Conference to "turn the face of the union toward the shops," not a single general membership meeting of the F.W.I.U. has been called to mobilize support for the Foltis-Fisher organizational drive. Outside of a dozen or 14 members of the Cafeteria Department, there has been no support of this drive, as a result of the "separatism" which prevails today throughout the union. The heavy financial burden of taxation for this work has all fallen on the Cafeteria Department, contrary to the policy of the F.W.I.U.

In the face of these facts, how can Rubins talk about "the mass pressure developed by the union" which was supposed to have resulted in Judge Bondy's refusing the injunction?

He says, "The union, through the F.W.I.U. and the I.L.D., called a conference of the F.W.I.U. unions, together with the Civil Liberties Union, obtained a legal staff, and mobilized sentiment against such an order."

The writer had proposed a real united front conference with A.F. of L. unions, and mass political and fraternal organizations. This was rejected on the ground that "it was too soon for such a step."

Instead, this "office" conference was held, with the "social fascists" of yesterday and the liberals of today—but without the masses.

III. The strategy which grew out of this conference was purely legalistic and in fact opportunistic. They proposed to "fight" against the injunction by behaving like very good boys, and conducting their strike no differently than the A.F. of L. depending on legal arguments in the court-room, not mass pressure in the streets. They were violently opposed to action proposed by comrades for the purpose of bringing

direct pressure on the company as a whole.

When Rubins says that the "bug-atoo of the contempt of court order was waved in the faces of the strikers," he forgets to mention that the leadership of the union was the first to weaken and capitulate before this bug-atoo.

IV. Why does Rubins cover up the real facts about the so-called "mass activity" and indulge in demagogic boasting about the effect of mass pressure on the injunction order? Only in order to contrast this "mass pressure," which did not exist, with the correct line developed by a number of comrades in the organization. These comrades took as their starting point the real nature of the cafeteria organization, the small number of workers per shop, and the small number of workers who were actually being drawn into the strike activities. Instead of a lot of wind about mass pressure, they proposed to exercise more concentrated pressure on the part of the limited number of strikers; particularly after their efforts to organize a real mass basis through a broad united front had been defeated by the sectarian line of the "office" conference.

Yet this same Rubins says, two sentences later, "The union is faced with certain peculiarities, as for instance, Foltis and its 19 stores employ 650 workers, spread from one corner of the city to another, and this requires very large forces to permit mass picket lines in front of the different stores. Though the need for mass action is very great, the distance between the stores makes it impossible (my emphasis—J.G.) both financially and physically to carry on mass picket lines."

But what conclusion does he draw from these admitted facts? That the comrades just mentioned were right? No—that they were "renegade Trotskyites!" What a shameful contradiction!

Doesn't Rubins realize the difference between the textile industry and the food industry, especially its cafeteria branch, from the standpoint of mass participation? Has he nothing more concrete to propose than "to rally sufficient forces behind the Foltis-Fisher workers? Any child realizes that. What we want is to draw the specific lessons from the whole history of the strike, so as to avoid similar mistakes in the future."

1. We must drop the kind of so-called "Bolshevik self-criticism" which consists in covering up the mistakes of the leadership and blaming everything on the membership. On the contrary, criticism of the leadership will be needed and will prove healthy in the future. An open admission of the weaknesses and mistakes of the leadership will go far to regain the confidence of the membership.

2. By doing this, the leadership must once for all, learn that when it begins an organizational drive it must be carried through consistently and at all costs. The method of changing the leadership by degrees has had much to do with the loss of confidence of which Rubins complains.

3. Opportunistic tactics must not be covered up by phrases about mass action, but must be exposed and eliminated.

4. A genuine united front conference must not be rejected in favor of fake "office" conference.

5. We must adopt the policy of dramatizing our strikes, as opposed to the A.F. of L. method of conducting a strike.

6. The line of certain comrades in the union who have been accused of "favoring individual acts" has proven to be correct, when the bourgeois press was compelled to break its complete silence on the strike and thus bring the question home to all food workers, and especially the Foltis-Fisher cafeteria workers. This was a little late so far as this particular strike was concerned, but it shows the right road for the future.

7. In conclusion, we must expose and eliminate certain right-wing capitulatory policies of the F.W.I.U. and particularly the Cafeteria Department, in the last six months. They have completely abandoned the principles and rules of the union by accepting wage cuts as high as 40 to 50 percent without explanation to the members, and under the slogan of "save the shops" have compromised the principles of the union, in the following way. When the boss does not like a worker because he is a good union man, the worker is sacrificed, thrown out of his job, and so actually eliminated from the union. This has happened in so many cases that it is a genuine threat to the future of the union and to the confidence of the members in the union.

If these lessons are fully learned and properly applied, the union has before it a great future in the revolutionary trade union movement, but it cannot go on as it has done in the past without paying the heaviest penalties in loss of growth and influence.

—J. G.

"Under the Leadership of General O'Ryan"

The logical consequence of the policy which led to the catastrophe in Germany by the rejection of the united front of workers organizations "under the leadership of Comrade Stalin" was poignantly depicted the other day. The official Communist party marched in the united front with Rabbi Wise and Judge Hofstadter at the Jewish anti-Nazi protest—"under the leadership of General O'Ryan," so to speak . . .

The Designs Behind the Four Power Pact

Nazi-Fascist Diplomacy and the U.S.S.R.

About a year ago, comrade Trotsky wrote an article for the New York magazine, *The Forum*, under the heading "Hitler's Victory Means War Against the U. S. S. R." (The magazine itself entitled the article "I See War With Germany"). It was reprinted in the *Militant* of July 16.—Ed.). This perspective has since been confirmed with surprising rapidity. To be sure, Hitler and Goering have declared that their struggle is directed against the enemy within their own country, and not against Russian Communism. But such declarations are very cheap. It is only necessary to recall that all the powers who participated in the World War assured each other up to the very last moment of their reciprocal friendship.

In reality, the world bourgeoisie is rather surprised by the facility and the lack of danger with which Hitler has succeeded in his task, that of clubbing down the working class for the bourgeoisie. And it is drawing the consequences therefrom. Up to the present, the world powers have been against German armaments, since they did not have any confidence in the "authoritarian governments" which did not possess any authority. They had no way of knowing whether the conquerors of Bonapartism would be the proletarian or not and whether the armaments granted to Germany would not be directed against the world bourgeoisie itself. On the other hand, they did not stake too much on Hitler, since the eventual outcome of the Fascist crusade against the working class and likewise uncertain. At present, however, the question has been decided. The counter-revolution has been victorious. It is possible to do business with it, without taking too much of a risk. The stocks of the armament industry are climbing to the skies. MacDonald visits Mussolini. The latter pulls a ready-made "peace pact" out of his pocket. In Germany, the first armored cruisers—approved at the time by the late S. P. G.—are leaving their docks. Only the Soviet politicians remain blind to all these coincidences. Thus Voroshilov declares in a salutary address to the Red Army on its 16th anniversary: in the West the Soviet Union is guarded by the non-aggression pacts, dangers threaten only from the East. Thus also, Prevedas recently declared itself satisfied with Hitler's hypocritical declaration with regard to his foreign policy.

What position does the Soviet Union take in general on the victory of the Fascist counter-revolution? We quote from the *Pravda*: "What is to follow? All the problems, which in the course of the last few months were posed so ominously before German capitalism, stand with the same force before the government of the Fascist dictatorship as well. Never in the post-war years has Germany been in such a weakened external political situation. In contradistinction to Italian Fascism, German Fascism came into power under the conditions of the conclusion of relative stabilization and the entrance of capitalism into its second chapter of revolutions and wars. A number of countries are taking measures for the weakening of the external political and economic position of Germany and for the limitation of German exports. The German mark is hanging on by a hair. The policy of the government is driving the country toward inflation. Prices for commodities of mass demand are mounting. Unemployment is not decreasing. The struggle between the National Socialists and the Nationalists is developing. The whole humdrum about the 'national revolution' is calculated to veil the impotence of the government when it comes to solving the 'curious problems' of German capitalism. The Fascist government does not even indicate a trace of a positive program. It is impossible to deceive classes. Lies and demagoguery cannot be converted into bread for the hungry. The clique of the capitalist magnates is again turning toward the social democracy which is to help Fascism in continuing the deception of the masses. The social democratic leaders are preparing to supplement the Fascist terror with the deception of the masses. But neither the Fascist terror, nor the treacherous maneuvers of the social democratic leaders are capable of restraining the rising wave of revolution in Germany."

The tremendous success of the Communist Party of Germany in its Bolshevik tactic lies in this: that it understood, in face of the terror, the provocations and the basic betrayal of the social democratic leaders, how to lead its forces out of the firing line, how to retrain its cadres and how to continue the struggle under new conditions.

"The ruling classes have gone mad. Their doings are turning everything in Germany on its head. They are completely denuding themselves, they are exposing before the broad masses the whole mechanism of Fascist domination. Thereby they are conducting millions of new fighters into the camp of revolution."

The theory of socialism in one country has built, in the minds of the Stalinist theoreticians, a fence around every nation, which it cannot trespass. It does not occur to these people at all that the Fascists cannot possibly wait until they are smothered within their own national framework, but will have to resort to the means of war, and war against the U. S. S. R. at that. It is hard to believe that the Stalinists are really so blind; in all probability they do not even want to see where they have landed with their theory. They are sitting at the wheel of an auto which is racing down a precipice at top speed, but they close their eyes and tell themselves that the road leads to the main thoroughfare.

Hitler, however, and all the other imperialist powers are forced to conduct war. The rise in the international contradictions and the contradictions between the powers themselves are becoming sharper with every new day. These contradictions must be brought out into the open. There is only one opponent which tightly interwoven international finance capitalism can come to an agreement to destroy—that is the Soviet Union. There are already in circulation, in the boulevards of the diplomats, the secret maps which pass from hand to hand, and upon which are inscribed the new boundaries in the East. It is a matter of dividing a sixth of the earth and the their appetite is tremendous.

First of all, article 5 of the treaty draft (of Mussolini) provides that the four powers—to which Poland, the Little Entente, Japan in the East and America, as protector of the whole project may join—attempt to follow a common line outside of Europe and in colonial affairs. Against whom? Such a European alliance can very well be directed also against the U. S. A. But all these states are dependent upon America, and Roosevelt, who feels the point of this alliance pressing up against himself, will attempt with all the greater energy to turn the whole alliance against the U. S. S. R. Europe will obey, that is indisputable. Furthermore, the American bankers are naturally counting upon calling great riches from such a war, since the American armament industry will be in a position to fill the orders of the whole world.

The powers, England, France, Germany and Italy are guaranteeing European peace. But who is it that threatens this peace? The Soviet Union does not even begin to think of starting a war. All the worse for her. The German Communists, too, did not think of be-

gining the civil war, that is why the blow caught them unprepared. It is not our business to worry about who will next "put fire to some Reichstag." We can leave this to the Fascists. It will, indeed, be all the worse for the unsuspecting Soviet politicians when blow after blow rains down upon them unexpectedly. In the Far East, Japan is only waiting for a chance to grab for itself Vladivostok and Chinese Eastern Railway. At Japan's back there is, to be sure, a China. But this China is sick from the effects of the criminal Stalinist policies of the last seven years and is for the moment not to be reckoned with as a point of support for the Soviet Union. And in the West, Hitler is marching on the super-Wagner and at his side, Mussolini, Pilsudski, Horty and all the bigger butchers of dying capitalism. Capitalism is once more drawing up to its full height in order to smite the young world of socialism—which does, to be sure, bear within its body the English sickness of Stalinism—in order to rejuvenate itself in the blood of this young world. Here, too, the Stalinists have squandered all their reserves. The Communist parties of Western Europe have been laid in ruins by ten years of Stalinist policy in the Comintern.

The perspective is rather unfavorable, especially when we take into account the crisis in the Soviet Union as the most significant factor accelerating counter-revolution.

And yet, in such a war are latent tremendous, incalculable possibilities for the world revolution. On August 4, 1914 the Second International collapsed and on October 26, 1917 the Third began to unfold its power over one-sixth of the earth. The coming war will bring in its trail a complete dissolution of the state households of all the participating countries, will call forth a famine against which the misery of the last war will appear pale. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat will be able to lead the masses out of this misery.

Today it is necessary to call attention to the acute war danger and to mobilize the forces of the proletariat against the war. That can only be done by leading the proletariat in every one of the participating countries in the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie.

—H. E.
(From *United Front*, organ of the German Left Opposition).

SCOTSB'RO

(Continued from page 1)

When the news that the president had refused to see the delegation reached the ears of the workers assembled outside the White House, a concerted boo echoed and reechoed throughout the entire Capital grounds. The bill was then presented to Speaker of the House, Rainey, to Vice-President Garner and to the Negro congressman from Illinois, Dr. Priest. These gentry of the Negro and White ruling class demagogically and cynically promised to give the bill its "due" attention. As the marchers were awaiting the answer of the president the police initiated a novel method of provocation by scurrying up and down the line on their motorcycles creating a raucous din and emitting volley after volley of carbon monoxide. But the provocation proved futile.

The marchers then assembled at a near-by park where they were addressed by William Patterson, of the L. I. D.; James W. Ford, Negro candidate for vice-president on the Communist party's ticket; Mother Wright, Ruby Bates, former star witness for the prosecution and now chief witness for the defense; and Clarence Hathaway who spoke in the name of the Communist Party. Patterson stressed the new keynote of the campaign to free the Scottsboro boys when he reiterated what the *Militant* had all along demanded, namely: "that no attorney of amount of attorneys will set these boys free—only mass struggle can accomplish that."

It was unfortunate that the United Front was not as broad as it should have been. But here the blame rests squarely with the leaders of the socialist party who have consistently sabotaged every attempt at a United Front offered them. The only two political organizations represented on the march outside of the Communist party, was the C.P.A. (Muste group) and the Opposition. [The C.P.A. just thrived in the reflected glory of participating in an action with Communists.

As for the political aspects of the demonstration, they will be dealt with in a future issue.

GLEE-ROSS

Young Workers Revolt Against "New Deal"

Working Class youth which entered the forestry conservation corps, deceived by the Roosevelt "new deal" propaganda, is in revolt. Already 371 of the Camp Dix contingent of 1,407 have quit. Forty-five of these are charged with inciting a revolt and 141 refused to take the special oath for forestry service. The rest left because of illness and discontent.

There is increasing reluctance among workingclass youth to further enlist in these thinly disguised concentration camps. In Nassau County only 213 of the allotted 805 jobs have been taken.

Congress Sidelights

Political Notes on Incidents at the Chicago Sessions

(Continued from Page 1)

Almste was the Stalinists' "best bet" for a front because the club held for bargaining was none too big. Sad to say for the Stalinists, every time the delegates from the Progressive Miners were put on committees, they were able to exert such great pressure, due to the masses they represented, that they more than once upset the well laid plans of Stalinism and were a great factor in helping keep the Mooney Conference on the path of workers' democracy on the path of the correct united front, in general, helped keep the Stalinists within "civilized" bounds and helped round out a policy in order to build a powerful movement on this start. More power to the Left wing of the Progressive Miners of America.

Until the afternoon of the third day the conference was, in the main, just one long mass meeting. In fact, the Stalinists intended to call off the third-day session to enable them to carry on two days of mass meetings, to wind up with the big May Day Stadium mass meeting and end up the conference by passing a manifesto bursting with propaganda but void of a concrete program of action. At the end of the first day the mass protest of the delegates promoted the change in plans, caused the Stalinists to retreat, continue with a three-day session. On the second day, they forced the election of a Resolutions Committee, a committee the party "forgot about" while they kept everybody entertained with propaganda speeches but nothing substantial on policy and program. Instead of reporting at the beginning of the conference on policy and program, the delegates of the conference had to fight the Stalinists up to the afternoon of the last session before a report on resolutions and policy was given, and then the half day that was left was to be used by the more than fifteen hundred delegates to discuss the program.

Political Forces
Without a doubt, the two main political forces of the conference were the Stalinists and the Left Opposition. The Stalinists who have been exercising on us for the last several years up to a few months ago by kicking us out of conferences were forced to recognize us officially. The presiding committee was forced to nominate us for the Resolutions Committee. We were elected to the Permanent National Committee. We compelled the adoption of some important points of our policy.

This was not due to any change of heart by the Stalinists. It was due to the fact that the Left Opposition had a mass pressure great enough, in relation to the pressure of the Stalinist forces, to demand recognition. The Left Opposition had delegates from bona fide trade unions, unemployment organizations, defense committees, etc., that could not be ignored without ignoring a decisive section of the conference itself. For example, to ignore the large delegation from the Progressive Miners of America would have been to ignore the most important mass organization in the conference.

The Lovestone right wingers had a hard fight to obtain the right to the floor for even five minutes. Their floor tactics were terrible and their right wing policy was even worse. A clear line of difference on policy could be seen between them and the Left Opposition. The right wing had no pressure of importance relative to the pressure of the organized Stalinist caucus, while the Left Opposition had a pressure and policy that was able to make drastic inroads into the Stalinist original plans. On the other hand, with our pressure we were able to throw our force with the Stalinists on specific issues where they were in the main correct and thereby keep intact the unity of the conference as well as weaken the anti-Communist tendencies of the conference that the Stalinist blunders helped free. This is the correct function in a united front.

The Resolution
In the past the Stalinists had to be criticized from the right, because their united front from below was an ultra-left deviation. In this conference, where the united front of organizations replaced the old formula, we had to fight them from the left, because they deviated to the right of the Leninist concept. In the main resolution, they had a sentence stating that there would be no attacks on organizations participating in the united front. This is a non-aggression pact, no matter how one tries to explain it away. One must not confuse two different kinds of attacks, slander and criticism of policy. We presented a minority report on the main resolution stating the following: "Each organization entering the united front obligates itself to discipline in action but retains its complete independence and its right of criticism."

The fact, that after four years of the crisis the American workers organized the largest, most representative united front—not on unemployment, not on social insur-

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It makes a damning indictment of the treacherous passivity of the social democracy which held back millions of workers from struggle against the advancing menace of Fascism. And it harshly condemns the criminal and capitulationist policies of the bureaucratic centrists in the Stalinist apparatus of the C. I. and the C. P. G.

Against these policies which, in their totality, betrayed the German working class to the butchery of Fascism is advanced the concrete analysis of the Left Opposition which, now, must assimilated be in order to lay the ground for the resurgence of the revolutionary movement.

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Collapse of C.P.G. and Our Tasks

(Continued From Last Issue)

But how can we build a new party in Germany without breaking with the Comintern, rejoin the ones who, despite all, would like to force the contradictions of the historic process into the framework of the constitution. We must say that this side of the question seems to us least important. Why, even at the time when we were excluded from the Comintern and declared ourselves a faction thereof, the matter of the constitution was not of highest standing. For us it is a question of a political course, and not of the bookkeeping. If any section of the Comintern will get satisfied in rebuilding itself on a healthy basis, we will, of course, lean on this position to hasten the rebuilding of the whole Comintern; then our relations with the constitution also will become much improved. If, however, the Stalinist bureaucracy will bring the USSR to ruin, then no one will recall the constitution. It will be necessary to build a Fourth International.

Let us however return to Germany. In the first days of March the German Communist Party still meant a centralized apparatus, tens of newspapers, thousands of units, tens of thousands of members, millions of votes. This declared ourselves a party of this party and by that took a responsibility for the party as a whole before the outside world; of course, for the sake of the Stalinist apparatus but for the sake of the lower units connected with it. With their aid we hoped in time, that is, prior to a catastrophe, to renew the leadership of the party. Now, when the official apparatus, armored by ultimatum and illegality, must transform itself completely into a Stalinist agency, there can be no thought of influencing it through the lower strata from which it is completely cut off.

True, the Stalinist press of all the world talks of the "regeneration" of the German Communist Party underground (the illegal *Rote Fahne*, leaflets, etc., etc.) That the local organizations would start to stir after a temporary daze, was clear in advance. That the apparatus of such a large party, disposing of a numerous personnel and money, can issue illegality and semi-legality a considerable quantity of literature—there is nothing surprising in that. But we must repeat again: the German Communist Party has no illegal apparatus connected with the masses. What it has are the remains of the old organization which by the will of Hitler found themselves in an illegal state. This is not one and the same thing. If the German Communist Party is active today it is due to the fact that Hitler has just started his executioner's job and that the reaction has not penetrated deeply enough into the party. Both these processes however are on the order of the day. They will go parallel to each other, notwithstanding and accelerating each other.

For an illegal Communist party a special selection of people is necessary who understand the extent of the catastrophe and have a clear perspective and confidence in their banner. Such a selection can be made in no other way than on the basis of an irreconcilable criticism of the past. The collapse of the organization of the Stalinists, inevitable in itself, will release elements and clear the soil for the creation of an illegal revolutionary party.

But, one of the German comrades objects: politically the party is, of course, a corpse; organizationally it is alive. This formula reveals best of all the erroneousness of the position of my opponent. A party which is dead politically cannot have a "live" organization, since an organization is only a tool of policy. If however, the party is dead we must make the diagnosis openly, before the face of the workers, with all the necessary conclusions. What part of the old heritage will be transformed to the new party, what will be the terms of the transfer, what will be the stages in the development of the new party, what the relations between the builders and the remains of the old organization—all these are very important questions, which will have to be answered depending upon the development of the whole situation. But in order that the answer shall not be false, not illusory, we must start from what is irrevocably established by history: politically the Stalinist party is dead. Ambiguities and subtleties are impermissible: they would only throw us off our own path.

"The Party Dead—The Organization Alive?"

The same comrade writes: "The slogan of reform is meaningless, as we do not know now what and how to reform; but we are also against the slogan of a new party since we do not consider that the fate of the old party is finally decided." One contradiction is piled on top of another, despite the fact that the writer is an observant and keen comrade. If the party is "politically dead," that means that its fate is decided. The apparatus will not resuscitate it; as testified by experience, an apparatus can kill the living but not resuscitate the dead. If the slogan of reform of the old party is "meaningless," then nothing remains but the slogan of a new party.

The opponents are mainly frightened by the relation of forces: we, Bolshevik-Leninists, declare as liquidated a big organization which is still capable today of issuing ten times as much literature and spend a thousand times more money than we, and yet, we "proclaim" a new party in the name of the small Left

New Party is Only Marxian Policy

Opposition. To pose the question in this manner is to be steeped through and through in apparatus fetishism. Today, as yesterday, our main task is to form cadres. But this is not merely an organizational problem, it is a political problem; cadres are formed on the basis of a definite perspective. To warm up again the slogan of party reform means to set knowingly a utopian aim and by that to push our own cadres toward new and ever sharper disappointments. With such a course the Left Opposition would only become the hanger-on of a decomposing party and would disappear from the scene together with it.

Agreeing with the fact that the old party is liquidated and even admitting in essence the inevitability of creating a new party, one of the opponents strives for delay, for a moratorium of a kind. His arguments are of the following nature: only 10 percent of the party members, true, the most valuable ones, are critically inclined and listen to us; the remaining 90 percent and mainly the new recruits, have not at all understood yet the mistakes of the party. From this, it follows, that we must explain to these 90 percent, step by step, what occurred and only after that, start to build a new party. This is an abstractly propagandist, and not a political—or speaking philosophically: a rationalist and not a dialectic—approach to the problem.

It would of course be splendid if we could place 90 percent of the young Communists into a big school and give them a full course of study. But alas, these 90 percent fell into the school of Hitler. Today already they are not only half-torn from the party but from politics in general. A part will go to Fascism, a more considerable part will become indifferent. These processes will develop within the next few weeks and months: counter-revolution, just as revolution, works fast. Under the influence of the decomposition of the party, the political sterility of the apparatus, all the best elements of the old party will keep on asking themselves and others: what to do? In this situation, to provide

Huan Ping Betrays Chinese Party, Chen Du Siu Fights Kuomintang in Jail

The letter printed below was recently sent us by one of our Chinese comrades. More extensive reports on events in the Far East, the comrade says in a note, are soon forthcoming.

—Ed.

Shanghai, China

Dear Comrades:
I am sorry to tell you about the near collapse of the Stalinist Party. Three months ago there was a great change in the Communist movement. Many faithful and important Stalinists are now registered in the Kuo Min Tang party. According to custom, when a renegade takes the step, he must register at the "Department of USSR Return Students, Registry of CEC of KMT Party." After registration they must officially publish a detailed account as to why and how they became renegades. These renegades all formerly belonged to the CEC of the CP.

The first brave renegade is Hwang-Pin. He was a member of Political Bureau of the Party. He went voluntarily to Nanking. When he registered, the Party not only did not know anything about his action but urged the workers to collect money for the support of his family and asked the "Human Rights Defense League" under the leadership of Mme. Sun Yet-Sen, to do something for him, that is to get his release. (But Hwang took a hundred thousand dollars from the KMT.) The Party also told the workmen that "revolutionary" Hwang will be executed by the KMT. But only three days after our "revolutionary" Hwang dispatched a very brave article, "My Political Creed" to the Chinese press in which he tells us that according to his 15 years of revolutionary experience, the Communist movement has nothing to do with the national salvation that it rather forces upon China more colonization. The Chinese Communists, he says, take the roubles from USSR and spend it for themselves. "They have common ownership for women members." In conclusion he tells us that the only road to life is under the banner of KMT's three principles!

The same article is also signed by other Stalinists. One is the Chief of the Organization Committee of Y.C.C. and another is a member of the CEC and member of Red Trade Union International, his name is Yee-Fee.

Dear Comrades, these gentlemen were all well known pioneers of the Anti "Counter-Revolutionary" Trotskyist Struggle.

After these renegades deserted, many party branches and cells through China were destroyed by the KMT and many revolutionists were arrested.

As to our Left Opposition since the "Old Man" (Chen Du-Siu) was arrested, no one cell has been destroyed by KMT. Our organization is strong and our comrades are faithful.

A very valuable bit of news is

them with the slogan of "reform" would simply mean to mock at them. In moments of greatest crisis we must proceed not from the quickly changing moods of the party mass, but from objective changes in the political situation. Many of those Communists who today are still afraid to break with their bureaucracy, will blame us tomorrow for deluding them, for keeping up the fiction of the old party; pushing off from us, they will go to the Brandenbergs or to the anarchists. The Brandenbergs, as is reported, are already calling for a new party; this shows that, although opportunists, they are politicians. If we, with our revolutionary platform, should prove ourselves doctrinaires, then opportunistic politicians will always succeed in pushing us aside.

What practically speaking will be our relations with the Stalinist organization in Germany in the next period? This question, naturally, interests the comrades most. Must we, ask our opponents, break with local organizations of the old party? No, that would be absurd. We must recruit the revolutionaries in all workers' organizations, and primarily in the units of the old party, insofar as they exist. When the Third International proclaimed the complete break with the Second this did not prevent the Communists from working for a considerable period of time within the social democratic parties and even of conquering the majority of the French party together with P.Humanité. All the more so, our course towards a new party cannot and must not prevent our working in the units of the old party.

But, we hear the objection, the very slogan of a new party will antagonize against us the rank and file on this basis are possible; but we had also conflicts in the past despite the slogan of "reform." We need not doubt, however, that in the life of the active units of the old party much more space will be given to the relations with their own Central Committee than to the question of our new perspective. Here we may expect ever sharper conflicts. The Central Committee will defend Stalin and itself; therein lies its main objective. The workers' Communists will demand honest answers and clear perspectives. While we stood on the position of reform, we did not advocate the breaking of discipline. Now the situation is

known about the "Old Man": He was arrested about a half year ago and will stand trial in April. He has written a "defense" pleading guilty. This "defense" yesterday was sent here by his lawyer. Here in brief, are the details, as follows:

1) It is a classical type. This type is just the same as his "Declaration of Revolutionary Literature" ten years ago. This Declaration marked a new period for Chinese life. 1925-27 revolution is its product.

2) Comrade Chen tells us why he transformed the literary revolution into the political revolution and why he became a Communist.

3) There follows, in detail, the aims of Communist Society.

4) The Communist party's new tactics, follows the "Draft Program" of L. D.

5) A condemnation of the KMT. "From the bourgeois point of view the meaning of nation contains 3 elements—but now the KM has truly beaten the people," handed over Manchuria to Japanese imperialism. In short, the KMT doesn't really know its master—International Imperialism.

6) So he is not a traitor. For he did not sell his nation but rather worked to save the nation of oppressed people. Today the KMT doesn't command the army to fight against Japanese imperialism but concentrates at Kiangsi to fight against the Red Army whose aim is to free China from the hand of International Imperialism.

7) He is not guilty. His guilt is fighting against the KMT which now prepares to sell China to the Japanese and other Imperialists.

We are collecting money to publish this "Defense" and will translate it into German, English, etc. It can prove our "Trotskyists" are quite different from the Stalinists. Though we are in prison we fight the KMT; but Stalinists capitulate to the KMT when free.

Comrades! tell this news to American workers.

HC

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Lack of space and a delay in the mails have forced us to relegate several important documents on the Chicago congress to the next issue. Among these are the main resolution, and the motions and amendments presented by the delegation of the Left Opposition; supplementary notes by comrade Glotzer and an analytical article by comrade Cannon. In the next issue also, the discussion on the new tasks in Germany, opened up by the article of comrade Trotsky, will be continued. Including among other things, a recent resolution of the N. E. C. of the German Opposition. An additional feature will be the Declaration of the International Left Opposition to the Anti-Fascist Congress, to be held in Copenhagen the coming month. A review and analysis of the reformist "Continental Congress" at Washington has also been withheld for lack of space, until next week.

radically changed. We will propose in the units the refusal to distribute worthless official literature, the boycott of the apparatus, the break with the C. E. C. It is understood that we will do all this tactfully and sensibly, considering the level of each unit and the circumstances. But our main line will be that of a new party. And we need not doubt that in spite of this line our relations with the revolutionary party units, in a new situation, in illegality, will be incomparably more friendly, than in the preceding period when we wanted to be only a faction.

We must not forget also that it is not a matter of the Communist party alone. The political collapse of the social democracy makes the appearance of a new "independent" party from its midst very probable. Can we suppose even for a moment that the Stalinist apparatus will be capable of attracting the left social democracy to its side, or even of influencing it in a revolutionary fashion? By this ultimatum, as well as by their whole past, which they do not want to and cannot renounce, the Stalinists will only slow up the development of the social democratic opposition, playing, in the service of Wells, the role of a garden scare-crow. From this point of view also, the perspective of a new party places itself imperatively on the order of the day.

No Illusions!

Behind the majority of political and logical objections, there really lurks an unexpressed sentimental consideration: the Stalinist apparatus is under the blows of Fascism, many devoted and unselfish comrades are trying with all their might to save the organization—is it permissible under such conditions to "discourage" the fighters? This argument can be best expressed by two lines from a verse of a Russian poet: "Elevating illusion is more precious to us than the darkness of bitter truth." But the philosophy of Pushkin is not the philosophy of Marxism. When, at the beginning of the century, we struggled against the party bourgeois illusions and adventurism of the Social Revolutionaries, many good souls not only in the Narodnik camp, but even in our midst, indignantly broke with the Leninist *Iskra* which, you see, allowed itself to criticize terror unmercifully at the time when the terrorists were perishing in the hangman's noose. We replied: the aim of our criticism consists precisely in tearing away the revolutionary heroes from individual terrorism and in leading them to the road of mass struggle. The illegal apparatus, appended to Mandelstam-Stalin, can bring nothing to the German proletariat save new misfortunes. We must say this openly and without delay, in order to save hundreds and thousands of revolutionaries from a fruitless waste of their energies.

L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, April 9, 1933

Chicago Symposium

(Continued from Page 1)

Opposition is in itself a tribute to the Left Opposition's great historic role in the struggle for united working class action as well as in its growing strength and influence.

Comrade Albert Glotzer, of the National Executive Committee, will represent the Communist League (Left Opposition); Herbert Zam, the Communist Party-Opposition (Lovelstonites); John Williamson, Organizational Secretary of District 8, the Communist Party, U. S. A.; and Hyman Scheid, the socialist party. The time: Friday, May 19, at 8 p.m. The place: 3322 W. Douglas Blvd., Chicago. Admission is 15 cents. The symposium is to be held under the auspices of the 6th Congressional District of the Socialist party.

Chicago workers, attend en masse.

Now on Sale on the Newsstands—25c a Copy

The MODERN MONTHLY

May, 1933 Issue

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It Fell Upon an Afternoon (Short Story)—Edwin Seaver
Student Forum

The Theatre
The Literary Front
Reviews by Sidney Hook,
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Subscriptions: \$2.50 per year
\$1.25 6 mos.

The MODERN MONTHLY
Box 97, Sta. D, New York, N. Y.

Labor Writhes Under Nazi Whip

Only seven weeks were required for the German counter-revolution to complete its first stage. The Hitler government emerged on January 30. At its pompous session in Potsdam on March 21, the Reichstag sealed the fate of parliamentary democracy and conferred full power upon the government. That period decided for the time being the issue of Communism or Fascism in Germany. With that commences an entirely new historical period for the working class which will have its serious repercussions through out the world. The German workers retreated without a struggle. The Communist party leaders were revealed as the organizers of defeat. Fascism remained the victor and has now been able to consolidate a virtual dictatorship.

But the Stalinist leaders continue in their previous course. In a manifesto issued from their place of refuge, dated March 15, it is said that: "Our party has fought in brilliant fashion." Despite the pompous declarations of the government, March 5 is not a victory for Fascism, it shows on the contrary that the masses of the toiling people are resolved to wage the struggle boldly and courageously. And from the Stalinist headquarters it is maintained in Pravda of March 6: "The working masses of Germany cannot be intimidated either by provocation or slander. They are on the side of the Communist party and under its leadership will put an end to the Fascist regime."

It is necessary to make a correction here. The working masses were prevented from being on the side of the Communist party by the fatal policy of its leadership. And it is well to add that the new tasks in Germany will belong to the new Communist party which in no case will be organized by the Stalinists.

For the moment the sad truth must be recognized. It was the empty boasts of Stalinism which contributed so much to render the party impotent of leadership. They have nothing to do with a Marxist analysis because they are not based upon reality and can result only in adding further confusion to the demoralization created by the serious defeat suffered. Above all, they do not correspond with the complete failure of resistance. Parliamentary democracy took leave in a blaze of torchlights, ac-

Fascists Attack in the Guise of "Defense"

compulsed by the roar of guns and ringing of churchbells, blessed by the sermon in the Potsdam church over the text: "If God be with us (the Fascists) who can be against us." And the god who is always on the side of the strong bayoneted his rightful place in Fascist Germany. Hitler also fitted himself into this general setting and made a venture into the stratosphere by dedicating his address to the people "on the elevation of the soul." Now he will proceed the more ferociously on terra firma, in destroying the only progressive class and exterminating its organizations. He has already opened a number of concentration camps in which the most active Communist fighters and social democrats are to be interned and kept under the Fascist lash. One of these camps is located at Dachau near Munich. It has "accommodations" for 5,000. The "camp" is located at Heuberg in Warttemberg. While the activities took place in Potsdam, 400 Communist prisoners were on their way to the latter camp.

Fascist Strategy in Name of "Defense"

Chronologically one can trace the sweeping rapidity of the Fascist rise to the full fledged dictatorship and to the just as rapid, disorganized retreat of the Communist and social democratic movements. Its blunt strategy could become possible only in view of the failure of the proletarian leaders, Communists and Socialists alike. Their common failure prepared the road for Fascism. To recount this strategy has value not so much from the point of view of merely recording what has passed, but primarily for the sake of assimilating the lessons of these events for the future tasks.

As soon as Hitler and his lieutenants entered the government they set as their first aim the control of the police, not for the national coalition, but for the Fascists themselves. This they accomplished in the name of the defense and security of the people, strange as it may seem. Having the affairs of the interior regime of Prussia well guarded in the hands of Goer-

ing, they proceeded to appoint police commissioners for the other states, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Saxony, etc. These were not just mere chiefs of police but fully authorized commissioners whose powers were symbolized by the act of von Epp, commissioner for Bavaria, in appointing a new government for the state. Elsewhere, within the various states and cities followed in rapid succession the removal of the elected governments, legislatures, mayors and even regular functionaries and hired employees who did not swear to the Fascist colors. At first it took place by the more polite method of granting leaves of absence but later the victims were violently chased out. All were replaced by Fascists. Step by step with these broads grew the suppression and complete proscription of the workers' press, their meetings and their organizations.

The Communist press and even the Socialist press formerly counting of 192 papers is entirely proscribed. The Communist auxiliary organizations are dissolved and prohibited. These actions were supplemented right along with the necessary emergency decrees. But in all of these the Fascists had fully learned the art of taking the measures in the name of the defense and security of the people. The Fascist strategy managed to put the working class organizations in the position of being the offenders—the terrorist monster against which they were defending the people. The workers who had naive to speak in the name of, and to take measures for, their own defense, and thereby the defense of the majority of the people, failed to do so. To put it more correctly, their parties to which they had given all their confidence—their workers' parties and more particularly their party leaders—failed to give such leadership, failed to give any leadership at all. The Fascist strategy, although crudely and clumsily carried out nevertheless became superior. The working class' lack of strategy, and where any was shown, its false strategy, hastened the defeat.

To fully comprehend the enormous chasm presented here it is necessary to make a historical comparison with the process of the Bolshevik revolution under Lenin and Trotsky. For example, at the time of the attempted Kornilov counter-revolution, the Bolsheviks mobilized the weight of the masses and through their deep antagonism to the Kornilovists impelled the Mensheviks to fight militantly with them under the slogan of the defense of the people's revolution. Also, at the time of the Kerensky attempt to strip Petrograd of its revolutionary soldiers, the Bolsheviks frustrated it under the slogan of the "defense of the revolutionary capital." The subsequent breach with the army headquarters was made in the name of "defense of revolutionary order against counter-revolutionary attempt." And again, up until the very last days before the insurrection, the heavy attacks were made in the name of defense under the immediate leadership of formally established "Defense Committees." The Red Guard was organized and as late as October 22 defined to be: "An organization of the armed forces of the proletariat for the struggle against counter-revolution and the defense of the conquests of the revolution." No class-conscious worker will today deny the historical right and correctness as well as effectiveness of the Bolshevik strategy carried on in the name of defense. Yet these lessons have already been lost to the proletariat. Its leaders falsified the lessons of October.

—ARNE SWADECKE

(Continued in the next issue)

Archio-Marxists Wage Independent Struggle in Elections in Greece

The events that took place during the last 12 months in Greece proved the currentness of the thesis of the first convention of the Greek

Left Opposition which convened in March, 1932. The numerous strikes of May and June 1932 coupled with many peasant uprisings in almost every part of Greece and especially the General Strike in Athens and Piraeus showed that the revolutionary movement could have gained many victories once the activities of the working class were directed by genuine Workers' Councils supplemented by the peasants' committees. The Stalinists sabotaged this concrete proposal of the L. O. and the heroic struggles of the Greek proletariat were not guided by a central body of action. Also the peasant uprisings were drowned in blood because they were spontaneous and left without direction.

The high priests of Stalinism were unable to apply this method of action because of the contradiction with the famous "united front from below." The catastrophic results of this criminal policy created confusion among the workers engaged in the General Strike. The reformists were able to strengthen their position as a result of the Stalinist stupidities and the only section that kept high the banner of Communism was the Left Opposition.

Despite the heavy sacrifices of the Opposition, including the death of Comrade Adamopoulos in the picket line, our comrades were unable to overcome the treachery of the reformists (whom the Stalinists assisted to a great extent by their "Social-Fascism" theory) in smashing their reluctance to fight when they saw clearly that the Strike was spreading to other cities of Greece and assuming an acute revolutionary character. Women and children joined their fathers and husbands on the picket line.

Stalinism in Greece, as in every other country where it is confronted with an actual struggle, succeeds only in one point, that is, in disgracing the name of Communism. Every action of the Stalinists shows this very clearly. The aim of the Left Opposition is one of defending the banner of Communism which centrism soils.

While Stalinism allies itself with every kind of petty-bourgeois element under the banner of the Workers' and Farmers' bloc, it refuses not only co-operation but even support to the Bolshevik-Leninists. It even resorts to physical violence to avoid co-operation of the Archio-Marxists with the party; it does not let them approach the masses near the party and never gives them the opportunity to speak. But while this policy is able quite often to stifle the voice of small oppositional groups, it is unable to stifle the voice of the Archio-Marxists. The Greek Opposition has outstripped long ago the stage of a mere Opposition and is trans-

formed into a positive Communist force and in a section of the working class is considered as the only guarantee of the revolution.

These conditions imposed upon our Greek comrades the duty of directly approaching the masses which Stalinism disappoints and which become passively inclined, giving an easy victory to the reactionaries. These duties our comrades understand very well and as a first step they decided to put up 5 independent candidates during the elections of last March 5, at the same time agitating for all the other candidates of the party.

By running their candidates our comrades did not expect any tremendous victories. On the contrary, as Marxists they explained to the thousands of workers that gathered at their election rallies why they ran their candidates and what they could expect from the elections. Also they carried long articles in their daily paper *Pali Ton Taxoon* explaining in detail this important turn in policy.

First of all, they explained that they did not expect to get thousands of votes. For the two candidates of Athens, comrades George Vitsoris and Charalambos Alexopoulos, they expected 500 votes. For the Salonica candidates, comrades Alex Sakkos and John Kefalas, 400. For the candidate of Oetfyon, comrade Petro Androni 100. These expectations were realized with the exception of Salonica, where the reaction attacked the Labor Centre, killed seven workers and wounded 100, confiscated the registration book of the workers and thus prevented them from voting. Comrade Androni was arrested during his election campaign and was beaten into unconsciousness.

The Archio-Marxists ran their five candidates primarily because the Stalinists did not run on a Communist ticket and, what is more important, in order to speak to the masses and prove that Communism is not responsible for the crimes of Stalinism.

The thousands of Stalinist votes are not a genuine proof that they are able to mobilize all these voters. On the contrary, they are pathetic gestures of numerous petty-bourgeois and newly radicalized workers. The Stalinists, as usurpers of the October revolution, are able to get thousands of votes as official representatives of the Soviet Union.

In view of these favorable conditions of Stalinism, every vote of our comrades is a genuine vote for Communism. All the influence of Stalinism will be transferred to the Archio-Marxists once they succeed in sweeping Stalinism aside and building the United Communist Party. The most powerful struggle between Stalinism and Bolshevism is taking place at present in Greece and its development is earnestly followed by those who wish to see the rising of Bolshevism

The Daily Worker of May 8 boasts about the gains of the "Red Opposition" in Salonica. Although we lack detailed information about recent election, we are in a position to state that the Stalinists in Salonica always were able to muster a majority on account of the support they get from the "Spartacus group" (a Left Opposition tendency).

But the Daily Worker fails to mention that on February 16, the Labor Center of Salonica was attacked by the police and soldiers of the Military Garrison and that the local Archio-Marxists were involved in the clash with them and 7 killed and 105 wounded. With the Left Opposition handicapped by such heavy casualties it is not surprising that in a small Union the Stalinists were able to muster a majority.

The Archio-Marxists have already made headway in the heavy task of creating a United Communist movement by sweeping aside the Stalinists. The very boasts of the Stalinists prove that the blows of the Greek Opposition are becoming effective. The development of the struggle will be reported regularly in the columns of the MILITANT.

A. CALDIS.

National Mooney Meet Prepares Broad Fight

Congress Elects National Council of Action; Left Opposition Among Many Groups Represented

(Continued from Page 1)

The Left Opp. Comrade Cannon declared: The Opposition does not consider the present congress as the culmination of the movement to free Tom Mooney, but rather as the beginning of the struggle, the basis upon which to broaden the entire movement. He proposed to begin a new series of local and district united front conferences mobilizing ever-broader sections of the working class, drawing in new forces into the united front, and preparing for a national and international Mooney Day. All this work, Cannon stated, must lead to the organization of another national congress with a goal of at least 10,000 delegates. "The policy for all this work," said Cannon, "which shall govern the activity of the leading committee on a national scale and all the local organizations is the policy of the united front of workers' organizations." He closed with the declaration that the Left Opposition would present motions on program and policy and along this line to the resolution committee. It was only following the speech of comrade Cannon that efforts were made by other speakers to touch upon the subject of policy and program.

With the first session drawing to a close, Muste in reporting for the presiding committee made the preposterous proposal to conclude the congress on the afternoon of the second day in order to bring the congress to a fitting climax with the Mooney Mass Meeting scheduled for six o'clock in the evening, at the Chicago Stadium. This proposal took the congress by surprise. The congress had no sooner settled down when this proposal for adjournment was made. Herbert Zam, the delegate of the Communist Party (Opposition) rose immediately on the floor to object to the proposal of the presiding committee. He was followed by a representative of the Proletarian party. An obvious confusion existed among all delegates, who found it difficult to understand the nature of this proposal. In speaking of this proposal, comrade Glatzer stated for the Left Opposition, that the most important task of the congress, policy and program, was still to be reported upon and discussed. He pointed out that until then the congress had merely reviewed the Mooney case; but it had not even elected a resolutions committee (scheduled for the next day) nor begun the decisive work for which the congress was called. Considerations of a financial character or the desire to bring the congress to a fitting climax could never outweigh the importance of the deliberations of the congress itself. Throughout the hall delegates rose in objection to the proposal of the committee. A motion was made to table the proposal until the following day. In observation of the mood of the delegates, the presiding committee accepted this substitute.

Election of Resolutions Committee
The second day of the congress opened with Wm. Leader in the chair. Discussion continued on the report of comrade Minor, while waiting the proposal of the presiding committee for the Resolutions Committee. This committee was the most important of the congress. It had to take up the question of policy and program and report back to the congress floor. The committee was composed of delegates from the Proletarian party, A. F. of L. locals, the socialist party, the YPSL, the YCL, the TUUL, the Communist party, other Mooney local conferences, and the Left Opposition (comrade Cannon). The selection of comrade Cannon was more the result of pressure by certain delegates, rather than by the presiding committee in which the party had the majority. The proposal to add Zam to this committee, to represent the Right Opposition was defeated by the overwhelming Party vote. At the conclusion of this point, the resolutions committee went into session and the discussion of Minor's report continued.

Before the closing of the second day of the congress, it was decided to continue the congress on the third day as originally scheduled. The proposal was made the night before for adjournment, stood out even more ridiculous, on the second day, when it became clear that even after the second day, the congress had not yet concerned itself with the question of policy and program, or with a report of the resolutions committee.

In behalf of the presiding Committee, Bill Gebert proposed to adjourn the congress in time to permit the delegates to attend the May Day demonstrations held by both the socialist party and the May Day United Front Committee (Left wing). This proposal was unanimously accepted by the congress. All delegates were to be present at the Mooney Mass meeting in the evening.

The Third Day of the Congress

The congress reconvened on May 2nd, at the Masonic Auditorium, with Joe Weber, of the TUUL, acting as chairman. The resolutions committee which could not conclude its work remained in session while the congress continued the original discussion on the report of Minor. During this discussion comrade Alher Goldman, the Chicago Attorney for the International Labor Defense took the floor. He made two criticisms of the congress which were by and large correct. Goldman stated that in calling this congress the policy of the Molders Committee should have been directed to the organization of a joint arrangements committee representative of the socialist party, the A. F. of L., the Communist party, the TUUL, etc. Such a committee should have then called the conference into existence. While this policy was finally adopted, Goldman declared that it was adopted somewhat too late to be of real effectiveness.

His second criticism was on the manner in which the congress was conducted; referring to the abnormally long discussion of a purely agitational character and the failure of the congress to spend the major part of its time on the question of policy and program.

Scott rose to answer Goldman, but his reply did not meet the criticisms made. During the course of his answer Scott made clear to the delegates that he was not a member of the Communist Party nor the International Labor Defense. Among the following speakers

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were Gebert and Zam. In the course of his speech Gebert again raised the question of the united front from below. In this he only repeated the remarks of Amter, who had stressed sharply this same policy before. Zam declared his opposition to linking the general struggle for workers' rights, or the Scottsboro case, with the fight for the release of Tom Mooney. Speaking in the name of the Communist party (Opposition) he informed the congress that it was their position, that the congress and its policy line itself exclusively with the issue of Tom Mooney, without raising the other questions of workers' rights.

The Reports of the Resolutions Committee
Discussion on the report of Minor closed with the arrival of the resolutions committee, which remained in session during the first part of the last day of the congress. C. A. Hathaway reported for the resolutions committee. On a number of minor resolutions there was agreement, but in discussions of the main resolution different points of view were presented. He said that resolutions presented by the Lovestonites and the Left Opposition were tabled. Differences existed on the main resolution over one particular point upon which there will be a minority report by comrade Cannon. The I. W. W. presented separate resolutions favoring a boycott of California products and the calling of a general strike in the event that Mooney is not freed or continues to remain in prison. The resolutions committee while not opposing these resolutions in principle proposed their non-adoption by the congress, because of their inapplicability at the present stage of development of the workers' movement in this country.

Returning to the resolution, Hathaway declared that a sharp difference existed between the majority of the Resolution which says in effect: that during the existence of the united front, there shall be no attacks by the participating organizations upon each other, so long as each logically carried out the decisions of the congress. Hathaway attempted to convey the idea that this does not mean to liquidate the independence of the organizations involved, or abolish the freedom of criticism though in reality it is precisely a weapon which the misleaders of labor are looking for. This was a concession to the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the socialist party to get them into the united front, Hathaway said. It was designed to prevent them from saying that they could not participate in the united front because they refused to be attacked by the Communists. It is to show the workers that everything possible is done to pave the way for the participation of their organizations.

In making the minority report, comrade Cannon called attention to the fact that the resolution of the Opposition was not tabled, but all of its points were incorporated in the main resolution reported on by Hathaway. When this was done it was not necessary to fight for the separate adoption of the proposals of the Left Opposition. "We are interested in the adoption of a correct policy," comrade Cannon said, "and if you will table all our proposals as you have this one, we shall not object."

Both the Lovestonite and Stalinist positions. We were opposed to the Stalinist attempt to turn the Mooney Committee into a Mooney-Scottsboro Committee, but we were equally opposed to the Lovestonite right wing attempt to separate the Mooney case from the Scottsboro case and other class struggle issues. Both the centrists and the Right wing confuse the question of organizational and propaganda relations, as well as the relations between different issues of the class struggle.

The final draft of the resolution had some bad points on this question, some wrong formulations, such as: "The unity of the workers and Negro people." In the main, however, it was correct, and we found common ground on which to vote with the Stalinists.

The C. I. May Day Bombshell
After the Resolutions Committee had adopted a very good and correct formula on the united front with the exception of the sentence dealing with "no attacks" the Stalinist steering committee, Amter, etc., discovered, through our information that the *Daily Worker* that had arrived in the morning of this session carried a manifesto from the C. I. on May Day that again returned to the united front from below. It was a wrong position and a return to the old formula. At least one thing was clear, that the C. I. formula and the formula adopted at the Mooney Congress were two different positions. Which one will the Stalinists try to live up to? This is their contradiction.

Lewis, Horner outfit.

The class collaboration in policy of the leaders of the P.M.A. was adopted because they "wanted a breathing spell." But upon this false foundation they have been losing ground to the Lewis machine in many districts. Breathing spells, as well as growth, cannot be had on the basis of class collaboration, if one has the interest of the workers at heart. Growth and consolidation is possible only on the basis of a Left wing policy, of class struggle.

Upon such a foundation the union was born, upon such a foundation the union will grow. Words about minority rights and expression, words about unity of all Left wing forces in the coal industry on a national scale, words about unemployment relief, words about the six-hour day, words must be changed into action. Not the kind of action in the immediate past. Action where the Right wing sat in the swivel chairs answering phones, sending the militants to the front line to carry on the work and to be used as a cover for their Right wing policies. Individual militants and Left wing class struggle fighters may have the best of intentions, but as such they will only be tools in the hands of the Right wing unless they have behind them and are subordinated to, an organized Left wing.

The Right wing uses the Democratic party as their machine in union elections. The Left wing must organize all their forces for their struggles and their policies.

HUGO OEHLE

Tasks for Next Period

A fight against the Right wing class collaboration policy must be launched all along, up and down the line, in the Progressive Miners of America, if the union is to be strengthened in the coming period if it is to be in a position to fight the Peabody forces. The red baiting campaign in the union must stop and the Communists must have the rights of minority expression as well as members of any other political party. The Left wing forces must formulate a minimum program around which to unite. These steps must be taken at once in every mine town, in every local of the P. M. A., if we are to defeat the Peabody.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spektor Arne Swaback

Vol. 6, No. 26 Whole No. 173

Saturday, May 13, 1933

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year. Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy

Speaking for the Left Opposition, Cannon declared that aside from one clause, he supported the resolution which was in general correct. The amendment made by Cannon read as follows: "Each organization entering the united front obligates itself to discipline in action but retains its full independence and its right to criticism." This clause would permit of no misunderstanding by anyone participating in the united front. It is the only correct basis upon which the united front can be organized. To do otherwise is to tie the hands of the revolutionary elements, which could react favorably only to the reformists.

Toward the close of his minority report, comrade Cannon read from the *Daily Worker* of April 30, the declaration of the Communist International, revising again its position on the united front and calling for the resumption of the tactic of the "united front from below." As a parting question Cannon asked whether this meant that the Party would now change its position again and revert to its old policy. This change of line by the C. I. caught the Party members and in replying to a similar question put by comrade Gerry Allard, Hathaway replied that this did not mean a revision of the line, but applied only to the May Day demonstrations.

The conference adjourned to move to the People's Auditorium for the final session of the congress. Discussion followed upon re-nominating Roger Baldwin before leaving the congress made a statement in complete support of the majority of the resolutions committee. A similar declaration was made by Sol

We will do all that is possible to help the party find its way to the correct Leninist united front position expressed, in the main, by the resolution of the Mooney Congress and not by the C. I. resolution.

The Left Opposition was on the Resolutions Committee of the Mooney Congress but unfortunately was not on the Resolutions Committee of the C. I.

If the Mooney movement slips back to the old Stalinist formula of the united front from below, the Socialist Party and A. F. L. leaders will be greatly strengthened and rendered a great service by us.

Hathaway and Borich, speaking in defense of a confused formula on the united front that has elements of both the Mooney Congress formula and the C. I. formula, said, in reference to the Socialist and A. F. L. leaders: "The leaders will never come into a united front of this kind," meaning the Chicago Mooney Congress. The leaders never decide the question of joining or boycotting a united front. This question is decided for them by the use of a Leninist policy of the united front by the revolutionaries and the mass pressure of the workers upon and within their organization. If the united front policy is not correct and the pressure, consequently, not great enough then they will refuse. This the Stalinists must still learn, just as they must learn that we never must give up our independence or our right to political criticism in united fronts.

HUGO OEHLE

The 30 Hour Bill: Stagger System and Wage Cuts

(Continued from Page 1)

Representative Connery asserted that unless the bill carried an amendment barring imports manufactured by industries operating on more than the thirty hours a week it would not carry. In this he was supported by those industries which are competing in the domestic market with the product of industries abroad. The administration is opposed to this provision. It contradicts all the presidential blarney about trade agreements and freely flowing international exchange (Ramsay Mac Donald).

William Green appeared before the House Labor Committee and opposed the minimum wage provision. (Later he appeared again and urged the passage of the bill as it stands.) The New York *World-Telegram* of May 1 reports that "insular representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers are in favor of the principle of the six-hour day for railroad employees—with no reduction in pay. A resolution endorsing it is sent to President Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Perkins, and chairmen of interested congressional committees."

Under the accumulating pressure the administration retreated. Senator Robinson, the administration's "whip," announced that the bill is "not now in the picture." The bill will probably die in committee.

In the period when this bill which so vitally affects the working class was in the process of becoming legislation, the official Communist party, caught unawares, did not lift a finger to rally the masses against its inhumane provisions. The TUUL, to be sure, sent a representative to the Senate Judiciary Committee to put forward its view. That is one thing. Another is to organize a movement behind this delegation to give its view a force.

Why did the party stand by with folded hands? Why did it allow the initiative in opposing the bill to fall in the hands of Green and others?

The Seven Hour Day

There is a reason. The party was committed to the slogan of the

reduction in pay advanced by the Left Opposition years before.

But the Stalinists do not say so openly to the party and the class. Worse! As yet they are confusing the struggle to the parliamentary field. Appearances before the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Labor Committee (May 6) are undoubtedly correct. But when they are not backed by a mass movement they become opportunist.

That is how the question stands today. With a rise in the economic conjuncture the workers will begin to struggle against their bosses. A prominent place in these struggles will be occupied by the fight for the six-hour day. If the party seriously means to influence these struggles in a revolutionary direction it must begin now to lay the ground.

It must begin to organize the movement. The first prerequisite for this is an open admission of the change in slogans and a Marxist explanation for it.

The second prerequisite is the organization of the movement. The positions of the leading working class organizations on the question makes the situation favorable. The A. F. of L. is officially on record for the six-hour day. The railroad brotherhoods similarly. And the socialist party is also on record for it. A correct united front approach to these bodies by the party for a movement for this objective can yield fruitful results for the interests of the workers and Communism.

Over this possibility the policy laid down in the C. I. Manifesto hangs like an ominous cloud. This policy must be rejected. In its place we must adopt and apply the tactic of Leninist united front of workers' organizations.

T. STAMM

Highlight of Meet -- Clash Between Stalinists and L.O. on 'Non-Aggression' Clause of Main Resolution

Larks, recently expelled from the YPSL, because of his struggle in support of the Mooney Congress and the united front. Larks is one of the leaders of the Left wing in the YPSL, and the socialist party. He supported the position of the majority on the non-aggression clause because in his opinion it would make possible further proposals for united front action to the socialists. Williamson speaking for the Party, made a vicious attack upon Goldman, Zam and Cannon. Coming when it did, the speech mocked the whole effort of the party to force through the non-aggression pact.

Glatzer Replies to the Critics of the Minority Report

Comrade Glatzer was given the floor in defense of the minority report. He declared that the main tactic of this congress should be the extension of the united front policy. The correct utilization of the united front tactic would make possible the increase of pressure upon the reformists. Only by such pressure will it be possible to force the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the socialist party into united front action. To expect this in any other way, for example, by a non-aggression pact, was a mere illusion. Paul Mattick, representative for United Workers Party, spoke again against the non-aggression pact and called for rank and file control of the united front. He declared himself against the resolutions on boycott and united front. He was followed by Hanson, a member of the IWW, representing the Kentucky Miners, who spoke in favor of the resolutions on boycott and general strike.

A motion was introduced to close the discussion. In view of the fact that many speakers had not yet had the opportunity to present their positions on the floor, protests came from all parts of the hall. Zam particularly protested this action. He pointed out that he made an amendment to the resolution; that the amendment had not been presented to the congress and that no one had had an opportunity to speak for it on the floor. A period of bedlam seized hold of the conference. During the confusion the motion carried and Hathaway proceeded to sum up his report and the discussion. During his summary speech, Zam again demanded to be given the floor to present his amendment and defend his position. At this point, Hathaway made the motion to give Zam five minutes to present his motion and to speak in defense of it. The motion carried.

The essence of the amendment by Zam, was designed to confine the Congress to the one issue of Tom Mooney and to leave the general question of the struggle for workers' rights out of the main resolution. In continuing his summary Hathaway attempted to cover the struggle of the Left Opposition for correct policy by asserting that the Left Opposition was only interested in presenting its political program in the congress. This remark made little or no impression—it was an attempt to declare the position of the party against the Left Opposition.

Voting on the Resolutions
An endeavor was made to vote

on the main resolution first thus making it unnecessary to vote on the various amendments proposed. Such a motion was carried. The comrade Cannon took the floor to object to the procedure and proposed voting first of all upon the various amendments and then in the main resolution. In making his statement comrade Cannon declared that the delegation of the Left Opposition in voting for its own amendment (see above) would at the same time vote for the general resolution, excluding that section containing the non-aggression clause. This proposal was carried and the voting proceeded on the different amendments.

The amendment proposed by the Left Opposition received 63 votes. This was the largest minority vote in the congress. It showed, too, that next to the party, the Left Opposition was the strongest political factor in the congress. The boycott resolution of the I. W. W. received 27 votes, and their general strike resolution 57 votes. The amendment proposed by Zam got 51 votes. Thus, the overwhelming majority of delegates voted in favor of the general resolution.

The final report of the congress was the election of a permanent committee. The Presiding Committee proposed a committee of 43. The name of the committee was adopted as the: National Mooney Council of Action. Additional nominations were made to this Committee. Among those nominated was Zam. When the motion was made to elect the original 43, comrade Cannon in the name of the Left Opposition proposed voting individually on the additional nominations, because the Left Opposition was in favor of the Left Opposition of the Communist Party (Opposition) since they represented a definite current in the working class movement, had their own press and organization. In addition, it was made clear that neither the party nor the Left Opposition could represent their point of view.

This proposal was defeated and the project of the presiding committee carried by an overwhelming vote. The motion that the permanent committee, those residing in New York City, shall compose the working committee, and that New York should be the central headquarters also carried. In addition, the presiding committee proposed that the secretary of the committee should be C. A. Hathaway. The last proposal carried without any objections. Among those on the National Mooney Council of Action were: A. Remer, Proletarian party; George Smirkin, YPSL; J. P. Cannon, Communist League of America (Left Opposition); Van Gilder, socialist party; R. M. Lovett, I.W.O.; Selena Burrell, Women's Auxiliary of the P.M.A.; Pat Ansboury, Progressive Miners of America; L. Scott, Miners Defense Committee, Chas. Bloom, A.F. of L.; Emil Arnold, A. F. of L.; M. Olay, Anarchist; Robert Minor, C. P.; Wm. Patterson, J. L. D.; C. A. Hathaway, C. P.; J. Muste, C.P.A.; I. Amter, unemployed Councils; J. B. Matthews, Socialist Party; Joe Weber, TUUL, and Alec Frazer of the Progressive Miners of America.

ALBERT GLOTZER

A Quick Turn in Policy on Part of the Stalinists

seven hour day without reduction in pay. It has never explained why. At the meeting of the Resolutions Committee, in the N. Y. May Day conference, in voting down our proposal for the inclusion of the six-hour day slogan in the May Day Resolution, Winter explained that the A. F. of L. stood for the six-hour day and that the C. P. had to "distinguish itself from the demagogic A. F. of L. fakers!"

When the capitalists themselves proposed the six-hour day and the five-day week they inadvertently exposed the bankruptcy of the party's position on the question. The Black Bill made it impossible for the party to advance the seven-hour day any longer. And, as a matter of fact, the party press is now free of it.

Instead, with typical bureaucratic cowardliness the Stalinists have changed the slogan without saying so, and without explanation to the party membership and the working class.

And to what have they changed the slogan? On April 8 the *Daily Worker* said that to the capitalist wage cutting bill we must oppose the slogan of a shorter work day without reduction in pay. This formulation is broad enough to include the I. W. W. slogan of the four-hour day without reduction in pay. And it can also include the position of the A. F. of L. demagogic fakers for the six-hour day, from whom, said Winter, the revolutionary movement must distinguish itself by the clock!

But the Stalinists were unable to crawl out of a bad situation by the use of an ambiguous and confusing slogan. The struggle against the bill requires concrete measures and definite slogans. The *Daily Worker* of April 20 carried an article by Stachel, in which he reports that the TUUL appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee and proposed an amendment to the Black Bill providing for the six-hour day, five-day week with no

reduction in pay advanced by the Left Opposition years before.

But the Stalinists do not say so openly to the party and the class. Worse! As yet they are confusing the struggle to the parliamentary field. Appearances before the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Labor Committee (May 6) are undoubtedly correct. But when they are not backed by a mass movement they become opportunist.

That is how the question stands today. With a rise in the economic conjuncture the workers will begin to struggle against their bosses. A prominent place in these struggles will be occupied by the fight for the six-hour day. If the party seriously means to influence these struggles in a revolutionary direction it must begin now to lay the ground.

It must begin to organize the movement. The first prerequisite for this is an open admission of the change in slogans and a Marxist explanation for it.

The second prerequisite is the organization of the movement. The positions of the leading working class organizations on the question makes the situation favorable. The A. F. of L. is officially on record for the six-hour day. The railroad brotherhoods similarly. And the socialist party is also on record for it. A correct united front approach to these bodies by the party for a movement for this objective can yield fruitful results for the interests of the workers and Communism.

Over this possibility the policy laid down in the C. I. Manifesto hangs like an ominous cloud. This policy must be rejected. In its place we must adopt and apply the tactic of Leninist united front of workers' organizations.

T. STAMM

Chaco War Formally Declared

As this issue goes to press, it is announced that the war between Paraguay and Bolivia, which has been raging for nearly two years now, has been "officially" declared. A comprehensive article dealing with the Chaco mix up will appear in the forthcoming issue.



America Intervenes in European Conflict

HITLER DANCES TO ROOSEVELT'S TUNE. ORGY OF "PEACE" TALK PREPARES NEW SLAUGHTER AND ATTACK ON U.S.S.R. MOBILIZE FOR DEFENSE OF THE WORKERS FATHERLAND!

The past week was marked by a hectic development of the political tension on the European continent and by whirlwind American intervention to ally it. The surprisingly easy and rapid consolidation of the Nazi power in Germany—while France and the rest of the entente had expected a prolonged period of internal strife to keep the German nationalists tied to their strings—led to increasing boldness on the part of Hitler on the foreign front and served as the cause of something which is being described by the universal press as a "war hysteria comparable to that of 1914."

As long as the fate of Germany was undecided, as long as it was not certain that the proletariat of that country would not rise against the Fascist monster and institute its own rule, the ruling classes of France, England, etc., not only had no objections to the Nazi Storm Troops but regarded them as warriors in the defense of "civilization."

But the moment when it became clear that class struggle in Germany had for the time being, decided by the passive submission of the workers—betrayed by the socialists and kept divided by the Stalinist bureaucracy—the allied capitalists immediately saw the menace of German "rearmaments" in these same Brown Shirt formations.

It had been the original intention of the Versailles victors to solve the German crisis by maintaining their stranglehold on Germany on a new plane—showing a Fascist Germany to the forefront of war for the extermination of Soviet Russia, where it could make gains only as an agent of all the powers of Western Europe and only to the degree to which they consented. (Civil war in Germany would have left Hitler no other choice.)

With the inexpensive triumph over his internal enemy, the Nazi chieftain naturally gained inspiration to drive for a much better bargain—for a place among the equals in the family of robber capitalist nations. Now, if he is to attack Soviet Russia, he wants to make sure that he will have the force behind him to dictate his own terms and to turn the balance in favor of Nazi Germany in any case. The lack of proletarian resistance within Germany itself facilitates his devilish game of flirtation with the U.S.S.R., which is a club in his hands for the purpose of shaking the positions of the Western powers.

Hitler's excursions into Austria, and growing Fascist strength there, only served to further alarm his Allied opponents, whose aim is, of course, to hold on to that balance of power which they have held so tightly ever since Versailles. Therefore, lay the reasons for all the talk about "sanctions and preventative war" that so swiftly threw all of Europe into a frenzy last week.

It was at this point that Wall Street's "New Deal" president interfered. The heavy billions of American capital investments, of war debts and private contracts which constitute the economic basis of America's world hegemony were at stake. "Isolation" policy, which under the pressure of financial and economic intervention (Dawes Plan, Young Plan) had shrunk to the size of a flimsy formality, was definitely thrown overboard.

Retaining the traditional hypocrisy of Imperialist U.S. "pacifism," President Roosevelt addressed himself to the nations of Europe with something that amounts to a political ultimatum. Money talked and all the high and low politicians of Europe listened.

The Washington administration had been careful beforehand to make clear that it would definitely oppose all "sanctions" (the occupation of the Ruhr, etc.) but dropped a gentle hint to Berlin to bide its time. Roosevelt did, to be sure, tell the Nazis that he would not stand for German "rearmament." But at the same time, he just as categorically demanded French disarmament as a precondition for holding Germany in check.

Hitler's Reichstag Speech
The Roosevelt message was a bitter pill for the Western powers to swallow but they had no alternative. It takes finances to impose "sanctions" and to insure against possible consequences. Hitler's Reichstag speech, on the other hand, while indicating a turn to a slower tempo in the reestablishment of armed equality with the other powers, nevertheless showed that this was to be done only by bowing to Wall Street's wishes and not at all on the basis of French or British pressure.

America was to be considered as "guarantor of European peace," as a sort of super-arbiter. All in all, a handsome victory for United States imperialism and another strong twist of the American noose around Europe's neck.

It is not strange that the capitalist press in this country has welcomed Hitler's kowtowing to Washington. It is not strange that it now goes into poems of praise for Hitler, the pacifist. It is only some what ludicrous, part of the general comedy of armed pacifism.

That France and England will disarm—is hardly likely. That Hitler will, therefore, continue supplying German military forces up to France's level—gradually, to be sure, and on the "MacDonald plan"—is just as sure. The tension has only been temporarily allayed. The race of armaments will go on as fiercely as before. The final word will, however, rest with Washington.

Hitler and the Mussolini Pact

Significantly also, Hitler reiterated his determination to stand by the Four Power Pact of Mussolini. The direction of this pact—against the Soviet Union—has been made clear before this. The danger of war against the workers' fatherland is just as imminent as before. Only the preponderance in this looming attack against the fortress of the world revolution remains to be decided.

No amount of pacifist talk, no amount of flirtation with the USSR—by Hitler or by Roosevelt—can cover up that danger. To do so—as the Stalinist Daily Worker does—over the fact that Hitler's declaration of "aggressor nation" has been accepted by Geneva, can only have one meaning: To support all.

Two Expelled by Stalinists from Y. C. L.

The Young Communist League three weeks ago expelled two more of its members on the charge of "Trotskyism." Herman Gladstone, member of the Y. C. L. for two years, and Perry Mayers, member of the Y. C. L. for six months, were the victims this time of Stalinist "party democracy."

The basis for both the expulsions was laid at a recent district membership meeting held by the Y. C. L. on the German situation and the line of the Communist party in Germany. C. A. Hathaway, the district organizer of the party, expounded the united front policy in true Stalinist fashion.

At the conclusion of Hathaway's speech, one of the expelled members got up on a point of order and asked that there be a thorough discussion among the members themselves, so they would have an opportunity to express their opinions and hear those of the other rank and file. After a period of organized heckling among the leaders, Hathaway got up and pointed out that "the hour was late and to continue the meeting with an open discussion would mean to remain overnight." (Before this Hathaway had spoken for 4

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Heroic Sacrifices Mark P. M. A. Resistance to Operators' Onslaught

Pickets beaten, blinded and murdered! Peaceful miners shot down at their homes or on the streets! Relief headquarters smashed! Women—wives and mothers of miners beaten and jailed! Local union and mass meetings broken up! All these are regular features of the struggle of the miners of Illinois to organize and function within a union of their own choice—the Progressive Miners of America.

The list of murders and outrages grows as Lewis gangsters, coal company thugs, deputy sheriff gorillas and National guardsmen with machine gun, bayonet, bomb and blackjack carry on the fight of the Peabody Coal Co. to force starvation wages, slave conditions and a gangster union on the miners of Illinois.

The casualty lists of dead and wounded as published regularly in the *Progressive Miner* are eloquent proof of how the "King Kong" of Capitalism treat starving and struggling workers in the era of "new deal" and under the beneficent reign of the grinning, democratic "dictator" in Washington.

An incomplete list of recent casualties follows:
Murdered
Mrs. Emma Cummelato—shot by a sniper in her own doorway.
Joe Colbert—shot by gangsters in his own home.

5,000 Walk Out In Philadelphia Dress Strike

Philadelphia, Pa.—On Tuesday, May 9, the dressmakers rose in rebellion against sweatshop conditions and starvation pay in Philadelphia. That day 5,000 waist and dressmakers, 95 percent of the trade, went out on a general strike call in their industry. Their working conditions, never good, had been worsened in the past several years that it could no longer be tolerated. Wages of \$8 to \$15 and even lower are now current. Regulations as to hours, etc., which the state government had in past years been forced to concede, were withdrawn. Work had to be taken home, was a spirit of resentment against such slave conditions which brought on this upheaval.

The extent of the strike and its depth, can be further judged by the fact that for about half of those out it is their first strike—a novel experience. All categories—operators, cutters, finishers, etc., have struck. This so successful walkout was in response to two strike calls that were issued, one by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the other by the United Front Committee of Dress and Waistmakers and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The part played by the Left wing NTWU is a sorry one. The response was overwhelmingly to the right wing ILGWU of Dubinsky and Reisker. But both unions were taken by surprise at the turn-out of the workers. So little did the officialdom understand.

To the doubtful "credit" of the ILGWU must be added an effort to prevent a walkout. At the general strike meetings on Wednesday, Pres. Dubinsky admitted that the International's office considered conditions inauspicious for a struggle. "We restrained, we cautioned . . . but you wanted it." The Left wing, desirous of struggle but lacking forces and a foothold among the workers, was as a matter of course unable to call a strike. They too thought the call ill-timed. It was too late in the season. At the time of the walkout, the ILGWU had registered 1200 workers. Its leaders expected only an additional 600 to come out.

This strike proves the general Communist position, that strike struggle can be successfully waged now, despite a severe unemployment situation. The strike has many

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Broad United Front to Preserve Rivera Murals

A broad united front protest movement of working class organizations against the threatened destruction of Diego Rivera's mural paintings at Radio City by the Rockefeller interests culminated Wednesday in an open-air mass meeting at Columbus Circle and in mass picketing at Radio City and later at the home of Rockefeller.

Throughout the whole protest campaign the active and often leading role of the Left Opposition, with which Rivera openly showed his political sympathy, was evident.

At the first meeting of the provisional united front committee, on Friday, May 12, representatives of the cultural and educational organizations of the Left Opposition, the official party (John Reed Club, Workers School, National Students

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Help Pull The Militant Thru

Our appeal to solve the contradiction between the political advance of the League and the financial situation of the MILITANT have met with an excellent response. Since last week's report the following returns have been made by our comrades and friends: Comrade Konikow in Boston paid another note on the linotype machine; the Chicago Militant Workers Club shot in nine dollars; comrade Duell in New Haven sent in one dollar; comrade Roehler in Youngstown, five dollars; Dr. E., two dollars; a friend in Los Angeles one dollar; comrade Kaplan in New York, three dollars; comrade Vomvas of Pittsburgh, one and a half dollars.

In addition the Chicago, Newark, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Toronto, Montreal and Boston branches all sent in various contributions. But best of all has been the response of the Kansas City and New York branches which by their efforts have steered the MILITANT through the worst of the breakers. Final figures of the exact results of the respective efforts of these two branches are not yet available. Next week we will give a full and detailed report.

Clear water is ahead at last.

There remains one more line of breakers. If we clear this we can say that the response of our entire movement has pulled the MILITANT through the worst crisis it has ever faced. In that case we will have taken a long step forward on the road to the solution of the contradiction between the political advances of the League and the financial situation of the MILITANT.

Our belief is that the response of the past three weeks will not slacken but will continue.

Despite the excellent response of the past week the MILITANT appears late this week. That is due to the financial situation which set us back. If all our comrades and friends will continue to make their response prompt, next week's MILITANT can appear earlier.

Organize Fight Against Mass Evictions

BULLETIN

As we go to press we learn from the evening papers of the savage assault made by the N. Y. Police upon demonstrations in New York at the Home Relief Bureaus where unemployed workers protested the slashing of relief and the cessation of rent payments by the city. The thugs in uniform brutally slugged the workers. Many were taken to the hospital for treatment.

The working masses of New York are getting their first dose of the Roosevelt "New Deal." Tammany Hall, "the friend of the people," has ordered the wholesale eviction of the New York unemployed from their homes. Working in cooperation with their election backers, the landlords and the bankers, the McGraws, the Currys, the O'Briens and the rest of the honest men in control of the City government have sent off all payment of rents for the unemployed. This is no small matter. It cuts into the lives of more than 1,000,000 unemployed, their wives and children. Tammany's brutal eviction order tells the jobless masses of this city to pack their belongings and to rent a sleeping place for themselves on the park benches, the subway or a flophouse—if they can get into one.

This is the fourth year of the economic crisis. The masses have watched the degradation of their standards of life with little or no resistance. So long as they were able to "get by" on the handouts of the relief institutions they remained dormant and passive. The Communists warned that even these pitiful doles would be retracted if the workers did not fight for their maintenance and for the granting of the only half-way substantial form of relief under capitalism—unemployment insurance. These warnings have now become a sinister fact. Relief has either been reduced or eliminated in various parts of the country. New York is now falling in line with new dole to be dispensed to the American workers—the dole of starvation and evictions.

The capitalist class is determined to carry out its cynical hunger program. Listen to what a capitalist information agency, the Kiplinger Washington letter has to say and draw your own conclusions:

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Chicago Meet Unifies Jobless Movement

NATIONAL FEDERATION FORMED. SOCIALISTS FORCED TO INCLUDE ALL COMMUNIST TENDENCIES IN CONFERENCE. LEFT WING CARRIES PROGRAM AFTER HARD STRUGGLE.

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago Unemployed Conference held at Lincoln Center on May 13, 14, 15, ended by forming the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, with the national office in Chicago, and the election of a National Committee of 15.

Huge Representation

Three national organizations, two others in the process of forming national, state, sectional and city organizations, represented 40 organizations with 826 branches, from 16 states and 25 cities with 95 delegates from all parts of the United States. The Workers' Committees, Workers Leagues and Unemployed Councils were represented. The Ohio Independence League, to be called by the CPUSA and the Industrial Workers Union, both in the process of forming national unemployed organizations, were also represented. Fraternal delegates from political organizations were also present. Al. Glatzer representing the Left Opposition.

Political tendencies from the extreme right to the extreme left attended the conference which was the high mark up to the present in the united front of workers' organizations. The following political tendencies were represented through different unemployed organizations: Republican, Democrats, Agrarian reformers, progressives, Borders' group, socialists, Right wing socialists, militant socialists, left wing socialists, anarchists, Industrial Workers of the World, Muskettes, Stalinists, Lovestonites, Right-centre Communists, ultra-Left communists and the Left Opposition. The different political tendencies

Move to Unify Unemployed in Ohio

Youngstown, O.—All the organizations in the Mahoning Valley that claim to represent the interests of the working class will be given the opportunity to prove how seriously they recognize the need of general working class unity in the immediate future. At the suggestion of a Left Oppositionist, the Youngstown Fourth Ward Unemployed League has appointed a committee of three to meet with similar committees from the Austintown Unemployed League, Fourth Ward Unemployed Council and the central branch of the Youngstown Unemployed Council for the purpose of drawing up a united front program and issuing an appeal for unity to all labor organizations in the Mahoning Valley.

This is going to be a test primarily for two national movements that are at present contending for leadership of the local workers. I refer to the Unemployed Council movement inaugurated and to this day dominated by the Communist party, and the Unemployed Leagues which have been built up by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and which still generally follow the CPUSA leadership. Both the CP and the CPUSA do a lot of

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Cannon Meetings Are Big Factor in Reviving Movement in Kansas City

Kansas City, Mo.—

Kansas City, with the tradition of the "Workers' World" and the other left-wing struggles still enshrined in the hearts of its militant workers, witnessed a revival in revolutionary activities, which we hope, will prove to be the turning point in the organizational activities of the Left Opposition, and lead it to greater heights.

In spite of the Stalinist slanders of the past few years, comrade Cannon's visit proved to be a huge success. From his arrival on Friday, May 5th, to his departure Tuesday, May 16th, the revolutionary movement in Kansas City took on a new lease of life.

His two lectures—"America's Road to Revolution" and "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat"—which were given on May 12th and 14th respectively, attracted overflow crowds. The results of the bankruptcy of the C.P. activities were very evident at these meetings. After scorching attacks on the Stalinist regime comrade Cannon not only invited but urged the party members or sympathizers present to defend their position—none arose to take issue. Silence reigned!

The local branch of the Left Opposition increased its membership by almost half when four new comrades were accepted into the group. In addition to that the members and sympathizers pledged \$600—\$125 spot cash. In response to the appeal of comrade Cannon for the upkeep of the Militant and continuance of work in the coal fields. Also the group set a goal of 30 new subs in the Militant drive. Comrade Caplan of the sub-drive, warns all those in the race for the prize—the three volumes of Comrade Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution"—that they must increase their efforts or else he is a sure winner!

Last but not least, a Young Spartacus group, with a membership of nine, was organized by comrade Huff.

"The K. C. Branch feels that the Left Opposition should recognize that the perseverance and patience of comrades 'Shorty' Roehler and Kassen have borne fruit. It is they who have received torrents of abuse from the Stalinists since the formation of the Left Opposition in K. C., and now that headway is being made all credit to them!"

—C. D.

were, in the main, divided into two different positions at the conference as Right wing and Left wing, with the I.W.W. delegates jumping back and forth. Struggles within the two main tendencies marked the high points of the conference and made it possible, thru the ironing out of secondary differences on immediate demands, to conclude the conference with unanimous decisions. The amendments to the reports of the committees were either adopted or rejected and then the report as amended was adopted unanimously.

The greatest numerical weight of the conference was held by the socialist delegates, who were instrumental in calling it. But the hopeless split between their Right and Left wings and the political bankruptcy of the main current of the socialists made them a sorry figure in the conference, which swamped them in defeat and wrapped them up in their own contradictions by obtaining unanimous decisions on the amended reports.

The Left Opposition's Objectives
The delegates from the unemployed organizations representing our political views (Left Opposition) went to the conference with the following objectives:

1. To fight for the seating of all unemployed organizations, especially the Unemployed Councils, which the Borders Committee had specified in the call would not be seated.
2. To have the conference adopt the correct position on the united front and establish it as a working basis for the unemployed organizations.
3. That the perspective of the conference be the establishment of one national unemployed organization.
4. To oppose any political, racial, color or creed or discrimination in the unemployed organizations.

These objectives became the established principles by conference decision because other delegates—on the one hand, independent of our and on the other hand, through discussion with us—fought for the same positions, thereby enabling the united Left wing to carry its program.

Our delegates, while concentrating on the above issues were unable to lead an adequate fight for the slogan of the six-hour day, five-day week, with increased pay, which in the main was lost in the resolutions committee.

Several draft programs from different organizations, including a statement of the Left Opposition were passed out to the delegates. Our statement will appear in a coming issue.

The Floor Struggles

The first difference of opinion in the conference came when the credentials committee reported, leaving out the credentials of the Unemployed Councils. Delegate Oehler moved amendment to the report of the credentials committee asking for the seating of the Unemployed Council delegates and the fraternal delegates from political organizations that were also left out. Delegate Waters, of the Workers' Leagues, amended this by specifying the number of votes they could have. This was agreed to by the representatives of the Unemployed Councils to the exclusion of the Left wing; the council delegates concentrated on one instead of two amendments. The amendment to seat the delegates from the Unemployed Councils and fraternal delegates carried by a vote of twenty-nine and a half to twenty-five and a half, thereby establishing at the start the principle of no exclusions from the united front. Without the support of the Workers' Leagues, the Lovestonites and the Left Opposition, the Stalinists would not have been seated.

The second important struggle revolved around the question of what kind of an organization this conference would establish. Some delegates, led by the Workers' Leagues, desired a national organization. Others wanted a continuation of the original Federation and the delegates from the Unemployed Councils merely wanted a continuation committee and united front local and sectional committees. The Muskettes, who are calling the July 14th conference, supported the position of the Unemployed Councils. The report of the constitution committee was rejected, the committee disbanded and a new one elected with Dennis Bait from the Detroit Citizen League as Chairman. They brought in a report favoring a National Federation with city, county and state federations. A Lovestonite delegate from the Workers' Committee amended the report of the committee and advocated a national federation of organizations which give the local units the right to enter or stay out of the federation. The committee and many delegates pointed out

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Opposition and Unemployed in Los Angeles

Los Angeles—Part of the machinery set into motion by the United Front anti-fascist letter of the C. I. was an anti-fascist united front conference in Los Angeles on April 28.

This conference was not called by the Communist party but by a united front provisional organization of German groups.

Proof that the "united front from below" under revolutionary leadership has gone the way of the "third period" and the "struggle for the streets" was had by the fact that neither the Communist party nor the Young Communist League were represented officially.

We presume, their assumption was that their presence there would frighten from the "broad united front" the three branches of the I. L. D., the I. W. O., the F. S. U., the friends of the Polish Political Prisoners, the L. S. U., the I. O. R., and the Unemployed Council as well as two or three German speaking organizations: Workingmen's Benefit, Maennerchor, etc. And by no means shall we forget the Cremation Society who were present, too.

The only Communist organization openly participating was the Left Opposition.

A delegate of the Left Opposition was placed on the resolutions committee. In this committee he proposed three resolutions, in addition to the two already proposed. One of the resolutions, on the struggle against Fascism, stood for a united front with all labor organizations against the fascist attacks, particularly with the socialist party. The socialist party was condemned for refusing to participate in this conference.

Other resolutions, on anti-Semitism pointed out that the struggle against Fascism and anti-Semitism by the Jews could only be waged by the lower social strata allying themselves with the proletariat, and demonstrated that only a new social order could abolish religious and racial prejudices.

The third resolution on the Defense of the Soviet Union showed that Hitler represented the spearhead of the attacks on Russia, and the labor movement particularly in the countries intervening between Russia and Germany must join the anti-fascist bloc. (The party voted against the resolutions of the L. O.) The party seems determined to make of the anti-fascist struggle an affair of fraternal German and Jewish groups instead of a labor affair. The local branch of the Opposition took a determined position against this. The consensus of opinion of revolutionaries here is that Stalinism is ready for a nice sanitary disposal.

Call the Cremation Society!

Activity of the Left Opposition
The comrades in the Los Angeles branch of the League are very active in the class struggle particularly in the mass unemployment movement, the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association in which they are very influential. The organization is slowly progressing. We are developing a group of erstwhile scab labor into class conscious battalions, although in this as well as in other activities we suffer acutely from lack of forces.

The organization has demanded \$50,000 monthly from the city. This morning's newspapers state that Mayor Porter has appropriated \$20,000. The cause for this "city grant" is a dual one, a combination of pre-election political activity, and the forestalling of our movement by a political concession.

The movement has also gone on record for the freedom of Mooney, has elected a delegate by proxy to the Free Mooney Congress in Chicago.

Some time ago, when the U. C. K. A. placed an evicted family in the home, the home, Tibbs, was arrested. After a nine day trial, costing the authorities at least \$1,000, the verdict was "not guilty." This was a victory for the unemployed.

The unemployed are turning on their disconnected gas, light and water in the tens of thousands. A number of half-hearted arrests have taken place on this account, too.

Friday, April 27, a member of the organization was placed on the streets. The unemployed determined to make a demonstration in the form of a continual meeting 24 hours daily at a pitched tent before the workers' former home. This tactic had won shelter for the family before.

In the small hours of the night, when the members keeping vigil had dwindled to 35 warming themselves before bonfires, the police and "red squad" swooped down and brutally beat the unemployed. It was not that horror of horrors, a "red," that was "killed" but one of themselves. The unemployed are aroused.

So the lessons of the class struggle, of private property, of the role of the state are being beaten home. We are busy drawing conclusions, organizing the instinctive rebellion into revolutionary Marxist paths.

—C. CURTISS

Organization Notes

New York City—

The affairs held recently by the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have helped greatly to alleviate the financial situation of the Militant, as well as to take care of other financial obligations. A movie showing on "Germany in 1933 and the Congresses of the Comintern" brought \$80.00. The first showing of the movie of the Russian Revolution at the Labor Temple netted an excellent return. The gala affair at Town Hall, held through the medium of the International Workers School, at which Diego Rivera gave his talk on the controversy over his mural at Rockefeller Center, brought in a handsome profit, which will relieve the pressure considerably.

Now, a second showing of the movie on the Russian Revolution will be held at the Labor Temple on Saturday, May 27, and a third showing will very likely be arranged.

The branch has about completed its quota of \$75.00 for the Left Opposition in Germany.

In a few weeks the first picnic of the season will be given under the auspices of the Branch. Other affairs are being planned.

Philadelphia Dress Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

more lessons and warnings. One is very important—it proves absolutely the correctness of the trade union policy of the Communist League. The strike marks a victory for the right wing union; a defeat for the false Stalinist policies which dominated politically and organizationally the Left wing union. How and why?

The strike call was issued after months and months of negotiations between the ILGWU manager Reiberg and the clothing bosses; after months of "restraining." A general call for "union conditions" took the place of definite demands. "The NTWU," weakened by years of a sectarian "third period" policy, was ignorant of the strike date. It just managed to limp along with an issuance of its prepared, and dateless strike leaflet, calling for a strike at the same time. Two big halls, the socialist Labor Institute and the Grand Fraternity, were rented by the ILGWU. The thousands of workers who responded to the strike call packed them. The strikers' hall on Eighth Street, rented by the Industrial Union, was desolate. Scores, instead of thousands.

Here is the latest fruit of incorrect policy. The shibboleth "United Front Committee" tacked on to the signature of the NTWU could not replace an isolationist strategy of years. The very mechanics of the struggle forced militant NTW and CP members into work with the masses from the shops—into the right wing union. Many times the Left Opposition comrades, in the strike halls and on the line, heard the worst story: "It's not my fault, they all went to the International." Shops brought down by the industrial union voted in the Left wing hall to go to the ILGWU. Not even in such a situation could the NTW union officers throw overboard their precious "line." As long as possible they expected a miracle, they clung to instructing comrades to go, though alone, to the Left wing hall. But of course it couldn't last long. It is no longer possible to ignore the hundreds of dressmakers in Reiberg's union.

After it saw the response and its own weakness, the NTW issued a call "for one strike"—"one united strike." Not yet one union but one strike! To this end it elected a committee of 50 to negotiate with the ILGWU before the eyes of the strikers. The Dubinsky-Reiberg (this clique refused to give the committees so much as a hearing or even to take a note of the strike meetings. This is how the fakers responded to an offer by recognized militants for unity and aid in a strike struggle. The fact that in several big shops the employers obliged the ILG by shutting off the power to aid the ILG walk-out also is not accidental.

Does this mean that industrial unionism and class struggle policy is dead? Most certainly not. It does mean that Stalinism on the trade union field (they were supposed to be our teachers in practical work) has here succeeded in dispersing a heritage of militancy, in dividing Left and Right workers, and in discrediting the Left wing, not to speak of the Communist movement. The Left wing can and it will be resurrected. But again, only on the basis of a correct policy. Now the comrades must recover

from the shock, take stock of forces and policy and leadership, and so be prepared to go forward.

Boston Also On Strike

After we received the article from Philadelphia printed below, we also heard from Boston comrades that a dress strike had been declared there on May 16. As in Philadelphia, so in Boston too, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has taken the lead; the turnout shows a very good response and the Industrial Union (under Stalinist leadership) is all the more surprising, since it is known that the NTWU only recently held a "Plenum" in New York which was supposed to deal with fundamental problems. An account of proceedings at this "plenum" and an analysis of the present strike movement and the various forces participating will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Militant.

The policy to be adopted must be on the recognition that the dressmakers are now in the ILGWU, a union, whose bureaucrats, as the NTW correctly maintains, are not to be trusted. The demand for one united strike is good. It does not go far enough. What now, that it has been rejected? The Left wing must demand ONE UNION. One union in the industry! We must insist on entry of the Needle Trades Union as a bloc into the International; without discrimination and without loss of privileges. This demand, which frankly recognizes the superior strength of the Right, cannot be refused by the fakers. It will undermine completely their splitting tactics. Let the Reibergs dare refuse—ways will be found of entering. Shall we enter to "expose" the fakers? The building of a militant union on the policies of the class struggle is what brings the union members into conflict with class collaboration officials. That aim, correctly pursued, will in itself serve to expose them.

Can the left wing develop and function within the ILG? What a question! The class struggle itself makes such an alignment inevitable. The NTW will, because of its militant past and its foresight and courage, act as a leaven. Already, with the strike not yet completely settled, voices of protest are raised. Reiberg's dues agreement will not satisfy the dressmakers, nor all their tastes.

Piece-work and home bundles, some of the sorest spots, are ignored in the settlement. In many shops workers are asking: "What did we get? Our piece work rates are not increased; last Saturday we worked till six o'clock. Is this our union?" The terms of the settlement in the hands of the class collaborationists will prove a sell-out. A 10 percent raise in wages for the lowest paid, means, after 35 cents dues are paid, a 25 cent raise per week for a dress worker getting \$8 per week. A 40 hour week is promised after Jan. 1, 1934. At present, 44 hours. In actuality, even at this early stage the dress bosses laugh at it.

The Stalinist policies which left the workers in the reformist unions, to the unrestrained mercy of the reformists are dismally bankrupt.

The fakers have had a free rein too long. Will the party comrades and its Left wing militants recognize it—will they adopt the realistic Leninist tactics of the Left Opposition? Only in this manner can the defeat be avenged and a victorious struggle assured for the future. LEON GOODMAN

Big Crowd Attends Successful Affair of Int'l Workers' School

Before an enthusiastic audience of over 1300 at the Town Hall, in New York City, at an entertainment program given Saturday evening, May 13, under the auspices of the International Workers School, Diego Rivera proclaimed his admiration and respect for Leon Trotsky as a revolutionary leader and as a military genius who is needed, now more than ever, for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The program included Maria Theresa, of the old tsardom Duman group, and Maria Winetzkaja, soprano, as well as a choral talk by comrade Rivera on his Radio City mural paintings.

Introduced by comrade B. J. Field, who also acted as translator, comrade Rivera declared that the art of the proletarian, representing a class which is historically on the waning, was necessarily superior in vitality and artistic value to the art of the bourgeoisie.

He illustrated his talk by drawing in colored chalks, first, the plan of Radio City as a whole, then the structural lines of his main panel finally the principal features of the painting, including the portrait of Lenin which was the immediate occasion for the Rockefeller attack.

The affair was not only financially successful, but added politically to the prestige of the Left Opposition. —H. J. F.

Two Expelled from YCL

(Continued from Page 1)

hours, 2 hours on the banking crisis, 1 hour on the role of "Trotskyists" in general and the rest of his speech he devoted to the German Situation. The meeting, one could see, was carefully planned in advance.

Herman, district organizer of the YCL, informed one of our comrades, in reply to their inquiry, that there will not be any discussion at this meeting. Lerner, a section organizer, threatened one of the comrades in the hall, two minutes before the meeting started: "You get up and ask for a discussion and you'll get carried out of here," and "I pity you when we get you outside."

This was the meeting for clarification, and this was the discussion. Hathaway, however, did see the necessity for a question period. So there was a question period in which the members were told to hand in their questions on paper. The comrades objected to such un-Communist tactics and Hathaway thundered that "all YCLers with Trotskyist ideas must be driven from the league."

At their units the expelled members hardly were given the chance to defend themselves, interruptions taking place whenever they would attempt to speak.

—GLADSTONE

Fight Against Evictions!

(Continued from Page 1)

"Organized labor now has the chance of a generation to fix wages into the general scheme of production costs and to promote collective bargaining. Labor leaders do not seem to see it, however. You as employers seem safe in assuming continuing stupidity of labor."

This cynical but clear-sighted statement applies with equal force to the movement of the unemployed. But the failure to organize powerful unemployed organizations falls squarely upon the sectarian policy of the Stalinists which resulted in the division of the employed and unemployed. Yet, great opportunities still stand before the movement today. With hundreds of thousands of jobless about to be forcefully thrown out of their lodgings, with relief checks drastically slashed by the city, great masses of the jobless can be set into motion to frustrate the starvation orders of Tammany Hall. The Unemployed Councils of Greater New York have called upon all workers, for all are directly or indirectly affected, irrespective of color, nationality or political creed to come in huge numbers to a city-wide demonstration against the attacks of the bankers and landlords—to raise their voices and their fists against the mass evictions and the reduction of relief.

The Left Opposition stands solidly behind this movement and calls upon all workers to lend their fighting support to stay the hand of the Tammany evictor. All out on Thursday, May 25th!

N. Y. Conference Against Evictions and Relief Cuts

On May 18, in answer to a call of the Unemployed Councils of Greater New York, a provisional conference took place to organize the struggle against evictions, relief cuts and to prepare a larger united front which is to take place on June 4th.

Represented at this conference were the Communist Party, the F. I. D. L., the Unemployed Councils, the I. W. O., the C. I. A., the Association of the Unemployed (controlled by the Lovestones), the I. W. W., and the N. Y. Branch of the Left Opposition which, although uninvited, sent three delegates, comrades Milton, Lewitt and Clarke.

The conference began by an attempt of the Stalinists to excommunicate the Left Opposition from the provisional gathering through a motion by Benjamin to exclude all organizations not invited in the call for the conference. They, the Stalinists, benevolently granted,

would have the right to participate in the broader conference (where they could be swamped by the host of local party auxiliaries.) By this procedure, the I. W. W., also not included in the original call, would be barred from the preliminary deliberations. The protest of Cohen of the C. I. A. and Skenary of the I. W. W. succeeded in forcing the Stalinists to retract and passed the motion of Lewitt to seat all city-wide organizations present.

Next came the choice morsel of the meeting, if we may call it that. The Lovestones from the Association of the Unemployed, Rubenstein, took the floor to make the most reactionary proposal yet heard from the Right wing camp. He demanded that the conference be restricted to unemployed organizations only. (This would mean that the only organizations eligible would be the Unemployed Councils and the Association of Unemployed, the S. U. unemployed organization having sat out the conference.) Rubenstein further stated that his organization was unanimously opposed to the participation of any political groups (!) This Right wing proposal, which one would expect from an A. F. L. Itel baster, could only succeed in ousting all trade union bodies which have a huge unemployed membership, (dividing the employed from the jobless) and all political bodies which are directly interested in the relief question as a political struggle. Rubenstein's attempt to take refuge behind the backwardness of the members of the Association of the Unemployed was futile as he directly implicated the Lovestones group by saying that this stand represented the unanimous opinion of his organization. The conference opposed this proposal as a man. Rubenstein withdrew from the conference, adding insult to injury and splitting the conference.

The conference then discussed and accepted a draft call for action and for the June 4th conference. It elected an Ex. Comm. from which they succeeded in barring the Left Opposition. As its part in this struggle the Left Opposition had pledged all its forces, the use of its headquarters for information and congregation to the jobless in the fight against evictions and relief cuts. —GEO. CLARKE

Kamenyev Capitulates Again

From the capitalist press we learn of Leon Kamenyev's new, "object" explanation. If this is true, Kamenyev merely preferred political extinction to physical extermination. A miserable alternative, true, but a miserable choice.

BY REQUEST - A SECOND SHOWING OF THE EXTRAORDINARY MOVING PICTURE On the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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Auspices: Film Club, N. Y. Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM OF ACTION IN FIGHT TO FREE TOM MOONEY Calls for "Council of Representatives of Various Organizations with Different Views"

The Free Tom Mooney Congress, assembled at Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933, to decide on ways and means to obtain the liberty of that militant champion of the workers' rights, Tom Mooney, 32 years a member in good standing of the International Molders Union, No. 164, and to combat the increasing wave of similar persecution of workers, farmers, and the oppressed Negro masses, adopts the following declaration:

The heinous frame-up and condemnation of Tom Mooney to death, and later to life imprisonment, and of Warren Billings to life imprisonment in California in 1916, was nominally for a crime with which they had no connection; and this frame-up had to do wholly with the fierce economic struggles between capital and labor.

Framed up by private corporation detectives solely because of fearless leadership in the struggle for the improvement of the standards of living for the workers, the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings for seventeen years is an insult, a challenge—a declaration of ruthless class war against the workers of this country.

In the course of his long martyrdom, courageously endured in San Quentin Prison, Tom Mooney has become the foremost living symbol of the American working class. As such, he is hated by all of the enemies of labor; and, as such, we fight for him, determined at all costs, in the interests of the working class, to secure his liberation.

The imprisonment of Tom Mooney has become the keystone of a whole arch of criminal frame-ups, ruthless attacks and denials of the rights of workers, farmers, and the oppressed Negro masses. In the midst of the present economic crisis, which brings hunger and starvation to millions of American workers, the imprisonment of Tom Mooney by

the ruling powers of California is continued by those sinister forces as part of the tactics of the American capitalist class to throw the whole burden of the depression upon the workers and farmers in lowered standards of living and denial of relief and to enforce the acceptance of this through a ruthless reign of terror.

These persecutions are connected with violent breaking of strikes, the cutting of wages, the fall of the membership of the trade unions from over millions in 1920 to two millions in 1932, a fall of total payrolls to 38 percent of what it was in 1929, the suffering of millions left to starve without social insurance, with women and children dying of hunger in the cities, with tens of thousands of farmers dispossessed of their land and driven to the cities to join the unemployed in fruitless search for work or framed up and tried before military courts.

Just at the frame-up and imprisonment of Tom Mooney was connected with the preparations for the entry of this country into the world war, so now the continued imprisonment of Mooney, and other victims of capitalist class justice, with the increasing sharp attacks upon all rights of the workers, are connected with the militarization of the jobless workers in forced labor camps on wages standardized at \$1 per day while thousands of millions of dollars are squeezed from small taxpayers are diverted to the treasuries of private bankers, and the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars in the preparation of a second imperialist war by the capitalist nations and against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Just as Mooney was first saved from the gallows by international action and solidarity of labor on the part of the Russian workers, just so the struggle for the libera-

tion of Mooney and other victims of capitalist class justice becomes more than ever an international cause in which the workers of all countries of the world must be enlisted to fight.

In this situation, the world-wide demand for the liberation of Mooney's martyr, Tom Mooney, is taking on gigantic proportions.

The power of labor to release its imprisoned martyrs is increased in proportion to the successful strikes which are now beginning to demonstrate that the working class will not tolerate the lowering of the standard of living to a starvation level. The power of the laboring masses successfully to demand the liberation of Mooney is greatly increased at a time when hundreds of thousands of American workers, in bumper marches are a living proof that the American people of all exploited classes have reached a turning point at which they intend to resist aggression.

The joining of white and Negro workers together in defense against their common misery brings a vast increase in the strength of labor to compel the release of victims of

class and race persecution. The organization and struggle of Negro sharecroppers and farmers in the South, no less than the joining of great masses of white and Negro workers together in struggles

against unemployment in the cities, testifies to a growing solidarity which makes now for a greater strength in the struggle for the rights of the exploited.

The joining of the two mighty currents of protest and demand for the freedom of Tom Mooney and for the freedom of the nine Negro boys framed up at Scottsboro, is the historic mark of the developing strength of the exploited masses against oppression.

Brother Tom Mooney for 17 years the symbol of working class martyrdom, must now become the living symbol of the unity of the working class.

The need of unity is a life and death question of the American workers today.

Disunity in the Past
In 1916 the frame-up of Mooney was not answered by a united front of the workers. The labor movement

remained divided and the corrupt use of the name of "Organized Labor" who conspired to hang this labor organizer.

The frame-up and sentence to death or imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings would not have been possible if labor had been united for their defense.

Their 17 years of imprisonment would not have been possible if at any time the whole of labor had been united in one firm demand for their release.

For such disunity the trade unions and the working class have paid and are paying a terrible price. The legal murder of the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti was a part of the price of disunity of the workers. It could not have occurred if, prior to that time, the unity of the workers in defense of Tom Mooney had been established. Countless other acts of savage violence, frame up, smashing picket lines, attacks on unemployed gatherings, such acts of violence as have become epidemic since the World War, were made easier for the reactionary forces because the workers had

not successfully been united to resist this attack expressed in the frame-up of Mooney in 1916. Through this breach of unity has flowed a torrent of tyranny in the form of injustices and deprivation of legal rights.

A Call for Unity
This Congress calls upon trade unions and all workers' organizations, on the exploited farmers, and on all intellectuals and professional people to form an agreement of cooperation for those objects on which it is possible to obtain united action for the release of Tom Mooney and checking the persecutions of the working class.

Difficulties stand in the way of securing united action which arise out of divisions in the ranks of the working class. Yet, at the present time, regardless of these differences, the needs of the working class call imperatively for united action to halt the encroachments on the rights and interests of the workers.

Therefore, even while sharp differences will continue to exist on many questions, between the various workers' organizations, it is necessary to bring about concerted action of all workers and of their organizations for certain immediate objectives equally urgent for all workers and workers' bodies.

We proclaim the first of these to be united action of all for the freedom of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

In order that such unity of action be made possible under present difficult circumstances of division between workers' organizations, it is the opinion of this Congress that to obtain such united action, those organizations which enter into such a united front shall refrain from attacks on other participating organizations on the issues and problems which have at times served as an instrument in the hands of those

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posals of the united front during the period of common action and while such organizations are formally carrying out this agreement. Differences of opinion on policies and tactics, of course, can and must be discussed in the course of working out the proposals for common action in order to clarify the issues.

Criticism of even the sharpest sort should be directed against any opposed to united action.

National Council of Action

This Congress hereby establishes a National Tom Mooney Council of Action—a United Front for Workers' Rights and the Rights of the Negro People. In doing this we declare our purpose not to form a body which will supersede any organization, but to bring about cooperation and united action of all existing organizations. We propose a council of representatives of various organizations with different views, but having the common desire to fight for the liberation of Tom Mooney and other victims of capitalist "justice" and for the democratic rights of the working class and exploited masses.

Such a council, particularly, should not supersede the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., the International Labor Defense, or other workers' defense bodies, but should strive to eliminate friction between these two bodies and to unite support of the fight for workers' rights. The Tom Mooney's Molders' Defense Committee should continue to function as at present, assuming special charge of Tom Mooney's defense under his personal direction. The Council of Action will support the Molders' Defense Committee through financial assistance and by developing the widest possible mass movement for the release of Mooney and Billings.

(Continued in next issue)

Motions Presented by Left Opposition at Chicago

1. This congress is conceived not shall be concentrated on the Mooney Case.

4. All the agitation and activity in the next period shall be connected with the perspective of a second National Mooney Congress with a goal of at least 10,000 delegates.

5. The policy for all this work shall govern the activity of the leading committee on a national scale and all the local organizations is the policy of the united front of workers' organizations. Only in this way is it possible to unite the masses of workers of varying political opinions and tendencies into a single fighting unit in the interests of Tom Mooney and the cause which he symbolizes. The failure of the leaders of some working class organizations to par-

ticipate in the movement up to now, and their persistent attempts to sabotage the struggle, must not in any case lead to an abandonment of the united front policy with respect to their organizations.

On the contrary, the leading organs of the Mooney movements must make it clear at every turn that all organizations and their leaders are invited to participate in the movement and that the door is left open to them even if they have previously refused. Only in this way will it be possible to really rally the masses of workers within the various organizations and give them proper ground upon which to fight every attempt of the leadership to sabotage unity.

(Introduced by James P. Cannon for the delegation of the Communist League of America (Left Opp.))

Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle

"Hypocrites will be found to say the Opposition is criticizing the party which has fallen into the hands of the executioner. Blackguards will add: the Opposition is helping the executioner. By combining a specious sentimentalism with venomous falsehood the Stalinists will endeavor to hide the Central Committee behind the apparatus, the apparatus behind the party, to eliminate the question of responsibility for the false strategy, for the disastrous regime, for the criminal leadership: that means helping the executioners of today and tomorrow."—Trotzky: "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat." (The Militant, April 8, 1933.)

"But the S. P. G. has nevertheless found an ally. This ally is Trotsky. Being a political zero in the workers' movement he has nothing to lose; he goes licking the Fascists' boots, hoping to have himself talked about and to come out at any cost, even if only for one small hour, from political oblivion. Marauding scoundrel that he is, he drags about everywhere where workers' blood has flown in search of some political racket. The working class of Germany is suffering bloody sacrifices. Hundreds of Communists have been massacred in Germany, thousands of Communist and the best leader of the German working class, comrade Thaelmann, are imprisoned. But the ally of the Weisels and Leipnarts, Trotsky, expects his utmost in throwing the responsibility for the Fascist seizure of power from the shoulders of the social democracy on to those of the C. P. G. But what is the real meaning of the Hitler-Trotskyist platform of the 'united front,' conceived in order to justify the social democracy..."

"It is in this cruel fashion that the facts have exposed the counter-revolutionary meaning of the platform of the social Hitler-Trotskyist, who has strained himself to prove that the social democracy and Fascism are not twins but antipodes. Under the appearance of a united front, Trotsky, Hitler's auxiliary, is straining himself to impose on the German working class the social Fascist tactic of the 'lesser evil,' that is to say, the reactionary united front which helped Hitler into power."—(Fritz Heckert: "What is Happening in Germany?"—Rundschau, No. 10, Basle.)

Fritz Heckert, member of the C.C. of the C. P. G. has made his report on the situation in Germany to the E. C. C. I. His report has appeared in its entirety in the International Correspondence. It has been unanimously approved by the E. C. C. I. This only characterizes the "internal democracy" of the Stalinist regime. This demonstrates to what lengths the callousness of the Stalinist grave diggers of the world revolution has gone. Consequently it is not a dissonance with Heckert that we have here but rather with Stalinism.

Heckert poses the question: Why has Fascism succeeded in taking power in Germany? After setting forth the fundamental realignment of class forces brought about through Fascism, he goes on to prove, with wearisome scholasticism, the permanent betrayal of the social democracy. The policy of the social democracy leads the proletariat to ruin—that is self-evident. The vanguard of the world proletariat, saw that in Aug. 4, 1914. Today the question is not whether or not the social democracy has betrayed, but how it was possible for the social democracy to conduct such a policy for 20 years and yet succeed in rallying the working masses behind its banner. Heckert refuses to answer these questions. How did it happen that the masses who were deceived and betrayed by the bourgeois republic, should find their way to the Fascist counter-revolution instead of the proletarian revolution? The Fascist party is not older than the Communist party, it did not have more time to win over the masses. Evidently, Fascism disposes of the material support of capitalism, but its ranks are recruited out of human dust. Its ideas spring from the barbaric middle ages. It is not capable of solving social questions. Communism, on the contrary, bases itself on the force of the first workers' state on the earth. It groups around it the flower of the nation, the proletarian vanguard. Its ideas are the most progressive of the 20th century. It alone is capable of solving all the questions of social life. How then was Fascism able to triumph over the petrified Weimar democracy, how was Communism defeated?

"Fascism Victorious... and the C. I. Correct"

Heckert maintains that while Fascism was victorious, the policy of the Communist party was nevertheless altogether correct. The policy of the C. P. which led to the seizure of power by Fascism was correct. The C. P. G. had foreseen the inevitability of this Fascist development. Heckert says literally:

"Have the C. P. G. and the Comintern foreseen the inevitability of this Fascist development of the social democracy? Did they warn the workers in advance against it? Yes, they foresaw and they forewarned. As far back as 1924, comrade Stalin had already given a steady definition of the development of social democracy toward Fascism which has been unexcelled in its exactness and in its incisiveness, a definition which became the basis of the program of the

The Stalinist Hypocrites Answer the Roll Call

Comintern and the policy of the C. P. G.

"Fascism," said comrade Stalin, "is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization which supports itself upon the active support of the social democracy. The social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of Fascism. There is no ground for assuming that the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie can achieve decisive success in the struggle or in the conduct of the country without the active support of the fighting organizations of the bourgeoisie. These organizations do not negate one another, but rather supplement each other. They are not antipodes, but twins..." (The fighting organizations of the bourgeoisie today lend their active support to the social democracy by killing social democrats, destroying trade union headquarters and suppressing the entire S.P.G. press. That is how this whole business of supplementing really looks—H. E.)

This development was, then, inevitable? Then the C. P. G. lied when it signaled the proletarian revolution as standing before the gates? Why did the C. P. G. exist at all between 1924 and 1933, if this development was inevitable? To be consistent in "building up its policy upon this inevitability," it should have been dissolved in 1924.

There was one voice which did not consider this development inevitable. That was the voice of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Heckert knows it. He knows that its prominence and its authority are powerfully on the upgrade in Germany. Cognizant of this, he unleashes his bad conscience in outbursts of wrath of unprecedented shamelessness.

Heckert and His Straw-Man

Heckert begins this section of his speech with a dastardly misquotation. Revolutionary Marxism rests upon truth. Stalinism upon lies. Since the Stalinists are powerless in fighting against genuine

Build National Jobless Union

(Continued from Page 1)

that it is in the local units and not in the national committee that we have the struggle for immediate needs and that there the need for united action is the greatest. National or state unemployed organizations joining the federation should see that their locals take part in the city federations.

The Stalinist, who at first did not want a centralized federation, decided to support the amendment and one of their speakers, Lamson, had already supported the amendment. However, Stalinist delegates were open to reason and after some discussion with us changed their position and threw their support to the report of the committee which advocated an organization with the city, county, and state federations leading up to a national federation. The vote was 56 for the majority and 32 for the minority report. The final vote to adopt the disputed section received a vote of 73 for and 17 opposed, and then it was adopted as a whole unanimously.

The Committee on Program and Policies

The third struggle of importance in the conference revolved around the report of the committee on program and policy and tried to tear the committee to pieces and dismiss them. They especially took exception to the program's position on the united front. They did not succeed in dismissing the committee. They did succeed in causing two of the committee, who supported the majority report of the committee, to resign. The rest of the committee agreed to stay and fight it out with them as well as Guss of the Unemployed Councils who was to bring in a minority report on the question of work relief, a social insurance Bill and the soldiers' bonus.

The program and policy committee came in the second time with a unanimous report, cutting down the original program but actually only condensing its form, and stating so in their second report. Guss, of the Unemployed Council, in compromising on the minority report did so for the sake of unity, in order to be able to better fight the right wing tendencies fighting the report as a whole which the Unemployed Councils, in the main, supported.

When the committee made its second report, the struggle revolved around the formula of the united front. The struggle revolved around the following formula, presented by delegate Oehler: "In this united front each organization retains its organizational independence; refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other; but maintains the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism. Under no circumstances can the united front exclude an unemployed organization from participation.

"Trotskyism," they falsify the views of the Leninists and then fight against their own falsifications. Heckert lies when he says that Trotsky demanded in his article in the Manchester Guardian of March 22 (see the Militant of April 29) that the basis of the united front with the social democrats be the "defense of the parliamentary form of government and the mass trade unions." What did Trotsky's article really say?

"Social democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in the trade unions. The mission of Fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive alliance between Communists and social democrats should have been based on this antagonism."

What consequences did the Left Opposition draw from the existence of this antagonism?

"It is necessary to force the social democrats into a bloc against Fascism... No common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike and when to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Graevsky. On one condition, not to bind one's own hands." (Trotsky: Letter to a German Worker-Communist, Member of the C. P. G., December 1931.)

"We must therefore openly tell the social democratic, the Christian and non-party workers that the Fascists want to bring the downfall of the present (Braun) government in order to seize power themselves; we, the Communists, consider the present government as an enemy of the proletariat, but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we want to tell this government (Referendum) against you. If the Fascists should attempt an insurrection, we Communists will fight against them to the last drop of blood—not in order to support the Braun-Truenkle government, but in order to

Ohio Jobless Unite

(Continued from page 1)

Most of these are subs coming in on the Club Plan Prepaid Cards. This is very good. We want to take this opportunity to explain to our new readers what this Club Plan is. A half year sub of 26 weekly issues of the Militant is \$1. But with our Club Plan Prepaid Cards, it is only 50 cents.

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Ohio Jobless Unite

(Continued from page 1)

Chairman, Tom Dixon—Workers Leagues.
Vice-Chairman, Guss, Unemployed Councils.
Secretary, Leach—Workers Comm. Treasurer, Statman—Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions.
Connors—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Association.
D. Harrington—United Producers of Washington.
V. Oldwell—Peoples Council of Bellingham.
Lamson—Unemployed Councils.
Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie.
Trunk—East Ohio Unemployed Unions.
Zimmerman—Workers Leagues.
Lore—S. K. Unemployed Leagues.
Matlock—Workers Leagues.
Welsh—Association of Unemployed, N. Y.

The Conference marks a real advance! —HUGO OEHLER

L.O. Meetings in K.C.

Kansas City, Mo.—In the second of a series of two lectures held in Kansas City, Mo., May 12, and 14, comrade James P. Cannon described the role of Fascism in the present epoch, and proved that its rise to power in Germany was primarily a result of the "united front from below." He showed that Hitler's victory had not only crushed the German working class for some time to come but also paved the way for a capitalist attack on the Workers' Fatherland. The revisionist theory of National Socialism was held responsible and Stalin was characterized as the "organizer of working class defeats."

During the discussion that followed members of the official Communist party, of which there were several present, were repeatedly urged to take the floor, but they remained silent and thereby lent weight to the speaker's contention that Stalinism cannot stand the test of public criticism.

The first of comrade Cannon's lectures, May 12th, was devoted to "America's Road to Revolution." In a clear, Marxian analysis of the world's economic situation he foretold the coming of a cyclical recovery taking place within the re-

ground the flower of the proletariat against suffocation and extermination, in order to protect the workers' organizations, the workers' press, not only our own, the Communist, but also yours, the social democratic organizations and press. We are prepared to defend any workers' home, any printshop of workers' newspapers against the attacks of the Fascists. And we demand of you to come to our aid in case danger threatens our organizations. We propose to you the united front of the working class against the Fascists."—(Trotsky: "Against National Communism," August 1931.)

At the XI. Plenum, we recall, Manuilsky declared that only a bourgeois liberal can detect any contradiction between Fascism and bourgeois democracy. Is Heckert not "fundamentally" something of a "bourgeois liberal?" (From "Unser Wort")

Continued in the next issue

SUB DRIVE

The sub drive is catching on. Subs are rolling in. The seeds sown in the German campaign are yielding a crop of subs. The proof of this is to be seen by three facts:

1. The subs are from new contacts in the main;
2. They are widely distributed geographically;
3. The list of Militant Builders includes the names of comrades and friends which never appeared in this list before.

The list speaks for itself:

H. Capelis, N. Y. 6
A. Caplan, Kansas City 6
J. Ruby, Chicago 5
V. Dunne, Minneapolis 4
H. Oehler, Chicago 3
W. Konikow, Boston 3
K. Chapko, Bethlehem 3
D. Marcus, N. Y. 2
A. Friend, Lynn, Mass. 2
M. Morris, N. Y. 2
R. Thorworth, N. Y. 1
M. Koehler, Youngstown 1
J. Angelo, Springfield, Ill. 1
A. Konikow, Boston 1
G. Kotz, Newark 1
G. Latinen, Chicago 1
A. G., Chicago 1
J. Svetow, N. Y. 1
S. Jonard, Toronto 1
J. Kaplan, N. Y. 1
S. Weinstein, Detroit 1
M. Basin, Pittsburgh 1
L. Thomson, Chicago 1
A. Bornstein, Chicago 1
D. Ross, Baltimore 1
A. Wolfe, New Haven 1
S. Gendelman, New Haven 1
J. Held, Tonawanda, N. Y. 1

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Ohio Jobless Unite

(Continued from page 1)

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Both meetings were well attended and comrade Cannon's visit added much force to the rapidly growing League in Kansas City. —S

Labor Writhes Under Nazi Whip

(Continued from last issue)

The German working masses instinctively knew their enemy and were seeking the means of defense; but the leaders failed and disarmed the workers each in their own way. The social democrats prevented the workers from preparing the defense, cancelled patience and trusted in the constitution for which, however, they said they would sound the call to fight should Hitler violate it and resort to "illegal" methods. The social democratic leaders who had long ago given up their pretense to socialism and become completely bound up with bourgeois ideology had thereby also long ago abdicated the fight for the defense of the democracy. So when the last shreds of democracy went down in the torchlight blaze and gunpowder smoke, trampled upon by Fascist heels, their miserable position became fully revealed.

But Hitler found the Weimar constitution, written by the social democrats, sufficiently flexible to serve his purposes. He could, by the failure of his opponents, carry out all measures necessary to complete the first stage of the consolidation of his power, including the crushing of the Communist party and the throttling of the social democrats.

The Communist party leaders started from the absurd idea of concentrating the main line against the social democratic party as the twin brother of Fascism. It was precisely the deep antagonism between the social democratic workers and Fascism which should have been made the bridge to the united working class defense. But even this simple historical lesson had been lost to the party leaders. Their heated exaggeration of party strength and frivolous claiming of the general political strike could not become a substitute. On the contrary, it threw confusion and demoralization into the ranks and accelerated the party catastrophe. In the industries and within the mass organizations, from which the united working class defense should proceed, the

Workers' Leaders Lacked Strategy Against Fascists

party policy had torn up its own roots. Save for its election victories, which were empty, it was in reality isolated from the masses long before the decisive hour had arrived. So much so, that Goebbels, the new Fascist minister for culture and propaganda, could declare, in a speech on March 31: "We broke Communism with one blow and we have isolated the social democratic party from the people."

The Party in the Industries

How well was the party rooted in the industries? We remember that for some years there has been within every German factory, shop, mill and mine a factory council, established by the factory council law. This law, it is true, imposes definite limitations as to their powers but nevertheless they have been in the position of functioning as important organs of struggle. In a certain sense they have furnished an embryo structure of future Soviets. Naturally they should be an important basis for Communist party activities. And there is also the place to actually gauge the strength of the revolutionary party. But it is precisely in this field that its fatal weakness was most glaringly demonstrated.

In this we can now much more clearly perceive the disastrous fallacy of the so-called united front from below practiced by Stalinism. The actual results prove a thousand times stronger than words that this sort of policy contradicts all tenets of genuine united front policy. The so-called united front from below was only a mask to cover up the refusal of the Stalinist leaders to build the bridge of the workers' unity of defense, composed of all organizations, Communist, social democratic and trade unions.

Actual working class unity against Fascism under the conditions existing in Germany would have smashed all of the bureaucratic incompetent leaders. And in this the Communist party leaders, equally with their prototypes of

social democracy, feared for their positions and prestige. But from this state of affairs Fascism gained enormously in strength and self-confidence and the social democratic leaders escaped exposure.

Elections to the Factory Councils

The factory council elections particularly demonstrated the Communist party's weakness. One can argue, and with considerable justification, that in the Reichstag elections held March 5th, the party could not at all mobilize its full strength because of the pressure of the Fascist terror. But within the shops and factories at the factory council elections matters are different. That is at the source of production and exploitation where the workers are the most accessible and where they respond in the most direct sense to a correct revolutionary program. That it at the very foundation, where the class struggle receives its dynamic expression. At the present time it is necessary to add that with the increasing suppression of all of the rights of ordinary democratic channels and the general campaign of terror the party was duty bound to increase its efforts to connect the more solidly with the masses in the industries. In turn it was to be expected that the contacts below would be the stronger expressed. The party, however, was not rooted in the industries. That was proven by the factory council elections held during this period of seven weeks. To attempt to give a picture, I am presenting a cross section of these election results, reporting mainly the larger concerns.

In the "Leuna Werke," a chemical factory and one of the biggest concerns in Germany, the factory council election results were the following: The Reformist ticket received 2381 votes, Communists 884, Christian trade unions 285, Fascists 2034 and Steelhelmets 1043. In the "Wolfen Filin," the second largest chemical concern, the results were the following: Reformists 942, Communists 1753, Fascists 439, Steelhelmets 158 votes.

In the Hamburg Street Railway council elections the Reformists received 4319 votes, the Communists 189, the Fascists 158, others 106.

At the Elevated Railroad in Hamburg the results were Reformists 1152, Communists 416, Fascists 160 votes.

At the Troisdorf Dynamite factory the Reformists received 1249 votes, the Christian trade unions 309, the Communists 189 and the Fascists 189.

At the Bremen Street Railway council elections the Reformists received 869 votes, the Fascists 190, the Steelhelmets 190 and the Christian trade unions 72.

At the Phoenix Rubber Factory, Hamburg, the Reformists received 1593 votes and 13 delegates, the Fascists elected one delegate, others none.

In the various Kiel factory council elections out of a total of 61 delegates elected, 57 were Reformists and 2 fell to the Fascists. These results are only a general cross section, if a more complete tabulation was to be made the results would show even less favorable for the Communists.

The Party and the Factory Councils

When we add the total votes cast in these factories where exact figures are given we have the following results: The Reformists scored a total of 13,098 votes, the Communists 3,493 and the Fascists 3,210. There is a serious weight expressed in these figures but not on the side of the revolutionary party, despite the elections taking place at the most acute moment of attacks upon the workers. That more than anything else perhaps gives the lie to the delusions of grandeur continued in the empty boasts of the party leadership conjuring up altogether non-existing victories in this field. Thus for example the Wedding party congress held in June 1929 declared:

"The factory council elections in which the Communist Party of Germany came forward for the first time in the sharpest struggle against reformism as the bearer of the united front of the organized and unorganized, became a triumphal march in the most important industrial fields and large factories." The labor masses elected countless red factory councils under the banner of struggle against the state power, the employers and reformism."

Nothing more, nor less. The only trouble is that it was an attempt to ascribe to the party a strength it did not possess which subsequently had to be admitted by the party controlled trade union Left wing congress. Such is the method of inflating one's own strength out of all proportion and simultaneously minimizing the strength of the enemy. It is typical of the self-complacent barefacedness, but it is mortally dangerous to the party as the events have now so clearly proven. Against this the Left Opposition has many times warned:

"The way to get strong is not to begin by the mistake of exaggerating one's own strength." Not only that, but the policy of consistently separating the militant minority from the bulk of the trade union membership in the factories by their separate red election lists, even though appearing under the grand name of "unity lists," contributed heavily to the isolation of the party and to the disorganization of the movement. One can say that though the party apparatus never followed a consistent policy it certainly managed to be consistent in its mistakes, even to the extent of disarming the workers.

(Continued in the next issue)

Unite to Save Rivera Paintings

(Continued from Page 1)

from the John Reed Club and the Workers School said that they would have to refer the matter back to their organization after voting against point 5 of the resolution.

At the mass meeting held in Irving Plaza on Sunday night, May 14, the John Reed Club was not officially represented. It distributed leaflets stating why it was not represented, which amounted in effect to a charge that it had been gagged and prevented from expressing its own point of view. The hall was crowded to the limit of its capacity of over 600, and as many more were turned away.

Irving Plaza Mass Meeting

Comrade Abern opened the list of speakers on behalf of the Left Opposition, pointing out the class significance of the Rivera case and the necessity for united working class support. After several others had spoken, Phil Bard of the John Reed Club insisted on having the floor. He was finally allowed to have it, on the insistence of representatives of the Left Opposition, and repeated in effect that the John Reed Club could not allow itself to be gagged. Comrade Abern, speaking again, pointed out the incorrectness of the club's understanding of the necessity, as well as the limitations of criticism within the party. He offered an out-and-out, unapologetic "non-aggression" pact to the socialist party.

Comrade Rivera spoke in Spanish, with Bert Wolfe of the Loveston group as translator. The revolutionary artist went on to an appeal for the unity of the workers against capitalism and Fascism, and declared that his paintings represent the banner of the proletariat.

"Capitalist buildings here and in Mexico contain my works," he said, "but if you will it, and unite, the day will come when those buildings and all that is in them will belong to the workers."

"I beg of you to omit the name of Rivera from this fight," he concluded, "and when the day comes that something more than painting or talk is required—on that day, either with your good will or without it, if necessary against it, comrade Rivera will stand in his place along with the rest of the revolutionary workers."

Preparations were announced for an open-air meeting and mass picketing to take place on Wednesday, May 17. When the united front committee met again on Monday afternoon, the delegates of the John Reed Club and the Workers School insisted that the resolution previously adopted by the committee be read and voted on again, point by point. This time they objected, not only to the point against recommitment based on past events unopposed with the purposes of the united front, but also on point 4, commending Rivera for his courageous stand against Rockefeller. They were again voted down on both points.

Comrade Field, representing the International Workers School, stated that his organization, and undoubtedly many others were repulsed on the committee, were anxious to have the John Reed Club and the Workers School continue

to participate in the united front (interference from a socialist delegate "Not we!"); on the other hand, there was a reason to fear that the speakers of these two organizations intended to act in a manner which would disrupt and defeat the purposes of the united front. He therefore proposed that the delegates of these two organizations, although they had voted against certain points of the resolution, state that they were willing to consider themselves bound by the points and would continue to participate in the united front on this basis.

This involved of course a retreat by the John Reed Club and the Workers School from their previous position that these points "gagged" them and deprived them of legitimate rights of criticism. But realizing the corner into which they had been driven, they accepted comrade Field's motion and immediately drew up a statement, which was accepted by the committee.

United Front at Columbus Circle

The Wednesday mass meeting and demonstration, while not impressive from the standpoint of size (some 1000 participants with banners at most) did represent a genuine united front of all sections of the labor movement. This was clearly pointed out by comrade Abern for the Left Opposition in opening the speakers' list, as well as the fact that we do not overestimate the importance as propaganda of the specific issue around which the united front was built.

Joseph Freeman spoke for the John Reed Club and Robert Minor for the Workers School. Minor's remarks, generally satisfactory, however, laid down the bureaucratic ultimatum line of the party—no revolutionary action except under the leadership of the Communist party—and was rebuffed for it by the following speaker, Herbert M. Barker of the General Defense Committee. The meeting was treated to the spectacle of a syndicalist lecturing a Communist on the correct application of the Leninist tactic of the united front. On the whole, the meeting did constitute a demonstration of unity on the issue of class expression in art, and particularly significant was the proportion of workers who took part.

Following the meeting, several hundred of the participants marched down with their banners and picketed Radio City, singing and shouting slogans of "Preserve Rivera's murals," "Down with Rockefeller," and the like. The police made no attempt to interfere, although a few obviously provocative plainclothes men were stationed around Radio City.

Finally the procession moved to 54th Street, in front of Rockefeller's house, and shouted in unison, "Unveil Rivera's murals!" After passing in front of the house several times, the meeting dispersed. The campaign has demonstrated the soundness and effectiveness of the united front tactic for which the Left Opposition stands; unity in action, without confusion of banners, without compromise to sectarianism on the one hand or to opportunistic "non-aggression" pacts on the other. B. J. FIELD

Declaration of the Internat'l Left Opposition

Declaration of the Delegates Belonging to the International Left Opposition
(Bolshevik-Leninists)

FOR THE CONGRESS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The victory of Hitler in Germany shows that capitalism cannot live in conditions of democracy, cannot even cover over with democratic trappings. Either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the open dictatorship of finance capital: Either the workers' soviets or the armed hands of the desperate petty bourgeois populace!

Fascism has not and cannot have any program of solving the crisis of capitalist society. But what does not mean that fascism will fall automatically a victim of its own contradictions. No, it will maintain capitalist exploitation by ruining the country, by degrading capitalist civilization and by continuing to introduce greater savagery into the customs. The victory of Fascism is the result of the inability of the proletariat to take the fate of society into its own hands. Fascism will live as long as the proletariat does not rise.

Social democracy delivered the proletarian revolution of 1918 to the bourgeoisie and thus, once again, saved declining capitalism. It is the social democracy and it alone which gave the bourgeoisie the possibility to lean, in the following stage, on the fascist banditry. Descending from one step to the other, in pursuit of the "lesser evil," the social democracy, inspired by the reaction of the reactionary head marshal, Hindenburg, who in his turn summoned Hitler to power, demoralizing the proletariat by illusions of democracy in decadent capitalism, the social democracy deprived the proletariat of all its powers of resistance.

The attempts to cast this fundamental historic responsibility on Communism are absurd and dishonest. Without Communism the Left wing of the proletariat would have, a long time ago, taken the road of Anarchism, or terrorism, or would have simply swelled the fighting troops of Fascism. The example of Austria shows only too clearly that where Communism is extremely weak and the social democracy reigns unchallenged in the ranks of the working class within the framework of the democratic state created by itself, its policy prepares, step by step, the triumph of Fascism.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS LICK HITLER'S BOOTS

The top layers of the German social democracy are now trying to adapt themselves to Hitler's regime in order to preserve the remainder of their legal positions and the benefits that accrue from them. In vain! Fascism has brought with it a swarm of starved and ravenous locusts who demand and will obtain the monopoly of jobs and securities for themselves. The penalty of the reformist bureaucracy, a secondary result of the defeat of the proletarian organizations, represents the payment for the uninterrupted chain of treachery of the social democracy since August 4, 1914.

The leaders of the other social democratic parties are now trying to separate themselves from their German brothers-in-arms. It would be impermissible light-mindedness, however, to believe the words of the "left" critics of the reformist International, all of whose sections find themselves on different degrees of the same road. As in the time of the imperialist war, in the process of the fall of the bourgeois democracy each section of the Second International is ready to rebuild its reputation on the back of another national party. But basically they do the same work. Leon Blum supports the militarist and imperialist French government. Vandervelde, president of the Second International, has not withdrawn, as far as we know, his signature from under this same Versailles peace which has given German Fascism its present dimensions.

FIRST 4 CONGRESSES OF C. I. VINDICATED BY EVENTS

All the fundamental principle theses of the first four Congresses of the Communist International: on the decadent character of imperialist capitalism, on the inevitability of the decomposition of bourgeois democracy, on the impasse of reformism, on the necessity of the revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, have found their irrevocable confirmation in the events in Germany. But their correctness has been demonstrated "ad absurdum": not by victory but by catastrophe. If, despite almost fifteen years of existence of the C. I., the social democracy succeeded in carrying the policy of the "lesser evil" to its final conclusion, that is, to the worst evil that can be conceived of in modern history, we must look for its cause in the fact that the Communism of the epigones has shown itself incapable of fulfilling its historic mission.

RLUNDERS OF STALINISM HAVE SHIPWRECKED REVOLUTIONS

Up till 1923, the C. I. marched forward in all countries, almost without a halt, weakening and ousting the social democracy. In the last ten years, not only did it not make any new quantitative conquests, but it suffered a profound qualitative degeneration. The shipwreck of the official Communist

party in Germany is the fatal termination of the "general line" which passed through the adventures of Eshkonia and Bulgaria, through the capitulation before the Kuo Min Tang, through the not less infamous capitulation before the trade union bureaucracy in England, through the Canton adventure, through the convulsions of the "third period," through the break with the mass trade unions, through the theory and practice of "social Fascism," through the policy of "national liberation" and "people's revolution," through the rejection of the united front, through the banishment and persecution of the Left Opposition, finally, through the complete stifling of the independence of the proletarian vanguard and through the substitution for democratic centralism—by the omnipotence of an unprincipled and dull witted apparatus.

The essence of bureaucratism resides in the distrust of the masses and in the tendency to replace their conscious revolutionary activity by combinations from above or by naked commands. In Germany, as well as in other countries, the Stalinist bureaucracy posed continual ultimatum before the working class. It fixed for it, from above, the dates for strikes or for the "conquest of the streets." It arbitrarily fixed "red days" or "red months" for it. It ordered it to accept all its slogans and zig-zags without criticism; it demanded that the proletariat recognize its leadership in the united front in advance and without question, and on this monstrous ultimatum it based its struggle, intense from end to end and impotent, against Fascism.

NOT ACCIDENTAL ERRORS BUT AN ERRONEOUS SYSTEM

Errors are inevitable in the struggle of the proletariat. Through their own errors the parties learn, select the cadres and educate the leaders. But in the present C. I., these are not errors but an erroneous system which renders a correct policy impossible. The social agents of this system are a large bureaucratic stratum, armed with enormous material and technical means, in fact independent of the masses and conducting a furious struggle for self preservation at the price of the disorganization of the proletarian vanguard and its weakening before the class enemy. Such is the essence of Stalinism in the world workers' movement.

In the last years, the Left Opposition, before the eyes of the entire world, followed the Fascist tide in all its stages and traced a policy of true revolutionary realism. As early as the Autumn of 1929, that is, three and a half years ago, at the very beginning of the world crisis, the Left Opposition wrote:

L. O. ANALYSIS OF FASCISM IN AUTUMN, 1929

"Just as revolutionary situations developed more than once out of the conflict between liberalism and monarchy, which later went over the heads of both opponents, so a revolutionary situation can develop out of the clash between social democracy and Fascism—two antagonistic praxes of the bourgeoisie—which will pass over the heads of both of them.

"The proletarian revolutionist would be worthless if he did not understand, in the epoch of the bourgeois revolution, how to estimate the conflict between the liberals and the monarchy, and instead of utilizing the struggle in a revolutionary manner, threw the two opponents into one pot. The Communist it not worth a copper who in the face of the collisions

To the World Anti-Fascist Congress to Be Held in Copenhagen, June 17th

between Fascism and the social democracy, shouts down this formula with the barren formula of social Fascism, which has no content at all."

The policy of the united front should have been built on this general strategic perspective. Step by step in the course of the last three years the Left Opposition followed the development of the political crisis in Germany. In its periodicals and in a series of pamphlets it submitted all the stages of the struggle to an analysis, unmasked the ultimatum character of the formula "only from below," took upon itself where it could, the initiative of united defense committees, supported the initiative of the workers in this direction and demanded incessantly the extension of this initiative over the whole country. If the C. P. had resolutely set out on this path, the reformist bureaucracy would have shown itself impotent to restrain the pressure of the workers for the united front. Smashing up against a new barrier of each step, Fascism would have opened all its wounds. The local defense bodies would have grown irresistibly, in fact transforming themselves into workers' councils. Marching on this path, the German proletariat would have dealt a decisive blow to Fascism and with one last stroke would have swept away the whole leading oligarchy. The whole situation laid the basis for the revolutionary victory of the German proletariat.

STALINIST BUREAUCRACY TAKES PATH OF SABOTAGE

The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, took the path of unconscious but nevertheless actual sabotage of the revolution. They forbade agreements of Communists with social democratic organizations, destroyed the common organs of defense created by the workers and, under the name of "counter revolutionaries," expelled all the defenders of a correct revolutionary policy from its ranks. It could be said that such a manner of acting was especially created to isolate the Communists, to consolidate the bonds between the social democratic workers and their leaders to prepare the unobstructed ascension of the Fascists to power. The results are apparent!

On the 5th of March, when the fate of the proletariat was already decided, the E. C. of the C. I. not only declared itself ready for the united front from above—true, on a national and not on an international scale—but consented, so as to satisfy the reformist bureaucracy, to renounce mutual criticism during the period of the united front. A jump from incredible bluntness, from ultimatum presumptuousness to characterless concessions! The Stalinist bureaucracy, having stifled criticism within its own party, had evidently lost its understanding of criticism in the political struggle as such. Revolutionary criticism determines the attitude of the proletarian vanguard, that is, of the most critical party in contemporary society, towards all classes, parties and groupings. A real Communist party can no more renounce criticism, not even for a day, than a living organism can renounce respiration. The policy of the united front does not exclude mutual criticism in any case, on the contrary, it demands it. Only two bureaucratic apparatuses, one of which is weighted

down with betrayals and the other with a fatal chain of errors, can be interested in the suspension of mutual criticism, transforming the united front by that same fact into a silent conspiracy behind the masses, the aim of which is their own preservation. We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, say that never and under no conditions will we join in such a conspiracy; on the contrary, we will unrelentingly denounce it to the workers.

SURRENDER CRITICISM BUT RETAIN "SOCIAL FASCISM"

At the same time that it consents to renounce criticism, the Stalinist bureaucracy seizes upon the repulsive boot-licking of Wells, Leipart and Co. before Hitler to revive the theory of social Fascism. In reality, this theory remains as false today as it was yesterday. Those who were only recently the masters of Germany, fallen under the boot of Fascism, are licking this boot in order to gain indulgence from the Fascists; that corresponds exactly to the miserable nature of the reformist bureaucracy. But that does not at all signify that there is no difference for the reformists between democracy and the Fascist boot, and that the social democratic masses are not capable of struggling against Fascism when an issue is opened for them on the arena of struggle.

FASCISM BUILT ON LIES; COMMUNISM ON TRUTH

The policy of Fascism rests upon demagoguery, lies and blunder. The revolutionary policy can only build on truth. That is why we are obliged to condemn resolutely the Organization Bureau for the convocation of the present congress, which has given, in its appeal, an optimistically false picture of the state of things in Germany, speaking of the powerful development of the anti-Fascist struggle. In reality, for the moment, the German workers are retreating in complete disorder without fighting. Such is the bitter fact which cannot be blurred by words. In order to stand on its feet, to regroup and to concentrate its forces the proletariat, represented by its vanguard, must understand what has happened. Away with illusions! They are precisely the illusions which led to the catastrophe. We must say what is, clearly, honestly, openly.

The situation in Germany is profoundly tragic. The butcher has only begun his work. The victims will be legion. Hundreds and thousands of workers in the Communist party are imprisoned. Severe tests await those who remain faithful to their banner. The honest workers of the entire world are giving their whole-hearted sympathy to the victims of the Fascist butcher. But it will be the height of hypocrisy to demand silence on the fatal policy of Stalinism because its German representatives have at the same time become its victims. Great historic problems are not settled by sentimentalism. The supreme law of the struggle is to conform to the end goal. Only the Marxist explanation of all that has happened can imbue the vanguard with self-confidence. It does not suffice for it to express its sympathies for its victims, it must become stronger in order to overthrow and strangle the butcher. German Fascism slavishly follows the Italian example. That, however, does not signify that power is assured to Hitler for a series of years, as was the case with Mus-

solini. Fascist Germany starts out on its history in conditions of a very advanced capitalist disintegration, of mass misery unprecedented in modern history and of a three tening tension in international relations. The demagogue can come very much sooner than the masters of the day think. It will, however, not come of itself. A revolutionary shock is needed.

NO MIRACLES; ONLY WORKERS CAN DEFEAT FASCISM

The social democratic press places great hopes in the existence of cracks in the German government bloc. Along this same path, fundamentally, marches the Pravda of Moscow, which only yesterday denied the existence of antagonism between Fascism and the social democracy but today commits on the antagonism between Hitler and Hugenberg. Contradictions in the ruling camp are undeniable. But they in themselves are powerless, insofar as it is a matter of arresting the victorious development of the Fascist dictatorship which is dependent upon the whole situation of German capitalism. We must not expect miracles. Only the proletariat can put an end to Fascism. So that the latter can proceed on to the broad historic path, a decisive turn is necessary in the field of revolutionary leadership. It is necessary to return to the policy of Marx and Lenin. We, Bolshevik-Leninists, do not come to this congress to entertain any illusions whatsoever, nor to save false reputations. Our aim is to clear the road for the future. Naturally, we do not doubt that tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of workers are seriously prepared for struggle will be represented at this congress. No less are we inclined to believe that the delegates will be seriously disposed in their majority, to do everything possible so as to crush Fascism. Nevertheless, the congress itself, in the manner in which it has been conceived and called to order, cannot, we are profoundly convinced, bear serious revolutionary significance. Fascism is a formidable enemy. To struggle against it we need compact masses of workers well organized and well directed. We need a firm basis in the shops and in the unions. We need the confidence of the masses in a leadership that has been tested by the experience of struggle. The problem is not solved by solemn speeches nor by sensational promises. This congress, hastily improvised, represents isolated groups without any links between them, who after the congress will be just as isolated as before it from the millions of proletarians.

CONGRESS AGAIN COLORED BY INTELLIGENTSIA

The "isolated" individuals from the intellectual bourgeois circles will color the anti-Fascist Congress as they colored the Amsterdam Congress. It is not a very pleasant color. The advanced workers, who are the best representatives of science, literature and art have for them. But from that it does not at all follow that the radical scientists or artists are capable of replacing the mass organizations or of undertaking to lead the proletariat. And yet this congress pretends to leadership! Those representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia who really de-

sire to participate in the revolutionary struggle should begin by clearly defining their program and by attaching themselves to a workers organization. In other words, in order to have the right to vote at a congress of the fighting proletariat, the "isolated" must cease to be isolated.

Neither the work against nor the march against Fascism requires any special art which lies beyond any general struggle of the proletariat. The organization which is incapable of analyzing precisely the situation, of leading the daily defensive and offensive battles, of gathering about it the broadest masses, of achieving unity in defensive actions with the reformist workers, unbinding them at the same time of their reformist prejudices—such an organization will inevitably suffer shipwreck in the face of war as well as of Fascism.

AMSTERDAM CONGRESS MISERABLE FAILURE

The Amsterdam Congress has shown already its inconsistency in the course of the offensive of the Japanese bandits against China. Even in the domain of agitation, the alliance of the Stalinist bureaucracy with the isolated pacifists has not achieved anything substantial. It must be said openly: the anti-Fascist Congress, which in its international composition, is much rather an accidental meeting, is called to create an appearance of action, just where action itself has defied. If, conforming to the project of its organizers, the Congress contents itself with a barren appeal, in the history of the struggle against Fascism it risks becoming not only a zero but a negative quantity, for the most serious crime in present conditions is to lead the workers into error about their actual forces and the real methods of struggle.

Only on one condition, can the Congress of Struggle Against Fascism play a progressive although modest role; if it shakes off the hypothesis of the bureaucratic impostors who stand behind the scenes, and puts on the agenda a free discussion on the causes of the victory of German Fascism, on the responsibility of the leading proletarian organizations and on a true program of revolutionary struggle. It is by taking this path, and this one only that the congress will become a factor of revolutionary renaissance.

The platform of the International Left Opposition gives the only correct directives for the struggle against Fascism. As the most immediate and most pressing measures, we, Bolshevik-Leninists, propose the following:

PROPOSALS OF INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION

1. TO immediately accept the proposals of the Second International for an agreement on an international scale, such an agreement does not exclude but demands the concretization of the slogans and the methods for each particular country;
2. TO principally condemn the formula of the united front "from below only," which means the rejection of the united front generally;
3. TO reject and to condemn the theory of social Fascism;
4. IN no case and under no condition to renounce the right to criticize the temporary ally;
5. TO re-establish freedom within the Communist parties and all organizations which are under their control, and those that make up the Anti-Fascist Congress;
6. TO renounce the policy of Independent Communist trade union

organizations; to participate actively in the mass trade unions;

7. TO renounce the infamous competition with Fascism under the slogans of "national liberation" and "people's revolution";
8. TO renounce the theory of Socialism in one Country which nourishes petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies and weakens the working class in the struggle against Fascism;
9. TO mobilize the European proletariat against Versailles and anti-Versailles chauvinism under the banner of the Soviet United States of Europe;
10. TO prepare through an open and honest discussion and to convene an extraordinary congress of each section of the C. I. within the period of one month, to examine the experience of the struggle with counter-revolution and to elaborate a program of action for the future;
11. TO convene a democratically prepared Congress of the C. I. within a period of two months;
12. Reinstatement of the Left Opposition into the ranks of the C. I., its sections and all the organizations that it controls.

AUSTRIAN WORKERS MUST TAKE OFFENSIVE

It is necessary to begin to undertake the discussions between the Second and Third International by putting the question of Austria in first place. Everything has not been lost yet in this country. By starting immediately on the road of active defense the Austrian proletariat, supported by the proletariat of all the countries of Europe, could, by the consistent and courageous development of the offensive, arrest the power from the hands of the enemy; the internal relation of forces in Austria assumes victory. A red Austria will immediately become a prop of strength for the German workers. The whole situation will change abruptly in favor of the revolution. The European proletariat will feel that it represents an invincible force. And only this consciousness is necessary to wipe out all its enemies.

It is the U. S. S. R. which occupies the central position in the struggle with world counter-revolution. In this domain, we, Bolshevik-Leninists, less than ever, subscribe to the policy of official optimism. In the bureaucracy all is well five minutes before the catastrophe. Such was the case in Germany. The same method is being applied also for the Soviet Union but the situation in the first workers' state has never been so tense as at present. The basically false policy of the uncontrolled bureaucracy has thrown the country into unbearable privation, has brought the peasantry into conflict with the proletariat, has sowed discontent in the working masses, has tied the hands and feet of the party, has weakened all the pillars and props of the dictatorship. The October Revolution has no need of "friends" who sing false hymns and repeat each word of the ruling bureaucracy in chorus. The October Revolution has need of militants who speak the truth, even if it is harsh, but who, on the contrary, maintain an unshakable loyalty in the hour of danger.

SOUND THE ALARM: SOVIET RUSSIA IN DANGER!

We sound the alarm before the world proletariat; the Soviet faithful is in danger! only the fundamental reform of the entire policy will save it. The program of such reform is the program of the Left Opposition in the U. S. S. R. Thousands of its best fighters, at their head, C. G. Rakovsky, at the present time fill the prisons and the places of deportation of the Soviet Union. From the tribune of this congress we send our fraternal greetings to our valiant comrades-in-arms. Their number is growing. No amount of persecution will shake their courage. In the difficult days to come the proletarian dictatorship will find in them not only wise counselors but also devoted soldiers.

The development of the international workers movement, and above all the European, has reached a decisive point. The German Communist party is smashed. To think of re-establishing it on the old basis and under the old leadership is a hopeless utopia. There are defeats that are irreparable. The German Communist party will now be built on a new basis. Only those elements of the old party, who have freed themselves from the heritage of Stalinism can take their place among the builders. Will organizational succession be followed in the development of the other sections of the C. I. in its entirety? History has apparently not rendered its final verdict on that. One thing is certain: very little time remains to correct the monstrous errors. If this time is lost, the Communist International will go down into history with the glorious Leninist beginning and the infamous Stalinist end.

We, Bolshevik-Leninists, propose to make the experience of the fall of German Communism a point of departure for the rebirth of all its remaining sections. We are ready to concentrate all our forces to that end. In the name of this task we extend our hand to our fiercest adversaries of yesterday. It is unnecessary to say that in the battle against Fascism, in the defensive as in the offensive, the Bolshevik-Leninists will occupy their places of struggle in the common ranks as they have occupied them everywhere and always.

Under the banner of Marx and Lenin, forward for the world proletarian revolution.

Leon Trotsky
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Roosevelt Intervenes

(Continued from page 1)
the illusions of bourgeois pacifism and to help prepare the slaughter of the working class.

For workers there are no "aggressor" and "defender" nations. For workers there can only be imperialist wars and revolutionary wars. If the Soviet Union is to exist as the workers' fatherland, the preparations for imperialist war must be mercilessly exposed. If the workers are to be forewarned against the coming butchery, it is criminal to play around with non-sensical dabbings on "aggressor" nations and "partial disarmament."

Finally, if the murderous aim of the capitalists are to be defeated, the working class of the world must be rallied into a solid, compact fighting mass by the Leninist tactic of the united front, step by step in their everyday struggles, and up to the unified struggle against imperialist war. The role of the American workers in this task is, in view of the world position of American capitalism, doubly great.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

EDITORIAL BOARD
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Vol. 6, No. 27 Whole No. 174
Saturday, May 20, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.
Foreign \$2.50. Five Cents per copy

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LEON TROTSKY

Problems of the Soviet Regime

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

Socialism developed to completion (communism) means a society without a state. But the transition period from capitalism to socialism demands an extreme strengthening of the functions of the state (dictatorship of the proletariat). This historic dialectic of the state has been sufficiently illuminated by the theory of Marxism.

The economic basis for the withering away of the workers' state is the high development of economic power when productive labor no longer needs to be driven and the distribution of human goods no longer needs any juridical control.

The transition from revolutionary dictatorship to classless society cannot be accomplished by decree. A state cannot be dissolved by special order but gradually disappears from the scene, "withering away" to the extent to which the powerful and culturally higher socialist society conquers all the living functions with the aid of its manifold and flexible organs which no longer stand in need of coercion.

1. The Withering of the State

The process of the liquidation of the state takes place along two different roads. To the extent that the classes are being liquidated, that is, dissolved in a homogeneous society, coercion withers away in the direct sense of the word, dropping out forever from social circulation. The organizational functions of the state, on the contrary, become more complex, more detailed. They penetrate into ever new fields which until then remained as if beyond the threshold of society (the household, children's education, etc.) and for the first time subject them to the control of the collective mind.

The general manner of posing the question does not change whether it concerns a single country or the whole planet. If we should assume that a socialist society is realizable within national boundaries, then the withering away of the state could also occur within the framework of a single country. The necessity of defense against capitalist enemies threatening from without is in itself entirely compatible with the weakening of state coercion from within: the solidarity and conscious discipline of the socialist society should yield the greatest results on the field of battle as well as on the field of production.

The Stalinist faction declared as far back as two years ago that the classes in the U.S.S.R. are liquidated "in the main"; that the question who will prevail is decided "completely and irrevocably"; more than that: that "we entered into socialism." From this, according to the laws of Marxian logic, it should have followed that the necessity of class coercion is "in the main" liquidated and that the period of the withering away of the state had begun. But such a conclusion, insofar as it has been attempted by some interested doctrinaires, was immediately declared as "counter-revolutionary."

However, for us leave aside the perspective of socialism in one country. Let us proceed not from bureaucratic construction, already brought to an absurdity by the march of development, but from the actual state of affairs: the USSR is of course not a socialist state, but only a socialist state, that is, a weapon for the building of a socialist society; the classes are as yet far from abolished; the question who will prevail is not decided; the possibility of capitalist restoration is not excluded; the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship therefore remains its full force. But there still remains the question of the character of the Soviet state, which does not at all remain unchangeable throughout the whole transitional epoch. The more successful the economic construction, the healthier the relation between town and country, the broader therefore should be the development of Soviet democracy. This does not constitute as yet the withering away of the state since Soviet democracy is also a form of state coercion. The emptiness and flexibility of this form, however, best reflects the relation of the masses to the Soviet regime. The more the proletariat is satisfied with the results of its labor and the more beneficial its influence on the village, the more the Soviet government attempts to be—not on paper, not in a program, but in reality, in everyday existence—the weapon of the growing majority against the diminishing minority. The rise of Soviet democracy, while as yet not signifying the withering away of the state, is equivalent nevertheless to the preparation for such a process.

(Continued on Page 4)

National Youth Day: Fight Against War!

YOUTH MUST BREAK THROUGH SABOTAGE OF SOCIALISTS AND SECTARIANISM OF STALINISTS IN UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR. ALL OUT ON MAY 30th!

On May 30th, the Juggos, munition makers, war mongers and all the "patriots" will gather in the festive places of the nation to shed crocodile tears for the proletarian whose body rests beneath a little cross on the other side of the ocean.

They will talk of his bravery and his heroism in laying down his life to "make the world safe for democracy." But their eulogies are all lies and deceptions. The truth is now breaking through the fog of war propaganda. It was for Morgan's millions that the American workers had their bodies riddled with bullets. And it is for essentially the same purpose that a new war is being prepared.

The "war to end all wars" was but a gigantic rehearsal for a new imperialist conflict, more bloody, more wanton and more destructive than anything ever seen in the history of mankind. The jockeying for position, secret alliances, the race for armaments, brings Europe and the whole world closer to the brink of a world slaughter.

The fake pacifism of Roosevelt, the ill-concealed hypocrisy of butcher Hitler points unambiguously to a "holy" crusade against the first Workers Republic. Having destroyed the greatest bulwark of the October Revolution, the revolutionary German working class organizations, with the aid of the treachery and capitulation of the socialist

Revolt Gathers Against Machado Regime in Cuba

Another revolt accompanied by a wave of terrorism has broken loose in Cuba. The guerrilla outbreaks in the central and eastern provinces of the island are only one, and perhaps not the greatest of the dangers threatening the dictatorship. In the cities and especially in Havana, virtual civil war exists between the "A.B.C." student terrorist organization and the famous "revolver" at the service of the murderous pseudo-bonapartist Machado regime.

"Butcher" Machado is now singing his swan song and the vultures are already darkening the sky in preparation for the feast. A change of government means new concessions, new contracts, new loans, and a shake-up in those quarters where political jobs are given out.

With the increasing intensification of the crisis in the sugar industry, due to high tariff walls in the U.S. and Europe, the competition with their roving beet sugar industry of the consumer countries, and the ever-increasing warehouse surpluses, the Cuban government's financial income has been reduced to a minimum. For many months, school teachers and other government employees have been unpaid, but until very recently, enough funds have been available to keep the army and police "loyal." At last however it appears, even these, the almost sole remaining supporters of the regime, are wavering. Recent dispatches from Oriente Province report serious defections

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L. O. & Stalinists in Toronto

The Two Faced Policy of the Centrist Bureaucrats

Toronto, Can.—Stalinist forces in Toronto revealed in glaring fashion the confusion into which they have been thrown by recent events when on Friday, May 12th, at Spadina Hall, they attempted systematically to break up a mass meeting on the German situation called by the Toronto Branch of the Left Opposition. The happenings of the evening came as a climax to a period of successful anti-Fascist activity on the part of Opposition forces, and this demonstration of official Stalinist ideological bankruptcy has made a deep impression in Left wing circles.

The meeting was called by the L. O. as an extension of the activities of united front conferences against Fascism, which included both Opposition and Stalinist representatives. Events had already given the former ample opportunity to expose the utter incompetence of the Stalinist leadership. A prime example was the serious suggestion of one of the Stalinist leading lights that the Conference send a delegation to the City Board of Control asking them to protest against Hitlerite atrocities. Again, after the Stalinists had succeeded in keeping comrade Jack MacDonald

and Stalinist bureaucrats, Hitler grooms himself for the role of the super-Wrangler of the world bourgeoisie. The hour draws close.

Young Workers, to the Fore!
Most concerned and vitally affected by the danger of war are the young workers who will be used as cannon fodder to coin the blood money for the imperialist handits. It is they who must raise the strongest and most determined protest against the coming slaughter.

It is they who must say to the war mongers that they are ready to put an end to the system that starves them in "peace" time and must have recourse to war to settle their conflict for profits and markets. The young workers must show the exploiters that the guns that are placed in their hands will never be used against their fellow workers of some other nationality or race. That they will direct their weapons instead against the self-same exploiters, their real enemies.

Down with imperialist war! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war! These slogans will ring out on the streets of New York and over the rest of the nation on National Youth Day, May 30th. On this day the young workers and students must gather their forces for mighty demonstrations in defense of the Soviet Union and against the war plans of the imperialists.

(Continued on Page 2)

Wave of Militant Struggles Sweeps Needle Trades

The Needle Trades workers are leading them to revolt. The ranks of the workers of various crafts show very definitely that an underlying current of militancy is coming to the surface.

The gains that have been won by the sacrifices of the needle workers over an extended period of ups and downs have completely vanished. The crisis has given the bosses the right of way to slash wages and increase hours without any resistance on the part of the workers.

But the tide has been turned. The intolerable conditions have pointed out to the worker the one way—the way of struggle. They saw one alternative: either to perish starving or wage a battle for some improvement.

These moods of the needle workers have been expressed in two recent strikes of the dressmakers in Boston and Philadelphia. Both strikes had been called practically in spite of the "good judgment" of the Vice-Presidents of the ILGWU in charge of those centers. The strikes have also been foisted upon the leadership of the NTWU, because of the lack of a positive and correct policy toward a united front.

The deep roots of unity imbedded now in the ranks of the needle workers, makes it absolutely impossible for the Stalinist leadership in the NTWU to pursue a straight path of wrong policy, without interruptions and breaks.

In spite of the comparatively good response of the dressmakers to the call of the strike both in Philadelphia and Boston, the right wing reformist press has hardly given cognizance to the struggles. Prior to the strike there was no prepara-

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(Continued on Page 2)

Protest Admission of Hitler Agent on American Soil

HUNDREDS OF WORKERS JEER NAZI ENVOY IN SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN WORKERS

On Thursday morning a thousand workers demonstrated against the Fascist envoy Hans Weidemann, at the foot of 58th Street, Brooklyn, the Army Base. A few minutes before 9 a. m., after the meeting had been going for some fifteen minutes, an attempt was made by the police to end the demonstration, but this failed.

When the representative of the Y.P.S.L. got through speaking and the Chairman was about to announce the next speaker, the police, this time reinforced by plenty of dicks, began to man the workers. The workers put up a good fight, using stones and sticks against the clubs of the cops; many workers were caught by the horsepots, dragged through the streets and beaten with blackjacks.

The Army Base, housing a regiment of the Reformation Army were the onlookers all through the welcome of American imperialism to this third assistant butcher, Hans Weidemann, who though without the Brownshirts to defend him, was ably defended by the Bluecoats.

Despite this, he managed to sneak off the boat in the Harbor or to leave the pier by another exit. 10 workers were arrested.

The demonstration, though militant, was too small to have any real effect. The fight against Fascism must be broadened; as one of the speakers stated, "to include the laboring masses is needed to

(Continued on Page 2)

Mooney Acquitted; Evidence Muzzled

CALIFORNIA BOSS CLASS EXPOSES ITS OWN FRAME-UP BY ACTION AT TRIAL. FINAL MASS EFFORT NEEDED TO FREE TOM MOONEY. NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON JUNE 18th

On Wednesday afternoon, May 24, Tom Mooney was acquitted by a jury called to hear an indictment against him which concerned the premeditated day parade bombings for which he was originally framed up. While the acquittal does not clear him legally of the original charge, it proves the entire unreasonability of it.

No worker in the United States, or in the world, can now doubt Mooney's innocence. No worker can fail to see the crass swindle of the boss class in this frame-up. The fake trial only serves to open up the eyes of still larger masses.

The indignation of all strata of labor against California class justice is pitched to a high key. The work of the National Tom Mooney Committee of Action cannot fail to swing labor behind them in solid ranks, if they pursue the Leninist united front tactic outlined at Chicago, conscientiously; if they challenge the leaders of the S. P. and the A. F. of L. before their mass following, to join in the fight.

Now is the time to bring the mass movement in the defense of Mooney to a successful culmination. Closed ranks in a successful struggle to free Mooney will open up a new period of working class ascendancy in the United States and serve as the starting point of a smashing resistance to the capitalist offensive on all fields of class struggle—the economic, on the political front—and in the defense of all the other victims of boss class oppression.

(Continued on Page 2)

Workers Must Unite in Fight on Roosevelt Program

ADMINISTRATION MEASURES MEAN TO FORESTALL MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLE

Roosevelt has thrown two more ingredients into the mixture of liberal medicines from which he is brewing the cure for what ails business. He appeals to capitalists to raise wages voluntarily, and he proposes to them that they form trade associations for the regulation of the industry; for good measure, he throws in a bill for public works expenditure in the amount of over three billions. These medicines go to join the minimum wage bill, the shorter hours bill, reforestation, centralization of banking control, lowering of tariff walls, policies of international cooperation, "good will" and disarmament, and the rest of the reformist hocus-pocus with which Roosevelt is trying to still for time, with a great appearance of activity while waiting for some improvement in the economic cycle.

The basic outlook from which these measures proceed is that capitalism is benevolent, since he expects it to raise wages without a struggle; that capitalism is intelligent and foresighted, since he expects it to regulate itself on the basis of voluntary trade associations; and that capitalism is capable of cooperation on the national and on the international scale. This is the basic approach of the most seditious and discredited liberalism, that is, of the most primitive form of capitalist self-justification as typified by Adam Smith, which may be summarized as, "Let every capitalist act for his own best interests with the minimum of state intervention, and the results will be the best for the nation as a whole." This is the formula of the big bourgeoisie in the early stages of capitalism. Even in the classic home of liberalism, in England, the party that formerly stood for this philosophy, is reduced to insignificance, nor has it any power in a single major country today. It is a symptom of the political backwardness of America today that this political system is fished up out of the ashcan of history and served up in this country as the "New Deal."

The distinctive feature of the Roosevelt program is the combination of this reactionary—utopian theory with a practice which contradicts it absolutely—the increasingly direct union of the State with monopolistic capitalism, which characterizes the decaying phase of world capitalism. Even in the United States, the system of capitalism is being propped up by all kinds of governmental supports—subsidies, tariffs, loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, government loans to the larger farm operators, more intensive government intervention, banking, security issues, industry, and railroads.

L. O. Addresses Party on Elections in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, May 19, 1933—The local branch of the Communist League (Left Opposition) has addressed the following Open Letter to the official (Communist) party:

Every election should be a lesson in politics for every honest worker. In the free-for-all primary election the working class of Minneapolis suffered a political setback. Of the mayoralty candidates nominated, Bainbridge represents old line, boss controlled politics while Anderson represents small and independent business interests. Anderson's break with the Farmer-Labor party shows that he can afford to drop even the pretensions of being a "Labor Party" man. His administration would as it does now, serve everybody, including Big Capital, just as a small shopkeeper serves "everybody" from behind a counter. Outside the beer issue, the Farmer-Labor party program is so much like Anderson's that they have virtually withdrawn from the field after Lathrop's defeat in the primaries. Thus the small business leadership of Farmer-Labor reformism leaves in the lurch the masses of organized labor that make up this party. This should show to the workers in the Farmer-Labor party that its leadership and program is not for their interests.

The Communist party, the only party of the working class, is responsible for the development and advancement of the workers' interests in the class struggle, the source of all politics (political economy as Karl Marx called it.)

(Continued on Page 4)

Attack on Furriers' Union

Police, Bosses & A.F.L. in Onslaught on Left Wing

The drive of the fur manufacturers against the workers has culminated this week by an agreement of some 50 bosses of the Associated Fur Coat and Trimming Manufacturers with the A. F. of L.

The spearhead of the attack has been directed against the Left wing in the attempt to force the workers out of their union and into the discredited International Fur Workers Union.

The drive was inaugurated a few weeks ago by the murder of Morris Langer, the militant worker and organizer of the Industrial Union. Murderous attacks upon the N. T. W. I. followed in the attempt to terrorize the furriers into submitting to the demands of the bosses.

Early this week notices were posted in the shops ordering the workers to affiliate with the A. F. of L. union, setting May 25 as the deadline. The workers in most of the shops immediately went out on strike, militantly demonstrating against the united front of the bosses, the tight wing misleaders and the police. Supported by the police, who have honeycombed the market, the fakers are distributing leaflets calling upon

the workers to break their ranks and submit to the bosses. Ostensibly this drive is directed "only against the Communists," but this is only a screen to split and demoralize the workers.

The solid ranks of the bosses, the police and the treacherous right wing bureaucrats can and must be smashed by preserving the unbroken front of the workers. This struggle is not a struggle of the furriers alone.

In the Wednesday and Thursday demonstrations, in the face of police terror, the workers showed their determination to fight resolutely in defense of their union. Workers of other branches of the needle trades have joined the furriers in their struggle. The fight must be extended and all workers called upon to support the furriers against the attack. The defeat of the furriers would mean the extension of the drive against all progressive unions that are resisting the wage cut and speed up drives by which the capitalists are striving to get out of the crisis.

Workers, unite! Your interests and living standards are threatened. Smash the terror of the boss class and their henchmen against the furriers union!

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(Continued on Page 4)

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Unemployed Struggle in Youngstown

Youngstown, O.—Responding to the appeal of Youngstown Unemployed League No. 1, delegates from four unemployed organizations met for the purpose of issuing a united front call. Besides the Unemployed Leagues from Youngstown and Austintown, two Youngstown Unemployed Councils sent delegates to this preliminary conference. Thus two national unemployed movements were represented.

This preliminary conference decided to issue an appeal for a broad united front conference of all labor organizations in the Mahoning Valley on or about June 25 for the purpose of agreeing on a minimum program for united action in this district.

It was generally agreed that the basis for this minimum program would be the general points of immediate relief, unemployment insurance and the shorter work week without reduction in weekly pay.

A committee of four, consisting of a delegate from each organization, was selected to draft the appeal, issue it and place it before the various organizations to which it is made. This committee includes a Left Oppositionist.

The attitude and actions of the local Left Oppositionists will be generally determined by the spirit of Engels' letter to Mrs. Wilschnewsky on January 27, 1877. He wrote: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class AT EVERY ONE OF THE STAGES WITHOUT GIVING UP OR HIDING OUR OWN DISTINCT POSITION AND EVEN ORGANIZATION, and I am afraid that if the... Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake." Stalinists, take heed! — H. N.

Nat'l Youth Day

(Continued from Page 1)

On this day, above all, we must not forget the criminal treachery of the socialist misleaders who drove their followers to the last world slaughter for the defense of capitalist fatherlands. For years the social democrats and their youth adjuncts have been mouthing fine phrases against the danger of war. On the foremost occasion to demonstrate the sincerity of their agitation against war, on National Youth Day, the YPSL leaders have sabotaged the united front and are preventing their members from joining the New York parade. This is the real face of Ypsel misleaders. Their struggle against war is nothing but lip-service.

Through its senseless, criminal tactics, the remnant of the "united front from below" and "social fascism" on the one hand and now their willingness to renounce all criticism of the Ypsel leaders on the other, the YCL is unable to profit from the discontent of the young socialist rank and file on this and other issues. Away with the false, un-Leninist policies. They prevent a real struggle against war by sowing confusion and prevent the break of the socialist rank and file with their false leaders!

Clear the road for the masses united front of the youth in the fight against imperialism war.

Young workers and students: All out on National Youth Day!

SECOND SHOWING OF RUSSIAN MOVIE

By popular request we are showing the picture of the Russian Revolution again at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, this Saturday evening, May 27, at 8 p. m. sharp.

No tickets will be obtainable at the door. Subscription tickets at 35 cents must be obtained in advance.

Audience: Film Club, New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

Stalinists and L.O. in Canada

(Continued from Page 1)

gether with its extent and violence, showed that the plans to disrupt the meeting had been carefully laid. The racket culminated in the singling of the Internationale by the disturbers, and a large section of the audience began streaming for the exits. A fight commenced, and for a moment it looked as if a riot were inevitable, but the combatants were quickly separated.

Then one of the Stalinite functionaries appeared on a balcony at the back of the hall and began to address his henchmen.

But our comrades, taking a leaf from his own book, howled him down and forced him to stop. Soon comrade MacDonald's stentorian voice was booming from the platform, and the audience began to quiet down. Shortly after the meeting had resumed, a squad of police appeared, but as there was fortunately nothing for them to do, they soon took their departure. In time, his audience swelled to its former size, and there was no further attempt at organized disruption.

In his speech, comrade MacDonald drove home the significance of the disturbance as a confession of official panic and ideological deflection. Comrade Spector then spoke again and stirred his hearers by reminding them that bolshevism and gangster methods had always been an integral part of the tactics against the L.O.

The last speaker was comrade Morrow, a member of the Y.C.L., who dealt briefly and forcefully with the issue at hand. (At the close of the meeting Morrow was informed that he had just been expelled from the Y.C.L., but was left in ignorance of the official expulsion for this action.)

Finally questions were asked for the usual array of puerile monthings were hurled at Jack MacDonald—why aren't you in jail, why don't you talk about Canada instead of Germany, etc., etc. Not a single question bore upon the question under discussion—the situation in Germany.

When comrade MacDonald had disposed of questions in good-humored fashion, comrade Spector offered 10 minutes to any spokesman the Stalinists might choose. The result was a diatribe from one of the party stalwarts—but without a word about Germany.

Such a display, coming after the clear and forceful exposition given by our comrades, had the audience divided between pity and amusement. The meeting closed with a thunderous acclaim for Lenin and the German Revolution.

The consequences of the evening's events, which set the strength and clarity of the L.O. in such sharp contrast with the stupidity of official Stalinism, have already struck deep. The bureaucrats have done their cause in the factional struggle incalculable harm. Several of their supporters have signified their intention of resigning, while others are determined to at least secure from their leaders an accounting for this piece of disloyalty.

Our comrades of course will demand an explanation at the next meeting of the anti-Fascist conference of this indecent breach of the united front. Honest elements among the "Left Wing Organizations" who disclaim association with the Stalinists are up in arms over the forging of their approval of this cowardly slander of the L.O. Altogether, the Stalin functionaries are in a very uncomfortable mess.

Their behavior on this occasion constitutes another heavy blow, struck with their own hands, against the waning prestige of their organization.

— C. N. K.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT!

A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

Needle Trades Struggles

Why the Stalinists Have Been Caught Unawares

(Continued from page 1)

situation is entirely contradictory to the first. I quote verbatim from the *Freiheit* report on the Pleum, May 16, 1933: "The coming strike must be organized on the basis of a united front between the members of the Industrial Union and the International and the unorganized."

First—"between the members of the Industrial Union and the International" again sounds like the united front from below. How does this tally with the first decision—not to criticize the International leadership?

Secondly—"united front with the unorganized." What kind of a body is that to conclude a united front with?

If we were assured, in any way, of a following from the unorganized to the extent of relying upon them as an active support of the Left wing in the dress trade, there would be no need of appealing for unity to the International. The greatest majority of the dressmakers are still the unorganized mass of workers, having no class instinct. It is our task to organize them first and teach them the A.B.C. of trade unionism as well as the intricacies of the class struggle.

The boasted "clarity" falls to pieces when we confront the real facts. The two strikes, in Boston and Philadelphia, were called before the delegates to the New York Pleum had a chance to get out of the haze of the long ambiguous speeches. The strikes found the Left wing entirely unprepared.

The weakness and instability of the decisions is further evidenced by the later declaration of the New York trade board of the YFUI, just one week after the publication of the "clear" decisions, likewise in the *Freiheit*. In point of fact the trade board voids the decisions of a week ago by declaring its readiness to confer about unity on the basis of one union! Reading between the lines this means, consent to the demands of the International—as a condition for negotiations to give up the NTWU.

"The propaganda of the 'third period' about the united front from below, about 'social fascism,' about company unions, no pacts with 'scab' agencies (reformist unions) had to be countered with a proposal that would assure the workers of the Industrial Union in its plea for unity. Were the Left Opposition proposals of 'inclusion as a body into the International without any discrimination' heeded by the Stalinists in their time the fight would have had a much harder task in rejecting the unity proposals.

Our correctness was borne out by reality, not only because of the exact formulation. We were correct because we foresaw the trend of events, the great need for unity not as a maneuver, but as a necessity to strike together at the onslaught

of the bosses, to be prepared for the inevitable wave of struggle. We proposed an extensive and far-reaching campaign for unity rather than sending a committee on the q. l. to the International—a step about which the members of the Industrial Union were not even consulted. (The committee, consisting of Hyman, Bornbovitch and Gold appeared there on April 6.)

The hand-to-mouth which the Party leadership is handing out to the trade unions worked havoc. The attempt of the leadership to save its face and establish its infallibility pushed hundreds of disappointed needle workers into the clutches of the Right wing clique.

Now the union will suffer more and more under the blows of reality. Capitalism to the right wing is not improbable. And here it is not the leadership that must be saved but the banner of the Left wing.

The party fraction in the Industrial Union must demand from the leadership a bold and clear statement as to its readiness for unity, as to our proposal of reentering "on line" into the International, without discrimination, for the sake of fighting in the interests of all the needle workers.

The militant workers in the ranks of the International, anxious to accomplish unity and devoted to the cause of the needle workers, will welcome and understand such a statement. On the basis of such a statement, they will rally to the banner of the Left wing once more and carry it ahead in the struggle against reformism and the system that oppresses them.

— S. BLECKER

OIL THE MACHINERY!!

The response to our appeal for help for the Militant has made it possible to look forward to the financial future of the paper with more confidence. In this big push forward the entire movement acted promptly and well.

But the records of two branches is outstanding. The Kansas City Branch has sent in \$10 to date. But all honors in this drive go to the New York Branch which has sent in \$300. To date it is around over \$300. And it is not through yet.

But let no one have the idea that from now on it is all smooth sailing. This is a revolutionary movement, a young one struggling upward against tremendous odds.

Let us take an example from our own press. When it is oiled it works fairly well. That is how it is with the movement. It needs lubricants constantly. Money lubricates. Oil the machinery! Help the Militant! Take all the financial sparks and groans out of its machinery!

Send all funds without delay to the Militant at 126 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Statement of Jobless Leaders

Statement of the National Committee of the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues

The effects of unemployment upon the American working class are the most immediate tasks confronting us today. Within the last four years of the crisis unemployed organizations of different types and different political shades, have sprung up in all parts of the United States. These organizations all have the same aim of organizing the unemployed of our class to successfully resist the lowering of our standards of living, to prevent hunger and starvation, to obtain adequate cash relief, unemployment insurance, the shorter work week, etc.

By the end of 1932, a number of these unemployed organizations realized the inadequacy of local and sectional unemployed organizations in dealing with the major

issue of the crisis and unemployment and met at the Midwest Conference of Unemployed Organizations on November 19th and 20th, and formed the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, with temporary offices of 9 and temporary offices in Chicago.

The temporary committee under the direction of Karl Borders, the Chairman, carried on the work and laid the foundation for the first conference of the Federation which was held at Lincoln Center, in Chicago, May 13, 14, 15. This conference, built upon the work of the Midwest conference was a national conference, much broader in scope and therefore, went deeper into the problems of our class.

No unemployed organizations of the workers who sent delegates, regardless of their race, color, creed or political beliefs were excluded from participation in the conference.

(Continued on Page 4)

Revolt in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

in the garrisons of several small towns.

The armed outbreaks appear to be inspired by the sector of anti-Machado forces which is favorable to American intervention. The principal leaders of the Opposition Junta wherein are represented most of the different bourgeois and petty bourgeois cliques are opposed to intervention at this time as this would interfere with their own hopeful plans for the distribution of political posts and economic advantages among themselves.

Machado's main support rests today on the governmental bureaucracy and the armed forces of the state power. The several national bourgeois groups and the foreign companies (with exceptions) as well as the proletariat and peasantry, are all desirous of his elimination. The very survival of the dictatorship for such a long period has been due largely to the conflicts existing in the camp of its enemies. It would be naive to expect any decisive action of the proletariat at the present juncture, but it is certain that Machado's overthrow would be immediately followed by sharp struggles among the various sections of the national bourgeoisie and the conflicting imperialist interests.

The Roosevelt administration has not yet determined on a definite course. The conflicting interests of the rival sugar companies are engaged in back-stage arrangements, and in dickering with the State Department and with Cuban politicians both in and out of office. Senator Borah and Hamilton Fish have declared themselves in favor of American intervention under the terms of the Platt Amendment. The recent appointment of Sumner Welles, assistant secretary of state, as the new American ambassador to Cuba, indicates a change in policy on the part of Washington although it gives no clear indication of the course that policy may take in the next few months.

The experiences of Nicaragua and Haiti are too recent to be easily forgotten. They demonstrate the indivisibility—for the imperialists—of intervention, excepting as a very last resort, in Nicaragua, after combatting Sandino unsuccessfully for six years, the U.S. Marines gave way to the more effective policy of diplomacy and dollars. The scandal growing out of the Haiti intervention is no less an argument against the same tactics in Cuba.

Although full legal justification for such action can be found under the Platt Amendment, the responsibility according to the U.S. Government, therefore, would in all likelihood be so onerous as to offset any advantages obtained.

General Menocal and the other bourgeois opposition leaders are all anxious to serve Wall Street and themselves by replacing the methods of Machado's crude dictatorial methods (products of a decadent pseudo-bourgeoisie) with some form of constitutional bourgeois rule, in which the different bourgeois and native capitalist interests can collaborate "democratically." Life however is destined to demonstrate the impracticability of any such arrangement, and in anticipation of its failure, preparations are already being made, strategic positions already being bartered for, whereby the various participants expect to derive advantages for the conflict that will follow Machado's overthrow.

The new reciprocal tariff agreement between the U.S. and Cuba is an attempt to reconcile these contradictions. Any such stabilization however can only be of a passing nature. Cuba being essentially a one crop country, presents an extreme example of economic contradictions which can find no permanent solution under capitalism.

— ROSALIO NEGRETTE

Muste and Brookwood

A Review of A Type of 'American' Centrist

The first conference of the Muste movement took place on May 25, 1933, in New York. It was a call to all progressives and radicals of all shades in the labor movement. This was stated in the *Labor Age* of Feb. 1933, in an editorial called "Challenge to Progressives." The aim of the conference was to bring together all militants into an organization to fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

In point five of this editorial the Mustetes stated: "Fight for the recognition of the principle that a minority opposition in disagreement with what happens to be the official position of the movement, has the right to exist in the movement." It further stated that unless "those who are temporarily in the minority have a chance to function, the unions must inevitably stagnate and die. (*Labor Age*, Feb. 1933).

Nice phrases. But who were the leading "progressives" at the conference? James O'Neil (editor of the *New Leader*), Algernon Lee, J. B. S. Hardman (Salutzky), and others of the same stripe, people who have always fought and helped to destroy every Left wing organization. How could they fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. when they themselves were discredited in their own organizations for their reactionary policies? Only a progressive like Muste knew! However there were a few progressives, who could be counted on the fingers of one hand, who were not organized and had no influence. Some of them left in disgust before the conference had ended.

It is worth mentioning to the readers of the *Militant* that a worker introduced a certain resolution at this conference. I think he was the only progressive worker at the conference. The resolution was that progressives should fight against expansions in their organizations and for the reinstatement of those militants who were expelled by the reactionary trade union officials.

When this resolution came up for discussion J. B. S. Hardman, Algernon Lee, James O'Neil, the leading spirits of the conference, attacked it. O'Neil quoted from the "Third International" and finished his speech by saying that this resolution would bring scabs back into the unions. With this Muste agreed.

In reality, this resolution centered around the statement made in the editorial in the *Labor Age* cited above. To suit the reactionaries, the resolution was amended and crippled. The fake progressives refused to carry out what they themselves had written.

The conference adjourned. The Mustetes named their organization "The Conference for Progressive Labor Action." They began to prove their name immediately. The first act of the chairman of the CPLA, was the ousting of Arthur Calhoun, one of the Left wing teachers, from Brookwood, because he refused to sign what amounted to a yellow dog contract, which committed teachers, in the classroom and outside, to CPLA policies, and thus in effect made Brookwood a part of the fake CPLA organization. It was not enough that Muste had thrown Calhoun out of Brookwood. He conducted a violent campaign against him in the capitalist *N. Y. Times* and blacklisted him as a Communist. (See *N. Y. Times*, June 4-10, 1932). Who can say this was not militant progressive action in a Muste?

In the first year or two the CPLA made no headway. It had no appreciable workers in its ranks and hasn't had any to this day. The organization consists of intellectuals, pacifists, S.P. members and leaders who themselves need leadership. Realizing that the CPLA was a skeleton organization, Muste began to criticize mildly the A.F. of L. and the S.P. bureaucracy, in order to attract the more militant workers. Muste began to cover himself with revolutionary phrases.

The result was that his friends yesterday opened fire upon him and his colleagues. James O'Neil, a member of Muste's National Executive Committee, bitterly attacked the CPLA because of an article written by Sappes, who posed as a "Left" at that time, in the *Labor Age* on racketeering in the A. F. of L. Unions where the S. P. fakers constitute part of the racket machine. Have the Mustetes disciplined O'Neil? Oh no! They are not Communists. They believe in democracy.

Miller and Muste

Here is an example which shows how democratic is the CPLA. In 1931, Bert Miller, once the watch dog of the Stalinist bureaucracy who led the blackjacking of the Trotskyites in 1928, left the Lovestone group with a few others and joined Muste's outfit. Lovestone was too revolutionary for them. The Mustetes refused to admit them until they had signed a statement that they had no connection with the Lovestone or any other political group. These cowardly signed the statement despite the fact that one of the Mustetes took up the fight for them and advised them against it. "The statement was demanded by the revolutionist Muste and the theoretician of the CPLA, J. B. S. Hardman. The ex-Lovestones were so eager to join the Muste "mass" organization that they did not even demand the publication of this statement in the *Labor Age*. Just another illustration of democracy in the Muste organization. . . .

After a few months sojourn in the CPLA Bert Miller, together with Hardman and Lore, persuaded Muste to form a reformist "revolutionary" third political party. In July 1931, the National Committee of the Mustetes decided to transform the CPLA into a political party "suitable to the American scene." To secure a majority at the political discussion on the formation of the new party, Muste brought down a squad from Brookwood to vote for him. Lore said at this meeting that "the German workers would flock by the thousands" into the Muste party. The S. P. members resigned from the CPLA and most of the Lovestone group under the leadership of Benjamin went back to the Lovestone camp. The Muste third revolutionary party died a-borning. Since then Miller and his pal Leitch have also left the Mustetes. The reason given is that the CPLA was too revolutionary for them. Who has remained with Muste? Only those . . . Americanizing "revolutionists" like Hardman, Lore, Budenz and a few scattered assistants.

— S. M. DAVIS

NOTE

The above article was sent in to us by a Left wing militant formerly connected with the CPLA. A second article is to follow next week.

— Ed.

Anti-Nazi Riot

(Continued from Page 1)

workers of all political tendencies—who are against Fascism!" The member of the YFSL, who spoke, said, "that sentiment for the United Front was gathering, if not on all issues, at least against Fascism."

The next demonstration—when Goebbels arrives—must include the masses! Communist party members, YCL members and a handful of socialists, mean nothing if they do not draw in the Trade Unions, etc., in the fight against Fascism. Only such a broad demonstration can bring home to the German workers the solidarity of America's toilers with them.

MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM OF ACTION IN FIGHT TO FREE TOM MOONEY

Adopted at the "Free Tom Mooney Congress" Held in Chicago, April 30-May 2

(Continued from last issue)

The Free Tom Mooney Congress calls upon all organizations of workers to join in setting up the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, composed of representatives of all workers' organizations which now or after the Congress may be drawn into a united struggle for the freedom of Tom Mooney and, as inseparable activities, for a united front for workers' rights and the rights of the Negro people.

Conditions of Affiliations

The conditions for affiliation to this Council of Action shall be:

1. The acceptance of the proposals here outlined;
2. The readiness of each organization to enter actively into mass struggle as a necessary supplement to legal defense and parliamentary activity for workers' rights;
3. The mobilization of local organizations for active participation in local councils of action to be set up throughout the country.

This Congress calls for a nationwide campaign to mobilize the working class in the fight for workers' rights and against all forms of discrimination against Negroes. Particularly this Congress determines to concentrate efforts on

winning the support of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Unions affiliated with it, and of the Socialist Party. It instructs the Council of Action to address itself to and to confer with the leading committees of these organizations in a continuous effort to break down their opposition.

All negotiations with the A.F. of L., the International Unions and Socialist Party should be openly and frankly carried on with the knowledge of the masses. These organizations should be held strictly accountable to the masses for a continued failure to enter into energetic mass struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and for workers' and Negroes' rights.

In view of the urgency of the situation, the Congress calls upon all local unions, all organizations of the unemployed and local branches of the Socialist Party and of other workers' organizations, to affiliate themselves at once with the local Tom Mooney Councils of Action. The need for united action cannot be postponed. The independent action of local unions, Socialist Party branches, etc., can become a powerful force driving

toward our goal of united action.

Mooney Petition

The National Council of Action is also authorized to proceed in co-operation with all organizations which can be brought to co-operate, whether endorsing this Congress or not, with a nation-wide petition for the purpose of obtaining millions of signatures to the demand for the immediate and unconditional pardon of Tom Mooney. Such a petition campaign, accompanying an active mass protest movement, can become a powerful instrument for arousing larger masses of workers in the struggle for Mooney's release and the struggle for workers' and Negro rights.

Local Councils of Action

This Congress calls upon all organizations here represented and upon the individual delegates to

take the lead at once and upon their return home in preparing and carrying on local united front conferences with the broadest possible representation, particularly striving to draw in those organizations like the A.F. of L. and Socialist Party heretofore insufficiently represented.

Mass meetings should be held where reports are made on accomplishments of the Free Tom Mooney Congress as a preparation for forming the local conferences. These conferences should have as their task the setting up of local Tom Mooney Councils of Action and the inauguration of the local united front activity.

The National Tom Mooney Council of Action in co-operation with the various organizations should take the lead in the development of the nation-wide campaign for

the workers' and Negroes' rights—concentrating now on the drive for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

Mooney Day and Another Congress

The National Council of Action upon the basis of the development of a broad mass movement, through reports of returning delegates, local conferences, mass meetings, demonstrations and the petition campaign, will be able at an appropriate time to set a national and international Mooney Day of struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. This will also become a rallying point in the whole struggle for Mooney's release. It should resist energetically any tendency to diminish the growing mass movement by merely formally setting a "Mooney Day."

The Congress authorizes the

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Letters from Germany Reveal Truth on Conditions in Labor Ranks

The letters published below and hailing directly from different parts of terror-stricken, Fascist Germany, paint, in many instances, a black picture of the conditions of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard. This is a bitter pill for revolutionists to swallow, particularly those who have been fed on Stalinist polyanthra. But it is our policy to speak out what is, to tell the truth to the working class and especially the Communists. It is precisely these illusions, and these false painted pictures, at which the Stalinist apparatus has been so adept, that led the German proletariat to catastrophe.

We quote a short report from No. 10 of the *Impreccor*, ("Hundschau") to indicate how even after the catastrophe the bureaucrats continue their work of deception and falsehood.

"Many small section groups in practically all of agrarian Pomerania have been arrested down to the last man; despite that, the work will be carried on."

Who will carry on the work? The Storm Troopers?

"... The entire local group was arrested in Trebin... but the Communist local group will continue the work." (?)

No, our letters don't read that way. Much that is in them sounds harsh, but only upon the truth will we build our future strength.

—Ed.

Letters from the Rhine and Ruhr Letter from comrade W. in S.

The party is smashed here. Most of the units—at least 95 percent—do not meet any more. Many of the units no longer pay dues. There is no connection with "above." Since January 30, the Central and Western parts of the city have issued one leaflet (on the

elections) and one handbill. Almost the entire district and section leadership has been arrested. (The entire leadership of the Central part of the city has been arrested.) On the 29th of March a transport of 60 to 65 and on March 30, one of 15-20 men. In the last two days, new arrests of some 40 men, mostly members of sport organizations, took place.

The desertion to the Nazi camp is very great here. I personally know more than twelve men today in the Nazi party who were former functionaries in the Party, the ("Red Front Fighters") Organization, etc. Among those is the former sub-district leader of the Young Red Fighters League. Resignations from the party are on the order of the day. Not only simple members but functionaries also are turning their backs to the party.

The arrested men are often used to scrape off the (illegal) placards. Those who refuse are tortured and deported. According to the information of a prisoner, their number has grown to 15 Communists and 6 social democrats. The police have also ordered certain known Communists and social democrats, still at large, to present themselves from time to time to scrape off the placards. Failure to do so this means arrest. The number of those who have refused is very small.

We are trying to make contacts with party comrades, so as to meet and discuss with them. The party comrades are quite amenable to our criticism. If we had the literature we could reach very many of them, particularly because the party neither informs nor maintains any connections with its members any longer. Now is the best time to encounter the party with our "ideological offensive" (a la Stalin and Co., only not in the Stalinist manner).

So much for today.

With the best greetings.

—W.

Letter from R. About Our Work

All the party comrades are very sympathetic to our cause. They come to us for advice as the party offers them absolutely nothing. We are issuing an information bulletin for party members, in which we analyze the present situation, give the reasons for the defections in the working class, show the mistakes of the party and trace the correct line for further work. Up till now we have not met with any resistance. All the functionaries are in jail.

At the present time the workers will not follow putschist slogans. They are all beginning to have an international outlook. They comment on the failure of the Comintern.

Here is a description of the situation after the burning of the Reichstag: While no one thought of resistance in Berlin, the workers here formed self-defense corps were arrested in the last few days, night and awaited the slogan: Insurrection! Everything or nothing! (The party education had led to that.) On the Sunday of the elections a long street battle took place between the Communists and the Storm Troops plus the police—with machine guns, armored cars, etc. (No paper reported this, many fled.)

With best greetings,

P. K.

Letter of Comrade Herta from S.

The worst are the deserters. They betray everyone. A crowd of us were arrested in the last few days through the denunciations of former Communists. There are 400 auxiliary police, who are schooled

Hail Red Flag!

The first number of the monthly organ of the British Left Opposition—*Red Flag*—has just appeared. We extend to our brother organ across the seas our warmest fraternal greetings and hope that it will succeed in becoming a powerful factor in clearing the road, uprooting Labour Party treachery, I.L.P. vacillations and Stalinist sectarianism toward the revolutionary victory of the proletariat in the homeland of the oldest of the imperialist powers.

In the use of machine guns, etc., in our city (400,000 inhabitants). The prisoners are now taken not only to concentration and "forced labor" camps but also to convict prison. Preventive arrests in the convict prison! We even know of a disabled war veteran who was dragged into a convict prison.

The S. D. P. has a miserable attitude. They allow themselves to be beaten and lick the butchers' hand. In many cities the S. D. municipal councillors vote to have Hitler and Goebbels named honorary citizens. That, however, does not hinder the Storm Troops from throwing these self-same municipal councillors into "protective" arrest.

In a near-by town the fraction leader of the N. S. D. A. P. (Nazis) declared that the municipal council-

lors were only a yo-yo Society with limited assets who had merely to raise their hand for all the decisions of the N. S. D. A. P.

There was a provocateur in the R. F. B. (Red Front League). I am giving you his name and you must warn against him in your bulletins. He is a certain D. who has already served 5 years in prison for theft and forgery. Up till now more than 50 comrades have been arrested and frightfully tortured because of his denunciations.

The agit-prop functionary from the central part of the city has been exposed as a spy and will now openly go over to the Nazis.

Now, on the state of mind of the petty bourgeoisie. The small shopkeepers complain about the cancelled orders following the anti-Jewish policy. The people say that they should not have acted thus against the Jews, they should not have closed their establishments. "The Jews are really not so terrible; the Jewish enterprises do not deceive the small shopkeepers as much as some Gentiles." This is the language of a section of small merchants who name a batch of German firms that have deceived them, up till now, they were never deceived by a Jew. They also say that healthy criticism of the deeds of the government should be allowed under all circumstances because the absence of healthy criticism is a sign of weakness! Besides this they all wish the pensions to be increased, the hunger decrees abolished and work given to the unemployed. If the working class constituted a strong subjective factor, everything would not yet be lost.

Left Opposition Overcomes Obstacle Strengthens Organization in China

Peiping, China.

Since our last letter, although there was not any broad mass movement in China, yet important things have been going on within the party and the Left Opposition. There has been a continuous capitulation of party members—especially responsible officers—to the enemy, the Kuomintang, of late.

Many central committee members of the C. P. and Y. C. L., i.e., renegades—publicly issue their "manifestos" telling "countrymen" to wake up before the ruinous Communist Party of China.

Really, the party has no political program for the present and no action expressed for the present! The fantasy of establishing revolutionary power first within one or several provinces thru the peasants has been crushed openly, by and by, supply due to the continuous failures of the "plan of encircling and taking control by peasants" strength of Wuhan, Nanchang, etc.

But some excellent elements of the party have joined us or are in the major part agreeing with our view. Some have struggled with the party on questions of the establishment of "Anti-Imperialist League" running parallel with the party or Y.C.L. on the one hand, and the Anti-Japanese Mass Conventions on the other, the putchism of establishing "Soviets" in Kiao-Yan and Y-Choa (districts in northern China), etc. Some have already recognized the correctness of the third Chinese Revolution.

Some of the elements still remain in the party apparatus for our purposes, and take responsible work. We think that if they, as is generally the case, openly declare themselves to be Left Oppositionists, they are sure to be expelled and to lose their functions within the party. This is the reason why we do it in that way at present (for some comrades only).

As to the Left Opposition, both in the South and in the North, the situation is just contrary to what the Chinese "Fascist Group" (Blue Shirts) called "complete collapse of the C. P. Opposition at China." We are growing, though slowly. The arrest of comrade Chen-Du-Shin, (though a great loss, on the other hand, objectively gives us chances to make propaganda in the country and among the masses!

Comrade Chen and several active members of the L. O. had made a "fast protest" (hunger strike) against the mistreatment in the prison and the postponement of the "public court judgement." Now, the judgment time will come soon. Comrade Chen has written a "legal thesis" defending himself from the K. M. T. accusation that he "endangers the republic of China."

The Shanghai comrades are working under a "temporary committee." This committee, together with some comrades from North China, is preparing for a National Congress of the L. O. of China.

In our branch, the Shantung Convention of the representatives coming from the various districts of Shantung, was convened in January 1933. The L. O. Convention of North China met on March 6 to 9. Important decisions were made, members felt more armed with new inspiration. Nearly everybody among us is turning his activities toward the workers.

We are concentrating our work in three important movements: The German Revolution, the Anti-Japanese Imperialism movement, and the national assembly question which was "hotly" brought out by the bourgeoisie recently. A special number devoted to the German Revolution and anti-Fascist movement was published by the "The Vanguard" (organ of the Chinese Opposition).

—P. Secretary

Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle

(continued from the last issue)

The "Hitler-Trotskyist" United Front and the C. I. March 5th Proclamation

But Heckert is attacking a platform invented by himself and only attributed to Trotsky underneath, when he says that not even (!) a Weiss proposed such a treacherous platform to the C. P. G. I. No, but the Socialist and Labor International proposed to the C. I. on February 14 a "non-aggression pact" and the same B. C. C. I. which unanimously endorsed Heckert's report, in its reply of March 5 considered it "possible to recommend to the Communist parties, to refrain during the time of the common struggle against capitalism, from attacks against the social democratic organizations." The C. I. is therefore prepared to renounce criticism of the policy of the S. P. which in its own words, has led to Fascism. This readiness goes even far beyond the platform invented by Heckert and ascribed to Trotsky and then again attacked by Heckert as "Hitler-Trotskyist," "the spineless bureaucracy winces under the blows of a period which it does not understand. At that, it has an ineradicable opponent in revolutionary Marxism which makes it foam at the mouth."

Fascism has triumphed, the policy of the C. P. G. was correct. Trotsky has criticized this correct policy (which led to the victory of Fascism) and showed how the victory of Fascism could have been prevented, the workers' organizations maintained, how this struggle could have been led directly up to the proletarian dictatorship. This is what the "socialist-Hitlerite" Trotsky did with his "Hitler-Trotskyist" platform, in execution of a "social assignment from Hitler" as the latter's "auxiliary."

The Marxist revolutionary Heckert, on the other hand, maintains that the defense of the mass trade unions on the basis of a united front with the social democrats would have been a deviation from Marx and Lenin and would have meant going over to Hindenburg. Marx and Engels recommended—according to Heckert—that the trade unions be delivered to Fascism, while Hindenburg demanded the united front of the Communists with the social democracy for their defense! The Stalinists are proud that they have stuck to "Marx and Lenin..."

One sentence in Heckert's article forces us to beat the alarm. Heckert says:

"The present Fascistization of the German social democracy is no accidental interlude, but the road which all social democratic parties will go under similar conditions to those in Germany."

This is frightful! The Stalinists already today consider Austria, France, England as lost to Fascism! They have learned nothing from the German events! They have no desire, despite their manifesto of March 5, to take the path of the consistent Leninist united front tactic! They do not want to put the social democratic leaders under the pressure of the proletariat with this tactic and so to force them at least to enter into the struggle against Fascism! They do not want to prove to the backward masses in daily practice that it is necessary to break with the reformists if a determined struggle is to be con-

The Stalinist Hypocrites Answer the Roll Call

deducted against Fascism. No, they consider the "Fascistization of the social democracy" as inevitable. That means that they consider Fascism as inevitable. That means standing by passively while Europe falls into social decay!

In order to prove that the policy of the C. P. G. was correct, that it did not, in contradiction to 1923, rob the proletariat more and more of all ability to act, Heckert is forced to resort to an arsenal of conscience-lies and to the incense of self-deception. The political system of the Stalinists, built upon lies, has collapsed in Germany. From this they draw the conclusion that it is necessary to lie still more profusely and shamelessly in order to conceal their bankruptcy.

Today the situation is such in Germany, that the workers do not dare to speak aloud in the streets. They do not dare to gather in groups of more than three in their homes. Heckert, however, lies to the international working class, saying that the workers at the A.R.G. (General Electric) have driven the Nazis from the factory and that the same thing is happening in ever so many other cities.

It is furthermore an indisputable fact that up to the last moment the party was blind to the danger of Fascism. So, for instance, a comrade Schwarz wrote in the *Communist International* (German edition) of January 10, 1933 (p. 19):

"The 11th plenum of the ECCI put an end to the artificially constructed principal contradiction between the bourgeois democracy and Fascist dictatorship, and by that means gave the Communist parties important assistance in the struggle against Fascism. The 12th plenum showed that so-called 'classical' Fascism did not and could not exist and that all the theories deduced from the history of Italian Fascism concerning the working class were bloodless abstractions."

Was the Party Prepared?

And Heckert lies when he says that the German Communist Party forewarned against the coming Fascist danger! According to Heckert, the C.P.G. was not surprised by Hitler's seizure of power. The party, whose innumerable functionaries were stuck into jail in short order, whose apparatus was annihilated in the course of several days, was not surprised!

No, according to Heckert, it had just begun, freely, "with its own forces," to organize some 300 strikes. Fortunately, he becomes somewhat more concrete in this instance and permits us to probe into these 300 strikes, of which 297 belong to the realm of imagination.

Heckert cites the strikes in Stassfurt, Harburg and Lubeck. What happened in Stassfurt? A one-hour protest strike against the shooting of the social democratic mayor, Kasten. The workers were aroused and decided to resist, but the reformists succeeded in stifling the militant sentiment in a pale demonstrative strike. According to Heckert, it was the C.P.G.'s "own forces" that organized the strike. In reality it was the impotence of the C.P.G. which prevented the transformation of this strike into

a manifestation of power. In Luebeck, the social democratic Reichstag deputy Dr. Leber was arrested. It resulted in a general strike lasting several hours. Here too, the Communists, thanks to the conscienceless, bureaucratic policy of the Stalinists in the last 10 years, were unable to exert any influence.

What happened on occasions when Communists were attacked? What happened at the massacre in Elsen? There, where the real forces of the Stalinists were showed up in full size? Not a spark of organized resistance! What happened at the provocative parade of the Brown Shirts before the Karl Liebknecht House, and at the street battle in Altona? Where did the party succeed in organizing a sizable strike of political significance? Lies, nothing but lies...

According to Heckert, the party did not restrict itself to organizing the united front "from below." We will restrict ourselves to once more quote from the literature of Stalinists.

"It is clear that no united front can be made with these people (social Fascists). It is clear that our dispute with social Fascism... will not be settled at one negotiation table, but on the battlefields of the final struggle and before the revolutionary tribunals of the German Soviet republic. And that holds, of course, for the little social Fascist factory councillor... just as well as for his bigger brothers Zoergel, Severing, etc." (Communist provincial press, quoted in Hermann Remmele's article "Mark Time" (Schrifttafel), *Communist International* (German edition), March 1-15, 1930.)

"Herr Trotsky and similar 'counsellors' of the proletariat want to propose to the working class such a policy as would separate the struggle of the revolutionary party against Fascism from that against social Fascism and oppose them to each other. According to this recipe, the C.P.G. should give up the struggle against social democracy today and make a bloc with the party of Hindenburg-socialism, with 'Noske and Grezesinsky,' (Thelmann, *Communist International* (German edition), June 1932, page 253).

"Whoever demands today a bloc of the C.P. with the social democratic party helps the social Fascist leaders in the preparation and execution of their betrayal. Their role, like that of the social Fascist leaders, is an immediate Fascist role." (Muenzenberg, *Roter Aufbau*, Feb. 16, 1932).

A Few Things to Explain

Heckert appears to be unacquainted with his own literature. He only knows that the party several times flew into a frenzy and then quickly, on such a "theoretical basis," proceeded to make united front proposals. After that, when the party looked itself over and noticed that not all of its bones had been broken it once again fell into the old rut. It carried on like this until its bones were actually crushed.

If the party clearly pointed out the danger of Fascism and pursued a consistent united front policy then quickly, on such a "theoretical basis," proceeded to make united front proposals. After that, when the party looked itself over and noticed that not all of its bones had been broken it once again fell into the old rut. It carried on like this until its bones were actually crushed.

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With the "Left" Socialists -- from the Top?

The Communist International recently initiated and participated in an international united front against Fascism that even the Stalinist press is silent about. According to the *New Leader*, (April 28, '33), official organ of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain an unofficial (!) conference of Left Socialists and Communists was held in Paris on April 25. It was initiated by none other than Henri Barbusse. Socialists from France, Britain and Belgium and Italy were present as well as Communists from these countries (except Italy), as well as from Germany, Czechoslovakia and the United States.

The Left Socialists at the Conference proposed that efforts should be made for a meeting of the Executive Committees of the Labour and Socialist International and the Comintern to consider ways and means of combating Fascism. This the Stalinists rejected. The latter agreed to collaboration between the Left Socialists and the Communists and urged the support of the European Anti-Fascist Conference and the Youth Conference against War and Fascism to be held in Paris on August 5th. (No notice has appeared in the American or international press of the Comintern on the latter Conference!) The Left Socialists agreed to support these conferences on the condition that they were officially invited and permitted to participate in their organization. This was agreed upon.

The Comintern which had rejected a united front against Fascism with the Labour and Socialist International, even refused to openly initiate a conference with the International Committee of the Left Socialist Parties. It again resorted to the back-handed policy of having Henri Barbusse "personally" arrange for such a meeting. Another sign of the much acclaimed independence of the Communist International!

Only a few days after this Conference which, we repeat, was conducted behind the backs and without the knowledge of the Communist and revolutionary workers, the Comintern issued its May Day Manifesto. Therein we read:

"Now we need the united front from below, not negotiations with the top leaders, with Wells and Renauld. For the leaders of the Second International, negotiations of the officials on top are merely a method of delaying, hindering and disrupting the united front of the working class."

United front with the Vander-

velde, Adlers and Renaulds before the eyes of the socialist and communist workers—no! United front with the Brockways, Patons and Maxtons behind the backs of the workers, independent of the masses who follow them—certainly! This is the queer logic of Stalinism brought down to its latest phase.

—JOSEPH CARTER

Some of the elements still remain in the party apparatus for our purposes, and take responsible work. We think that if they, as is generally the case, openly declare themselves to be Left Oppositionists, they are sure to be expelled and to lose their functions within the party. This is the reason why we do it in that way at present (for some comrades only).

The factory councils are now compelled to beat a hasty retreat, in many places already passing into oblivion set aside by the Fascists; nothing else could be expected when the reformists are left in practically undisputed control. Here again they admonished the workers to remain neutral politically and not to fight. "Do not let yourselves be irritated, your rights and your duties and guarded by the constitution and by the factory council law," so said the Hamburg trade union leaders. And this at the very moment when the councils are brutally dissolved or reorganized, by the method of the worker elected representatives being jailed and tortured and replaced by Fascists. No, those who sat safely so far behind were not irritated, only frightened and paralysed. But even the reorganizations are only temporary measures. Not even Nazi councils, so close to the rank and file workers, where class ideology may again penetrate, can be tolerated. That the Fascist dictatorship is in deadly earnest about their attempt to destroy all working class organizations one need not doubt for a moment.

The Fascists and the Trade Unions

lacks who are much more alarmed about the rank and file action than by the Nazi attacks and prefer to sell-out to the latter.

Their answer is leaders, in which they plead with the workers to stay at home and not to resist. "Congregating at the headquarters," said the Berlin leadership, "will be taken advantage by the Communists. What do they seek at our headquarters?" And the sad truth is that to the bulk of the membership the Communists have appeared as the disorganizers of the movement.

Thus the road is cleared for the Nazis. They pursue their destruction so far unhampered. Perhaps the clearest indication of how they proceed by stages to destroy the present union basis and to transfer the unions into pure organs of the Fascist state is given by the Bavarian government appointed by police commissioner von Epp. Its first act was the trade union decree in which the unions are ordered to "resume their functions," but on the following conditions:

They are to make no direct or indirect attempts toward contact with the prohibited political organizations, their late leaders or their members.

Their headquarters will remain occupied by the police whenever the authorities and such necessary.

All political activities are prohibited, the unions are not to hold any public meetings and regular membership meetings to be held only upon notification given to the police.

At any time the actions or decisions of the unions, including their finances, are subject to inspection by the Nazi established shop nuclei.

The Fatal Policy of the R.G.O.

In this work of destruction, the Nazis are proceeding quite unhampered as far as the militant minority is concerned. It is practically entirely outside of the trade unions, not merely by persecution or default but by deliberate and particularly now proven—false policy.

That is the Stalinist policy of independent "revolutionary" unions. As in the United States the T.U.U.L. so in Germany the R.G.O. only in the latter case it proved much more fatally and much more criminally wrong, due to the more advanced political conditions and due to the larger scale of the splits and of the isolation of the party from the masses. Otherwise the characteristics are common to both of these products of the "third period" era.

Trade unions to be effective must embrace all workers of the industries or at least a sufficiently decisive section. That will include workers of varying political opinions. The R.G.O., a rival union, based upon withdrawal of the revolutionary minority and based upon acceptance in advance of party policies and leadership, remained a paper organization playing no serious role at all in the class struggle. Its membership was composed only of Communists and only a very small section of the Communists at that. The R.G.O. could, therefore, not at all serve to connect the party with the masses, but on the contrary detached it and created a wall of separation.

The basic aim of the revolution-

ary party is to gain influence upon the working masses and particularly those organized in the trade unions. The R.G.O. became, precisely the most formidable obstacle to this basic aim. Numerically feeble, it could of course not at all substitute for the mass unions. It was unable to even influence them because it was distinctly a rival organization.

The R.G.O. could naturally not remain immune from the typical Stalinist bureaucratic methods either. One party member relates how in the early part of this year the whole Berlin R.G.O. leadership was removed and a new one appointed in its place without the slightest explanation made to the membership.

A fatal injury to the movement is the record of this R.G.O. policy. Its consequence contributed heavily to the party's impotence in face of the Nazi advance, to its being wiped out without a struggle and to the defeat of the working class as a whole. Long ago the Left Opposition demanded a change in this course and as, the only correct one, for the R.G.O. to immediately return to the trade unions in order to take up the Left wing activities within them.

That is still, despite all the positions lost, an imperative necessity. It does not diminish with the transformation of the trade unions into organs of the Fascist state. On the contrary, it increases in importance. So long as they represent a form of organization gathering workers within their ranks, they constitute a field for revolutionists to work in and to learn how to be able to do the work, skillfully, carefully—well planned and courageously executed. To fight every inch for the existence and functioning of the trade unions, to fight for existence and functioning of the factory councils, helping to give expression within them to the working class needs and connecting up therewith the democratic demands which inevitably must arise—that is the job at present. Now that Fascism is in power, it is an especial necessity to utilize every means available for flank attacks until the proletariat can again gather its forces. That the workers will respond heroically, has already been shown even in these difficult days by local strikes and demonstrations against arrests and against attacks upon the factory councils.

But the Stalinist party and Comintern leaders have not changed their course in regard to the R.G.O. It was commissioned to initiate the anti-Fascist congress scheduled to be held in Prague but prohibited by the Czechoslovakian government. Naturally, it is to be assumed that efforts will be made to hold the congress in some other country. But no matter where it will be, when initiated by the R.G.O. it cannot even mark a serious response to this gathering, not to speak of initiating subsequent actions. As far as a genuinely united working class action against Fascism is concerned, this congress called by the R.G.O. is condemned in advance to sterility and impotence.

— ARNE SWABECK

(Continued in next issue)

Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from page 1)

The problem will become more concrete when we take into consideration the basic changes in the class structure for the period of the revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat as an organization for the suppression of exploiters was necessary against landlords, capitalists, generals and kulaks insofar as they gave support to the higher possessing strata. Exploiters cannot be drawn to the side of socialism. Their resistance had to be broken, no matter at what cost. The years of civil war marked the greatest exercise of the power of the dictatorship by the proletariat.

With regard to the peasantry as a whole the task was and is an entirely different one. The peasantry must be drawn to the side of the socialist regime. We must prove to the peasant in practice that the government industry is capable of supplying him with goods on much more advantageous conditions than under capitalism and that collective farming is more advantageous than individual farming. Until this economic and cultural task is solved and we are very far from it, especially as it is solvable only on an international scale—class frictions are inevitable and consequently—also state coercion. But if in the struggle against landlords and capitalists revolutionary violence served as the basic method, in relation to the kulaks the problem was a different one; while crushing unmercifully the outright counter-revolutionary resistance of the kulaks, the state was ready to compromise with them on the economic field. It did not "dekulakize" the kulak but merely limited his exploiting tendencies. With regard to the peasantry as a whole revolutionary violence should have played only an auxiliary and what is more an ever diminishing role. The practical success of industrialization and collectivization should have expressed themselves in the moderation of the forms and methods of state coercion, in the growing democratization of the Soviet regime.

2. Political Regime of the Dictatorship and its Social Foundations

On January 30, 1933, Pravda wrote: "the second five-year plan will liquidate the last remnants of capitalist elements in our economic life." It is clearly evident that from the standpoint of this official perspective the state should have withered away completely during the second five-year plan, since where the "last remnants" (!) of class inequality are liquidated, there is no room for the state.

In reality however we witness processes of a diametrically opposite character. The Stalinists do not dare to assert that the dictatorship of the proletariat has assumed more democratic forms in recent years, but on the contrary, try tirelessly to prove the inevitability of a further sharpening of state coercion. Reality itself, however, is more important than all the perspectives and prognoses.

If we should estimate Soviet reality through the lens of the political regime—such an estimate, although insufficient, is absolutely justifiable and extremely important—we should get not only a gloomy picture but an outright ominous one. The Soviets have lost the last remnants of independent significance and ceased being Soviets. The party does not exist. Under the cover of the struggle with the right deviation, the trade-unions are completely crushed. The problem of the degeneration and stifling of the party and the Soviets has been discussed many times. Here we find it necessary to take up in a few lines the fate of the trade-union organizations during the period of the Soviet dictatorship.

The relative independence of the trade-unions is a necessary and important corrective in the system of the Soviet state which finds itself under the pressure of the peasantry and bureaucracy. Until the classes are liquidated, the workers must defend themselves, even in a workers' state, through their trade-union organizations. In other words: the trade-unions remain trade-unions while the state remains a state, that is, an instrument of coercion. The "stifling" of the trade-unions can only go parallel with the "destatization" of the state itself. This means: to the extent that the liquidation of classes deprives the state of its functions of coercion, dissolving it in society, the trade-unions lose their special class tasks and dissolve themselves in the "withering away" state.

This dialectic of the dictatorship, imprinted in the program of the Bolshevik party, is recognized in words also by the Stalinists. But the actual relations between the trade-unions and the state develop in a diametrically opposite direction. The state not only does not wither away (despite the heralded liquidation of classes), not only does not moderate its methods (despite the economic successes), but on the contrary becomes ever more openly the instrument of bureaucratic coercion. At the same time, the trade-unions transformed into offices of functionaries, have completely lost the possibility of fulfilling the role of buffers between the state apparatus and the proletarian masses. Worse than that: the apparatus of the trade-unions themselves has become the weapon of an ever-growing pressure on the workers.

The preliminary conclusion from the above is that the evolution of the Soviets, the party and trade-unions does not follow an ascending

(Degeneration of Theory; Theory of Degeneration)

but a descending curve, if we were to accept on faith the official estimate of industrialization and collectivization, we would have to admit that the political superstructure of the proletarian regime is developing in a diametrically opposite direction to the development of its economic basis. Does it mean that the laws of Marxism are false? No, but the official estimate of the social foundations of the dictatorship is false and false to the core.

The problem can be formulated more concretely in this fashion: why was it possible during the years of 1917-1921, when the old possessing classes still fought with weapons in hand, when they were actively supported by the interventionists of the whole world, when the armed kulaks sabotaged the army and the provisioning of the country—why was it possible then to discuss openly in the party the

sharp questions of the First-Trotsky peace, the methods of the organization of the Red Army, the composition of the Central Committee, the trade-unions, the transition to the N.R.P., national policy and the policy of the Comintern? Why is it impossible now, after the ceasing of intervention, after the successes of industrialization, after the collectivization of the peasantry—to allow discussion of the triumphs of industrialization and collectivization, of the co-relation between heavy and light industry, or of the policy of a united front in Germany? Why would any member of the party who demanded the calling of the next congress of the party in accordance with its constitution, be immediately expelled and subjected to persecutions? Why would any Communist who openly expressed doubt as to the infallibility of Stalin be immediately arrested? Where does such a terrible, monstrous, unbearable exercise of the political regime come from?

Statement of N.C. of National Federation of the Unemployed

(Continued from Page 2)

which went on record favoring this principle for the Federation. Three national organizations, two others in the process of forming national organizations, state organizations, sectional organizations and city organizations were present, representing 45 organizations, with 826 branches from 16 states and 28 cities from all parts of the United States.

After three long days of discussion on the problems of the unemployed, the conference adopted the following outstanding proposals:

1. The establishment of a National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues with city, county, sectional and state federations to coordinate them into one national organization. These organizations to retain their organizational independence, but to coordinate their organizations, through the Federation, in struggle against unemployment upon the basis of the immediate demands confronting our class.

2. The conference went on record favoring the establishment of the closest relationship with the R.M.P.L.O. through their trade unions, industrial unions, and all other working class organizations.

3. The conference went on record favoring the perspective of the establishment of one national unemployed organization, in which there would be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political beliefs.

4. The conference adopted its position on united action of the unemployed workers and defined it as: the united action of organizations, around immediate demands, in struggle where each organization retains its organizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other, with the right of minority expression and political criticism; where no organization of the unemployed will be excluded and where continued effort will be made to draw in any organization that does not unite in action for our immediate demands.

The conference ended by electing a national committee of 15, with headquarters in Chicago, that is instructed to carry out the program, policy, resolutions and constitution adopted by an overwhelming ma-

jority of the delegates. After the amendments were adopted or defeated the reports of the different committees were adopted with the exception of the report of the constitution committee which was adopted by a vote of 75 to 15.

The following are the officers elected, with the vacancies for additional representatives from organizations:

Chairman, Tom Dixon—Workers Leagues.
Vice-Chairman, Cass—Unemployed Councils.
Treasurer, Statman—Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions.
Secretary, Leach—Workers Comm.
D. Harrington—United Producers of Washington.
V. Dwyer—Peoples Council of Bellingham.
Lamson—Unemployed Councils.
Zimmerman—Workers Leagues.
Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie.
Truax—East Ohio Unemployed Unions.
Lowe—S.F. Mo. Unemployed Leagues.
Welsh—Association of Unemployed, N.Y.
Matlock—Workers Leagues.
Conners—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Association.

The national committee is compiling and is sending out the convention proceedings and decisions to all organizations that had delegates at the Chicago conference and to all other unemployed organizations in the United States. The return delegates will make their reports and will proceed to unite the unemployed organizations into city, county, sectional and state federations, especially endeavoring to bring into this united action those organizations that were not able to send delegates to the conference. The conference received letters of support from unemployed organizations from all parts of the United States that were unable to send delegates but gave the conference their full support and wished it success. We hope these organizations will be among the first to help in the formation, and support its program in action, which in no way infringes upon the identity or autonomy of the subscribing organizations.

(Signed)
Tom Dixon, Chairman
Leach, Secretary

Reference to outside danger from capitalist governments does not in itself explain everything. We do not wish of course to underestimate the significance of capitalist encirclement for the inner regime of the Soviet Republic; the very necessity of keeping up a powerful army is a great source of bureaucraticism. However, hostile encirclement is not a new factor, it accompanies the Soviet Republic from the first days of its existence. Under healthy conditions within the country, the pressure of imperialism would have only strengthened the solidarity of the masses, especially the working class, and the penetration of foreign agents, such as saboteurs, engineers, etc., in no case justifies or explains the general intensification of the methods of coercion. A social committee of common interests should be able to eject the hostile elements with greater ease, as a healthy body ejects poisons.

An attempt might be made to show that the external pressure has grown and the co-relation of forces on the world scale has changed to the advantage of imperialism. Leaving aside the question of policy of the Comintern as one of the causes for the weakening of the world proletariat, the incontrovertible fact remains that the intensification of pressure from outside can lead to the bureaucratization of the Soviet system only to the extent that it is coupled with the growth of inner contradictions. Under conditions in which the workers must be squeezed between the vise of the passport system and the peasantry between the vise of political departments, the pressure from without must inevitably weaken the inner ties ever more. And vice-versa, the growth of contradictions between town and country must inevitably sharpen the danger from the outside capitalist governments. The combination of these two factors pushes the bureaucracy along the road of ever greater concessions to the external pressure and ever greater repressions against the working masses of their own country.

— L. TROTSKY
(To be continued)

SUB DRIVE

Since our last report 41 more subs have come in. As we approach the deadline of June 1 when the drive closes the volume of subs and the tempo are increasing. It is a hot race. Last week comrade Capelis was in a tie with comrade Caplan of Kansas City for the three volumes of "The History of the Russian Revolution," by Comrade Trotsky, which goes to the winner. This week comrade Caplan is so far ahead as to make it almost a sure thing for him. And comrade Dunne has shot up to second place. Not so far behind is comrade Kotz from our Newark branch.

This is how they did it. Comrade Caplan rung up a mere 16 to add to his former score; comrade Dunne added 18 and comrade Kotz 5. It shows what can be done—this drive does. It's the best one we've ever had. And don't overlook the single subs. We don't list them here this week for lack of space, but there are no less than twenty of them.

Here is the list:
A. Caplan, Kansas City. 22
V. Dunne, Minneapolis. 12
G. Kotz, Newark. 7
H. Capelis, N. Y. City. 7
J. Ruby, Chicago. 5
H. Oehler, Chicago. 5
W. Konikow, Boston. 3
K. Chapko, Bethlehem. 3
D. Marcus, N. Y. City. 2
A. Friend, Lynn, Mass. 2
M. Morris, N. Y. City. 2
G. Fathin, Chicago. 2
A. G., Chicago. 2

Fight Roosevelt Program

(Continued from Page 1)
Communists must expose these maneuvers, place in the foreground the independent demands of the working class, and build the organizational machinery for enforcing these demands which is possible only on the basis of the Leninist united front of all working-class organizations.

The demand for higher wages and higher unemployment relief to meet the rising prices and the threat of inflation must be backed up by concrete proposals for a national movement in which representatives of the workers will determine on the basis of national and local considerations the minimum wage and relief increases which are acceptable.

Even such slight signs of economic recovery as are now visible (steel production up to 38 percent of capacity, the highest in two years; employment in New York State in April up 1.6 percent in March, and payrolls because of longer hours, up 4.5 percent) amply warrant a nation-wide effort for genuine unemployment insurance to be administered by the workers, as an immediate demand. The increased profits which would follow any kind of improvement, even if limited and temporary, must be immediately claimed by the workers on whose backs the burdens of the crisis have been piled.

The recognition of the Soviet Union and long-term credits to the Soviet Union must not be left to be decided on the basis of their opportunity for profits but must be posed as an immediate working-class demand which ties up immediate interests of the American workers with economic collaboration in socialist construction in the Soviet Union.
— B. J. FIELD

Discussion on Tasks in Germany

A broad discussion is in process on the tasks posed by the seizure of power by Fascism in Germany and the new situation created thereby. The central point of the discussion revolves around the question: Are conditions ripe for the establishment of a new German Communist party? Comrade Trotsky posed this question forcefully in his article: "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat" and in his polemic "The Collapse of the C.P.G. and the Tasks of the Left Opposition" both of which have already appeared in the Militant. In the present issue we are publishing a draft resolution adopted by the Reichsleitung (National Committee) of the German section on this question. Other documents and discussion articles which have already appeared in *Unser Wort* and other organs of the International Left Opposition are soon to follow.

Resolution
I.
Our old perspective on the reform

Resolution of the N.C. of the German Opposition

of the C.P.G. has lost its validity in view of the failure and the debacle of the C.P.G. Reform is rendered impossible politically due to the depth and consequences of the mistakes committed and due to the defeat—organizationally, because of illegality. These elements which will cut loose decisively from reformism (social democracy) at present will not go to the old C.P.G. The organizational possibility which permitted the C.P.G. to survive for years its organizational decline cannot have its repercussion in an illegal party. Only a new political content could have forestalled its disintegration.

Two circumstances are at present working against rapid disintegration of the C.P.G. First, the material and ideological support furnished by the existence of the U.S.S.R. Secondly, the fact that while the results of the policy of

the C.P., contrary to the social democracy of 1914, has gone into bankruptcy (objective treachery) but has not landed on the other side of the barricades; whereas the S.P.G. openly betrayed after 1914 and went over to the enemy. This is a fact which has its repercussions in the minds of the masses. In this sense, the designation of a new "August 4" is incorrect.

11.
Although developments point to the line towards a new party, this slogan would be premature and false, as the National Conference has already affirmed. The principle obstacle today lies in the mentality of the masses which is as yet insufficiently awakened. Before the slogan of a new party is put forward it is necessary that the mentality of the masses must go through a longer process. Between the bankruptcy of the 11. International and the proclamation of the 11. International there was also an extended period, although in that case the question was not complicated by factors such as those enumerated in point 11. When it is a matter of putting forward a slogan, we should take into consideration what we have often said in the ultra-left leadership of the party in the last few years. It is not a matter of putting forward slogans which are generally correct, for the history books so to speak. This is what the C.P.G. did with the general strike in a classic fashion during the last few years, depriving this slogan, which is correct in itself, of all effectiveness. This can be done only when the corresponding subjective and objective conditions are given and when, on the basis of these slogans, men can be rallied around our objectives.

The psychological and organizational provisions for a new party are so lacking in Germany today that the presentation of the slogan for a Second Party will not only accelerate the regrouping but rather impede it. The altogether un-concrete call to the vanguard to constitute a new party will fall on deaf ears entirely.

12.
The principal task of the Left Opposition consists today in promoting itself for the collection of material that will make possible the construction of a new party on the ruins of the two old parties; for the formation of cadres on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the past. The principal source for these cadres remains the C.P., as comrade Gourov has himself affirmed. The second: the social democratic party.

To issue the slogan for a Second Party today, when these cadres have not as yet become crystallized, neither in the C.P.G. nor in the S.P.G., means (perhaps by some "new Zimmerwald") to serve not the essential elements, but all the obstacles to development (the Bureaucratic, the Leninbund, the leadership of the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party), and all those who have already demonstrated their inability to lead the German Proletariat). The criticism of the cadres will and should develop in the direction of our analysis. The cadres should, moreover, learn to link up the illegal work with the legal work from the beginning and work in the existing mass organizations which as yet remain outside of the Fascist party.

The slogan for a new party will mean that we will have to pose the demand for the destruction of the old party. This demand would be rejected with indignation even by the more critical elements. They must be convinced in the course of struggle with the bureaucracy and the clarification around the formation of cadres. They must see the necessity for this step. The question is posed in the same manner in the S.P. and the S.A.P., although for the former of the two the demand for destruction is already posed today. The struggle for cadres brings us closer to the critical elements within the party. The demand for a Second Party separates us from them.

Only among the old ultra-leftists and in the letters of Gourov* can we observe elements of indignation to the point of parting with us, if we do not issue the slogan for a new party.

13.
While the slogan for a Second Party does not advance our cause by an iota among the semi-critical elements in the party, it will not even embrace the completely critical and disillusioned elements. For them the idea of the party is so compromised that they think of nothing less than of a new party at present. Whereas the idea of forming cadres will appear self-evident to them. Only experience will again reconcile them with the idea of the party.

* One of the editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. Ed.

L. O. Addresses Official Party on Stand in Minn. Elections

(Continued from Page 1)

By correct action and leadership the Communist party gains the confidence of ever more workers, educates them in struggle against capitalism, unites their scattered forces and leads them in daily struggles, always keeping before the workers the perspective of a social revolution. How did the Communist party fare in this election? While receiving more votes than in the last election (1931), the vote for Mayor was about 50 percent less than the vote in the city elections of 1929. The figures were all low. During the same period Farmer-Labor reformism was growing by leaps and bounds among the workers.

The Communist party is the only political party that is interested and that can clear up the prevailing confusion among the workers about politics. But instead of doing this, it adds to the confusion by wrong tactics. When the Communist party entered the elections under the false name, United Front Workers Ticket it used the same cheap political practices as the corrupt bosses' parties. It prevented the C.P. from teaching the workers to identify candidates with a Party, a Program and Principles. True, this maneuver of a United Front Workers Ticket was to allow the well-known, politically unreliable Walter Frank to enter the elections on a common program with the Communist candidates. But this is rank opportunism. The party was forced to break with Frank or else be partners in a political crime against the working class along with Frank. Rather than call a spade a spade and openly admit the error, the Communist party leaders tried to cover up the traces. In doing so, they did untold damage to Communism. Aside from other things their actions pushed scores of the best workers coming toward the Party back into the political confusion that Frank represents.

Therefore the Communist League (Left Opposition), a faction of Communism, takes this form, an Open Letter, to address the Official Party upon certain vital questions of policy in the coming city elections, June 12.

1. The party must come out in this campaign under its own name, put up a Sticker Candidate for Mayor, print stickers and get into

the city-wide campaign in full force, advocating the need of a working class political party, the Communist party. Against the prevailing confusion about elections, point out to all the workers that not "big men" and "political promises" are going to give them what they need, but only their own political organization that will build a controlled leadership and a Workers' Government.

2. There should be an open admission of the fallacy of the United Front Workers Ticket and the maneuver with W. Frank, and a stop put to all campaign speeches that give the immediate impression that immediate demands of the election platform can be won merely by voting for "Workers Candidates." They are good demands, but explain the fight correctly!

3. In the 6th Ward alderman contest, make a broad, intelligent, principled battle against Farmer-Labor reformism. Act like Communists in elections.

The undersigned pledges its full support to the party in this campaign. Yours for Communism.
Communist League of America
(Left Opposition)

IMPORTANT CORRECTION

In the last issue of the Militant, in the article "Heckert Explains" the debacle, a mistake was made in the text. In translating from comrade Trotsky's "Against National Communism" the text was made to read "we, the Communists, consider the present government (Bruening) as an enemy of the proletariat, but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we want to fell this government in all alliance with the Fascists (Referendum) against you."

The text should have read: "We Communists consider the present government the enemy of the proletariat but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we wish to overthrow this government by means of an alliance with you and not by means of an alliance with the Fascists against you."



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Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

EDITORIAL BOARD
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Vol. 6, No. 28 Whole No. 175
Saturday, May 27, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.
Foreign \$3.00. Five Cents per copy



Problems of the United Front THE JOBLESS MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The condition of the millions of unemployed in the United States is more miserable and critical than ever before. Such resources as they may have had themselves or through friends, relatives, etc., are wholly exhausted. Dependence upon organs of charity and governmental assistance is greater than at any time hitherto. Yet at this moment, governmental relief of the cities and other agencies is being either sharply or entirely cut in numerous communities, such as New York. The "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration has failed thus far to touch to any noticeable degree the misery involving the unemployed millions. All these factors tend to give a strong impetus to the growth of a militant and broad movement on behalf of the unemployed.

Of a positive and beneficial character is the growth of tendencies which aim for a merging of the various unemployed movements into a single, national organization on a united front basis. But as a consequence, in part, of this forward direction, resulting essentially from the objective conditions and demands of the unemployed, other questions have again come sharply to the front. These questions must be decisively resolved soon; they involve the growth or crack-up of the unemployment movement, and particularly its development in a class conscious direction.

The numerous conferences of the unemployed, especially the Conference held recently in Chicago which brought together various political tendencies, reveal that certain basic requirements still confront the movement on behalf of the unemployed. Some of the more important ones are:

Basic Requirements

1. Working out ways and means for cooperation and joint action of the employed and unemployed.
2. Drawing the trade and labor unions, particularly of the American Federation of Labor, into the movement of the unemployed, for reciprocal results and benefits.
3. Developing a political consciousness among the mass of workers, in this instance, the movement of the unemployed.

Various movements of the unemployed arose in the past years in the hope that through mass pressure and organization, the miserable lot of the unemployed millions can be partially alleviated. These are necessary and immediate objectives that must be sincerely and militantly fought for by all forces taking part in the unemployed movement. For Communists, this is elemental, or ought to be. As in other fields of daily class struggle, so in the unemployed movement, we put forward immediate demands in themselves of greater or lesser importance. These have been more or less accurately worked out and need no repetition here. We present immediate demands because as living and not sterile revolutionaries, we fight for the interests of the workers today. At the same time we set forth our ultimate program for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by the rule of the working class.

But, if we forget for one instant our basic class approach, namely, our need and task to revolutionize the workers; if we allow ourselves to get lost in a maze of immediate demands and become absorbed, however militantly, solely in the struggle for these demands, little or nothing will be gained for the working class. What we reap will be illusory among the workers, the growth of opportunism and the chance for opportunists and takers to deceive the workers. In short, it will be to this elemental movement in an

a case of "sowing dragons' teeth and reaping flies." Today, very clearly and sharply, opportunistic and even reactionary views are being put forth in the movement of the unemployed, not the movement of the known labor fakers of the A. F. of L. and the charlatans of the socialist party—from them that is to be expected—but also among so-called Communist elements. We cannot here deal with them all; we take only those concepts brought out by the representatives of the Lovestones, Right wing Communist, group.

Movements of the unemployed have been organized in a large measure through the instrumentality of various political parties and tendencies in the labor movement; among these are the official Communist party (Stalinists), the Socialist Party, the CPLA (Mustelites), Lovestone (Right Communist Opposition) and others.

These movements of the unemployed take, or should take on, the organizational expression of the united front of all organizations ready to take part in the movement of the unemployed. A correct objective must be the merging of the now existing various unemployed movements into a single and broad United Front on a national scale. For the immediate demands themselves of the unemployed movement can be fought for successfully only on a planned, national scale. Such a united front must work out a common, minimum program of action (immediate demands) which binds all those adhering to the movement, to work for its achievement, irrespective of other political, economic, racial, etc., differences that exist in the movement. This should be accepted as elemental. The False Views of the Lovestonites

But what does the Lovestoneite make up the constituent parts of

(Continued on Page 4)

Right Wing Move to Expel Militants from P.M.A.

Gillespie, Ill.—The class collaboration policies of the Right wing of the Progressive Miners of America has been weakening the union in its struggle against the operators aiming to divide and weaken the union forces, has been picked up by the Right wing element and is now being followed up in an attempt in the Springfield district, to expel about three dozen militant Left wingers. The first three slated to go are Joe Angelo, Freeman Thompson and Volz.

In the period of formation of the P.M.A., special provisions were made to admit into the progressive union all militants expelled by the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker group. Workers who were the first to lead the struggle against Lewis and company and who laid the ground-work upon which the P.M.A. was built. Now, President Percy does not remember or is trying to forget these provisions. The Right wingers tell these militants to first get a job and then they will obtain a card. However, all are members of the union and have been functioning for months. Further, one cannot get a job in the mines unless he has a union card. Perhaps Percy wants them to get a job in the scab mines?

The Left wing is organizing to smash this attempt to exclude and expel the most militant element in the P.M.A.

The need of an organized Left wing in every local of the P.M.A. to fight for a program of class struggle and against the steady shift to the right and the policy of class collaboration, as pointed out for months in the Militant, is now a living reality in the coal fields. The Realities are trying to catch up with events in Illinois.

After the National Miners Union (Continued on Page 2)

LEON TROTSKY Lessons of May Day in Austria

(REFLECTIONS FROM AFAIR)

On the First of May the workers of Vienna showed that in spite of all deception, treachery and disappointment, they do want to fight. Once again it became apparent how easily all the bureaucrats and semi-bureaucrats, the official ones as well as those of the half-hearted opposition, disguise their own lack of decision as a "depressed sentiment" among the masses. The workers want to fight. This is the most important conclusion from which we must proceed.

The First of May policy of the social democratic party consisted in creating for itself an alibi: before the government, in case the masses entered into struggle and suffered defeat, before the masses, in case the masses entered into struggle and achieved a victory. It is hard to conceive of a more disloyal and outrageous policy. It is disloyal because it leaves the masses with the illusion that they have a party and a leadership. It is outrageous because, in their most difficult hour, it leaves the masses which are accustomed to a centralized leadership, to seek a way out on their own hook.

The policy of the social democratic party excludes the possibility of a victory of the proletariat. At the same time, it excludes the possibility of any kind of stabilized regime. The proletariat will remain in a condition of excitement and of hope for a revolutionary solution. The bourgeoisie lives in constant dread of civil war. The military-police measures reveal their unreliability more and more every day. The petty bourgeois masses are becoming more and more nervous. The big bourgeoisie is becoming more and more convinced that without the dictatorship of Fascism it will not be able to maintain its order. In this way, the social democracy paralyzes the proletariat with its doubly disloyal, treacherous and cowardly policy and pours grist to the mill of Fascism.

The semi-opportunists of the type of Max Adler (can Otto Bauer still be counted among them?) cover up and protect this policy of disloyalty "from the Left." Among the working masses there still glows the hope that everything will be made good again from above, that the opposition will soon decide to point out the way of struggle. In this manner, irretrievable weeks and months are lost.

The Left wing of the social democratic opposition made the first attempt to act when it called upon the masses to demonstrate in the center of the city. The call had no effect. It could not have any effect, because leadership cannot come from an anonymous organization. The workers want to know with whom they are dealing.

It is not, naturally, a question of persons, but of the banner, the program, the slogan, the organization. Several Left social democrats who want to fight, are perplexed because they have no "names." The name is created in the course of the struggle. As long as the Left social democrats do not come out with a platform of struggle, their calls will get no echo.

The Communist party is paralyzed by the criminal policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, by the theory and practice of social Fascism, the hopeless muddle in the question of the united front, the regime of simulation and falsehoods.

The Bolshevik-Leninists must look for connections with the genuine revolutionary elements in the Communist party and the social democratic opposition. It is not true that everything is lost in Austria. Great shake-ups, transformations in the masses are still possible. A small organization which knows what it wants can play an historical role under such circumstances.

— LEON TROTSKY

Prinkipo, May 7, 1933

«Young Spartacus» Out

The June issue of Young Spartacus is off the press and ready for sale. Featuring National Youth Day, it contains the International Left Opposition's statement to the Youth Anti-Fascist Congress at Copenhagen. This is a powerful document which should be seriously studied by both youth and adult comrades. It should aid in clarifying the question of the relation between the general class movement and the youth. Among the other articles are those on Germany, unemployment, reforestation, and working class youth struggles in the Trenton and New York Doll industry.

'New Deal' Fakers Push Inquiry into Bankers' Deals

The puppets of Wall Street on Capitol Hill are "investigating" the House of Morgan. A sop to the petty bourgeoisie and a sham in its aims, the Senate Banking Committee has disclosed banking evidence on the tentacles of control of J. P. Morgan and Co., which reach out into every pore of the financial, industrial and political life of American capitalism.

The revelations of the investigation are vindication of the contention of the Marxists propounded decades ago. Finance capital wields its control over the banking institutions of the nation through a meshwork of interlocking directorates which cunningly evade all laws aimed at them by the trust-busting middle class. The trustified industries, with few exceptions, are either indebted to or outright owned, thus stock control by the Morgan trust. The Morgan institution dominates through its financial influence a huge section of the American industrial life.

But J. P. Morgan does not trust to his outright or partial control to assure his dominating influence. Nor does he depend upon abstract government, both major political parties, subservient to his interests and needs. Practically half of the national committee of the Republican party, including Edward T. Ricker, financial adviser to Herbert Hoover for more than ten years, and the chairman of its committee, John R. Nutt, are personal beneficiaries of Morgan's benevolence. The same goes equally for the Democratic party, whose ex-national chairman, Ruskob, and the present Roosevelt administration, through the medium of the secretary of the treasury, Woodin, have received "gifts" from the House of Morgan which discriminate against one in the major party set-ups.

Letters from the above-named individuals, disclosed at the investigation, are in the investigation.

(Continued on Page 4)

Nazis, Poles Plot Attack on USSR

Danger of Imperialist Intervention Imminent. Western Powers Haggle Over Vantage Points in Coming Anti Soviet War. Japan Cinches Position with the Help of the Kuomintang and War Lords

From Paris comes the alarming news of a Hitler-Pilsudski plot against the Soviet Union. J. Sauerwein, Foreign editor of the Paris Matin, reveals the whole machinery in a wire to the New York Times of June 1.

French authorities made the news public in an effort to hold Poland and the Little Entente in line, a task which has become increasingly difficult for Qui D'Orsay diplomacy due to the rigors of the world-wide economic crisis. The Polish move to support of the conspiracy, originally concocted by Nazi statesmen, is interpreted as an attempt to counteract the Four Power Pact plans of France, which have met with resistance from Warsaw due to provisions for rearmament made for former Central Power nations, which the Pilsudski regime fears.

"The idea of the Nazi scheme, as the French understand it, is that Poland would make a big territorial concession to Germany in the Polish corridor and receive as compensation territory in Soviet Ukraine in the direction of the Black Sea. It is a German idea. Marshal Pilsudski has had his eye on the Ukraine ever since he fought the Russians there in 1920."

From the report, which Monseigneur Sauerwein says, the French consider reliable and which they obtained from "secret sources," one thing stands out most clearly. Namely, that on every side of the European diplomatic tangle the way out is seen—in an attack against

Soviet Russia and in its subsequent colonization.

Furthermore, in this attack, Hitler is undoubtedly to be the spearhead. The French merely want to contract him for the job under the conditions of the Four Power Pact, with Poland as a subsidiary. Poland itself wrangles for a more prominent place.

That the French are losing their grip somewhat is apparent. With Mussolini to the South and Hitler to the East of them, loss of control over Poland and the Little Entente would seriously weaken them. That is why they hold on so desperately.

Hitler, on the other hand, would like nothing better than to gird himself for the French by an alliance with the other notorious adventurer of Eastern Europe, Pilsudski. In this he no doubt hopes for Washington's blessing. The Roosevelt "peace message," which the Nazi chancellor was only too ready to welcome in his last Reichstag address, leaves ample room for such an aspiration.

The first step in its fulfillment is clear — the Nazi-Polish alliance against the USSR. What else has Hitler to offer Pilsudski? On what other grounds can Pilsudski meet Hitler?

Yet, no matter which way the Franco-German tangle is solved, with France directing or with Hitler in the lead under American auspices ultimately, the line-up must be against the fatherland of the workers. It will be concluded. That much is obvious. Only the purblind cannot see this. Trust in non-aggression pacts, as the Litvinoffs and Stalins and Karakhan do, means under these conditions, to prepare the ground objectively for a smashing defeat of Soviet Russia.

To put confidence in the imperialist contradictions alone, as the present regime in the Soviet Union does, means to go to the slaughter blindfolded.

The Western powers are heading for an intervention agreement. Japan, in the Far East, is making ready for collusion in the attack by the seizure of the Chinese East-rail, by the setting-up of a new North China vassal state, by the conclusion of a binding treaty with the lackeys of the Kuomintang. From all sides, imperialist ambassadors lurk ahead for the fortress of the world revolution.

Stalinism has paralyzed the Communist International, the arm of world revolution.

Stalinism has betrayed the Chinese proletariat and helped into power the Kuomintang bandits, who have sold out to the Japanese aggressor.

Stalinism has betrayed the German working class by a senseless, unprincipled policy which has played into the hands of Fascism.

To what end? So that socialism might be built in one country—in Russia? Where has this wise, "practical policy," which has "compromised" with Chiang Kai Shek and alienated the bulk of the reformist working class of the world, led to?

It must be plainly said: it has led to the isolation of the revolutionary fatherland. It has laid it open to attack from without by opportunist compromises directed against the world revolution. It

(Continued on Page 4)

Stalinist Diplomacy Leaves Trail of Treachery for International Proletariat

The opportunist theory of socialism in one country is showing its fruits. A correct revolutionary, Marxist Russian Foreign Policy, based upon the theory of the permanent revolution, would have seen its chief tasks in the problems of the Chinese, the German, the world revolution. Of greatest importance was the Comintern as the instrument of world revolution. To its interests, diplomacy, which only has a technical significance, should have been subordinated.

Thus, with a correct policy, the central problem of the Soviet Union in the last few years should have been the struggle against German Fascism, which should not have been permitted under any circumstances to seize power. Furthermore, China should have been supported against the brigand invasion of the Japanese.

But the representatives of this correct, international tactic which conforms to the objective requirements do not decide the policy of

the USSR and the Comintern. They stand in opposition to it and fill the jails and places of deportation in the state for which they have fought. Bureaucrats who have arisen on the basis of the reactionary theory of socialism in one country, which stands in contradiction to objective reality, decide the policies.

Nationalist Foreign Policy—A Logical Consequence

Soviet diplomacy has rid itself of all control by the Comintern and made an opportunist practice out of a juridical fiction in the Soviet constitution. If Russia alone could build up socialism, it had to conduct a nationalist foreign policy; the Comintern had to become a negligible factor whose interests had to be subordinated to diplomacy. Then non-aggression pacts, participation in the Kellogg Peace Pact, struggle for international disarmament "as the only means of

(Continued on Page 3)

the USSR and the Comintern. They stand in opposition to it and fill the jails and places of deportation in the state for which they have fought. Bureaucrats who have arisen on the basis of the reactionary theory of socialism in one country, which stands in contradiction to objective reality, decide the policies.

The present basis of American agriculture is unstable and cannot be maintained for very many years longer, as is shown by the permanent crisis which has corroded American agriculture ever since 1920, and even during the years of a stabilization and "prosperity." Overextension, excessive productive capacity, low prices in relation to manufactured goods, a low rate of profit, severe competition with new countries like Canada, Argentina.

(Continued on Page 4)

Organize Australian Opposition

We reprint below a letter received from the secretary of the newly organized opposition in the Communist Party of Australia. It is still further evidence and confirmation of the wreckage perpetrated by the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. But more than that, it is a glowing tribute to the great historical role of the International Left Opposition and the effectiveness of The Militant, whose guiding voice reaches the serious and sincere Communist workers in far-off Australia.

To our new fellow-fighters and comrades in Australia—greetings! As to ourselves, this tribute from the South Seas should spur every comrade on to greater activity. With redoubled energy and enthusiasm, forward! — Ed.

Sydney, April 14, 1933

In an endeavor to get a clear conception of the international situation, and to get a correct estimate of the present line of the C. I. from your point of view, I, in agreement with others of the movement in Australia have decided to open up communication with your organization.

For the past two years something has been definitely wrong with the C. I. in Australia. The support that was gained when the economic crisis began to be felt, was never crystallized gradually fell away. Today we find that despite the continued reiteration of the statement "The ever increasing radicalization of the workers," the facts are that an increasing number keep away from any demonstration or movement launched by the C. I. P.

For criticizing the leadership in an honest endeavor to correct obvious Right opportunist errors, many good members have been expelled. It is significant that the majority of these expelled members have good records of struggle in their leadership of the workers. While pretending to follow in the footsteps of Lenin, the party leadership gives lip-service to the revolutionary movement instead of engaging in the concrete work among the masses so necessary if they wish to win concrete support for their line.

When the Comintern instructor was here, he introduced the theory of "social-Fascism." This was immediately taken up by the leadership with enthusiasm, and they proceeded to thoroughly thrash the Labour Party with it at every opportunity. Not realizing that they only represented an insignificant minority of the workers, they indiscriminately labelled every social democratic worker as a counter revolutionary and an enemy of the working class. This of course led to open antagonism and hostility and gave the opportunist leaders of

the Labour Party a wonderful weapon with which to discredit the Communist party. Recently, this method of approach (?) has been altered, and the party carefully points out that when they refer to the social-fascists they only mean the leaders of the social democrats.

"From Below" in the Office

Unfortunately however, they have forgotten that the workers have a habit of remembering, so that when, in a frenzied endeavor to set up "a united front from below" they approach these self-same workers with this brand new form of organization (or is it a tactic?) the workers greet them with stony silence, and the comrades retire to lick their wounds in isolation. They then proceed to indulge in self-criticism sufficiently for them to launch another campaign. Then they go out and repeat the same old mistakes time and again. Result: Their isolation is becoming chronic.

During these honest, but futile attempts of the party membership to overcome their weakness, the party leadership contents itself with the issuing of mechanical directives from above. They reiterate to a point of monotony thru the party press that they are the "vanguard of the working class" and that "No revolution can be successful unless we lead it!" Then they apparently sit back in comfort and await the rallying of the toiling masses around their office doors. The lead that they give is purely

(Continued on Page 2)

New York Branch to Hold Picnic for Benefit of Press & Illinois Campaign

On Sunday, June 11, 1933, the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold its first picnic of the season at Tibbets Brook Park (Picnic ground to be announced later in the Militant). The picnic, apart from the good time assured for all who attend, has the necessary and excellent objective of raising money to maintain the weekly Militant and to assist in the work of the Left Opposition among the Illinois coal miners.

To this picnic have also been invited the members and sympathizers of nearby Branches of the Communist League. Special invitations have been extended to the Newark and Philadelphia branches. The picnic committee is already on the job with preparations for fun and good food.

To get to Tibbets Brook Park from New York City: Take the L. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the Woodlawn station—the last stop. From there take a

McLean Ave. trolley to Tibbets Brook Park.

Comrades and sympathizers: Reserve SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933 for an all day frolic at Tibbets Brook Park!

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

— at —

TIBBETS BROOK PARK

(Field to be announced later)

ON SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933

Games — Refreshments — Speakers

Admission: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

(DIRECTIONS: From New York City — Take I.N.T. Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue Subway to Woodlawn Station — last stop. From there take McLean Ave. car to Tibbets Brook Park.)

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Chicago Branch in 'Militant' Drive

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago branch of the Left Opposition has wholeheartedly entered into the campaign of expansion inaugurated by the American Left Opposition. The last week has witnessed a series of successful activities here which will bear rich fruit in the near future.

Last Sunday, May 21st, we held a very successful mass meeting with comrade Cannon who is now on tour for the Left Opposition. Comrade Cannon's lecture on the perspective of the American revolution was very enthusiastically received by the workers present. The attendance was excellent in spite of the fact that it was the first warm Sunday following several weeks of cold and rainy weather. A good number of Stalinists were present, and although the subject was not of a polemical nature, they remained throughout the meeting and gave the speaker their undivided attention. A considerable number of workers took advantage of the chairman's invitation to leave their addresses in order that we may notify them of future meetings and altogether, the Left Opposition will reap many benefits from this meeting.

The climax of the week's activities was reached at a meeting of the members of the Left Opposition and its sympathetic organizations on Thursday. After an address by comrade Cannon on the work of the Left Opposition in the most important class battles waged by the workers recently, the possibilities of further participation in the class struggle and the resultant growth of the Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists present gave concrete evidence of their devotion to their class and their enthusiasm in the accomplishments of the Left Opposition.

Without hesitation they agreed to raise Chicago's quota of \$400 in the expansion campaign of the Left Opposition. Pledges were called for. One comrade pledged \$100.00. Another pledged \$50.00. Pledges of money and lives came rolling in.

Unemployed comrades, having no money of their own, volunteered to canvass their acquaintances, and raise all the money they possibly could. A worker who had just found a job after eight months of unemployment, pledged \$5.00. It was very evident that every comrade present was making every sacrifice and effort to do his or her share to further the work of the Left Opposition. Approximately \$900.00 in cash was raised at this meeting. A joint committee of the Left Opposition and all its sympathetic organizations present was formed to carry on the work of gathering in the pledges of the various comrades as they are able to meet them and to canvass the absent members for pledges.

Comrade Cannon will be back in Chicago on June 9th, at which time he will speak at a mass meeting in Humboldt Hall, 2231 W. Division Street, on "The Negro Worker of the German Proletariat." We invite all Stalinists to attend this meeting to learn what a correct united front tactic is and how to apply it, and to answer for their misleadership of the German proletariat, if they can. We will carry the campaign from this point on to a successful culmination with a picnic to be held the latter part of June.

This campaign marks a definite step forward in the work of the Left Opposition in Chicago as well as nationally. Definite plans were made to secure a permanent headquarters and to draw new members into the branch from the many sympathizers we have won in the course of our work during the last few years. The Left Opposition is preparing to play its role in the important struggles that lie ahead.

— R. S.

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By Judah L. Magnes

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

Greek Stalinists Exclude Protomagia

New York—Last January the Greek organ of the party announced that a provisional committee was established for the purpose of preparing plans for a conference (which was held last February) of all Greek workers' organizations, to outline a common program of action for unemployment relief from the Greek charity organizations and the church of the city.

At the conference there was also represented the Greek workers' educational club Protomagia, with three delegates. A resolution was adopted that the conference go on record to elect a permanent committee composed of one delegate each from the participating organizations. Another resolution was proposed by the notorious Stalinist editor of the Greek party organ, Empros, to the effect that all participants shall accept the program of the party-controlled unemployed councils and that the Empros shall be the official organ of the committee. We of the Protomagia, protesting against this resolution which proposed to use the committee as an organization superceding all other organizations and not a genuine united front body. But we remained and participated in the committee and accept the resolution that we do not accept the resolution.

That aroused the hostility of the Stalinist bureaucrats against our club and immediately they started a campaign of slander against us, preparing the ground for our exclusion from the committee, which was packed with party members representing non-existing organizations. They used all forms of slander in order to force our delegates to withdraw.

The Stalinists were determined to do away with us at any cost. When their original pressure failed, they proceeded to use open hostile methods.

The Greek bureau of the party organized a group of party members to be used as a "strong arm squad" against us. On April 17th, when the committee was supposed to meet, our delegates went over to participate in the meeting. But when our delegate entered the hall of the Spartakos Club, where the committee was in session, the hooligans confronted him and ordered him to leave. Upon our delegate's demand for an explanation as to the authority for their action, they said that they were acting on instructions from the conference committee which had decided not to admit anybody else. They already had enough delegates.

Upon our delegate's insistence to participate, a party member, Karamanlis by name, assisted by others, used physical force to eject our comrade from the hall.

Our club has sent a letter to the committee demanding an explanation. This letter has not been answered to this day. First the Stalinists tried to use this committee as a super-organization by means of which to liquidate all the participating organizations. Secondly, they entered into an alliance with the Greek church, with the Greek bishop using them for the advantage of the church. And finally, in order to cover up their adventurism and irresponsibility, they reorganized the committee in the headquarters of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, so that it is composed of party members and members of party affiliates only. A week ago they announced in the Empros that this conference was held on May 18.

This exposes the hypocrisy of the whole policy of the Stalinist bureaucrats. They talk united front and use splitting tactics. They use revolutionary phrases but act no different from the reactionaries.

— J. BANANOS

STREET MEETINGS

The New York Branch is holding open air street meetings on current working class problems Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings in Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn. Our sympathizers and friends are urged to attend.

N.Y. Youth March Against War

New York—Approximately five thousand young workers paraded the streets of Harlem, N. Y., on the third anniversary of National Youth Day—the counter demonstration to the hypocritical Decoration Day mousings and jingo speeches of the military sides of the bankers and the munition manufacturers.

Ostensibly an anti-imperialist war demonstration the tone of the slogans, due to the ravens of the parade, swerved radically from its original purpose to a Scottsboro protest march. The spirit of the marchers was highly enthusiastic but the little expression came from the YCL and sympathizing bodies of an anti-imperialist nature. It remained for the Spartacus Youth Club, affiliated to the Left Opposition, which was present in a gaudy contingent, to give the internationalist spirit to the gathering.

Until the day of the parade, the organization of National Youth Day bore the label of the united front. The Lovestonites, the Spartacus Youth Club, branches of the Young Civic League had a place on the provisional committee. A concession was even offered by the Stalinists to the YPSL to refrain from all criticisms of the war record of the reformists in the case that the latter would participate in the National Youth Day! The day of the march changed all this unusual gesture.

The Stalinists, finding themselves in a united front with their paper organizations, the Left and Right Opposition alone, became insolently arrogant casting all their smooth spoken phrases on the united front to the four winds. Leaflets were dropped from the hands of the Lovestonites, copies of Young Spartacus were torn to shreds by rowdy elements of the YCL, with no word of criticism or attempt made by their leaders to stamp their provocative actions.

When the parade marched into the circle, where the speaking was to take place, both the Left Opposition and the Lovestonites as well as the chairman of the American Youth Federation (who had made some objections, unpleasant to the bureaucrats) were confronted with a refusal to allow them speakers in spite of the previous agreement to the contrary. The excuse was that there were already too many speakers (from organizations controlled by the YCL). Vigorous objection was voiced and the Stalinists were forced to call an impromptu meeting of the steering committee which they packed with a couple of non-members, thus succeeding in giving their violation of the united front a "legitimate" character.

Then commenced the real provocation of the meeting. The rabid young Stalinists approached our delegation, taunted them with insulting remarks and tore literature from their hands and threatened physical violence. The Spartacus Youth Club held its ground when suddenly it found itself surrounded by a cordon of uniformed self styled "red front fighters" who fenced off the Spartacus Youth Club delegation from the rest of the demonstration. They claimed the demonstration this unholy of action was to protect (1) us from violence, but their motives were obviously sinister. The YCL leaders, when approached and asked for the reason for this hostile maneuver, shunned an answer or shifted the responsibility though they had undoubtedly inspired it. The demonstration, luckily for the Stalinists, ended without any alterations.

This reversion of the Stalinists to the gangster tactics of the "third period" will only bring disgrace upon themselves and discredit their motives in the united front. We warn again that this road will lead to disaster and isolation from the broad masses of the toiling youth.

Statement of Chicago Branch to National Jobless Meet

TO ALL DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE

GREETINGS!

The Communist League of America (Left Opposition) wishes to address the following statement to its views to the delegates assembled in this conference:

You are gathered here as the representatives of the victims of the most advanced productive system in the history of mankind, where in the midst of abundance, millions go hungry and in the need of the bare necessities of life. The workers standard of living has been reduced to a starvation level. This is not due to an inability to produce sufficient commodities to meet the needs of society, but because capitalist production is production for profit and not for use. Because the means of production are privately owned capitalist appropriation upon the foundation of socialized production is an inherent contradiction which cannot be solved within the frameworks of the capitalist mode of production. This is especially true now when the accumulation of capital proceeds in the period of capitalist decay.

The present crisis with its 16 million unemployed is a normal development of capitalism. A stage of war or revolution represents an intensification and higher stage of the economic crisis. The efforts of the ruling class to solve these contradictions will shift the burden of the crisis even more heavily upon the backs of the working class, both employed and unemployed. It becomes clearer day by day that a genuine solution to the problems of

Book Review

Pioneer Publishers have just obtained a batch of copies of an excellent documentary book on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from November 7, 1917, to the signing of the treaty of Brest Litovsk and its immediate effects in September 1918. "Russia and Germany at Brest Litovsk" is an exposition in detail chronological form of the struggle between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers, particularly Germany in the early days of the Revolution.

The history of that period, and particularly the role of comrade Trotsky, has been grossly distorted by the Stalinists. With the exception of the book under consideration there is little material in English on this subject. Here are contained peace declarations of the Workers' Republic, speeches and statements of Trotsky before, during and after the signing of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, famous speech of Lenin at the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in March 1918, and the actual terms of the treaty. Trotsky's summary of the peace negotiations (pages 134 to 145) is a brilliantly concise exposition of the meaning of the treaty, its conditions and the dispute in the Central Committee of the Russian Bolshevik Party.

The policy of the Bolsheviks was to utilize the peace negotiations to arouse the international working class and particularly the proletariat of Austria and Germany. On February 4, 1918, Zinoviev, in the name of Petrograd Soviets, addressed the Berlin and Vienna "democrats": "Brothers and comrades! Announce by your strikes and demonstrations and the creation of your Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies you have shown that the Austro-German working class will not allow the hangmen and spoilers to impose a peace of violation and annexation on the Socialist Republic of Soviets. The destined outcome of the peace negotiations is being decided not at Brest Litovsk but in the streets of Berlin and Vienna and German and Austrian cities."

Comrades, members of the Soviets of the Workers' Deputies of Berlin and Vienna, your victory will signify the full and indisputable victory of Socialism, for two victorious revolutions in Russia and Germany will be inevitable. Long live the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Berlin and Vienna! Long live Communism!"

But the Soviets formed in Berlin and Vienna in early 1918 were crushed. The policy of "No peace, no war" that is, the termination of the war without an actual treaty, failed to arouse the natural class allies of the Soviets. The German army advanced even though Soviet Russia had declared the end of the war and withdrawn its troops from the front. No alternative was open: Lenin proposed the signing of a peace treaty with Germany—"Tilsit Peace."

"Russia and Germany at Brest Litovsk" was published by the Rand School of Social Research. After the present batch is disposed of by Pioneer Publishers there will be no more copies available. It originally sold at one dollar a copy. We are selling it for 25c (twenty five cents) each, 15c (fifteen cents) in groups of ten or more. Order now before it is too late!

* The reference is to the "Tilsit Peace" imposed by Napoleon on Prussia in 1807. Inevitably, it was accepted by the Prussians, and as well as a breathing spell in which to prepare their own "war of independence" 1812-1814, which brought about Napoleon's downfall.

Right Wing and Stalinists in PMA

(Continued from Page 1)

was defeated and became a paper organization in Illinois and the Left Opposition proposed the return of the Left wing in the Left wing, the Stalinists opposed the Left wing, who took this course. Later when the rank and file movement split away from Lewis and company and the Left Opposition proposed that all Left wingers enter and build a Left wing in the new union movement the Stalinists boycotted the movement and its conventions. Still later, when the revolt broke out and the Progressive Miners of America was established, the Stalinists did not understand the movement, stayed out of it and used most of their energy and the columns of the Daily Worker to throw mud at the union and its leaders and at the time did they present proper political criticism and directives.

Such a policy by the Stalinists played into the hands of the more reactionary element, split the forces of the Left wing, and thereby helped intrude the Right wing in the middle at the very start.

The turn of the C. I. toward the united front after the German defeat forced a turn in America and in the coal fields. The Stalinists changed their policy in the coal fields and in the last few months have had a proper program that was far superior to their previous wrong program in the coal fields. The Stalinists have realized the necessity of a Left wing in the PMA, for more than one reason. But their method of building a Left wing shows no improvement upon the past. They have already forgotten their new turn and returned to their old formula.

On May 21, they decided to organize a Left wing and start at once to call a state conference one week later on the 28th. They consulted no one who is not a Stalinist or close sympathizer of the party and proceeded to call the state conference. They said they tried to reach everybody but did not have time, and with such a flimsy excuse proceeded to exclude everybody except themselves and those who stumbled upon their plan and broke in on them.

In the caucus, they proceeded, over the advice and motions of the Left Opposition miners' faction and others to organize a provisional committee and adopt a draft program. They gave the committee power to call another conference later and to get in touch with all other Left wing groups, some that were formed before the caucus.

Instead of a provisional committee on the narrow foundation of Stalinism and the adoption of a draft program, asking other groups and tendencies TO COME TO US, the Left Opposition miners' faction proposed that we elect a negotiations committee and that this caucus GO TO THE OTHER LEFT WINGERS, and that together, forces, upon a broad foundation, through the united front, call a meeting where a provisional committee is established. In the meantime, as a first step the L. O. miners proposed that we organize Left wing groups in as many locals as possible.

The Left Opposition miners' faction will do all that is possible to iron out the difficulties created by the Stalinists and bring all Left wing tendencies into one broad united front Left wing group. The Left Opposition miners' faction at the same time realized that many of the other Left wing tendencies will not go as far as we desire. But at the same time we realize that only the inclusion of the broadest layers will be able to defeat the Right wing, the Operators and their Lewis agents.

— HUGO OEHLER

MUSTE & BROOKWOOD

II. All the previous splits in the CPILA were as nothing when compared with the recent wholesale walk-out of Musteites on Muste. With the resignation of D. Saposs, J. C. Kennedy and Katherine Pollack the CPILA was left like a forsaken child in the cold. All these "militants" are faculty members of Brookwood and only members of the CPILA. The right wing of the CPILA. The right wing was simmering underground for the past few months while Muste was trying to persuade them that Brookwood should be a training school for budding Musteites.

According to inside information, it was found that Brookwood and the CPILA were so entangled that Muste was using Brookwood's resources, time and money to bolster up the declining CPILA. After the Saposs group divorced itself from the CPILA, the fight was forced out into the open with the result that Muste was ousted. The Times reported that the majority of the students went out on strike in sympathy with Muste. The catch is that Muste promised them jobs in the CPILA. This would give him bread and butter and give him workers that are conspicuously absent in the CPILA.

During the fight Muste charged the Saposs group was going to the right while he (Muste) was being ousted for being too militant and revolutionary. Let us see whether Muste is really going to the left. Did Muste, while he was the head of Brookwood, ever propose a radical change of policy, teaching, or in representation of the student body, or the fellowship? No! Muste did not want such a radical change in Brookwood in the past, and he did not advocate such a change recently when he was forced out from Brookwood. Why is he calling him a "Left" and a revolutionary? Let Muste's record as the dean of Brookwood, and since the formation of the CPILA speak for itself.

1. The ousting of a Left wing scholar like Callahan from Brookwood.
2. Muste adopted a new policy excluding students who accepted the line-up of the Communist party.
3. Muste did not allow graduates who are Communists to vote at the annual meeting, although their vote could not decide either way whether he should remain or be ousted from Brookwood.

All this was in accordance with the "revolutionary" policy of the CPILA. This is Muste's record as a revolutionary and a Left wing. The Saposs group now in control at Brookwood is an out and out Right wing S.P.A.F. of L. clique. Since Muste was ousted from Brookwood, the faculty is silent. They do not want to commit themselves as to whether they are for a change in Brookwood's curriculum or policy. At the recent negotiations committee and that this caucus GO TO THE OTHER LEFT WINGERS, and that together, forces, upon a broad foundation, through the united front, call a meeting where a provisional committee is established. In the meantime, as a first step the L. O. miners proposed that we organize Left wing groups in as many locals as possible.

Moreover, at graduation day, when the annual meeting of the fellowship took place at Brookwood, an interesting incident occurred. The Right wing which always hollered for the last few years that the Communists are about to capture Brookwood, lined up the graduating class and elected a hundred percent Right wing clique as officers of the National Fellowship. This is the same clique which functioned for the last few years as a CPILA fellowship. The Right wing gang refused to give any representation to the Left wing group. They did it because the Left wing group, under the leadership of Sam Fisher, demanded and fought for a change in Brookwood's policy, curriculum, and representation. Here are but a few points that the Left wing advocated.

1. We stress the need for Brookwood to have a non-sectarian character in order that it should be able to serve most effectively as a clearing house for various tendencies in the American Labor Movement.

2. Brookwood should be primarily a working-class college whose teaching should be based on Marxism and the class struggle.

3. It is vital that the curriculum should include a symposium or seminar led by leaders of the various political groups in the American Labor Movement in order that the student should have a clearer perspective of the whole political field in which they intend to serve.

4. Equal representation for the student body and the fellowship to the Brookwood board of directors, and the cooperative committee, etc. Is it a wonder the Right wing who follow the footsteps of Muste were scared to death by these proposals?

Muste and Saposs did not want a radical change for Brookwood. The difference between the two is this: Muste had Brookwood for the last few years under CPILA influence. The Saposs group is keeping Brookwood under the S.P. and the A.F. of L. influence. At present Brookwood is "saved" from Communism, and the fellowship from Left wing influence.

The Brookwood faculty and their CPILA fellowship clique were victorious. One more victory like this

and Brookwood will go down as a right wing institution and no one will shed any tears. Brookwood as a right wing institution has outgrown its usefulness just as Musteites has no place in the American Labor Movement.

It is a grand glorious boast of the CPILA that they alone are fighting against labor racketeering. It is true that the Labor Age does voice much space to John L. Lewis and Brindley. But the Musteites have no access to these unions and the attacks on Lewis only serve to cover up the racketeers inside the CPILA. Hardman is one of the outstanding figures of the CPILA. He also detests one of the most criminal exhibitions of despotism and racketeering in the Amalgamated. The Musteites have material from workers in their office that was never brought to light. Why? It deals with unvarnished episodes that would be very embarrassing to J. B. S. Hardman, who is first lieutenant of Muste in the CPILA. Naturally the Musteites will reply that they did publish an article on racketeering in the Amalgamated by Carlo Trusca. But—this article was prefaced with profuse apologies from the editor.

Furthermore, about a year and a half ago in Montreal, three thousand tailors drove out the Amalgamated racketeers and formed a new organization just as the Progressive Miners of America did against John J. Lewis. The Amalgamated replied with terrorism, strike-breaking, treachery and collusion with the bosses against this new organization just as Lewis did in Illinois. Why has the CPILA kept silent here and blazed forth so violently against Lewis?

This confusion of the Musteites was made possible by the bureaucratic blunders of the Stalinists, both nationally and internationally. Had the Communist party had the correct policy, Muste would never have had the opportunity to establish this caricature of radicalism in the American Labor Movement. Nevertheless Muste and his CPILA are doomed because:

1. It is a reformist organization.
2. It has no economic basis.
3. It has no political organization.
4. It has no working class following.

5. It is an eclectic gathering of radicals and liberals.
It is plain, therefore, that the collapse of Musteism is inevitable. With the revolutionary upsurge of the American working class these like "militants" of the CPILA will find opponents as harnessed and evangelists of reformism.

— S. M. DAVIS

Musteite Quits

Youngstown, O.—George Perkins, local CPILA organizer, boycotted the election of the Amalgamated Unemployed League in which he had consented to be a candidate by leaving the meeting after stating he was opposed to the way in which the league was functioning and therefore he would not function on the executive committee if elected. Perkins, who is also a vice president of the Ohio Unemployed League, was one of the organizers along with Karl Lore of the Austonian organization.

Along with Mrs. Grace Mettee, one of two who "walked out" with him, Perkins recently took the initiative and leadership in a very poorly prepared and miserably conducted protest "strike" for more relief that sapped the energy of the organization and scattered its forces. We supported the "strike" insofar as the rank and file workers were in favor of it; yet at the same time we pointed out its unpopularity, its weaknesses and therefore the likelihood that it would not succeed in accomplishing its aim. In opposition to this adventure we proposed a campaign to increase the local active membership and also to help build up Unemployed Leagues in Youngstown.

The small group, including ourselves, that stuck to the organization in the critical period following the "strike" considered it necessary to adopt a new constitution that would replace the old individual "leadership" with a reorganized collective leadership. This was done. And since the old "leaders," Perkins and Mettee, were not specially consulted in this effort of the rank and file to curb the disastrous leadership of one or two, the latter apparently intend to try to smash the League by one means or another.

Neither their slander, their boycott nor the cowardly, ignorant and reactionary red-baiting campaign of Mrs. Mettee (which the Musteite Perkins supports by his silence) will break the League. The new executive committee must win the active support of the unemployed with a practical, constructive program; the rank and file must back up the executive committee in its effort to rebuild the League on a firm foundation.

— H. N.

DRAFT PROGRAM WANTED

We are in receipt of requests for copies of the Draft Program by comrade Trotsky. As our comrades know this basic document is out of print and unavailable. They are wanted now, not for sale, but for our classes.

We are going to reprint it. But that will take some time yet. In the meantime copies are urgently needed for classes. Comrades who have copies they don't need are asked to send them in at once.

acy & Marxian Fundamentals

Reactionary Policy and Practical Dangers

to live in peace and friendship with every Government, even an openly counter-revolutionary Government.

And now, after the party has been destroyed, Stalin hands out gigantic orders to fascist Germany, which the Soviet Union from destruction developed any serious plans of saving the Soviet Union from destruction.

in gratitude "strangers out and the reference is to the raids on the Soviet Oil Trust Repräsentative in Germany, which look prospective before the Soviet Union can be solved only on this Wrangel. The colonial and corridor problem will become the super-Iliter

place on the pretext of wedding out the Communists inside them—Kd.) for him, and Soviet diplomacy re- believe—like the social democrats

ed with Kautskan. news the treaty con-
did in the Weimar constitu-
the possibility of the non-aggression
treaty.
for a while isolated as its foreign
Stalin diplomacy in the Far East

All that is reactionary in the theory and practice of "socialism" in one country," also comes to the fore in the building of Soviet Russia against the Soviet Union but milize Hitler for the general attack on the powers, want to be sure, policy is concerned. The great

they only assign to him a modest role in the present hostile situation. The present hostility serves merely to show the loud-duty-bound loyalty to the Chinese.

proper places. In reality, the big revealing for itself a powerful ally against imperialist Japan, Stalinists against the Soviet Union, since in-
 mounted Rascals back to their proletarian and instead of thereof

international capitalism sees in the renunciations to the torturer of China, to imperialist Japan, for the sake of its "fundamental peace" with the "democratic powers" the beginning of a new compromise. Based toward a new compromise. Based

Yes, the "revolutionary diplo-

condemns in the forces of the world proletariat. But they do have faith in the contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves. They must know that the imperialist powers will not be able to maintain their position in the world for long. They must know that the imperialist powers will not be able to maintain their position in the world for long. They must know that the imperialist powers will not be able to maintain their position in the world for long.

Investia wrote on May 6, 1933:

"Public opinion in the Soviet Union has never set forth any plans in the near future," the Soviet Union denied the report officially but the conservative "Terms" and current in Germany.

That means the Socialists have never considered how the German

Herriot

Soviet Union than the working class, whom a certain Michael Holroyd tells in the Basic Rundschau (Stalin group):

ing with the world bourgeoisie has plunged the C. I.

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Strong in words, but weak in
sorts."

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. that, becomes an agent and immediately German and the Chinese proletariat and which is now heading on to the road of open treachery against the

Under the act of March 3 1879.
Published weekly by the Communist
League of America (Opposition)
This theory must be irrevocably
the danger to the existence of the
Soviet Union itself.

at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

Vol. 6 No. 29
Arne Swaback
Alex Swaback
C. E. S. L. Back to a Marxist
internationalist policy which alone
can save the Soviet Union from
destruction

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

— H. E.

THE FASCISTS

antagonisms of capitalist society are not diminishing but sharpening. They will become many times more

accustomed in Germany by the exposure of the Austrian regime. To perform its mission, it will pursue the defense of the Austrian people.

the attacks upon the present trade unions much further. A struggle to destroy the workers' organizations is German brethren to an- nihilation it will mean to the Sec-

internationalism, by breaking things up; but it is also accompanied by the inevitable attacks upon socialized parties—in other words, developed parties—a development of practical extinction.

upon the workers' standard.

General statement previously often Communist, under the Stalin regime and International. In this the social insurance and so forth. The upon the unemployment insurance, ions gained, upon the wage level, it not more than the certain social democracy meant to the Sec-

repeated by party leaders who felt that "Hitler would soon get out of business," to the effect that he has no responsible economic policy. The party is so immersed in the false theory of "Building Socialism in One Country" that it has now suffered its most fatal blow.

But it does not preclude that Ger-

may will in this present period
experience a certain upward eco-
nomic conjuncture. A reduction of
unemployment would inevitably lead
to Stalinism.

to increase the working class demands as well as the struggle for these demands.

In general, the capitalist economic system is deepening its relations of forces not favorable to the workers and favorable to the capitalists, but merely reveal the real

ing class. Thus the knights of the Swastika, despite their easy victory, will yet have the greatest difficulty in the greatest difficulty.

"Above all we must immediately issue the directives for the build-
ing of a new party. None of the
ranks of the old committee will

to remain a one-sided affair, where the near future. What leadership, workers, sterling fighters, and the

Have we fully comprehended the extent the scope and the implications of the new party? Is an imperative necessity?

— ARNE SWABECK — The two workers' parties, the Com- April, 1930

Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from last issue)

3. Official Explanation of Bureaucratic Terror

"Some comrades," Stalin said at the January Plenum of the C. C., "understood the thesis on liquidation of classes, creation of a classless society and withering away of the state as justification for laxity(?) and placidity(?), justification for the counter-revolutionary theory of the slow extinguishing of the class struggle and weakening of state power." Vagueness of expression serves Stalin in this case, as in so many others, to cover up the logical gaps. A programmatic "thesis" on the liquidation of classes in the future need not mean as yet, it is understood, the extinguishing of the class struggle in the present. But it is not a question of a theoretical thesis but of an officially proclaimed fact of the liquidation of classes. Stalin's sophism consists in the fact that he times the idea of the inevitable strengthening of state power in the transitional epoch between capitalism and socialism, an idea which, following Marx, Lenin advanced for the explanation of the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship in general, to a definite period of the dictatorship, after an allegedly already accomplished liquidation of all capitalist classes.

To explain the necessity for the further strengthening of the bureaucratic machine, Stalin said at the same plenum: "The Kulaks are routed as a class but not finished off." If we should accept this formula, it would seem that to finish the routed Kulaks off, a more concentrated dictatorship is necessary in the literal expression of Stalin—"to finish off the remnants of the dying classes." The finished expression is, in its way, given to this paradox of bureaucraticism by Molotov, who has, in general, a fatal inclination to develop the idea of Stalin to completion. "In spite of the fact," said he at the January Plenum, "that the forces of the remnants of the bourgeois classes of our country melt, their resistance, anger and fury grow, knowing no bounds." The forces melt, but the fury grows! Molotov does not suspect, it seems, that the dictatorship is needed against force and not against fury; fury which is not armed by force ceases to be dangerous.

Class Enemy Powerless—Why the Repression?

"It cannot be said," Stalin admits on his part, "that these former people could change anything in the present situation of the USSR by their damaging and thieving machinations. They are too weak and impotent to resist the measures of the Soviet power." It seems clear that if all that is left from these former classes are "former people"; if they are too weak "to do anything" to change the situation in the USSR—that from this should have followed both the extinguishing of the class struggle and the easing of the regime. No, Stalin argues: "the former people can play us some tricks." But revolutionary dictatorship is needed not against impotent tricks but against the danger of capitalist restoration. If, for the struggle with powerful class enemies, it was necessary to put into use the steel-clad fists, against "tricks" of former people the little finger will do.

But here Stalin introduces still another element. The dying remnants of the routed classes "appeal to the backward strata of the population and mobilize them against the Soviet power." . . . But have the backward strata grown in the period of the first five year plan? It would seem, not. Does it mean that their attitude toward the state changed for the worse? That would mean that the "maximum strengthening of state power" (more correctly repressions) is necessary for the struggle against the growing discontent of the masses. Stalin adds: "through the mobilization of the backward strata of the population, fragments of counter-revolutionary opposition elements from the Trotskyites and Right wingers may again stir and come to life." Such is the final argument: since the fragments (only fragments!) may stir (so far they only may) . . . the greatest concentration of the dictatorship is necessary.

Entangled hopelessly in the "fragments" of his own ideas, Stalin unexpectedly adds: "Of course, we have no fear of that." Then why be frightened and frighten others, if "we have no fear of that." And why introduce a regime of terror against the party and the proletariat if it is only a matter of impotent fragments incapable of "changing anything in the USSR?"

All this piling up of confusion, leading to pure nonsense is a consequence of the inability to tell the truth. In reality, Stalin-Molotov should have said: due to the growing discontent of the masses and an ever stronger gravitation of the workers to the Left Opposition, the intensification of repressions is necessary for the defense of the privileged positions of the bureaucracy. Then everything would easily fall into place.

4. The Withering Away of Money and the Withering Away of the State

The knot of contradictions in which the theory and practice of bureaucratic centrism got itself hopelessly entangled will become clear to us from a new side when we draw an analogy between the role of money and the role of the state in the transitional epoch. Money, just as the state, represents a direct heritage of capitalism: it must disappear but it cannot be abolished by decree, it withers

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

away. Different functions of money, as those of the state, expire by different deaths. As a means of private accumulation, usury, exploitation—money expires parallel with the liquidation of classes. As a means of exchange, standard of measurement of labor value, regulator of the social division of labor, money is gradually dissolved in the planned organization of social economy; it finally becomes an accounting slip, a check for a certain portion of social goods for the gratification of productive and personal wants.

The parallelism of both processes of withering away, that of money and that of the state, is not accidental; they have the same social roots. The state remains a state so long as it has to regulate the relations between various classes and strata, each of which draws up its accounts, endeavoring to show a profit. The final replacement of money as a standard of value by the statist registration of live productive forces, equipment, raw materials and needs will become possible only at the stage when social wealth will free all the members of society from the necessity of competing with each other for the size of the dinner-pail.

This stage is far off yet. The role of money in Soviet economy is not only not completed but in a certain sense, is only about to be developed to completion. The transition period, in its entirety, means not the curtailment of the turnover of goods, but on the contrary, an extreme expansion thereof. All branches of economy are transformed, are growing and must determine their relation to each other qualitatively and quantitatively. Many products, which under capitalism are accessible only to the few, must be produced in immeasurably greater quantities. The liquidation of the peasant economy, with its internal consumption, the closed family economy means the transition to the field of social

(money) turnover of all that productive energy which is now being used up within the limits of the village and the walls of a private dwelling.

Money Socialized Under Planned Economy

Taking complete stock of all the productive forces of society, the social state must know how to apportion and use them in a manner most advantageous for society. Money as the means of economic accounting evolved by capitalism is not thrown aside but socialized. Socialist construction is unthinkable without the inclusion, in the planned system, of the personal interest of the producer and consumer. And this interest can actively manifest itself only when it has at its disposal a trustful and flexible monetary system: a stable monetary system.

Increase in the productivity of labor and improvement in the quality of goods, in particular, are absolutely unattainable without an exact measuring instrument which penetrates freely into all the pores of economy, that is, without a stable monetary unit.

If capitalist economy which reached its unstable proportions with the aid of wasteful fluctuations of the conjuncture, needs a stable monetary system, the more so is such a system necessary for the preparation, make-up and regulation of planned economy. It is insufficient to build new enterprises; an economic system must familiarize itself with them. This means testing in practice, adapting and selecting. The mass, nation-wide check-up of productivity can mean nothing else but a test by means of the ruble. To erect a plan of economy on a slipping valuta is the same as to make a blue print of a machine with a loose compass and a bent ruler. This is exactly what is taking place. The inflation of the Chervonets is one of the most pernicious consequences and also instruments of the bureaucratic disorganization of Soviet economy.

The Official Theory of Inflation

The official theory of inflation stands at the same level as the official theory of the dictatorship analyzed above. "The stability of Soviet valuta," said Stalin at the January Plenum, "is guaranteed

The Meaning of the Farm Revolts

(Continued from Page 1)

first of all by the tremendous quantity of goods in the hands of the state, which are put into circulation at fixed prices." If this phrase has any meaning at all it can be only that Soviet money has ceased being money; it no longer serves to measure values and by that the fixation of prices; "stable prices" are fixed by government power; the Chervonets is only an accounting tag of planned economy. This idea is entirely parallel and equivalent to the idea of the "liquidation of classes" and "entry into the realm of socialism." Consistent in his half-heartedness, Stalin does not dare, however, to reject the theory of a gold reserve completely. No, a gold reserve "also" does not harm but its importance is only a secondary one. At any rate, it is needed for external trade, where payment must be made in specie. But for the well-being of the internal economy, stable prices fixed by the secretariat of the Central Committee or by its assignees are sufficient.

That the rate of decline of the purchasing power of bills of exchange depends not only on the number of revolutions of the printing press but also on "the quantity of good," is known to any student of economics. This law is applicable to capitalist as well as to planned economy. The difference is that in planned economy it is possible to hide inflation, or at any rate its results, for a much longer period. The more terrible therefore will be the day of reckoning! In any case, money regulated by administrative prices fixed for goods loses the ability to regulate such prices and consequently the ability to regulate plans. In this field as in others, "socialism" for the bureaucracy consists of freeing its will from any control: party, Soviet, trade union, or money . . .

A purely bureaucratic economy. Present Soviet economy is neither a monetary nor a planned one. It is an almost purely bureaucratic economy. Exaggerated and disproportionate industrialization undermined the foundations of agricultural economy. The peasantry tried to find salvation in collectivization. Very early experience showed that in collectivization of despair is not yet a socialist collectivization. The further decline of agricultural economy struck a hard blow to industry. To support unreliable and disproportionate tempos, a further intensification of pressure on the proletariat became imperative. Industry, freed from the material control of the producer, took on a super-social, that is, bureaucratic character. In consequence of which it lost the ability of satisfying human wants even to the degree to which it had been accomplished by the less developed capitalist industry. Agricultural economy re-luctantly on the important cities with a war of exhaustion. Under the constant burden of disproportions between their productive efforts and the worsening conditions of existence, workers, kholozh members and individual peasants lose interest in their work and are filled with irritation against the state. From this, and from this alone, and not from the malicious will of the "fragments" flows the necessity for the introduction of coercion into all cells of economic life (strengthening of the power of shop managers, laws against absentees, death penalty for spoliation of kholozh property by its members, war measures in sowing campaigns and harvest collections, forcing of individual peasants to tend their horses to kholozhs, the passport system, political departments in the kholozh villages, etc., etc.)

Parallelism between the fate of money and the fate of the state looms up before us in a new and brilliant light. Disproportions of economy lead the bureaucracy to the road of ever growing paper-money inflation. Discontentment of the masses with the material results of economic disproportions, pushes the bureaucracy on the road of open coercion. Economic planning frees itself from value control as bureaucratic fancy frees itself from political control. The rejection of "objective causes," that is, of material limits for the acceleration of the tempos as well as the rejection of the gold basis of Soviet money, represent "theoretical" ravings of bureaucratic subjectivism.

— R. J. FIELD

Nazis, Poles Plot War

(Continued from Page 1)

has laid it open to decay from within by the adventurist reeling of bureaucratic centrism.

The fortress of the world revolution is in danger. By the perfidy of non-aggression pacts, by the trust it gives to the conflicts of world imperialism, Stalinism is only throwing dust into the eyes of the workers. It is only undermining the workers' fatherland and the cause of world revolution.

If workers' Russia is to live, Stalinism must go. If the land of the Soviets is to light the way for world revolution, the reactionary theory of socialism in one country must be thrown overboard.

Back to the line of Marx and Lenin—back to the Marxist perspective of the permanent revolution! Return the exiled Bolshevik-Leninists, Trotsky, Rakovsky and their comrades, to the post of struggle which they held in the victorious October! That is the command of the hour.

Every Communist worker who sees the danger; to whom the Four Power Peace Pacts and the Hitler-Pilsudski plots reveal it; who is not fooled by the capitalist non-aggression pacts and the peace talk, must do his duty.

Demand the reinstatement of the International Left Opposition into the Communist International! Demand the return of Trotsky and Rakovsky! That is the way to bring new vigor, a new source of strength to the proletarian army, which is sorely in need of it. Act while there is still time to be abolished by decree, it withers

On the Morgan Inquiry

(Continued from page 1)

gation, show that they were quite ready to "reciprocate." And they have! A mere glance at the banking holiday proclaimed by Woodin and the "diplomacy" of Norman H. Davis, ambassador at large for the U. S. is proof sufficient that J. P. does not scatter his money idly. Every dollar given to a government official brings results!

The inquiry in Washington, despite the facts brought to light, is a circus of such dimensions as would make the great showman, Barnum, look like a miserable piker. The avowed purpose of the investigation is to reform the banking laws so that the "little fellow" will have a chance. In this connection it is interesting to note that the banking bill which is to do that has been proposed and drafted by the most ardent proponent of Morgan in the investigation, Senator Carter Glass, Virginia millionaire newspaper publisher.

Like the Pujol investigation under the "New Freedom" of Wilson the Pecora inquiry of the "New Deal" is a grand stage to divert the attention of the discontented away from struggle, give them confidence in the "anti-big business" attitude of the administration, only in reality to fasten the strangle hold of finance capital upon the millions of masses.

— G. C.

"Since Lenin Died" Comrades who can turn in extra copies of *Since Lenin Died* by Max Eastman, are asked to do so. They will be refunded the original cost, price.

first of all by the tremendous quantity of goods in the hands of the state, which are put into circulation at fixed prices." If this phrase has any meaning at all it can be only that Soviet money has ceased being money; it no longer serves to measure values and by that the fixation of prices; "stable prices" are fixed by government power; the Chervonets is only an accounting tag of planned economy. This idea is entirely parallel and equivalent to the idea of the "liquidation of classes" and "entry into the realm of socialism." Consistent in his half-heartedness, Stalin does not dare, however, to reject the theory of a gold reserve completely. No, a gold reserve "also" does not harm but its importance is only a secondary one. At any rate, it is needed for external trade, where payment must be made in specie. But for the well-being of the internal economy, stable prices fixed by the secretariat of the Central Committee or by its assignees are sufficient.

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— R. J. FIELD

Unemployment & Political Parties

(Continued from page 1)

the united front unemployed movement. Other issues exist, but unless this question is given a clear answer, the movement of the unemployed can easily disintegrate and founder. Under the best of conditions, an unemployed movement is the most difficult of all movements to hold together because of the natural looseness of organization, state of employment, etc., that conditions its existence.

The first question that must be answered is the political question: the matter of organic participation of the political parties and groups of the working class in the united front movement of the unemployed.

At the national conference of unemployed movement groups in Chicago and at local conferences in New York, representatives of the Lovestone group came out for non-participation organizationally of the political parties or groups in the unemployed movement. In essence, their position was that the interests of the unemployed can best be served if the united front is made up organizationally only of the various organizations of the unemployed: Unemployed Councils, Association of the Unemployed, Workers Leagues, etc. The political parties and groups must be kept out and also, even labor unions should be represented only fraternally in the united front.

But the mere posing of the issue by the Lovestone Right Wing is sufficient reason for taking up the matter of relations of political forces to the unemployed, or for that matter of any other movement of labor. It has to be said plainly that Lovestone proposal, however intended, is an outright reactionary one, completely in line with the proposals and objectives of the A. F. of L. and other fakers in the labor movement.

This is a politically functioning, as never before. Every group, one could almost say each individual, whether stupidly or intelligently, solves its problem in terms of class and government—that is, class interest and class power. The political question enters, and rightly so, into every step and action of the workers. It has been

The Reactionary Character of the Lovestone Policy Among the Jobless

and is the aim of all capitalist politicians, and their lieutenants in the ranks of labor—the Greens, Wobbs, Lewises, etc.—to keep the working class out of politics, that is, working class politics and action.

These frauds and deceivers have said to the workers: look only to your bread and butter, the economic side; and the not very far-seeing IWW and syndicalist echo the admonitions of the bourgeois liberal and working class opportunists to evade or keep away from the decisive, the political question.

The Communist Position

Every movement of the working class is bound to have impressed upon it a political ideology. That outlook is determined essentially by the general conditions and outlook prevailing within society; within the labor movement itself, it is largely determined by the political force that most intelligently and consciously makes its class outlook and program felt upon the workers.

Communists take it for granted that every movement of the workers must be penetrated and fractionally organized therein: trade unions, cooperatives, fraternal organizations, etc. Why exempt the organizations of the unemployed?

What justification or reason can there be for the formal exclusion of the forces that really determine, for good or bad, the functioning and outcome, within limits of the objective situation, of the united front of the unemployed movement? Who is being fooled, what is being gained by the exclusion of the intelligence, the political force, the class expression of any movement? Nobody; least of all, the unemployed. Not maneuverers, but plain, direct, speech and direction to the unemployed, on the immediate and intimate class solution of unemployment is the way to advance the cause of the workers. Direct participation of the Communist party, the Communist League of America (Opposition), the socialist party, etc., is a test for all the tendencies within the labor movement.

I.L.D. District Workers Meet

New York—On Sunday, May 21, a district meeting of the functionaries of the I.L.D. took place at Irving Plaza. The meeting had been called to discuss the new turn in I.L.D. policy. A turn in the policy of an organization is a very serious and important step and should arouse the interest and response of at least the leading members of the organization. However out of the 300 functionaries (branch executives, members, section representatives, etc.) of the district, there were only about 75 to 100 present at this meeting and even this small number dwindled to about 40 after the recess.

This lack of response is merely a reflection of the condition of the I.L.D., which can best be described as stagnation. This fact is so glaringly obvious that it has not escaped the attention of even the top leadership, which is so basely engaged in fiction fights for leadership, constantly changing its form of organization so as to either eliminate certain individuals, or severe damage points for others.

And what better method could there be to explain away this lethargy among the membership than by an orgy of self-criticism?

The self criticism was carried on in the best Stalinist, that is, confusionist, manner. John Ballam, District Organizer, in his first report criticized the membership for its low political level, criticized the leadership because it does not function collectively. He admitted that the I.L.D. had put legal defense first and mass pressure second—an outright admission of the failure of the I.L.D. to accomplish that for which it was created. "All these shortcomings," he said, "must be remedied and the I.L.D. must become a mass organization and not a Legal Aid Society and a collection agency."

Why is the political level of the membership been so low? Isn't it because it has been miseducated along Stalinist lines? Why is there no collective leadership in the I.L.D.? Isn't it because the bureaucratic regime in the I.L.D. nurtures clique leadership in which appointments and dismissals "from above" play a large part?

Comrade Ballam should put the blame squarely where it belongs—on the line of the third period sectarianism—which the membership has been carrying out only too faithfully.

The comrade from the Left Opposition speaking in the discussion, pointed out that Ballam had failed completely to mention work within the Right wing unions; that it was due to the absence of a Left wing within the reformist unions, which could exert pressure, that the leaders of these unions have been able to sabotage the Mooney, Scottsboro and other struggles which the Left wing is carrying on. We must break down the wall between ourselves and the Right wing workers and show them that the I.L.D. is ready to defend any worker regardless of his political and trade union affiliation. Every worker in the I.L.D. issues and work from within both for individual membership and for collective affiliation of his union to the I.L.D. It is only in this manner that the I.L.D. can win back the confidence and prestige which it once enjoyed and become a really functioning organization.

In the discussion which followed the report, not a single person touched upon this important question. They either did not understand it, or did not consider it important enough, or maybe it was a lack of faith. The ball was tossed back and forth from the section to the district and back. The section organizers blamed the district for lack of guidance and the district representatives in turn "proved" this false and "showed" that it was the incompetence and negligence of the section itself. The rank and file was too bewildered to even take the floor. In such manner was this vital question confronting the I.L.D. discussed.

In his summation, Ballam admitted that he had not dealt with the question of the Right wing unions, but that was not because he did not think it important—he did not state just why he had omitted it—he was all for activity within the Right wing unions.

But that is not enough. It is necessary that a thorough discussion in all branches take place and that the membership fully understand and realize the serious mistakes of the past, who is responsible for them and what must be done now. It is only on this basis—and not on orders of turns from above—that the I.L.D. can actually make a new start along a correct path.

— F.

Moreover, this can and must be done while maintaining the discipline of action of the united front. A united front movement is organized to achieve certain immediate objectives. In the case of Mooney and Billings to achieve the freedom of Mooney and Billings; in the case of the Scottsboro defendants, to free the Scottsboro boys; and likewise, with the objects of each united front movement that is unit.

Shall the political parties, for instance, be excluded from direct participation in the Mooney United Front movement? The revolutionary would say, no. The capitalist politicians say, yes, for many reasons. And then these latter, at a proper moment, find ways and means for a Jimmy Walker to step in and represent himself as Mooney's and labor's savior.

Stalinist Errors

And certainly in the case of the unemployed, of far greater significance than the Mooney issue, the possibilities for educating and winning the workers to a class viewpoint are at hand. Nothing is to be gained in such instances by "hiding the face" of the movement. The official Communist party (Stalinists) has gone in for that also a great deal lately, and in each instance the Stalinists have been wrong. Their outstanding error and crime is their formal effacement from the leadership of the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. What needs to be remembered is: the political party joins the unemployed United Front. The Unemployed Council or group does not join the party.

The unemployed movements will assert themselves politically. Witness Seattle and other places. The point is, shall the opportunists and fakers take over the political and class direction of the unemployed? This must not be.

The next logical step of those who would exclude the political parties from direct organizational part in the unemployed united front is to exclude the trade and labor unions. And the Lovestone group proposes exactly this!

Yet the failure of the labor unions to rally behind a united front of the unemployed is a basic cause of the movement's weakness today. The unions and the unemployed must be linked organizationally for the objectives of the united front. Moreover, such a correct relation within the united front should be an excellent means for organizing the unorganized unemployed, which means the overwhelming bulk, into the unions. An unemployed worker is no less a worker because he is unemployed, and there is not less, but more need to organize him into a labor union in his interest as well as in the interest of the employed worker to preserve and better working conditions.

Lastly, from a fundamental view, why do the Communists bring all possible support on behalf of the unemployed? Because we must develop, in whatever way is permitted, their political, their class consciousness.

(Otherwise, the actions and aims of the unemployed will prove valueless in a lasting sense. The class question must be raised, even as in the trade unions, or the really worth-while and positive side of the unemployed movement will be dissipated and disappear, and hard work will have gone to naught.)

We have to develop class-conscious and revolutionary workers in the unemployed movement, while at the same time working militantly to achieve the immediate demands of the united front. All elements can try their hand at the task. But the Communist is the historical instrument for that task, functioning through his party or group. This is the standpoint of the Left Opposition.

— MARTIN ARBERN

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THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, NO. 30 [WHOLE NO. 177]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY JUNE 10, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

LEON TROTSKY

Apropos the Foreign Policy of the Stalinists

In the Orient the Soviet government is prepared to sell its rights in the Chinese Eastern Railroad in the Occident it is renewing the old German-Soviet treaty over Hitler's signature. In the two opposite directions of its foreign policy, the Stalin-Bukharin government is bowing before imperialism and Fascism.

The abandonment of the Chinese Eastern Railroad does not signify simply the loss for the workers' state of an important economic and strategic position, but the direct transfer into the hands of Japanese imperialism of an important instrument which will on the very morrow be directed against China and also against the Soviet Union.

Stalin's agreement with Hitler strengthens the position of Hitler and cannot help reacting painfully upon the state of spirit of the German workers.

"If the powerful workers' state is obliged to seek friendship with Fascist Germany, that means, the position of the Nazis is solid." This is what every thinking German proletarian inevitably says to himself. At the moment at which the bureaucracy of the Communist International presents the Hitler victory as a passing incident and puts on the order of the day, the question of the general strike and the insurrection (on paper), the Soviet bureaucracy finds it indispensable to establish "normal" relations with the Fascist dictatorship in Germany. The actions of Litvinoff-Chinechuk characterize much more exactly the point of view of the Stalinists than the cheap literature of Manulsky-Kinsmen.

A revolt has taken place in European revolutionary circles apropos the latest steps of the Stalinist bureaucracy in foreign policy, not only in the opposition groups by the way, but also in the official parties. The word "treason" is found more often, if not in the articles, then at least in letters and conversations.

Such protestations are not difficult to understand psychologically; but we cannot associate ourselves with them politically. The question of the relations between the Soviet state and imperialism is in its essence, a question of the relation of forces. After the Chinese revolution in the Orient and the powerful vanguard of the European proletariat in the Occident were crushed, the relation of forces became brusquely modified to the detriment of the Soviet state. To this must be added the disastrous internal policy, the complete annihilation of the bonds between the proletariat and the peasantry, between the apparatus and the personal dictator, between the party and the proletariat, and the party. Everyone of these political causes force the Communist bureaucrats to batter down the opposition and to beat a retreat before the Mikado and before Hitler.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is responsible for the whole of its opportunistic and adventurist policy. But the consequences of this policy are no longer dependent upon their own will. It is impossible to withdraw at will from an unfavorable relationship of forces. What policy could be expected of the Soviet government with regard to Fascist Germany? The breaking off of relations? The boycott? These measures could not have had any sense except as preludes for military operations. Two years ago we put forward this sort of a perspective, not isolated from but in direct connection with a radical change of policy in the USSR and in Germany.

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WHAT'S HAPPENED TO RAKOVSKY?

The question of the fate of Rakovsky is enveloped in a tragic mystery. It may be stated with certainty that Rakovsky is no longer at Barnaul, the locality of his former deportation. Basing oneself upon information from two different sources, one Oppositional and the other "official", that is, connected with the Stalinists, it may be stated with certainty that Rakovsky, ill, was brought from Barnaul to Moscow. The Oppositional source also communicated that Rakovsky had died in the Kremlin hospital. According to the "official" source, Rakovsky is said to have undergone an operation and to have been cured. Through "Humanity", Stalin denied in an obscure manner the report of Rakovsky's death. Nevertheless, the leading circles say nothing about his subsequent fate.

A well-known telegram of the Reuter Agency, sent from Moscow, said that "Rakovsky is practicing medicine in the Yakutsk district." Reuter could not have invented that; it undoubtedly got the tip in Moscow. How should these facts be tied together? The transportation of Rakovsky from Barnaul to the Kremlin hospital would indicate, it seems, an extraordinary attention paid him. In that case, then, why was Rakovsky, after the operation, not only not sent to the Southern region as the doctors have been demanding for some time now, nor returned to Barnaul, but was instead deported to the Polar Circle, that is, under conditions which are fatal for him? We have no information to explain this contradiction. We are obliged to expound a hypothesis which requires verification.

In any case, it seems to us today to flow from the whole situation. Rakovsky's illness coincided in point of time with a new wave of anti-Trotskyist fury on the one hand, and with the negotiations behind the scenes which led to the latest capitulation of Zinoviev and Kamenov, on the other. From the content of the declarations of Zinoviev and Kamenov it is clear how badly Stalin stands in need of the opposition. It is hard to state that the Stalinists utilized Rakovsky's illness to extort from him some declaration or other. It is probably towards this end that Rakovsky was brought to the privileged Kremlin hospital, that is, was accorded conditions which are beyond the dreams of a deportee.

The operation, as is reported, was successfully accomplished. Then—and this is quite in harmony with the character of Stalin—the latter must have presented Rakovsky with a political bill to settle. Rakovsky's illness spurned the reckoning presented him. That is why the old warrior did not return to Barnaul, but was thrown under the Polar Circle.

We can find no other explanation. The Stalinists have every possibility of denying our hypothesis. We will await the denial with impatience, or perhaps our hypothesis is too... optimistic, and the Stalinists will find it more to their advantage to remain silent.

— L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

Hitler Plan to Kill Reds

Communist Leaders Face Death on Arson Frame-Up

The barbaric fury of the Fascist bandits in Germany continues unabated. 4 Communist leaders were condemned to death in Altona for the crime of defending their headquarters and institutions against a punitive expedition of armed Nazis which ended in a bloody battle, on July 17, 1932. 6 other Communists were sentenced to long prison terms on the same count.

Meanwhile Torgler, former Communist party Reichstag leader, Luitpold, Popoff and Taneff, Bulgarian Communists, are standing trial on the monstrous framed-up charges of the burning of the Reichstag early this year.

It is well known that this configuration was a maneuver of the Hitlerites to suppress and drive the Communists underground. This has been exposed even by reactionary bourgeois journalists. The date of the trial is kept secret and any German attorney accepting to defend them is threatened with death.

But an attorney and no legal defense, important as this is, can rescue Torgler and his comrades from the hands of the Fascist butcher. The masses must be rallied—international support and gigantic protest meetings and demonstrations will save the Communists from a bloody death. Now is the time to act!

An immediate united front movement of all working class organizations along the style of the Italian anti-Fascist movement must be called into being to organize a powerful defense. The Fascist terror in Germany is of direct concern to the American workers irrespective of political creed. The persecution of Torgler is a direct

(Continued on Page 4)

Join Anti-Fascist Rally Today!

Endorsed by the IWW, Communist Party of America, Conference of Progressive Labor Action, Trade Union Unity League, Communist Anarchist Group Vanguard, Amalgamated Food Workers, Communist League of America (Opposition), Local 12 A. C. W. of A., Joint Board I.L.G.W. Jewish Workers and People's Committee Against Fascism, a call for an international mass demonstration in front of the Italian Fascist Consulate has just been issued by the Italian Front of Anti-Fascist Action.

As explained in the call, the purpose of the demonstration is to protest against the intensified persecution of political prisoners; to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Antonio Gramsci, Communist leader and Sandro Pertini, socialist—dying in the Fascist dungeons of Turin and Pianosa; of Vella Matteoli and her two children held as virtual hostages in Rome; of Gino Lucetti, anarchist; of Voldica, republican; of all political prisoners; to fight against Mussolini's war intrigues. June 10th coincides with the barbarous assassination of Giacomo

Matteoli. It must be made the starting point of a country-wide agitation against the bloody persecution of Anti-Fascist workers. The Italian United Front of Anti-Fascist Action is at work with the active cooperation of the above mentioned political parties and economic organizations to assure the success of the June 10th demonstration which must echo in the Fascist consulate—bureau of Fascist espionage in New York—with the militant protest of thousands of workers of all nationalities.

According to the call issued, the concentration point will be at 79th Street, between York and Fifth Avenues. All workers are called on to be there at 11 a. m. sharp, with banners and placards. From the point of assembly, the workers will march in mass formation to 70th Street and Lexington Avenue, passing before the Italian Fascist consulate and returning to 79th St., where a huge mass meeting will be held with speakers in English and Italian.

All workers organizations are urged to participate in the preparations for this mass demonstration. (Press Release)

IN ILLINOIS

P. M. A. Asks National Drive; Policies Differ

The Progressive Miners of America are now facing a life and death struggle against the operators, the state, the gun thugs and the Lewis machine. For the past several weeks, the policies of the Right wing leadership have weakened the union and now the rank and file are beginning to assert themselves in order to save the P.M.A. As yet, it is by no means a losing fight. Proper steps and correct tactics now can make up for the lost ground and will result in a victory and in the development of the struggle to a higher level.

In class struggle—against the Peabody, Horner, Lewis forces—the P.M.A. surged forward, and like a flash out of the dark night heralded a new stage in the American labor movement. After four years of crisis, after the American workers had been driven back year in and year out, when the whole class was still in disorderly retreat from the capitalists' onslaught on wages and the standard of living, the Illinois miners called a halt and stood their ground. This acted as a temporary rallying ground for the class as a whole. New life began to surge, new hopes began to rise.

But as soon as the union stabilized itself, the Right wing policies in the union took shape and began to dominate. Now it is time to call a halt, to smash the class collaboration policies and to swing out again into the channels of class struggle.

The Illinois miners' revolt and the birth of the Progressive Miners of America came at a period when the American working class was breaking with its past and entering a new period of labor history based upon the entirely new foundation.

This change in class relations in America, and the contradictions it reflects in the Progressive Miners of America are not understood by the majority of the leadership of the new union. They do not understand this condition and are feeling their way forward the best they can. Quite often they take a few steps backwards. No one can place too much blame upon this leadership. Rather, one must look to the vanguard of the working class and find out how they have understood the situation.

Only one current of Communism, the Left Opposition, understood this situation, laid the theoretical foundation for the rise of the new union, just as the Illinois mines laid it in a material way through the blood of their ranks. All other Communist currents failed miserably. The Lovestonite, Right wing Communist, to this day do not understand what the struggle is about and instead have lost themselves in the fetishism of fear of dual unionism. They say the miners

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Jobless Struggles Sharpen; Unity Need of the Hour

N. Y. Anti-Eviction Conference

New York, N. Y.—More than four hundred delegates attended the Anti-Eviction and Relief Conference called by the Provisional Committee Against Evictions at Irving Plaza on June 3rd. These delegates came from organizations close to or under the direct influence of the Communist party and its unemployed counsils. With the exception of the Left Opposition and the Minstrelites, it was a purely party gathering.

The failure to secure the participation of the socialist or the Lovestonite unemployed councils must be laid directly at the door of fear, sabotage and disruption on the part of the reformists and their close allies in this perditionous job. The Lovestonite Right wing. What no doubt helped the reformist misleaders in refusing to participate in a common conference and a common demonstration are the past errors of the Stalinists for which they have not yet paid in full.

All the efforts on the part of the Provisional United Front Committee to organize the struggle against evictions jointly with the socialist and Lovestonite unemployed movements were in vain. Their sabotage was consistent and to all intents and purposes, deliberate. They, together with all city-wide organizations were invited to a provisional

conference last May where a program, a series of demands and a plan of action were to be elaborated. The socialists and their unemployed leagues were conspicuous by their absence. The Lovestonites came but withdrew after the provisional conference rejected their unacceptable demands to exclude all political or trade union bodies.

But this was hardly the worst of the actions of the reformists, whose whole policy has helped to divide the unemployed to the great satisfaction of Tammany Hall. The misleaders called a conference of the party of the reformists and their participation in the provisional united front, but they sat side by side with the socialist party in the conference of their own calling. What the reformists really had objection to was the militant Left wing organizations.

Not content with this miserable record of sabotage the Right wing, in mortal dread of the program of the Left wing militants and their effectiveness in action, excluded the complete delegation of the Provisional United Front body from the conference. The revolt simmered among the rank and file of the socialist gathering against this splitting tactic. They moved the resolutions were invited to a provisional

(Continued on Page 4)

Borders Loses in Split

Majority of Group Refuses to Quit Jobless Federation

Springfield, Ill.—The Workers' Committee, led by Karl Borders, was the main organizing force of the Chicago unemployed conference on June 13th, which ended in a broad united front of the existing unemployed organizations and the establishment of a National Unemployed Federation.

The call for the conference stated that no Communist would be seated. The press reports further emphasized this fact and the credentials committee appointed by the Borders' Committee ignored the credentials of the Unemployed Councils and fraternal delegates from the workers' political organizations until a heated, three hour discussion on the credentials committee report obtained a majority vote against them and for the seating of all delegates present.

This first victory against the Right wing was an open revolt of that very select conference called by the Borders' Committee itself. It was a revolt of delegates from all parts of the country who re-

acted that Communists cannot be excluded from the Unemployed Federation.

After the report of the credentials committee, the conference divided into two sections, the Right and the Left, with plenty of struggles within these two main floor tendencies in the caucuses and committees.

The determining factors of the Left wing bloc fought for the seating of the Unemployed Council delegates, for an Unemployed Federation, for the Leninist United Front tactic as proposed by the Left Opposition, and for an executive committee to include representatives of all political tendencies from the Left to the extreme Right.

The struggle to have unity on the floor by the Left wing bloc enabled the Left to carry every major struggle and thereby, to take another step forward and to save the conference from any reactionary decisions.

After the committee reports were amended, they were then adopted unanimously, except that of the constitution committee, with Dennis Butt as chairman, which received a vote of 87 to 17.

This means that the Right wing rudered the decisions of the conference which it had called.

Now we are informed by Borders and his committees that they are splitting away and that they advise others to do the same.

The Borders Committee desired mechanical control of the Executive Committee. When it could not obtain this and when the enemies of working class unity, who fear unity, put pressure on Borders, he attempted to split our ranks.

Borders learned a second lesson this time. First he learned that

(Continued on Page 4)

Demonstrations in New York End in Alarming Disunity

New York, N. Y.

Four thousand New York unemployed demonstrated on Tuesday, June 7th, for immediate jobless relief from the city government. Three delegations appeared before the Board of Estimate with proposals for relief. A joint committee headed by Norman Thomas, and representing the Workers Committee (Socialists), the Workers Unemployed League (Socialists), and the Association of the Unemployed (Lovestonite controlled); a committee from the Left wing unemployed conference for immediate relief; and a delegation of clergymen and social workers appeared before the Board of Estimate to present their proposals for relief.

Efforts had been made previously to unite the three workers unemployed groups in a common action for relief. The Socialists and the Lovestonites had demanded that a precondition for the united front be the absence of any political banners at the demonstration. This the Left wing conference refused. The latter decided to join the demonstration of the other groups but march under their own banners and have their own delegation at the Board of Estimate.

As the delegations went into City Hall, the Right wing workers marched past the square to Battery Park while the Left wing workers, who were standing in line on the east side of City Hall waiting for their delegates to return, greeted the other procession with fraternal slogans of: "Join the united front," "Long live the unity of the working class," etc.

When the Left wing delegation came out of City Hall the demonstrators marched to Battery Park to join the meeting that was taking place there. As the two demonstrations met at Battery Park, Carl Winter, of the Unemployed Council, jumped on the speakers' truck of the Left wing meeting. A howl went up from the Left wing workers for Winter to be given permission to speak. This was refused. When Jack Rubenstein, of the Association of the Unemployed—a Lovestonite—was introduced as a speaker, he was heckled and then the wire of the loud-speaker was cut!

Winter was raised on the shoulders of several workers and carried away a couple of yards where he began a counter meeting! In various sections of the demonstration small scuffles and near fist fights took place. The Socialists and Left wing workers were hurling invectives and epithets at one another. Party members who wanted to maintain order, formed a ring around the demonstration so as to keep the enraged socialists from joining!

The Left Opposition participated in the demonstration. A leaflet on the united front for immediate jobless relief was distributed. Many of these leaflets were torn by party members and physical provocation was attempted. Despite this, a goodly number of Left wing workers joined the Left Opposition section of the demonstration and followed our lead in making the

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Jobless Force Relief in L. A.

Los Angeles, Cal.—An event has taken place in the city of Los Angeles (White Spot) on May 29th, which is making history for this region.

Up till about four weeks ago, the organized unemployed were receiving 40 to 50,000 gallons of skimmed milk, which was given to them for distribution by the Food Administration. Out of the clear blue sky this distribution of the milk was stopped with no tangible reason given.

A committee of men were elected at a meeting of the County Council of the U.C.R.A. (United Cooperative Relief Association) to investigate why this supply of milk had been stopped. After being shunted about from office to office, a promise was finally elicited from one of the heads of the Food Administration that within 24 hours new appropriations would be made to provide this supply of milk. To make a long story short, this promise along with many others relating to the question of the state and to the unemployed was juggled about until all supposed, formal, legal methods were well nigh exhausted.

At a meeting of the council of City Units (the progressive body of

the U.C.R.A.) a committee of women was selected with comrade Jane Rose as chairman. Two mass meetings of women and children were held at which a decision was made that on Monday the 29th, all women and children of the organization be assembled at one of the units and ride down the main thoroughfare in open trucks, with placards and signs reading: "We demand milk!", "Thousands of gallons of milk are being poured down the sewers—Why?", etc.

The police, directing traffic along Broadway (the main thoroughfare) were completely bewildered and stood at their posts gaping. The procession moved down the crowded streets, thousands of people looking on with wonder on the sidewalks. When the truck reached the meeting place of the Board of Supervisors they were greeted by "Red" Hynes and a number of uniformed and plain clothes officers.

Committee Arrested

Upon alighting from the trucks, the committee headed by Jane Rose, Mrs. Robinson from the U.C.R.A. Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Khea were

(Continued on Page 2)

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

A Calendar of Effective Action

Minneapolis, Minn.—Early in April, the German Campaign of the Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League was the "talk of the town" among the party members and the class-conscious workers in the labor movement here. The Mooney conference was under way. The Left Opposition was seated in this conference before the party officially showed its face in it. Our delegates, C. Skoglund, O. Coover, and C. Duane, played an important part in building this movement from the very day they entered it, though Specter, of the Party, had initiated it on his way East from the West Coast. The City Election Campaign was on with the League correctly criticizing the opportunism of the party in the Workers United Front Election Ticket Conference. The call for the May Day United Front had been issued by the party. Here is a calendar week by week:

March 30th: Issued first statement upon the Workers United Front. The political pamphlet, Walter Frank, entered the Mooney conference, our comrades were placed on transportation, tag day, and City Auditorium meeting committees. Recruited three members for branch field tag day collection for Militant on Sunday.

April 7th: L. O. instrumental in adding a trade union and W. C. Branch to Mooney conference. Its members on Committee which got permits for City-Wide Tag Day and use of City Auditorium. Was seated in May Day Conference of party and its members were active visiting organizations for further delegates. Comrade Skoglund made motion in Mooney conference that endorsed the May Day movement and affiliated this body with it. Branch donated \$50.00 to May Day Conference. Two comrades joined U. C. and were active in same, one being manager of the Hunger Fighters, its local organ, for his section.

April 13th: League member elected to U. C. to Mooney conference, and made member of its District Council. Three members active in only 11th branch, wrote resolutions on Scottsboro and spoke at two Negro churches on same question. One comrade elected to May Day Conference from 11th branch.

April 20th: League participated on mass in Mooney City-Wide Tag Day, had 27 collectors out of about 60 participating. Brought in about one-third of all the money collected. Meanwhile its delegates in conference on a committee with two trade unionists and one party member collected some \$70.00 from solicitation of prominent individuals and received pledges for considerably more money. One comrade elected from 11th branch to Chicago Mooney Congress, another elected from party-controlled John Reed Club to Chicago, another from a Coal Drivers' organization, a supporter of L. O., was proposed and elected in one of the largest Workers Circle Branches by our comrades in there. The City Mooney conference elected one of our comrades, C. Skoglund. The party sabotaged his election but was powerless because of his leadership and activity in conference. Proposed that Mooney Conference support May Day Demonstration with \$50.00 donation, accepted. The total amount of money collected by May Day Conference for expenses was \$3.00. L. O. was instrumental in collecting about one-third of this fund also.

April 27th: Week of May Day. Mooney conference included about 17 local trade unions. Two L.O. comrades were on its executive of five. In last conference before Chicago our comrade, O. Coover, ran against the party organizer, J. Karson, for chairman of send-off meeting, lost after splitting votes with the party candidate, 15 to 13. Our delegate in May Day Conference was on committee that gave reply to the S. P.'s refusal to have a joint May Day demonstration. All League members marched in May Day parade. We had several banners with our slogan and name. Following evening we held our indoor May Day celebration meeting in the Court House, where between 40-50 workers heard our position upon the United Front, Germany, and C. I.

May 5th: The comrades from Chicago Mooney Congress gave reports in their respective organizations upon the Congress from the Left Oppositionist point of view. They were: in the City conference, the John Reed Club, and the local 11th branch. The Branch issued a second lengthy statement upon the party election policy and pledged its support for the Communist candidates, while criticizing the opportunism of the party policy and tactics in the elections. Our Jewish comrades were active in a broad united front against German Fascism, which included every Jewish workers' organization. Here we found the opportunism of the party running rampant, side by side with adversarism.

May 9th: Our activity in the various united fronts with the party resulted in raising much talk and excitement in party ranks. Branch decided to use contacts to build fraction of League in party. There had been expulsions and much threatening of members by the local bureaucrats. The City primary elections had taken place and the party had made a bad showing compared with elections prior to 1931, despite the false covering the party put around itself in this election, running its candidates under the

name, United Front Workers Ticket, and the opportunist propaganda around its "immediate demands." It decided to issue statement on Results of Election and indicate line for party in the General election, June 12th. In Mooney conference three comrades were elected on committee to arrange meeting for congress reports. Our comrades in 11th initiated a welcome meeting for the L.O. D. O. Davis, who was released from jail that week. Meeting was successful. Three comrades spoke in a meeting of 125 Railroad workers, arranged to discuss the Wage Question. Our comrades in the Unemployed Councils were active, one being elected on the City Council, another elected to a district council. On Sunday, fifteen comrades turned out for a Tag Day collection for the German Opposition press and collected \$24.32.

And so we progress. We have from day to day seen direct results from our activities. This has encouraged us to more activity. Our ideas and our example to the party members is falling the edge of the weapon of slander the Stalinist bureaucrats use against us. Our press and leaflets are being read daily in every corner of the party halls and headquarters. Germany, the United Front tactic, and "inner-party democracy" is worrying the party leadership here as much as it interests the rank and file members.

— C. FORSEN

Jobless Force Relief in Los Angeles

(Continued from page 1)

Immediately arrested by the Red Squad. After this one of the finest spectacles of working class militancy occurred. About 150 women and as many kids piled off the trucks, surrounded the police car and demanded to be arrested along with the committee. Here ensued a unusual occurrence. Hysterics were absolutely flabbergasted. They didn't know what to do in the face of the tremendous crowd assembled. Any attempt at the usual violence would have precipitated a fight such as Los Angeles has never seen. In fact, the subsequent attempt to disperse these women and kids only resulted in their militant resistance. Empty milk bottles were used freely by the women and the kids, who couldn't reach high enough kicked the shins of the police and the Red Squad thugs.

The committee was then released and ushered into the chambers where the Board of Supervisors were in session. The entry of the committee was greeted by a confused exchange of whispers on the part of the supervisors. The committee demanded to be heard and the Board of Supervisors immediately suspended all other business. This body treated to a barrage of speeches carrying a clear and open challenge, which was topped by a concise analysis of the class nature of the unemployed movement and the need of organized working class pressure. After a lengthy speech by Jane Rose, a motion was made to adjourn for lunch.

Demand Continuation of Hearing
This was done with the object in view that the calling of a recess would result in the demoralization of the demonstrators. When the session was renewed after two hours adjournment, the committee of women reached in, in a body, and proceeded to demand a continuation of the hearing which was granted. After several others of the women had taken the floor for a number of hours, comrade Jane Rose summarized with the warning that any indefinite promises would result in a demonstration at the next session of thousands of women and children instead of hundreds.

A motion was immediately made by the chairman of the body of supervisors, Shaw, to the effect: "That the Board of Supervisors instruct the Board of Administration office to furnish whatever amounts of milk may be required by all the units of the unemployed organization of Los Angeles County."

This demonstration was the first effective one of its kind carried out by the unemployed as a result of the initiative of a few members of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Los Angeles branch. It implies a sharp line of departure from the previous class collaboration policies which dominated the life of this unemployed organization.

Without the calling of a formal united front, the committee elected by the women represented practically every phase of the Los Angeles labor movement. They worked cohesively and accomplished marvelous organizational results. Out of this movement grew the organization of a Women's Council of the C.I.R.A., which bids fair to become a vital force in forwarding the class struggle concepts of the unemployed.

— S. M. ROSE

DEMOCRACY IN ILLINOIS

Determined that the miners shall hold no gathering to discuss their own affairs, Sheriff Robinson, tool of the coal operators, refused the request of local union, 1782 U.M.W.A. Royaltown, Ill., to hold a meeting to vote funds for payment of taxes on their hall. Bitter must have obtained some of his ideas from "democratic" Illinois.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT!

T.U.U.C. Attacks Left Wing in the Furniture Union

The policy of craft unionism into which the Stalinists are slowly pushing the Furniture Workers Industrial Union—as exemplified by the Newport strike (see Militant of April 15th, 1933)—has received the official approval of the Trade Union Unity Council in its decision finally renounced in bureaucratic fashion three weeks after the strike was over—almost two months after the Left wing appeal was raised in the union.

In presenting their conservative viewpoint in the form of a decision against the appeal of Sol Linkin, secretary of the union, it was necessary for them to resort to childish distortions and falsifications on the Left wing proposals in order to vindicate themselves.

When the Newport framemakers struck in April we immediately proposed "that no man in the shops which we control be allowed to join a union which comes from the Newport Furniture Company and is made by scabs." We don't know exactly whether it was simply because we proposed it, or whether they are inherently against a Left wing policy, but at any rate, they quickly defeated our motion and carried a proposal for a mere "propaganda campaign" against Newport frames, leaving it up to the individual worker whether or not to work on these frames. Now every rebel worker knows that solidarity between the crafts of an industry is the ABC of industrial unionism. Unless this solidarity is manifested in action, the industrial union forfeits its right to the name and starts back on the road that leads to the swamp of craft unionism.

Call Proposal "General Strike"
It is because they felt the correctness of our viewpoint and the effect that our appeal for solidarity had upon the workers that the T.U.U.C. was obliged to distort our proposal into a utopian call for a "general strike of the industry," and then proceeded with the fierceness of a Jeremiah to flay this alleged position of the Left wing.

"A general strike in an industry where our union has not yet control over the workers," runs the post-mortem strike decision of the T.U.U.C. "can only be an empty phrase and secondly, cannot be carried out in a bureaucratic fashion due to wishes." We are happy to see the apparatus men acknowledge that a general strike cannot be carried out by bureaucratic wishes. It marks a step forward. This does not prevent them, however, by bureaucratic wish, from striking out of the union records the proposals of the Left wing. The practice of striking out all defeated motions (minority proposals) from the records of the union is unprecedented even in the A. F. of L. and has no place in our ranks. Only by fighting against such non-democratic methods in the Left wing unions will the class conscious workers be drawn into the movement.

Militant Attacked
With naive indignation against the publicity appearing in the Militant on the question of the strike, the Trade Union Unity Council "further condemns the articles signed by Linkin in the Militant in which he accuses the union of craft union practices and which actually in its contents condemns the union leadership for refusing solidarity action and also for publishing this slanderous attack before even appealing to the T.U.U.C."

These charges are manufactured out of the whole cloth and once more indicate the need to cover up a false policy. It was not until after the appeal made in April was ignored and left unanswered during a strike in which every hour counted, that Linkin finally stated the Left wing point of view in the columns of the Militant (April 15th). This article sounded the clarion call of unity and solidarity of all furniture workers during a strike of one craft. The T.U.U.C. on the other hand, did not see fit to act on the strike policy until three weeks after the strike was over.

The right to publish views on the strike and the movement generally in the working class press and especially in the revolutionary press, cannot be abrogated simply because the facts in the articles do not complement the leadership. The logical outcome of that position would be to insist on the mechanical acceptance of Stalinism as a prerequisite for membership in the industrial union. Discrimination or persecution of workers who do not hold the same views as the leadership will not build the union. It is a direct violation of the industrial union program, and would cut off all possibilities for the movement to broaden out. More than that, it would reduce it to even a thinner shadow of the official Communist party and its sympathizers.

It is the aim of the Left wing group to prevent this and to help build a militant movement in the furniture industry.

For the Left wing group,

SOL LINKIN
CARL COWL
(Next week's issue of the Militant will contain a report of the upholsterers unity negotiations)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain a new article by comrade Trotsky on the Brandler group and a piece of Alfa on some new Stalinist falsifications. There will be a first-hand account of life in the Reformation "paradise."

A Postscript on Amter

Unfortunately, we are forced to set aside a little space to some idle and premature gloating by that old, infatigable gossipmaster, the venerable Israel Amter. In the Daily Worker of Monday, June 5, under the title "Congress: Clashes at the Unemployment Conference," our own Ischabod Crane takes the Left Opposition "rides." He says that a "Trotskyite" proposed a resolution on long term credits to the Soviet Union and that this resolution was amended by the Stalinists to read: "where they are building socialism and have already abolished unemployment." Then, shedding a few crocodile tears for the poor plight of ourselves, the followers of Leon Trotsky, having to "swallow" this, he tells us that the "Trotskyite" on the Committee opposed this amendment on the ground that it is impossible to build socialism in one country, saying that he would vote against it. But, after "consultation with his caucus," he returned saying he would vote for it, etc. Quite a jam for the Left Opposition! It takes an Amter to draw the noose so tight.

Only one comrade Amter laughed too soon. If he weren't the Ischabod Crane that he is, he might have asked himself a few questions first. For instance, why is it that only now, after the Five Year Plan has been completed, after four years of crisis and unemployment, after years of agitation by the Left Opposition, this slogan of long term credits has humbly been accepted by the party? Further, why it was left to a Left Oppositionist to propose it? Still further, how the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, which ditched this slogan of militant revolutionary action for backward maneuvers with the capitalist government, would react to Amter's own labeled boldness? The joke is on Israel himself, if the truth must be told.

But, a word on the action of the Left Opposition caucuses at the adventurist bungling of the bureaucratic criticism in Russia itself. Instead of telling the American workers, that because of this and because of the rise of Fascism in Germany—for which Stalinism likewise bears its share of responsibility—the world imperialists, Wall Street in the lead, are more ready for bloody, open intervention against the workers' fatherland than for the extensions of credit to it; instead of telling the American workers, that due to these dangers, the kind of the Soviets is more in need of their active help than ever, in their day to day struggles, in the struggle against unemployment—that instead of all this: the epigones of Stalinism in America merely cover up the dangers and resort to a meaningless phrase which only serves to cover up their own "infallibility," or rather, their own bankruptcy.

The Left Opposition made the concession and voted for the resolution as amended because the concession of the Stalinists to the point of view of the Left Opposition was the greater. Once again the Stalinists in America voted for a slogan proposed by the Left Opposition which they had previously denounced as "counter-revolutionary." In voting for this slogan of the Left Opposition, they at the same time dealt a terrific blow to the theory of socialism in one country and to the knee-bending reactionary diplomacy of Stalin, subordinating back-door deals with the bourgeois governments to the revolutionary solidarity of the international working class—which flows from that illogical "theory." That was what was really involved. And that was a genuine victory for Communism as a real step forward for the Left wing of American labor in the struggle against unemployment and capitalist misery.

— Ed.

SUBSCRIBE TO "UNSER WORT"

Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to *Unser Wort*, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague.

The paper appears every other week. Subscriptions are for a year only and are \$2.00. Subscriptions must be accompanied by currency. Checks and money orders will not do.

Comrades who subscribe must take into account the time element involved. They must allow time for their subs to reach the center here, and ten days for the sub to reach Prague and on top of that ten days to two weeks additional for the paper to reach them. In short, the first copy should reach the comrade about three weeks after remittance to us.

Address all subs to *Unser Wort*, care of the Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

CLASS IN "CAPITAL"

A course in Karl Marx's Capital is being given at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Ave., by Albert Weisbord. The course will be held every Wednesday evening at 8:30 from May 31st to August 1st, including 11 sessions.

The unique feature of this course is that "Capital" will be given page by page and the ideas explained just as Marx gives them.

A Fighting Farmer Subscribes: Are You a Subscriber?

We print below a letter we received from one of our subscriber friends in the middle West. The letter is one of many. All these letters tell the same story. The Militant is important to these workers because it gives them a Marxist understanding of working class problems.

Are you one of these workers? Do you read the Militant every week or only now and then? Events are moving rapidly. No class-conscious workers can afford to take an indifferent attitude toward the developing world situation. He should read the Militant regularly. The rates are so priced as to make it possible for everyone who is working to subscribe \$2 a year for fifty two issues and fifty cents for twenty six issues and fifty cents for a trial sub of 13 issues.

A LETTER FROM SO. DAKOTA

Strool, S. D., May 28, 1933.

The Militant

Comrades:

I received the notice that my sub has expired. I see Miller subscribed for me for six months and I had forgotten how long it ran—things are moving so fast these days that the time slips by on a person. I am a sheep man and I will have some coin in a few days when I sell my wool and I will send you two dollars for another year if you will please continue the paper. Right now I am broke.

Since reading the Militant I can see your position and the position of the party and I look forward to the coming of each copy. It grounds me that there has to be so damn much friction in the ranks of the rebels but what we look back over the pages of history, I think the old sap head people are doing pretty good to have taken over one country and held power as long as this. I can plainly see how the rest of the world might jump on the neck of the USSR and try to take it away from the people but the people at home might raise a little hell too.

Out here we are organizing the farmers into local committees of action—we are building the soviets and the farmers don't realize it yet. I find that we can organize just as fast as we can get them. Our programme is to resist evictions and to secure necessary relief in the form of work or cash.

Although the work has just started we are going along at a rapid rate, considering the distance between the neighbors and the fact that there have been so few evictions. I find that the young fellows are keen for action although they don't take any active part in meetings.

I suppose you are aware of the National Committee for Action in Washington and the relief conference that we have been putting on all over the country (united front). The party furnishes the leadership but we have to depend on non-party men to carry on the work in the field because there are not enough party men to go around. I don't belong to the party but I have been drawn into the work and will end up in jail one of these days but they can't put us all in.

After we get organized here so that we have enough strength and they jail anyone, we will go up to the county seat and tear down the jail because it is rather weak and it is in an inland town with a small population.

If you have any men you can spare you should volunteer some help to the National Committee 16221, S. W. Washington, D. C. If you have a list of the literature and the price I would like to have it so as I could order some a little later on. I want some of Trotsky's speech at Copenhagen.

Your truly,

A.

Unemployed and employed workers: Demand the extension of long term credits to Soviet Russia, which will bring Soviet orders to open American factories and relieve unemployment!

AMONG THE YOUTH

An Open Letter to the N.Y.D. Committee

We publish below an important letter sent by the Spartacus Youth Club to the National Youth Day United Front Committee. The letter speaks for itself.—Ed.

June 5, 1933.
N. Y. National Youth Day United Front Committee:

Dear Comrades,
The Spartacus Youth Club addresses this communication to you to sharply protest the actions of the committee in charge of the demonstration held in Harlem on National Youth Day. We wish to further the protest the conduct of members of the organization which initiated and is in the leadership of this united front, the Young Communist League.

The executive committee of the Conference had decided that various representatives of the participating groups would speak at the demonstration. At the last minute it was decided that too many speakers were scheduled and a number of speakers were arbitrarily eliminated from the list, among them the representatives of the Spartacus Youth Club. But that did not suffice. Three or four comrades who had not been scheduled to speak were given the platform, clearly showing the dishonesty of the reason for the cutting down of the speakers list, that is lack of time. A united front cannot be organized on such a basis.

Open air meetings were held by non-participating groups around the demonstration. The committee refused to stop them. This helped in the general confusion and lack of order. More important than even that, we charge members of the Young Communist League with violating the program of the united front by tearing leaflets issued by participating groups—the copies of the Militant and Young Spartacus, organ of the Spartacus Youth Club, and the leaflets of the Young Communist League. Opposition—Love some group. Despite the fact that some fighting ensued the comrades responsible for the demonstration and for the conduct of the YCL members refused to intervene. The Red Front Fighters, under whose initiative we do not know, formed a cordon sanitaire around the members of the Spartacus Youth Club thus dividing the demonstration into two and causing disruption. These actions were brought to the attention of the chairman of the steering committee and the district organizer of the Young Communist League. Both denied any knowledge of disorderly conduct or of the action of the Red Front Fighters. After some persuasion, the chairman consented to investigate, but when he saw the circle of the Red Front Fighters, around our comrades he very innocently pretended indignation at us for protesting against the Red Front Fighters' participation in the demonstration! When the torn copies of the Militant and Young Spartacus which were lying on the ground were shown to him, he walked away without a word. The steering committee is responsible for the conduct of the Red Front Fighters.

A lynch spirit existed among the YCLers. Despite the fact that the Daily Worker, the Liberator and other papers were distributed and sold they refused to allow the sale and distribution of our papers. Was this a united front demonstration or a meeting of the YCL and the Communist Party?

It was solely due to the discipline of the members of the Spartacus Youth Club and their refusal to be provoked which prevented an actual riot at the demonstration. The police would have intervened and the value of the united front would have been lost.

We demand that in the united front the participating groups refrain from physical attacks or provocations which would lead to it. We demand the right of every participating group to sell or distribute its literature at united front meetings or demonstrations without interference.

We further demand that the National Youth Day United Front

Conference precisely define its attitude toward the conduct of the steering committee and its chairman at the National Youth Day Demonstration and the conduct of the members of the Young Communist League.

For this purpose we present the following resolutions:

1. The National Youth Day United Front Conference criticizes the conduct of the steering committee and its chairman at the Harlem demonstration for:

(a) discriminating against speakers.

(b) permitting other groups to hold open air meetings around the demonstration without control of the steering committee;

(c) permitting the Red Front Fighters to disrupt the demonstration by forming a cordon around the members of the Spartacus Youth Club;

(d) not calling to order the members of the Young Communist League for provoking fist fights and tearing up leaflets and papers at the demonstration. The Young Communist League, as any other organization, is responsible for the conduct of its membership. We suggest that the Young Communist League inform its members that they must refrain from any physical attacks or provocations on the members of other groups and maintain discipline during United Front action.

3. We declare that every group participating in the United Front maintains its full right of criticism but must refrain from any physical attacks or provocations. That every group has the right to sell or distribute its literature at the United Front meetings and demonstrations except at the time when comrades are speaking.

4. We believe that by the adoption of this resolution we can go ahead with our work and convert the United Front on National Youth Day to a broad united action against Roosevelt's starvation program, against Fascism, against imperialist war, and for the defense of the Soviet Union, on the basis of a concrete minimum program. If this resolution is carried out we can proceed with the preparations for a conference for this purpose.

The non-Communist youth, as well as the Communist youth organized in the Spartacus Youth Club, will reject the kind of united action dished out in Harlem on National Youth Day. The present conference must decisively and clearly condemn such tactics.

Fraternally,

Perry Meyers, Sec'y

National Youth Day in Perth Amboy

Perth Amboy—National Youth Day in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, resulted in one of the most brutal attacks by the police who used tear gas bombs, guns, nightsticks and clubs against the workers, young and old girls, children, women, Negro and white in order to break up the demonstration. About 500 youth and workers had come to participate in the parade from all parts of the state of New Jersey. The YCL was represented by Passaic, Paterson, Jersey City, Trenton, Perth Amboy, Newark, Elizabeth and other cities of the state. One of the features was the large number of Negro youth and children present. The Left Opposition was represented by the comrades of the Perth Amboy unit of the Communist League of Struggle.

The parade was formed on Elm street; we marched through the city to the city field to hold our meeting and to carry through our sport event program. The songs and shouted slogans of the marchers gave a fine spirit to the parade and made a good impression. When we got to the city field all the police were lined up and refused to give the marchers the use of it but after a meeting with a committee, they decided to let us use Coppers field at the other end of the city.

At Coppers field the meeting was called to order by Alexander who was followed by Charles White, Rebecca Grecht and Frolman. In every way the police tried to disturb the meeting but finding they could not do so made their plans for a regular attack. Police, dicks and thugs of the American Legion began to infiltrate the demonstration and then at a signal a group of them came over to the platform, demanded a permit for the meeting and kicking over the platform began to slag the workers. Without the slightest provocation guns were drawn, shots fired, gas bombs hurled and a terrific beating given to the workers. Several of the comrades were badly hurt and sent to the hospital and nine were arrested.

Throughout the demonstration and the events that followed the Left Opposition, through the members of the Communist League of Struggle, took a very active part. They were the last to leave the grounds and were given responsibility to take care of the affair after it was broken up, getting bail, sending out various committees to get help, etc. There is no doubt that the prestige of the Left Opposition was greatly raised in Perth Amboy by our correct and prompt action. The party members now see that far from being counter-revolutionists we know how to take our place in the front ranks of the struggle.

— SAM FISHER

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Letters from the Nazi Inferno

Letters from Rhineland

Above all, the Nazis are preoccupied with preparations for the First of May. All the factory workers must appear at 8 a. m. sharp at their places of work. Then everybody is to proceed to the public square and from there to the churches, in company with the veterans' associations, etc. No one knows where those who dissent are to gather. It seems that several of the stouter characters refused to obey this injunction; for example, a well known machine factory. The bosses declared against the use of any coercion—their factory was a place of work and not a headquarters for political assemblies. Aside from this, they categorically refused to hoist the swastika on their rooftops. The money which had been collected for the purchase of the flag was sent back by them.

Up to the middle of the last year, one of our comrades was the leader of the section in our town. A certain X... unfurled a strong anti-Trotsky campaign and our comrade was not long in getting himself expelled. After his expulsion, X... was appointed in his place. Even at that time, the rank and file had a great distrust for X... and rose up against the expulsion of our comrade. But the bureaucrats imposed X... upon the workers. Today, in gratitude to the bureaucrats, X... turns all of them over to the Storm Troops and the concentration camps.

38 police functionaries have been summarily dismissed. The reason for this is to be sought in the fact that the chief of the section taught the Schupo (Reichshunter) the use of arms. This man has fled. His activity was betrayed by a member of the Schupo.

The "nature colonies" here have been occupied by the S. T. and the Hitler Youth. The Nazis do not forget anything. They are seizing hold of all domains of life and placing them under the control of the police.

Yesterday I witnessed the following incident: A Storm Trooper argued with a man of about 60 in the street. In the course of the argument, the S. T. beat the old man bloody and knocked him down to the ground. His right temple was an open wound and blood was flowing down his face. The passersby were aroused and hurried off at the S. T. Words like these were heard: "Watch out, when the times change, take care!" Such scenes are not rare here.

The Nazi march on May 1 was quite imposing. It is true that it resembled more a country fair show than a demonstration. It was without movement and without enthusiasm. Depression among the workers, who had to participate under threat of discharge. Here and there, petty bourgeois drinking alcohol from the bottle.

In some places the party comrades still were able to hoist the red flag on a chimney; the S. T. naturally soon came to take them down.

The party distributed a leaflet: "Under the Sign of the Cross." It was so dull and confusing that no one could make it out. The party comrades are so awkward in distributing leaflets, that they are caught en masse. Later, when the Nazi tribunals sentence them to two years in prison, the papers write: "Indignant judges."

Letter from the South West
Here conditions differ greatly according to the districts; first, as to the methods of the new power and then, relative to the party. The strongest oppression is felt in the Palatinate, where there has been an extraordinary number of arrests and where the petty bourgeois elements are greatly aroused against the working class. For our comrades too, the work is of unheard-of difficulty in these regions. But in the big centers, our organization works very well and has remained completely intact. Here the party is nearly finished. To the degree to which their members do not realize the whole weight and the full extent of the situation, it is still possible to be sure, for them to count on some activity. But certain sections of the town have already collapsed.

Letter from Thuringia
After the collapse of the C.P.G., the members became very much accessible to our literature. Those who have remained without an organization seek a new leadership. There isn't any more social democratic literature at all. We cannot complain about that. Some sections of the reformist trade union bureaucracy have, however, published some sheets without any political tendency.

Among the members of the CPG there is great indignation against the criminal leadership; nevertheless, the organizational conservatism still retains a hold on a number of workers with whom our bonds are becoming strengthened. Stool-pigeonry is very much widespread in the party (illegal regional bureaus are ransacked, as well as print shops and conferences; there are mass arrests). The great number of Lumpenproletarians who are now orienting toward "Aryanism" is the cause of this. The S. A. P. and the Brandler opposition are still working, but remains out of contact with their leaderships. Possibilities of legal work have completely disappeared. At the Municipal Assemblies there are at most a few rare social democrats. There are no representatives of the C.P.

The Truth About Conditions in the Labor Movement

Some very prominent social democrats have signed declarations in which they say that they will not have anything more to do with Marxism (Grell, former minister of Public Education in "red" Thuringia; Seele, head of the Reichsbanner and Landtag deputy; Kuhn, Landtag deputy, etc.). Some "Communist" leaders also fell on their knees at the police headquarters. (Töpfer-Wehnert, secretary of the Communist Landtag fraction in Thuringia; the chairman of the C.P. in Thuringia and of the municipal fraction; Schurf, Landtag deputy, etc.) Here is a short report and a sad balance.

Letter from Hamburg
Several middle provincial organizations of the S.P.G. (Bruswick, etc.) have dissolved. The Free Trade Unions have taken the stand of insulating themselves on the new state (this letter was written before Ley's trade union act of May 2—Ed.), emphasize their complete independence of political parties and their services for the German nation. In their meetings, they still all discuss in the bud.

The S.P.G. wherever it still exists, has done away with all the regular district meetings and reports all those which do take place, to the police, which prohibits them. Which is just to the fakers' liking!

The S.P.G. workers, in spite of their final break with reformism and in spite of their revolutionary reorientation, do not, nevertheless, take the C.P.G. seriously any more than they have in the past. They say: "Yes, and you Communists, what have you done? Just as little as our own party."

In the C.P.G. there are strong petulant tendencies, but also strong tendencies opposing them. Sometimes, petulant slogans are sneared over the walls of the houses during the night. The stools have penetrated very deeply into the party; that is shown by the very skillful methods of arrest. Policemen declare that of themselves they can find nothing; everything is done by anonymous denunciations, which come in wholesale and are in great part worthless, but sufficiently useful for the police to enable them to make several arrests a day.

The proletarian quarters in the city are submitted to raids on the very greatest scale, from time to time. These sections of the city are shut off for the whole day, and domicile after domicile is carefully searched. Many typewriters and mimeograph machines are found. In the central bureau for the organization of the Anti-Fascist congress, which was discovered, 18,000 Bafelund stamps were confiscated.

The Discussion on Germany

Resolution of Left Opposition Youth Group of Southeast Berlin on the Question of the New Party

1. The victory of Fascism in Germany has closed the period of our struggle for a turn in the CPG to the policy of the united front, and opened the period of struggle for the creation of the new party. That is a fixed fact on which there are no differences within the ranks of the L.O.

2. Nevertheless a fairly large group of comrades (represented by E.B. in No. 3 of Unser Wort) is of the opinion that it is impossible to set up the slogan of the new party immediately, since this does not correspond to the mentality of most party members, who still need additional experience with their party. We decidedly reject such a viewpoint as well as their whole way of posing the question. In our orientation, we are guided not by the fluctuating moods of the masses, but by the objective facts. These are: (a) organizational as well as political collapse of the CPG; (b) the impossibility of rescuing this party from disintegration; (c) the impossibility of this party's ever again winning the confidence of the working class. The recognition of these facts will inevitably penetrate among the party members as a result of their further experience with the party and will direct their sympathies toward the L.O., but only under the condition that we tell them the hard truth in its full extent, without being afraid of temporary unpopularity.

With the arguments with which E.B. justifies his rejection of the propaganda for a new party under present conditions, one might just as well have rejected the propaganda for the united front policy in the previous period. Only yesterday the party members considered our demand for the Leninist united front as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"; today they are convinced of our correctness. Today they reject the slogan of the new party, but tomorrow will convince them of its necessity. If we do not tell them in time, they will try to find a way out in other directions and greatly increase the difficulties of the necessary work of building the new party.

3. The recognition of propaganda for the new party does not mean that we turn this slogan into an ultimatum. In this respect we fully support the slogan of E.B. "cadres for the purpose of checking over the past and clarifying the situation." We consider this slogan as the correct link in the chain for

The instructions of the party to the members prove its entire incapability. In one circular it says that dues stamps for April are still to be pasted into the membership books; furthermore, at cell meetings, control of membership books is to take place. Even after the opening of the Reichstag, membership meetings of as many as 80 men used to take place, all of which were naturally raided. Even meetings of the ILD were sacked.

There are stool-pigeons in even the most internal meetings. They suddenly expose themselves by naming those who are to be arrested by the police, after their arrival. The stools are, or have been for the most part, functionaries.

Sentiment is predominantly depressing. In the party there is, to be sure, a great deal of optimism, which is strongly nurtured from above. "Time is working for us, we still stand before the decisive battles," the masses are turning away from the Nazis in huge numbers, because of their "margarine" policy (the reference is to the policy of emergency measures which the Nazis substitute for the grandiose pre-election promises—Ed.). However, the party did not want to see any differences at all among the housewife. Today it is clinging to them. It does not say that only the class struggle forces of the proletariat can bring the downfall of the Fascist dictatorship, but issues the opinion that Blomberg with his Reichswehr, International Jewry, America and England will bring this about.

The publications of the party are on a very low plane. The leaflets are addressed to all possible strata, but do not gather the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. The S.P.G. is designated in these leaflets as the "main social support of the Fascist government."

The party has sharpened the struggle against the Left Opposition. It utilizes the most repulsive methods. In Wandsworth a list of expelled Oppositionists was found by the police with remarks like the following: "At the time of the seizure of power by the Communists these people are to be turned over, arrested and made harmless." A Left Oppositionist was given to understand in a discussion that he ought to guard himself, they would not shrink back even from denunciation. Another comrade was threatened with a physical attack. Expulsions and insults have not stopped.

The Nazi terror strikes us Oppositionists as well: arrests, threats and deportation to concentration camps. But, by and large, our organization has taken all the necessary measures of precaution for security. Publication is carried on undisturbed. There is even a better sale of publications than previously. A slow stream toward the L. O. is becoming noticeable; connections all around are being strengthened.

At the time of the first capitulation they could still foster the illusion: "Work in the party," "Contact in the party," "Influence upon the masses." Today there is not even a trace of these illusions left. Zinoviev and Kamenev do not return from the opposition to the party, but merely from exile to Moscow. Stalin needs their return for the selfsame purpose for which he needed the appearance of Bukharin and Rykov on the tribune during the celebration of May Day; thereby, the void around the "leader," if not filled up, then at least concealed.

The failure of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's first capitulation, which had a political character, proved to be a relentless, and thereby an all the more effective demonstration of the correctness of the Left Opposition; the party can be served only by serving its ideas and not its devastated apparatus. The second capitulation, which has a purely personal character, strengthens that conclusion from the opposite end. Like Gogol's hero, Stalin gathers together dead souls for want of the living. The salvaging of the heritage of Bolshevism, the training up of new revolutionary succession, remains not only the historical task but also a lofty privilege of the Left Opposition.

— L. T.
Prinkipo, May 23, 1933.

A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

Another Word About Heckert's Apologetics

The article by H. E. in previous issues of the Militant dealt with the rabid frothings of Fritz Heckert against Trotsky which were "unanimously adopted" by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America.

One passage in that memorable speech of Heckert's had not, however, as yet been given an answer by the actual events. This answer has since arrived, and in full measure, at that.

Heckert said literally: "But what this Hitler-Trotskyist platform of the 'United Front' represents in reality, a platform created to exonerate the S. P. G. is proved by the facts and events themselves which took place at the very moment when Trotsky wrote his article. Trotsky poses the defense of Leipart's unions as the second point of a common front between the Communists and the social democracy. At the same time, however, Trotsky's ally Leipart is delivering the trade unions to Hitler, declaring that the ADGB (German General Federation of Labor Unions) accepts the reorganization of the trade unions according to the Italian example. The facts have thus exposed in cruel fashion the counter-revolutionary significance of the 'platform' of the social-Hitler-

On Zinoviev and Kamenev

So they have once more capitulated. The Soviet press reports it triumphantly and the T.A.S.S. communicates the capitulation to the whole world. Meanwhile, it is hard to conceive of a fact which more mercilessly compromises not only the capitulators themselves but also the regime which requires such sacrifices. Broken backbones can no longer serve as props. And the Stalinist apparatus has become a machine for crushing backbones.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were subjected a few months before to expulsion from the party and exile not because of any oppositional activity of their own, but because of "knowledge of and failure to report" oppositional activity of the right wing. At all events, this was only a formal cause. The real reason was the fact that in the atmosphere of general discontentment, Zinoviev and Kamenev constituted a danger. They did it, it is true, capitulate back in January 1928. But to whom? To the anonymous bureaucracy passing under the name of the party. Today, such a capitulation has lost all value. One must acknowledge the infallibility of Stalin in order to have the right to live and breathe politically.

Zinoviev and Kamenev simply could not force themselves to such a moral prostration. They had been in the Lenin staff too long for that, too well did they know Stalin, his role in the past and his real caliber. The oath of personal fidelity to Stalin simply stuck in their throats. And that was just why they were expelled.

It is not hard to imagine what took place afterwards behind the scenes. For some time now the apparatus has been calculating that Stalin's leadership is costing the party too dear. Stalin himself feels it. It didn't go, of course, without the mediation and humble intercession on the part of the so-called "old Bolsheviks" on the one side, and their cynical exhortations on the other. "Acknowledge his genius—that costs very little nowadays—and come back to Moscow; after all, it is better to be in the party." And Zinoviev and Kamenev "acknowledged," that is, they finally sank down to the depths. Their personal fate is profoundly tragic. If the future historian will aim to show how pitilessly the epochs of great convulsions devastate men, he will bring forward the example of Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Since the Bradford Conference (Aug. 1932) the membership has further declined. At the same time a deep ferment developed in the ranks. The Revolutionary Policy Committee, a group formed months previously, continued to issue its own literature and hold meetings, some of which were advertised in the official organ of the I.L.P. in

The British I.L.P. Turns Leftward

The present world economic crisis and the pre-revolutionary crisis of British capitalism has had a marked effect on the entire English labor movement. This is particularly true of the traditionally left reformist party, the Independent Labour Party. A gauge of the growing maturity of a revolutionary crisis can often be found in the changes which the parties of socialist centrist undergo. These changes are seldom fundamental; they are rather changes of form and modes of expression.

To the party of J. Keir Hardie, which, immersed in the "practical" political tasks of the day, scoffed at the German theoreticians, Marx and Engels; the party which produced leading spokesmen for the House of Lords, the bourgeois prime minister, MacDonald, the aspiring Fascist, Mosley—suddenly, at Bradford last August proclaimed itself the party of revolutionary Marxism! The I.L.P. withdrew from the Labour Party, which it had built, on the grounds that its parliamentary representatives were refused to criticize and vote against the Labour Party in parliament. This led to the organization of the Socialist League by those who wanted to continue the old policy, among them such leaders as H. N. Brailsford and Fred Henderson.

Up to the formation of the Communist party (1920-21) the Independent Labour Party contained some of the best revolutionary socialists in Britain. Such an outstanding spokesman of the present Communist party as R. Palme Dutt, a Left Centrist of high calibre, got his training in the I.L.P. After the World War, the Independent Labour Party made advances towards the Communist international; addressed a number of fundamental questions to it. The reply drafted by Lenin, made even the more "radical" leaders lukewarm. Supporting the view of a democratic or parliamentary "revolution" to attain socialism, criticizing the Labour Party's open collaboration with the British imperialists, and permitting wide differences of opinion and action within the party, the Independent Labour Party has succeeded in keeping thousands of militant workers from the Communist party.

Despite this, the I.L.P. in recent years lost many members. The following figures speak for themselves:

1909—28,000
1914—20,000
1919—32,000
1921—37,000
Aug. 1932—72,000

Since the Bradford Conference (Aug. 1932) the membership has further declined. At the same time a deep ferment developed in the ranks. The Revolutionary Policy Committee, a group formed months previously, continued to issue its own literature and hold meetings, some of which were advertised in the official organ of the I.L.P. in

Realignments in the Camp of English Reformism

London and Lancashire, especially the influence of the R.P.C. was strong. The leaders of this group, Jack Gaster, C. K. Cullen and others—most of them intellectuals—call themselves Leninists. In the divisional conferences held last February they presented their program for stricter discipline in the I.L.P. for a revolutionary policy, the immediate organization of workers' councils (soviets) which would develop into a counter parliament, and for an approach to the Third International for collaboration. At the London and South Divisional and Lancashire Conferences their proposals were accepted. At the latter conference a resolution for immediate affiliation to the Comintern was rejected.

The belated manifesto (March, 1933) of the Communist International for united front against Fascism was hailed by the I.L.P. as a vindication of its viewpoint. It had participated on Feb. 4th in the Left Socialist Parties' conference at Paris which appealed to the Labor and Socialist International and the Comintern for united front against Fascism. A. Fenner Brockway wrote: "The greatest significance attaches to this manifesto because of the recommendation to the Communist Parties to cease the attacks upon other sections of the working class as a basis of united action can be found." (New Leader—3-10-33—Emphasis in original.)

The I.L.P. addressed an invitation to the C.P., the Labour Party, the Co-operative Party and the Trade Union Congress for united front on a definite minimum program against Fascism and the capitalist offensive at home. Only the Communist party accepted and a number of demonstrations have been held throughout the country by joint committees. The "recommendation" of the Comintern was swallowed by the robot leaders of the British C.P. who quickly forgot that "this demand of the I.L.P.'ers, whether locally or nationally, for the dropping of criticism is a demand which must be mercilessly fought." British Daily Worker, 8-13-32.

The I.L.P.'s forty-first annual conference, last April, met under such conditions: a sharp crisis in British imperialism, the victory of Fascism in Germany, a steady decline in membership, growing contentment towards Communism in its own ranks and the beginning of united front action between the Communist Party and the I.L.P. The address of Brockway on the effect of the decisions of the Bradford conference, the need for an extra-parliamentary institution, work-

ers' councils, to unite the working class for the overthrowing of capitalism and the subordinate role of the bourgeois parliament was acclaimed by the Conference. A resolution to support the unemployed organization led by the Communist party, the N.I.M.W., was carried overwhelmingly after some dispute.

A sharp fight occurred on the question of international affiliation. The National Council of the I.L.P. recommended disaffiliation from the Labour and Socialist International. A resolution was introduced supporting disaffiliation and instructing the National Council "To approach the Secretariat of the Communist International with a view to ascertaining in what way the I.L.P. may assist in the work of the international." The mover of the resolution made it clear that he was not asking for affiliation to the Communist International but collaboration in whatever form is agreed upon. John Panton, secretary of the party, supported the National Council's view and polemized against the resolution calling for approach to the Comintern. Jack Gaster defended the resolution. The vote was very close. The resolution carried by a vote of 83 to 70.

Another resolution, which embodied the full program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, offered a new constitution for the party. It emphasized the function of the workers' councils and the subordinate role of the parliament. It was then strongly opposed by the old guard, particularly F. W. Jowett, who stated that the I.L.P. should aim to achieve socialism by parliamentary means. The leaders of the R.P.C. supported the new constitution. According to the New Leader report of the proceedings (4-21-33) "by 80 votes to 5, (the) Conference rejected the vital section of the new Constitution." Apparently the most ambiguous terminology was desired!

An interesting part of the Conference was the attempt to introduce stricter discipline in the I.L.P. A motion to introduce a probationary period in which the applicant for membership would be tested was rejected. Further an amendment was introduced "safeguarding" discipline by disciplinary action on account of their objection to take part in war, was withdrawn on an understanding from John Panton that the N.A.C. would accept its intention! A truly revolutionary socialist party!

A resolution for united front action with the C.P., Labour Party, etc., was adopted after some discussion. The new national council although containing supporters of the Revolutionary Policy Committee like Jack Gaster is in the main controlled by the Brockway-Maxton tendency in the I.L.P.

The Comintern has replied to the request of the I.L.P. for collaboration. Instead of issuing a programmatic declaration so as to win the revolutionary workers within the I.L.P. to Communism, the Stalinist bureaucracy has confined itself to merely welcoming the step and declaring its readiness to collaborate with the I.L.P. A most excellent opportunity missed to educate the ranks of the I.L.P. But Stalinism, once again taken by surprise, is uncertain as to the next steps; it is in a quandary.

The American Stalinists claim the results of the I.L.P. conference and particularly the resolution to approach the C.I., which they incorrectly interpret as application for membership, as a victory "for the united front policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain. (Daily Worker—4-17-33) What sheer nonsense! In the last few years, the British party carried on the cruelest attacks of any section of the Comintern. Subordination to the "Lefts" during the British miners' and general strike in 1926; its constant changes on the parliamentary field which were understood by no one; suddenly the third period with its "independent" leadership of strikes and the building of new unions; then the famous Charter campaign which was an attempt of a united front mass movement which was still-born, its policy of falsification, etc., alienated the best sections of the I.L.P. from the British party. The proof is the fact that few of them were won for the party.

In the columns of the Labour Monthly a discussion has been going on for some time on "Communism and Left Socialism" of some value. But the practical activities of the party (with the exception of its unemployment work which has been fruitfully negated most of the gains made in that manner. In more recent times the Communist Review has contained articles which attempt to discuss the problems of the Left Socialists. But the influence of the British party on the Independent Labour Party or the Revolutionary Policy Committee is negligible.

The tendency towards Communism in the I.L.P. is due primarily to the awakening of the more conscious elements within it to the impasse in which British imperialism and world imperialism finds itself today. It appears paradoxical that at a time when Stalinism has failed miserably in Germany these elements approach the Comintern. From one point of view it shows their own political immaturity, from another, and more fundamental view, is an indication that they correctly do not identify Communism with Stalinism.

The view of the more advanced (Continued on Page 4)

Good Response to Appeal

We have received the following communication from the American Committee of the International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition):

"We wish to thank the friends of the October revolution who have responded so promptly and generously to our appeal for help to the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union. Gratifying as the response has been, however, it is only a drop in the bucket compared to the needs of the revolutionary fighters who are undergoing the severest privations in the struggle for their convictions. We ask all those who wish to keep intact the reservoir of revolutionary energy and experience represented by these men to renew their efforts to help us raise the funds which are so urgently needed.

"We wish to report the results of our efforts from the organization of the American Committee to the close of May 31, 1933 as follows: RECEIPTS from donations, \$373.75

EXPENDITURES:

Remitted to International Commission	340.00
Cost of remittances and cable charges	17.84
Printing and Stationery	10.25
Mailing costs	3.96

Total Expenditures \$372.05

BALANCE on hand

May 31, 1933, \$ 1.70

"We are not publishing the names of individual donors, as some of them have requested us not to make their names public, but we acknowledge all donations individually.

"Some of the letters which we have received accompanying donations show such splendid spirit that we cannot refrain from quoting a few:

"Dear Comrade,
"Enclosed please find a money order for two (2) dollars, which is a donation to the fund for the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists to help them along and save their lives. We consider them the real comrades, and further we consider their banishment as the blackest spot on the body of the Soviet State committed by Stalinist bureaucracy. The contributors are as follows:
M.K. \$1.00, J.C. 50c, K.C. 50c.
With Communist greetings,
K.C., Bethlehem, Pa."

"Dear Comrade,
"Read the April 15th appeal of the Militant for contributions for our comrades exiled by the Stalinists.
"Enclosed please find \$2.00. Sorry it isn't more. I had this money set aside to purchase painting materials, but it will give me more pleasure knowing of the good to be gained from it for our poor comrades in distress.
Sincerely yours,
I, New York City."

"Dear Comrade,
"Please accept my dollar as subscription for our comrades of the Russian Left Opposition who are struggling in exile from Stalin's persecution.
Old Comrade L. F.,
San Francisco, Cal.
P.S. LONG LIFE TO COMRADE L. TROTSKY!"
"Remittances should be addressed to:
Sidney Hook
234 Lincoln Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y.
With Communist greetings,
The American Committee of the International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition)
By
B. J. Field, Secretary."

From "Unser Wort"

Apropos the Foreign Policy of the Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

any, that is to say, counting upon a reinforcement of the workers' state and of the German proletariat. Developments took the opposite road. Today, when the German workers are crushed, when the Soviet state has been weakened, the course to adventurism of the purest war.

Without such a course, that is, without direct preparations for revolutionary war and the insurrection in Germany, the breaking-off of diplomatic relations and the economic boycott would only be an impotent and miserable gesture. The absence of Russian orders would, it is true, increase somewhat the number of the unemployed. But has there been a lack of unemployed for the revolution up to the present? What was lacking was a revolutionary party and a correct policy. That is doubly lacking at present. We cannot avoid examining now the question as to whom economic reprisals would benefit in Germany: Fascism or the proletariat. It is clear that the general problem of the conjuncture is not solved by Soviet orders. Reciprocally, the refusal of economic connections with Germany would, on the other hand, hit Soviet economy heavily, and consequently, the workers' state still more.

We repeat: the Stalinist faction bears a direct and immediate responsibility for the collapse of the Chinese revolution, for the destruction of the German proletariat and for the weakening of the workers' state. Along this fundamental line, the struggle against it must be conducted. It is necessary to cleanse the world labor movement of the leprosy of Stalinism. But it is necessary to fight against the roots of the malady and not against the symptoms of its inevitable consequences.

In the struggle against bureaucratic centrism, we remain, as Marxists, on the grounds of revolutionary realism. If the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition) were at the head of the Soviet state today, they would be forced, in their immediate, practical acts, to proceed from the relation of forces that has resulted from ten years of epigonic policy. They would be forced, particularly, to maintain diplomatic and economic connections with Hitlerist Germany. At the same time, they would prepare themselves for revenge. That is a great task, which requires time, which is not solved by a demonstrative gesture, but which demands a radical change of policy in all spheres.

— L. TROTSKY

Borders Loses in Split; Group Firm for Unity

(Continued from page 1)

the workers demanded a genuine united front, and second, he learned from his own organization that his attempt to split the Unemployed Federation brought a split in his own Workers Committee. The majority of the Workers Committee, led by George Leach and others, are continuing with the Federation. Borders received a majority vote on the city central committee, but the Unemployed Federation received the majority of its members and the largest locals.

— HUGO OEHLE

The I.L.P. Turns Left

(Continued from page 3)

workers in the I.L.P.—and they are unfortunately in a very small minority—is expressed in a statement issued by four members previous to the I.L.P. conference. These comrades clearly state that the place of all revolutionary workers is in the Communist party. They point out that the I.L.P. is a social democratic organization and cannot be reformed; that the Revolutionary Policy Committee course in this direction is false and futile. They further point out that the present Communist party has a number of serious shortcomings which require discussion. They immerse the theories and policies upon which they cannot agree: the theory of socialism in one country, the policy of the united front from below, the policy exemplified by the Amsterdam anti-war congress, and the absence of party democracy. They call upon the I.L.P. members to join them in this struggle.

The Left Opposition comrades, who have recently issued a printed organ, *Red Flag*, have a great task to their shoulders: to win the revolutionary workers of the I.L.P. for the Communism of Marx and Lenin, to educate the members of the Communist party along the line of the Left Opposition. On the basis of the lessons of the British General Strike and the Anglo-Russian Committee, the recent teachings of the German events, the program of the Left Opposition on the colonial question and in the Soviet Union, our comrades in Great Britain should forge ahead rapidly.

— JOSEPH CARTER

* This statement will appear in the forthcoming issue of *The Militant*. —Ed.

N. Y. Anti-Eviction Meet

Party Adopts Slogan of Long Term Credits to SU

(Continued from page 1)

consideration of this ruling to exclude the Left wing and passed a motion to that effect by majority vote. It was ruled out of order, in true bureaucratic style, by the cynical socialist impressarios who fished out an unheard-of alibi—"a two thirds vote is necessary for reconsideration" (!). Let the reader keep in mind that the Lovestonites have been part and parcel of this conference and share the responsibility for its treacherous deeds.

Winter's Report

The united front conference opened with an able presentation by Carl Winter, secretary of the provisional committee, of its past history and the persistent endeavors it made to consummate a united front with the socialists and Lovestonite unemployed groups. The latter remained obstinate and blocked the path of united struggle. Despite constant appeal they refused to participate jointly in the demonstrations with the Unemployed Councils at the Home Relief Bureau and went out of their way to avoid common action. The last straw in their stack of deliberate division of the movement was the setting of a separate date for the city-wide demonstration to be held at the City Hall against the eviction and relief-slashing orders of Tammany Hall. This anti-working class move was perpetrated with the socialist leaders in full knowledge of the sincere desire of the United Front Conference for one demonstration on June 6th. All the pleas, negotiations, committees and reasons were to no avail. The reformists were determined to proceed with their own demonstration on June 6th. Towards this end they sent lying reports to the press accusing the Left wing conference of standing in the way of a united demonstration.

Winter exploded this nonsense, which flew in the face of all the previous facts and explained that when the Right wing unemployed groups were forced into a hole by the protests of their rank and file, they adopted the reactionary excuse offered by the Lovestonites that they were ready for joint action provided there were no political banners at the demonstration. He closed with the statement that the Left wing conference would be present at the demonstration on June 6th with the banners of all organizations carried above the demonstrators.

Then followed a pitiful sight. A delegation of three, the Lovestonite Rubenstein, of the Association of the Unemployed, and two others representing the socialist jobs movement, requested and received the floor to make an appeal for unity. This was granted to them. They only reiterated their abominable conditions for the demonstration: no political banners. The rejection accorded to them was cordial but their proposal went against the grain of the militants present.

Characterizing the attitude of the conference towards the "concessions" offered, was a resolution introduced by Amter for the resolutions committee which properly castigated the socialists for their violation of the decisions accepted in the Chicago conference and for their subsequent sabotage. To prevent the Stalinists from retreating from the position of the united front, so painfully acquired, Comrade William Kitt of the Alteration Painters' Union, presented an amendment to the resolution calling for another "appeal for united action of all working class organizations and for one powerful demonstration on June 6th and a united delegation." Both the resolution and the amendment were unanimously

accepted by the conference. The proposal to demonstrate on June 6th was also carried. The delegate from the L. O. speaks of a purely agitational character. It was only when the delegate of the Left Opposition, George Clarke, took the floor that a silence of interest fell over the hall. The delegates were desirous of learning what the Left Opposition had to say and what policies it advocated for the unemployed movement.

He greeted the conference in the name of the Left Opposition stating that if the party continued on the new turn in the united front tactic and if they faithfully adhered to the decisions of the Chicago unemployed conference, new vistas of growth and a powerful impetus could be given not only to the jobless movement but to working class action in general. Comrade Clarke condemned the tactics of the socialists and the Lovestonites which, he declared, would divide the unemployed from the unemployed by excluding trade union bodies—the very thing that has prevented the unemployed movement from attaining any mass dimensions up till now. The exclusion of political organizations, he continued, was a reactionary move worthy of a died-in-the-wool A.F.L. labor stake; the struggle of the unemployed is a political struggle—it confronts the state at every turn and requires the participation of political organizations.

Comrade Clarke criticized Winter's proposals for the formation of local councils—delegated bodies of all working class organizations in the neighborhood—as not being extensive enough. Without the participation of central bodies this

would mean a revision to the old tactic. He concluded his speech with the remarks that after years of blundering by the Stalinists one could not hope to force the sabotaging reformists into the united front over night, that persistent and stubborn efforts were needed and the goal was assured. His speech was greeted with a good round of applause. Comrade Weisbord of the Communist League of Struggle, also spoke along the same lines elaborating on some of the points.

Minor Intervenes for the Official Party

Then followed the Stalinist barrage—a mountain of confusion. Its mouthpiece was Robert Minor, speaking for the C.E.C. of the Communist party. He roared that no turn had been made, (in face of the C.I. manifesto, the Chicago events and the repeated appeal to the S.P. central bodies, this sounded extremely ludicrous), the party is still following the lines of the united front from below. He laid down the ultimatum demand—if the socialists won't come along with us then we'll go it alone, for who represents the masses, we or they? In this case why all the desperate efforts for united front conferences and demonstrations with the socialists and affiliated organizations?

Israel Amter reported for the resolutions committee. He echoed Minor's ultimatum and said that the Chicago conference of the unemployed did not represent the rank and file of the organizations assembled. Then whom did they speak for, themselves? And upon what authority did they arrive at the important decisions made at that gathering? These questions he quite naturally failed to answer. The whole tone of his report was

Demonstration Ends in Disunity

(Continued from page 1)

parade more militantly enthusiastic. The content of the Left Opposition leaflet follows:

"Relief for the Unemployed"

"Is the pressing task of the entire working class! Only a real United Front of all workers organizations—political parties, trade unions, unemployed councils, mass organizations, benefit societies—can mobilize the power of labor in the urgent struggle to save the homes and feed the families of unemployed workers."

"Not single, planless demonstrations, in the nature of maneuvers by one organization to outwit another, but powerfully planned action under the control and direction of a United Front Conference for Workers' Relief can achieve the common aim—to win from capitalist adequate relief for unemployed men and women."

"The Communist Left Opposition takes part in this demonstration in the hope that it will be a step forward toward united action. The manner in which the socialist party has attempted to disrupt the unemployment demonstration called for June 10th by the Provisional United Front Committee Against Evictions and Relief Cuts (Left wing) must be condemned openly. The errors of the official Communist party in the Left wing up to now have hindered the organization of a broad, all-inclusive formation of a united front movement on behalf of the unemployed. The decisions of the Chicago Unemployment Conference held in May marked an advance in the direction of a national movement of all workers' organizations, and should be adhered to."

"We propose that the Communist party issue once more the call for the United Front for Workers' Relief to all workers organizations—without exception. The socialist

party and its affiliates in particular, must reconsider their refusal thus far to participate in this mandatory action. The socialist workers must exert the utmost pressure on their leaders to bring about serious participation."

"The emergency is great! Act now! This mass movement and demonstration must be regarded and can be made a springboard for a more powerful working class movement for the overthrow of capitalism, the only genuine and permanent solution to the scourge of unemployment and misery. Workers, unite your ranks against capitalist misery!"

Communist League of America
(Left Opposition)
New York Branch

If the number on your wrapper is 177 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly issues.

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Vol. 6 No. 30 Whole No. 177
Saturday, June 10, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

SOUTH AMERICA GROUP OF I.L.O. MARK ADVANCE

CHILI

As has been known for some time, the dissident Communist party, an organization possessing a broad mass influence, has for quite a while taken the road of affiliation with our current. After a prolonged discussion, the plenum of the Central Committee decided in January to declare its solidarity in principle with the Left Opposition International and to propose to the next National Conference, the formal adherence to our international organization.

A telegram addressed to the International Secretariat recently announces its formal adherence:

"The congress of the dissident Communist party has decided after ample discussion to adhere officially to the International Left Opposition."

— DEVINE

An article dealing with the progress and development of our section in Chili will appear in a forthcoming issue.

BRAZIL

Our section in this country is preparing its first national conference. Theses on the agrarian question, on the national, trade union and Russian questions have been proposed for adoption. The conference will also discuss the resolution on the world situation adopted at our recent International pre-conference.

The Brazilian section is publishing regularly its journal "A Lucha de Classe. The comrades enjoy great influence among the Hungarian and Italian Communist emigration.

The comrades collected six hundred francs for our German brother section—they were among the first sections to respond to the call.

CUBA

At Havana, Cuba, there has also been formed, inside the official party, a Bolshevik-Leninist opposition. For the present, it is only a small group, which requests us for shipments of literature and connections with the other sections of the International Left Opposition. The group has a platform, on the basis of which it is working and developing itself.

STRIKES SPREAD IN MANY PARTS OF THE U.S.A.

Workers, organized and unorganized, skilled and unskilled, men, women and children, from the fisheries of the Pacific to the textile factories of New England, from the old established Electrical Workers Union to the unorganized and seemingly unorganizable overall slaves of Lebanon, Mo., have downed tools and fought bitter battles against starvation wages and worsening conditions in the last few weeks. In Allentown, Pa. and the neighboring town of Northampton, women and children struck against starvation wage rates and conditions which beggar description. A number of shops have settled with the strikers with some improvement won. The strike spread to Bangor, Shamokin and Roseto.

750 girls struck three shirt factories in Shamokin. The average wage was \$1 to \$3 a week. 50 cents a week was common. One girl earned \$1.30 in a month of steady work. Electrical workers of Denver, Colo., won their fight against a

Meet Lovestonites & Socialists Sabotage United Front

that we have endeavored to form the united front with the socialists but they refuse to come along—so, he intimated, we are getting ready to return to the "united front from below." Amter presented a document for the resolutions committee, known as the Workers' Relief Ordinance, which contains various vital demands for the unemployed.

Comrade Kitt made a minority report on the resolutions on the Chicago congress and their application to New York. The resolution omitted mention of the city central bodies that were to be invited to the formation of the federation in New York and called for representation in such a federation on the basis of numerical strength. Comrade Kitt explained that such clauses would give the reformists a loophole to crawl out of the federation and proposed that the unionization take place on the same basis as in the Chicago conference. "The Stalinists defeated the amendments and consequently assume the responsibility for the restraint the reformist leaders will be able to exert on their followers when this question of unity comes up for consideration."

The six hour day and five day week was another bone of contention at the conference with the Stalinists. Defending the ambiguous slogan of the shorter work week, they claimed that everything else was the stagger system, and in view of the fact that some workers were working as high as seventy hours a week, the slogan of the six hour day was out of the question. The delegates of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth brought powerful arguments to bear in favor of the concrete slogan of the six hour day and pointed out that all the conditions were laid for the building of a huge movement around that basis and uniting the unemployed and employed. The Stalinists took fright and accused us of a maneuver to put the party on record against the six hour day slogan and then proceeded to switch the issue with the line that this was only a local and not a national conference, etc., etc., ad nauseum. The six hour day resolution lost but not because the workers were against it.

Finally—the Stalinists for Soviet Credits!

A signal victory was won for the Left Opposition at this conference. After three years of persevering struggle the Stalinists accepted the internationalist resolution of the Left Opposition for recognition of and long term credits to the Soviet Union. Not very long ago it was called counter-revolutionary by the Stalinist bureaucrats—at this conference Amter said that "this resolution (on long term credits) needs little explanation. I am sure that everyone is in favor of it." With a few minor changes which in reality make the Stalinist adoption of this resolution more contradictory than ever, the conference went on record unanimously in favor of long term credits to the Soviet Union. The world does move!

By the time it came to the nomination and election of the permanent committee, the hall had dwindled from more than 400 to about one-fourth as many and with the aid of the remaining Stalinist stalwarts, the committee was packed with apparatus trustees. The minutes, to be sure, were awarded a place on the committee but the "counter-revolutionary" Left Opposition was debarré.

— G.C.

P.M.A. Starts National Drive; Left Wing Puts Forward Own Policies

(Continued from page 1)

should not have left the Lewis union. The Stalinists played an equally miserable role. Only after the union was a reality, after it had fought its first major battles, did the Stalinists stop throwing mud at the union. At no time did they understand the upsurge. At no time did they try to criticize its natural shortcomings politically. Now they are trying to make up for lost time and in their clumsy way, they are blundering as usual. Stalinism stands condemned to a greater degree than the progressive leaders who made serious mistakes in their struggle against Lewis.

We have no time to portion out "justice." The P.M.A. is in a life and death struggle and the Right wing policies must be exposed if it is to live. The Left wing forces must be united. Much has already been said in the columns of *The Militant* about the mistakes of the Right wing and of others. Much more can be said but the main danger now is the danger that the Left wing will not unite. If the Left wing cannot find common minimum demands in action, if they are to remain divided, then the Right wing will continue in its ruinous policy.

There are many progressives who would like to organize a Left wing that excludes the Communists because they think the Right wing may raise a howl and claim that the Communists are trying to capture the union. On the other hand, there are Stalinists who would like to have mechanical control and leadership assured in advance. Both these forces must come to their senses. The militant miners must do all possible to guard against both dangers. No substantial Left wing can be organized without the Communists. No Progressive Miners Union can survive in this period of labor history if the Communists are hunted inside of it like rats, as they are in the unions of the A. F. of L. labor fakers.

The permanent crisis of millions of unemployed, the relief which will pass over to a form of social insurance, the vast army of idle surplus labor that will permanently press down the wage level; the capitalist struggle to maintain a falling rate of profit at the expense of the workers—in short, the impoverishment of the American working class, has already set in. This vast economic change in America and in world capitalism and the new class relationship lie at the bottom of the new period of American labor history. In this, the struggle of the Progressive Miners of America is a prelude to coming storms and battles of the American workers. Trade Unions can no longer stabilize themselves as in the past decades. Reformists must adapt themselves to the new conditions if they desire to serve their masters. But they will not have solid footing. The class struggle of the American proletariat will make life miserable for them.

In this sense, the Right wing policies of the P.M.A. must not be confused with the Right wing of the average A. F. of L. union. There is a distinction, which was not brought about by the leaders. The distinction has been brought about by the different conditions and ability of the leaders to adapt themselves to these conditions.

For example, the Gillespie Mass Meeting on Decoration Day heard Flaherty and Percy speak about how the action of the bosses was driving the workers into becoming Reds. Flaherty said that if fighting for the union means being a Red and a Communist then he was a Red.

The union under the Right wing leadership is slipping fast. The Right wing knows which way the

wind is blowing and is already adapting itself to the condition with radical phrases. But the time for phrases is past. We need action now, before it is too late. The more advanced element of the Left wing must proceed to organize a Left wing in every local. No political discrimination. They must fight for the following program, which is not the private property of the Left Opposition, but the collective opinion of other forces as well.

The members must fight for rank and file control and in no way must confuse this with the wrong slogan of "rank and file leadership." The Left wing must fight for class struggle policies and against the policies of class collaboration. Every attempt, on any trumped up charge, to expel Left wing militants because they are Communists must be fought by the whole membership.

Mass action must replace the present passive attitude of the union. Mass action as the base of the legal fight of the Taylorville cases, the Webb-Wang case and the Mooney case, etc., must be started at once. Mass picketing must be resumed.

The Union must take up the fight of the unemployed throughout the entire field. The organization of the unemployed in every coal county into unemployed organizations having the backing of the Progressive Miners of America will enable these workers, who are in the main miners, to obtain more relief than they are getting now. This will keep up the fight and strengthen tremendously the struggle against the operators. Some places (Charlottesville and Springfield) the Relief Agents are driving thru forced labor for relief. If this is accomplished, the operators will see no need of paying even a five dollar scale.

The struggle for the six hour day and five day week with wage increases must be put forward as a concrete demand of struggle. The struggle for wage increases to meet the inflation prices (30 percent increases in some mining towns already) must be started.

The miners' union has already been very successful in drawing in the women. The Ladies Auxiliary has often been the backbone for some spineless creatures in difficult situations. The union must draw in all the youth in the coal camps who are unemployed, potential miners or potential strike breakers. Their power, added to that of the Ladies Auxiliaries, will increase the fighting capacities of the union.

The talk and action of sending organizers to other fields does not answer the important question of how to spread out nationally. The organizing of the Left wing in the I.M.W.A. in other fields is necessary, but the main thing on the order of the day is the CALLING OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE. Invite the West Virginia miners, the Nova Scotia miners, the National Miners' Union and all Left wing groups in the U.M.W.A. This is the main task of the P.M.A. Any play with words and talk of a national organization without this move will play into the hands of the Right wing and eventually, the operators.

The Left wing miners should organize their own Left Wing. No one can do this job for them. However, they must not get the opinion that only a coal miner knows anything about tactics for coal miners and only a bricklayer knows anything about tactics for bricklayers, etc. The advice and the help of the whole Left wing must be utilized. The miners' Left wing causes should, however, be for and of miners. We do not need any advice about the danger of outsiders. This is a reactionary slogan. What we need is Left wing action. And the quicker, the better. — HUGO OEHLE

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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

PRICE 5 CENTS

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 128 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 31, WHOLE NO. 178
NEW YORK, SATURDAY JUNE 17, 1933

The 'New Deal' in Practice Industrial Recovery Bill Hits at Workers' Standards

The National Industrial Recovery Act has at last become the law of the land. After several weeks of wrangling and, at one time even threatening to completely run wild, Congress has at last been whipped into line, and finally passed the bill in substantially the same manner in which it was originally advanced by the president. The precise manner in which Roosevelt intends to use the powers delegated to him remains yet to be seen, but a brief scanning of the three months of new deal program makes one suspect very much that the new industrial recovery deal will be nothing more than a continuation and an extension to the entire country of the Roosevelt dollar-a-day plan.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was originally conceived of by the president as a means of stemming a rising movement for a series of measures that were being advocated by various labor groups. The first and most potent of the measures which had begun to loom large on the economic horizon was that for a six-hour day five-day week. Unexpectedly passed by the Senate, with support being given the bill by the liberals, the A. F. of L. and the railway unions, it began to appear that the Black Bill might suddenly pass through the realms of bills before Congress, to a measure waiting for the president's signature. There was even talk of incorporating into the bill a national minimum wage law. Of course the amendments advanced by the Communists against a reduction in pay, were not even considered. Despite this however, all the manufacturers associations and local and national chambers of commerce rushed into the fray to defeat the bill. They found a capable ally in Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, running counter even to the proposals of his own Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, requested that the thirty-hour week bill be dropped, and advocated in its stead, the present work.

What the Act Consists of? The bill as it was finally passed consists of two sections. The first, devoted to the increase of public works, is most probably but another one of the many promises to increase public works that the American people became so familiar with under the Hoover regime. Over three billion dollars are to be expended for public works. What this means one cannot as yet say. Does this huge item include within itself the sums to be expended at Boulder Dam for the next five years? Does it include the four year expenditure contemplated in the Tennessee Valley? Does it include the three year naval building program? And does it include the ordinary yearly public works expenditures? Too often now, we have been treated to grandiose figures by the Hoover regime only to find at the end of the year that the total public works expenditure had been less than the year previously. True, the fact that the exact same thing occurred in the New York State regime of our former governor Franklin D. Roosevelt (promises of public works increases observed with actual decreases at the end of the year) should not prejudice one against the three billion dollar outlay; but if nothing more, we remain at least skeptical.

The second section of the bill and by far the more important one is the industrial control section. This section has been hailed as a boon not merely to the industrialists but also to labor. This is the bill to increase profits, decrease unemployment, introduce a shorter work week, produce higher wages and put our entire industry on an organized basis. In short, this measure, like Lydia E. Pinkham's pills, is good for whatever ails you be it falling hair, fallen arches, dandruff and falling teeth. What are the actual provisions of this section, and what is its history and the history of those empowered to enforce it? Only in this manner can we obtain an inkling as to what this huge all inclusive measure will actually mean.

The Origin of the Bill A brief history of the origin of the bill has already been given. It was the administration's way of side-tracking the agitation for the thirty-hour week, for the minimum wage, for no-reduction in pay. As for the man to enforce the provisions of the bill? It is the same Roosevelt who originated the dollar-a-day scheme for the Reforestation Army; it is the same Roosevelt who gave the veterans sugary words and then—a dollar a day; it is the same Roosevelt who forced through a federal wage cut to the lowest brackets; it is the same Roosevelt who has as his intimate counselors and companions the Woodrums and Davises of J. P. Morgan fame. Let us consider the measure itself. It consists of a series of items, all of which have in their opening sentences the word "may." Nothing is stated in a positive manner; all

The Anti-Fascist Congress to Meet in Paris Soon

The European Anti-Fascist Congress will at last take place on Whitenside in Paris. The International Left Opposition has already many weeks ago published its principle declaration for this congress. Since that time the candid warnings in the declaration of the Left Opposition have been confirmed to the highest degree:

Provisions
1. Any trade or industrial group may adopt a code of "fair competition," which code the president may approve, reject, modify or change. Where no code is agreed to by industry the President may draw one up for the trade.
2. After a code is approved it is enforceable by law. The President may institute a licensing system to make the code effective; in that case nobody can engage in that business without a license.
3. Any action under the bill is exempt from the anti-trust laws.
4. In the industries affected by the bill, the workers are to have the right to collective bargaining; yellow dog contracts and the closed union shops are both outlawed, and the employers must apply the minimum wages, maximum hours and labor conditions, "approved or prescribed by the president." These standards are to be worked out by collective agreement between labor and employers if possible. But where no agreement is approved by him, the president may prescribe a labor code of his own making.
5. The duration of the law is one year.

Such are the provisions of the bill. In brief, industry is told to organize under government supervision and warned that, should a

(Continued on Page 4)

Opportunists in Bloc vs. Lefts at 4th. Gillespie Conference

Gillespie, Ill.—The fourth session of the conference of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee held at Gillespie, Ill., on Sunday, June 11, rubber-stamped, by an overwhelming majority, the policies adopted at the previous conference. For the third consecutive time, the "new federalists" were defeated.

The incomplete credentials report listed 158 delegates from 43 organizations. Only 30 unions were represented (partial report); a dozen from the Progressive Miners of America, half a dozen from the Trade Union Unity League, and the balance—small A. F. of L. locals from nearby mining towns.

Altogether the representation was as small, if not smaller, than the previous conferences. This weakness was undoubtedly due to the wording of the call which stated that the purpose of the conference was "to further our policy of organizing... into a new labor center," thus implying the conference was held for the purpose of organizing a new federation, and possibly also, in minor degree, due to some of the former represented organizations not receiving copies of the call from the secretary.

A Bit of Sleight-of-Hand

McFarlane, secretary of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee, who is the leading force in front of the scenes to organize a "new federation" was, incidentally, also compelled "because of lack of finances" to mimeograph only a portion of the policies adopted at the last PTUEC conference. The portions omitted, were the most important points, which he personally disagreed. (1) That a sufficient basis for the creation of a new federation of labor is lacking at the present time. (2) That at the present time we cannot form a permanent organization due to the limited and sectional representation at the conference. (3) To continue as a committee to keep in touch with sympathetic trade union bodies and be ready to act jointly with them in the preparation of a broader conference on a national scale.

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Class War Rages In Mine Area of Illinois

Battling heroically against strike breakers aided by deputy sheriffs, pickets of the Progressive Miners of America gave a splendid account of themselves at the Peerless Mine of the notorious Peabody Coal Co. in Springfield last Wednesday.

The battle started as 2,000 miners-pickets asked the scabs at No. 59 mine not to go to work. Immediately, firing by machine guns and rifles broke out from the mine tipple. Taking advantage of cover the pickets advanced and succeeded in dispersing many of the gunmen.

Fighting continued in various parts of the city as groups of pickets supported by the heroic Women's Auxiliary fought against efforts to disperse them. Seven members of the PMA were shot, one seriously but 42 strike-breakers and thugs were sent to the hospital. Tom Urban, Progressive Miner, was shot in the stomach and his life is in danger. Many miners were bruised and cut in the light.

The National Guard was rushed from Taylorville and played its usual role. One member of the Women's Auxiliary, insulted by the Guardsmen, knocked out two of them. Picketing will be continued shortly.

Militant mass picketing prevented the attempt to open up a Peabody mine in Saline County, Ill., with scab labor. As 200 rats with Lewis "union" cards, escorted by armed guards and deputy sheriffs tried to enter Saline County they were met by thousands of pickets. During the night the pickets had been stationed at strategic points along the approach to the mine in first, second and third lines of defense with strong reserves stationed near the mine. The New York Times reports the sheriffs as stating that he had never seen so many armed miners and under the circumstances he thought it wise to advise the scabs to retire.

The miners of both Saline and Williamson counties have splendid traditions of mass struggle. The thoughts of the fate of the scabs at the strip mine in Herrin some years ago led wings to the Lewis-Company scabs as they fled back to their paymasters.

The Left wing of the miners are giving the lead in mass picketing and in the fight to spread the struggle into other fields by cooperation with other Left wing forces.

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Trotsky Proposes U.S.-Soviet Trade Accord As London Meet Lags

Interview Stresses Inevitable Failure of World Economic Conference and Calls for A Realistic Plan of Business Collaboration Between the Two Countries

The New York World Telegram reports an exclusive interview with Leonid Trotsky on the subject of the World Economic Conference.

The short statement of our comrade outlines a plan for the establishment of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States based on the relations of the world economic and political situation.

Its revolutionary, working class content sharply distinguished the position of the Left Opposition from the opportunist position of the Stalinist regime as given by Litvinoff at London.

"The Soviet delegate declared the attitude of the capitalist world toward a state of one hundred and seventy million inhabitants which had adopted the Soviet system and was attempting to bring about Socialism was a contributing factor to the political uncertainty in the world. He urged recognition of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems—capitalism and Socialism." (New York Times, June 15, 1933.)

We give below the reply of comrade Trotsky to the questions asked him as quoted by the World Telegram:

"You have asked my opinion of the economic conference. I have not the slightest illusion about its results. If the numerous conferences of recent years teach anything it is that real contradictions cannot be eliminated by the general formulas which inevitably make the essence of all such conferences. Actions are necessary.

"One of these necessary actions should be settlement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. In so far as your new administration launches out on this path, it will take an extremely important step from the standpoint of international politics as well as from the standpoint of economics.

"The Fair Power Pact settles nothing. The real plan of Hitler is to find a point of support in Italy and England for war against the Soviet Union. Whoever does not see this is blind.

"Establishment of normal relations between Washington and Moscow would deliver a much more decisive blow at Hitler's bellicose plans than all the European conferences put together.

"No less important significance may be attached to the collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union with respect to the Far East. The present conduct of Japan in no wise expresses its strength. On the contrary, the adventurist measures of Tokyo are strongly reminiscent of the conduct of Charist bureaucracy in the first years of the present century.

"But it is precisely these grisly operations of irresponsible military empires that may inexorably engender tremendous world convulsions.

"Liaison between Washington and Moscow would not be without its effect on Tokyo and with a corresponding policy it might arrest in time the automatic development of Japanese military adventurism.

"From an economic standpoint establishment of normal relations between the Soviets and America would yield positive results. The extensive economic plan of the Soviet Union cannot in the coming period base itself upon fascist Germany, with which Russia's relations will inevitably become extremely unstable.

"All the greater significance is thus acquired by economic collaboration of the two republics, European-Asian and American, whose combined population runs to nearly 300,000,000.

"Collaboration could have planned character regulated from above and reckoned on a basis of a number of years to come.

"The presence in Moscow of a United States representative would give Washington the possibility of convincing itself that despite the acute transitory difficulties of trade, the Soviet Union is perhaps the surest investment for capital.

"I would be very happy if you would communicate these simple observations to the American public."

These well reasoned out and realistic proposals for economic collaboration between the Soviet Union, sorely in need of credits and the United States, sorely in need of trade, should give an additional impetus to the movement here for the recognition of the USSR and the extension of long term loans to it. The American workers especially have everything to gain by such an arrangement. A planned and extensive trade agreement between the two countries would be the surest way of opening up numerous factories that now lie idle and would give jobs to thousands of unemployed and starving American workmen on the basis of Soviet orders.

The surest way of bringing about recognition and the all-vital trade agreement is by the mass pressure of the toiling masses upon the capitalist government. The slogan of Soviet Recognition and Long Term Credits should immediately be made to occupy a front rank position in the struggle of the unemployed and in united action of employed and unemployed workers.

The militant section of the American working class must especially inscribe this slogan on its banner. It is an extremely important measure for the relief of workers' misery in the crisis; it is an excellent opportunity to show by living facts the superiority of planned socialist construction over capitalist anarchy; finally, it is the most realistic way of cementing the bonds of international solidarity between the Russian and American workers for the defense of the proletarian fatherland.

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THE SENATE INQUIRY EXPOSED

The Banking Investigation Itself is the Biggest Scandal

The greatest scandal exposed by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee investigation has been the investigation itself. Here is a governmental body equipped with unlimited authority and adequate resources, supposed to be investigating the thing that is important. It is like a policeman catching a murderer in the act of stabbing his victim, and "investigating" the knife to see if it is free of germs.

The consequences of the investigation are automatic—either nothing abnormal will be reported, everything being in good legal order according to the highest-priced legal advice; or some little violations even of the capitalists' own law will be triumphantly exhibited, to which the bankers will reply serenely, "What do these little spots matter in comparison with the enormous volume of transactions in which we have acted as bankers should act?"

What Did Morgan Reveal?

What has been brought out in the Morgan testimony? That the gentlemen did favors to their friends, which any business man has a right to do; that they did not pay taxes when they did not have to; that they conducted several different operations out of which they made a profit. What conclusions can the Senators draw from these facts, or what action can they take?

It is true that the liberal press took the opportunity to publish charts showing the Morgan control over great sections of industry, railroads and public utilities, and drew their liberal conclusions from them. The Daily Worker for that matter also published a chart, and pointed out editorially how rotten bankers are.

The real point, however, is that the Senate investigation is being conducted with no other aim or possible outcome than to "expose" for the sake of whitewashing, to continue the delusion that the government apparatus is really interested in defending the interests of the masses against the bankers, and thus to support the capitalist system by pretending great activity in removing its defects. The fake attack on "bad banking" is a means of reinforcing the reactionary idea that banking would be all right if its defects were removed, like freckles, when what is needed is

a surgical operation.

What Can the Senate Comm. Do?

The greatest possible measure of audacity on the part of the Senate committee might conceivably be a recommendation that private banks be prohibited from accepting deposits; that would mean that a bank, in order to function, would have to assume the form of a corporation. This "revolutionary" act would mean that J. P. Morgan & Co. would have to change their firm name to J. P. Morgan & Corporation. "Reforms" in the income tax law, in the corporation laws, in the banking laws, might result in a little more work by Morgan's lawyers and accountants in figuring out ways of getting around the new laws. The whole would be presented with a great flood of propaganda to the masses as an evidence of the government's

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Leon Goodman Arrested in Phila.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Comrade Leon Goodman, member of the Philadelphia branch of the Left Opposition, was arrested on Tuesday, June 13, at 9 p. m., at Hope and Jefferson Streets, Philadelphia.

While comrade Roberts was speaking about Roosevelt's "raw deal," cup Gallagher tried to smash the speakers' stand. When comrade Goodman told the cop that he had a permit and protested against this interference the blue coated thug immediately arrested our comrade. The cop did not appear at the hearing.

To magistrate Zweig all Communists are criminals. When the magistrate asked whether comrade Goodman was a Communist he replied that he was a member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). This was enough evidence against Goodman, without permitting him to say anything in his defense and the judge immediately railroaded him for ten days.

We continued the meeting, attendance of which kept increasing, despite the arrest. The meeting lasted until 10:30 p. m., with comrade Cary Morgenstern and Roberts as the speakers.

We called upon the workers to be

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Chilean Opposition Organized

Santiago, Chile — Our Chilean comrades, who until their recent national congress of March 19, 1933, bore the name of Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C.I.), have decided to carry forward their revolutionary struggle as the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition).

Their Congress has had an enormous influence on the political situation in Chile. Future numbers of the Militant will include important reports from that section of the battlefield. At present we limit ourselves to the following official appeal taken from the Political Bulletin of the Chilean Section:

Comrades: The 19th of March marks a new period in the revolutionary movement of Chile. This was the day set for the convocation of the 9th National Congress of the Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C.I.). This congress was to meet as a Congress for Communist Unification. The attempt towards unity failed as a result of the refusal of the Leftist (local Stalinist) bureaucracy to take part in such a meeting. Therefore, the 19th of March marks the initiation of the revolutionary efforts of our Party under the banner of the

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FROM THE MILITANTS

I. L. D. Expels
Left Oppositionist

New Haven, Conn.—Again New Haven is on the map for expulsions by Stalinists of members of the Left Opposition from revolutionary organizations supposed to be free from all partisanship and based upon broad class issues. These are comrades M. Gandelman and A. von, recently expelled from the unemployed councils on charges of circulating leaflets for and inviting members to the Max Schachtman lecture on the German situation carried by the L. O. on last April 20th. The third is comrade Victor Duell, expelled on June 1 from the Sacco-Vanzetti Branch of the International Labor Defense, in which she held the office of secretary for the last two years.

At the time of joining the I.L.D., comrade Duell was known as an oppositionist expelled from the official party and removed from her posts as secretary of the Workers International Relief and the International Working Women's Council. She never concealed her views and was given out the antidote to members and sympathizers.

Now Trouble Started

The trouble started when comrade Duell asked a few pertinent questions at a discussion period of an educational program held on March 2 last, by our I.L.D. Branch. She had been addressed by a member of the John Reed Club on Germany. The speaker told of the wonderful movement of the C.P. in that country at that time, but nothing was said about its present plight since the rise of Hitler.

In the question period comrade Duell raised the problem of the united front and the catastrophic results consequent on the criminal policy of the Stalinists. She also brought up the matter of the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. She asked whether the whole world situation, particularly the events in Germany did not warrant the calling together of the highest body of the international proletariat. She received no answer to her inquiries, but at once an old party member arose and pronounced her a Trotskyist and a slanderer.

On May 14, a district Conference of Functionaries of the I.L.D. was held in New Haven. After a long report from the District Organizer of the I.L.D. and an address by the organizer of the C.P., the meeting was thrown open for discussion. The discussion revealed that the branches were functioning poorly and much uncertainty seemed to prevail as to how to build the branches on a firm basis. Much was said on the united front. Comrade Duell asked the comrades (they were practically all party members) — criticism was made because non-party members had been drawn into making roses if any one of the members present could tell her exactly where the party stands on the united front. She said that after years of repudiation of the Leninist united front, like a bolt from the blue the C.I. on March 5 called upon the Communist parties to approach the central bodies of all working class organizations with an offer for joint action against the capitalist offensive. She described the good results that had been obtained through the application of this policy mentioning as one instance the Tom Mooney United Front Congress, in the short time that it had been carried out. She added that now, just as suddenly as the previous turn, a revision back to the united front from below was becoming noticeable as was to be seen in the C.I. May Day Manifesto. These remarks called down the wrath of the D.O. of the I.L.D. on her head. He stated that the application of the united front was flexible and that the party would soon clarify the matter to the members. Comrade Duell, he proclaimed, was trying to sow confusion among them and that was intolerable.

On May 25 at a meeting of the E.C. of the branch a letter was read from J. Milton of the Workers School of New Haven by the chairman in which charges were presented against comrade Duell for so-called counter-revolutionary activities. These consisted in acting as chairman at comrade Schachtman's meeting on April 20th at which she was supposed to have stated, among other things, that workers in the Soviet Union were imprisoned and tortured and that Stalin, in particular, was responsible for this oppression. What comrade Duell actually said was that all the ideas of the Left Opposition had been pronounced "counter revolutionary" by the Stalinist regime in Russia and that members of the L.O. had suffered persecution and untold misery, imprisonment and exile, many of whom had given their lives for their ideas. A committee of four was elected to investigate the charges.

The committee, now enlarged to nine by the addition of three witnesses who had attended the Schachtman meeting and two party members met with comrade Duell before the I.L.D. membership meeting on June 1st. The charges were again read and she was given the opportunity to defend herself. This she did by stating exactly what she said at the meeting and showing a written outline which she had prepared before the Schachtman meeting. But other charges were brought against her, such as using the I.L.D. mailing list to send out "The Militant" and distributing it to members and holding counter-revolutionary ideas in general.

The committee then retired to consult and bring in their recommendations.

expulsion to the members of the branch which held its meeting on the same night. There were sixteen comrades at the meeting, ten of whom were new members—some of merely a few weeks' standing. The committee brought in the recommendations that her official position as secretary be taken from her; that she might become a rank and file member for six months and if, during that time, she acted in an acceptable manner she might be reinstated to her former position. All the "discussing" of course came from the old party members.

Comrade Duell stated before the members that if such a status meant the repudiation of her views on the principles of the L.O. she could not consider it. At this she was expelled.

— G. DUELL

Cannon Meetings
in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn.—The situation in the Communist and labor movement is such today in Minneapolis that comrade Cannon, the National Secretary of the Left Opposition, can speak to "everybody." His last meetings here four years ago were marked by a violent physical attack by the Stalinists, a free speech meeting, and the arming of our members, etc. This time Cannon spoke before practically the entire membership of the official party on one occasion, and good sections of it at three other meetings. Not a whisper, let alone a show of fists, came from any party member in these meetings. They attentively listened to what he had to say.

The first meeting where Cannon spoke was the rally arranged at Labor Headquarters for the Minneapolis Free Tom Mooney Conference. A united front meeting, each organization in the Conference, together with the A. F. of L. Social Party, and the Farmer-Labor Party had a speaker on the program. His speech for Mooney's freedom got well-rounded applause from the party followers and trade unionists in the hall. He taught the Communists here how to speak in a united front meeting. The party members need to learn how to do this very badly. This occurred on Wednesday night, there were about 350 present.

The following Saturday he gave his lecture, "America's Road to Revolution" before 175 workers, in the Mayor's Reception Hall at the City Hall. The meeting was well sprinkled with party members and sympathizers, and socialist workers. When the patented question on "activity" was made, Cannon described the situation of the local unemployment movement and the need for unity and correct policy in it, and then called for names of volunteers who would be willing to work together with the Left Opposition to effect a change. Eighteen workers besides League members volunteered for this end. A basis for an Unemployed League was thus made. Following Monday, the talk on The German Tragedy was given to a large crowd, with more party members present, in the same hall. The thundering indictment of the social democracy's betrayal and the criminal Stalinist blundering policy was driven home, for all questions and discussion centered around the matters of Communist tactics and organization principles. Party members were questioners, listeners, and learners at this meeting. There was no slander or disruptive action at this meeting on their part. Socialist workers were also impressed, for here was Communist criticism with reason.

Comrade Cannon also spoke before the Student Forum on the Campuses of the Minnesota University on the Mooney Case and the movement for his freedom. He correctly tied this case with the general struggle for workers' rights. Sandwiched between these public meetings, Cannon met with the League branch where the miners' campaign and Militant drive was discussed at length, together with local activity. The last of these meetings was an open meeting of the Branch where three workers joined the League, and we summed up the results of the first week of our financial drive for two hundred dollars. We had received cash and pledges for \$10.50 to date.

— C. FORSEN

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On The Workers Front

Burning Problems
Facing the New
York Dressmakers

Throughout the entire dress trade in New York and out of town, the workers are talking strike. The question of the strike has become the central question for the dressmakers. Several years of abject misery, involving retreat from half-way tolerable conditions gained by years of struggle, have brought this question to the front with piercing sharpness.

For the past 2 or 3 years, dressmakers in N. Y. have been working for as little as \$2 a day and with a top wage of no more than \$18 a week for the great bulk of the industry. Union hours are a thing of the distant past too. There are no union hours. The boss dictates and the workers have to acquiesce. How did this dismal state of affairs come about? What are its root causes? That the depression and unemployment play their part, is, of course, a foregone conclusion. But the source of the whole trouble runs much deeper than that.

The Division in the Ranks

For nearly five years, two unions have been fighting each other fiercely, making the united action of the dressmakers in their own behalf an utter impossibility. Every serious and class conscious worker knows, to be sure, that it is the expulsion policy carried out so ruthlessly against the militant Left wing in the once united International Ladies Garment Workers Union by the reactionary, class collaboratorist Sigman-Hochman-Dubinsky clique which started the split among the dressmakers and which forced the Left wing to organize itself on the outside in the Industrial Union. That is clear as day for every needle trade militant. That the Left wing Industrial Union, thru the sectarian "Third Period" policy of the Stalinist leadership, played into the hands of the splitting tactic of the Right wing clique should also be clear for every Left wing militant by now.

Disunity Plays into the Hand
of the Bosses

This division in the camp of the dressworkers, initiated by the reformist clique and objectively abetted by the Stalinists, is what is responsible for the prostrate condition in the whole trade. The bulk of workers, grown apathetic because of the disunity, remains unorganized. The open shop prevails. Moreover, then that, the open shop is a constant source of pressure against the shops which still stand under union control.

The state of affairs of two unions fighting each other is, furthermore, a constant trump in the hands of the cockroach bosses whose threads are spread wide over the whole market. The contractor or jobber who is intent in fighting off the demands of the workers in his shop, has no trouble at all in playing off one union against the other to his advantage. He can, with the greatest ease, shift his equipment from one shop to another, and none of the unions are in a position to control his actions, even if he goes so far as to substitute the open shop. The fact alone that the contractor has this alternative is in itself enough of a whip for him to scare the workers under him into submission.

Another insufferable effect of the split is the division it has brought among the various sections of the trade. A section like the pressers, due to the chaotic conditions caused by the split, has become open prey for outright racketeers.

Problems That Need a Solution

It is all these obstacles that have to be overcome, if the dressmakers and the other needle workers are to help themselves out of the rut. They cannot overcome them except by bold, militant action against the boss. That is, by a strike. They cannot carry out such an action successfully against the boss unless there is a single, united struggle, unless the Left wing becomes the heart of militancy in such a united struggle. In all camps there is talk of strike and talk of one, united strike. In words, at least, everybody is unanimous. It remains for the dressmakers to give themselves an account of how this single, united strike is to be brought about. It remains for them to get clear on how the strike is to be prepared.

A strike in the dress trade can be effective only if it comes at the height of the spring season which is the busy season in the trade. To consider the possibility of a strike before next February is out of the question, if the strike is meant seriously. In order to prepare for a successful strike in February, it is absolutely imperative to do the necessary advance work. That is, it is necessary to carry on an intensive organization drive in the winter season which begins in August.

A Single Strike Without a Single
Organization?

To talk of a single, united strike without a single, united organization drive is ridiculous. The unorganized are too apathetic to be recruited into two unions at the same time. The two organization drives will end only in confusion and wreck the preparations. If the necessary impulses toward the organization, or rather, the reorganization of the trade, is to be given, a sincere effort must be made toward the unity of the two unions, the International and the Industrial. Only a genuine effort at unity can awaken the workers out of their apathy and raise their confidence once more in organized action.

That the Right wing—Dubinsky, Hochman and Co.—will sabotage all attempts at the establishment of such a fighting unity of the dressworkers is a foregone conclusion. Their actions in the fur trade show that they are always ready to conclude their united fronts with the bosses' associations and the capitalist police rather than with the militant Left wing.

The task of cementing the dressmakers' unity is a hard task and requires grit and endurance. Only the Left wing, armored with a correct policy, is capable of making this necessary an actual reality. It can do this only by patient and persistent efforts to force the Right wing saboteurs to show their cards, and by gaining the confidence of the great majority of the workers in the I.L.G.W.U. in the course of these efforts.

What Policies are Required to
Fight the Bosses?

By what policies can this be accomplished? That is the burning question for the Left wing workers. The Stalinists in the leadership of the Industrial Union, do, to be sure, speak of one strike. How do they propose to accomplish one strike? The all-important question of a single organization drive to precede the strike—which is indispensable for its success—they leave unanswered. In other words, up to February the ranks of the dressmakers are to be left confused, no actual push is to be given to bring them out of their apathy. In the strike itself, the Industrial union leadership proposes a united front with Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. A conference is to be held; the conference is to get Dubinsky to hand the leadership over to the rank and file. That is how much the Stalinists have to offer. In other words, they put the card before the horse: First, a common strike, then the question of one united organization is to be solved.

It must be said outright: with such a policy, with the repetition of the stupid "Third Period" tactic of "Independent Strike Committees," "Rank and File Leadership," no headway will be made. Whatever the motivation—let us say, the hope of the Left wing that in the course of the strike, the majority of the workers will endorse the militant policies and rally to the banner of the Industrial Union—such a policy defeats its own purpose. It gives the Right wing fakery the opportunity they are looking for. They will always look for a loop-hole to permit them to creep out of united action with the militant Left wing, "Rank and File Leadership" and "Independent Strike Committees" are just the kind of loophole they need to fool the workers into thinking that the Left wing rejects the reality of existing unions and their respective strengths, that the Left wing wants to ignore the "regular" organizations and to carry out some "maneuver." That is just the way to give the fakery a chance to tell the workers that the Left wing is insincere. But it is precisely this tactic of the Right wing bureaucracy that must be defeated. It is the precise task of the Left wing to prove to the workers that their call for united action is sincere and that they mean business. Only a show of such sincerity can awaken the dressmakers out of their apathy and arm them for struggle.

A Policy to Fill the Need of the
Moment

The Communist Left Opposition (Trotskyites) long ago proposed to the Left wing Industrial union "to make an open proposal to the I.L.G.W.U. for the readmission of its membership in a body in the field of its jurisdiction. This proposal must demand the unity of two organizations on the basis of no discrimination, no special conditions or restrictions imposed on the members of the Industrial Union, full rights for every member, union democracy and the rights of minority political expression." (Resolution presented to the Convention of the Needle Trades Workers' Fraction of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition), October, 1932).

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

(Continued on Page 3)

Left Wing Fights
For the Teachers
Expelled by B. of E.

The following analysis of the situation in the Teachers Union, of New York City, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers in the A. F. of L., embodies the ideas of a number of Progressive Group and Rank and file teachers, the two Left wing groups in the union.

The Ryan-O'Shea regime of the New York City Board of Education has initiated a campaign of expulsions from the school system of the outstanding militants in the teachers' fight against salary reductions and the worsening of their teaching and living conditions. The bureaucratic axe has just cut down I. Blumberg. Two others, at this writing, are facing expulsion charges: 1. Begun and W. Burroughs. Their crime consists in having courageously protested the expulsion of Blumberg. It is no secret that others are also slated for expulsion, their names are known even as it was known some time in advance that Blumberg was to be expelled.

The charges, of course, are technical and pertain to administrative matters. But they are only a convenient pretext. The B. of E. objective is revealed by its undercover campaign against all protest which it brands "red," "Communist," "radicalism," the familiar reactionary incitement of prejudice against progressive opponents.

The Ryan-O'Shea regime very shrewdly timed its expulsion campaign to begin shortly before the close of the school term, calculating that the summer vacation would nip in the bud whatever protest movement the teachers would build. At the present writing the defense movement has reached considerable proportions and is still growing, whether it will be able to defeat the B. of E. campaign it is still too early to say.

The Union and Expulsions

Blumberg was not a member of the union. But Begun and Burroughs and the others slated for expulsion are members of the union and of its Left wing. It is to the credit of the Left wing that it was quick to react to these expulsions. The "instant burn of clamor" that it made to throw the weight of the union into the defense movement raised the question sharply in the union itself. Under its pressure a committee was appointed to investigate the cases and report on them. The report on Blumberg—already expelled—commits the union to ask the B. of E. for a fair trial for him. On the Begun-Burroughs cases the union, instead of declaring its solidarity with them as it is duty-bound to do, took a position, which can be construed only as giving objective support to the B. of E.

The position taken by the union constitutes a defeat for the Left wing which correctly stands for the unqualified support of all the victims of the B. of E. reign of terror. The importance of this issue should be made clear by the Left wing to the entire union membership and the teachers in the system. If the union, which exists for the purpose of defending the teachers' interests and of protecting them against such attacks, stands aside while the reaction humiliates and expels the militants from the system the reaction will feel itself encouraged to proceed against any protest whatsoever. Such a policy says to the B. of E. that it can count in advance upon the "neutrality" of the union while it "punishes" all protest against its faithful service in behalf of Wall Street-Albany economy and trenchant schemes. Such a policy places the union on the wrong side of the fence. Instead of arraying the union against the B. of E. and its banker-politician inspired economy it makes it a partner to their attacks on the teachers' salaries and conditions.

Such a policy will succeed only in discrediting the union in the eyes of the thinking teachers and of the labor movement generally. On the other hand, the policy of the Left wing is a progressive one in the interests of the union and the teachers. The Left Wing must continue the fight to redress the line of the union.

Administration and Left Wing
This difference between the union administration and the Left wing is not the only one. The others also involve the fundamental questions of union policy. To understand the years' old struggle between the administration and the Left wing it is necessary, first, to understand what sections of the teachers support them. The union administration today draws its support from the older, better-salaried and more conservative teachers. These men and women are little inclined to struggle. They look for-

(Continued on Page 3)

AMONG THE YOUTH

First Hand Account of Young Nutpickers in
Reforestation Swindle

Before coming to Camp Dix, I entertained no illusions about conditions here. Like so many other fellows, I "freely" chose this manner of life—the three meals and one dollar a day being the center of attraction—in preference to a more or less uncertain city life. My impression was amply justified.

I reported to the Army Building from which all fellows were sent to the camps. After a hasty examination, the batch of which I was a member, received a pep talk from the officer in charge. He drew a parasol version of camp life, describing it as a model place for moral and physical discipline. And the 1904, "the cats are so swell they knock your eyes out. It was wrong. It did not take us long to stamp him a liar.

His speech ended, we marched to the terry building to eat before leaving for camp. Filthy mess kits were handed to us as we passed by the big garbage cans that contained the food. Hot beans, cold canned tomatoes and raw onion was our bill of fare. This sweet mystery of life had a smell for which there are no polite words. But what really did throw a veil of discouragement in us was the coffee. We surely believed that it was made hot in the swine trough. A group of boys made a brave attempt to stir it down. They failed miserably. Some vomited like sick cats. These fellows changed their minds and went home. A cautious few who had watched them went with them. The rest of us decided to stick it out. We were transported by bus to camp and it was surprisingly pleasant to make us forget the suspicious start.

Upon arriving at camp we were assigned to companies. The fellows I spoke to were pretty well disgusted. They probably expressed the mood of most of the camp—there are about fourteen thousand men here. It seems that inferior food, no female comradeship and low wages make for the main source of discontent. And to make matters worse, a rubber trading post maintained by the government charges from twenty-five to fifty percent more for staple necessities. Since Uncle Sam does not supply toilet articles and the boys have no money to buy razors, towels, soap, etc., Camp Dix very much resembles the House of David.

Of course newspapers that play up the wonders of the Civilian Conservation Corps, religiously suppress news of any revolt or race riots. Some weeks back, the capitalist press reported that forty-five so-called agitators were expelled for revolting against the food. I spoke to about fifty men of the company in which the incident occurred. They—non-Communists—vehemently denied that any of the expelled fellows knew all they were even tinged with the palest vermillion. After working all day in rainy fields, digging trenches and pitching tents, they were fed moldy beans and half-cooked potatoes. Every fellow spoke with admiration of the expelled forty-five, "who had the guts to open their mouths and kick."

Another incident happened that the press did not even mention. Negroes are segregated from the whites, even at church on Sundays. While the sky pilots (and this place is infested with them) preach eternal brotherhood, they do their utmost to prevent fraternization between black and white. A riot broke out several weeks ago in which a few Negroes were stabbed. Nobody seems to know the minor details since the combatants are either in the hospital or jail. But everybody agrees that the fight resulted over food. Soldiers now patrol the separating avenue with cocked rifles and fixed bayonets. As one soldier remarked, "A couple of grenades did the job." A deep pit testifies to that.

Many fellows express their discontent by deserting. Others knowing what they are in for, penitence in the city, prefer to remain. True, the government does not force them to stay, but starvation does. They console themselves by reflecting that six months of forest work will develop their physiques. That it will, I have no doubt. What the government wants is men with strong backs and weak minds. Surely the tasteless swill that is served will not increase anyone's intelligence. The commanding officer assures the people that the "forest army" is much healthier than the men examined in the last draft. Because of the crisis, young men walk a good deal and eat plain food which is inexpensive, whereas in good times young men are dissipated to get rich food and exercise as little as possible. We are plainly given to understand that crises are beneficial to the working class. Whether the workers believe this tomy-not is another question. Roosevelt's "New Deal" differs from Hoover's policy only in the degree of cornering some three hundred thousand young workers and forcing them to increase the wealth of the bosses. In this way the government kills two birds with one stone. It sets a new standard of wage cutting and at the same time paves the way for mass creation of constant capital that will make the present crisis look like an appetizer in face of the next and more terrible crisis. Needless to say, the government has an excellent center to teach the workers how to reduce their cost of living on the point of consumption, by introducing in their diet the cheapest and coarsest food.

— R.

St. Louis, Mo.—"Another week another dollar, a million weeks a million dollars," was the rather gloomy prospect for the St. Louis nut pickers under Capitalism and wage slavery. None of them had ever read the new book at the public library, "How to Live on Nothing a Year," and Roosevelt's inflation program had swept over them like a hailstorm over a fourth of July million parade, leaving them flat.

But enough is plenty and too much is hog's bait. It was either work or starve or no work and starve. They resorted to the only other alternative. They struck. Out into the streets they came, young and old, male and female, Negro and white. "Social" distinctions and racial differences were forgotten. They had spitted their real enemy and they went after him with their only weapon, solidarity of action.

Continuously the boss felt them out by offering them an increase which amounted to about 50 percent. They spurned it. And no wonder! The average weekly wage of the Negro girls was about \$1.80, while the white girls (due to greater skill) it was \$2.55. The boss was willing to use scabs but none applied in spite of the fact that the capitalist press maintained a cowardly silence about the true conditions as long as it could. Child strikers in Pennsylvania and a similar strike in St. Louis are, in spite of their similarity, two different things.

During the strike, several girl strikers were arrested, the excuse being given by the police that they were too young for the picket line. Not too young to be brutally exploited, but too young to defend their rights against the capitalist baby stivers.

Equal to the occasion, with their usual stupidity, the Stalinists of the P.W.U. immediately proposed a committee to put the case before Mayor Dickman, hoping, doubtless, to "expose" him as the agent of the bosses. But the prophet of the New Deal was not found mapping. Here was the chance of a lifetime brought on a silver platter by none other than the Communist, the very ones he was racking his brain for a plan to discredit. Galvanizing into action, he was a perfect picture of the defender of outraged decency. He spoke to the strikers at the Labor Lyceum. He appointed our old friends, The Social Justice Commission, composed of "liberal" ministers, and the strike was soon settled, the credit going to the political shysters and the religious fakery.

Fortunately, the wage gains were enough to give the workers courage in their mass power. The former price of 30 cents a box was increased to 90 cents, an increase of 200 percent.

G. ROBERTS

ERRATUM

A very bad printer's error crept into the article "A Postscript on Uniter" in the last issue of the Militant. A whole section following the beginning of the paragraph which reads: "But a word on the action of the Left Opposition caucus..." was deleted, and others bungled on the linotype. This section should read as follows:

"But a word on the action of the Left Opposition caucus at the conference. We objected to the amendment not so much because the wording ran counter to our principles. If the worthy gentleman from the Stalinist camp would take the trouble to refresh his memory, he would know that from the first—in articles, resolutions, speeches over a period of more than three years—we have linked up the question of long term credits to the Soviet Union with the agitation and propaganda of the superiority of planned, socialist construction in the U.S.S.R."

"What was objected to is the fact, that instead of coming out with the complete truth; instead of telling the American workers outright that the Soviet Union is today gripped by a terrific economic crisis—which is by the way due to the adventurist bungling of bureaucratic centralism in Russia itself; instead of telling the American workers, that because of this and because of the rise of fascism in Germany—for which Stalinism likewise bears its share of responsibility—the world imperialists, Wall Street in the lead, are more ready for bloody, upon intervention than for the extension of credits to it; instead of telling the American workers that, due to these dangers, the land of the Soviets is more in need of their active help than ever, in their every day struggles, in the struggle against unemployment—that instead of all this: the epigones of Stalinism in America merely cover up the dangers and resort to a meaningless phrase—'where they are building socialism and have already abolished unemployment'—which only serves to cover up their own 'infallibility,' or rather, their own bankruptcy."

The words which were deleted are given in blackface type above.

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The Platform of the Brandier Group

Number 3 of "Gegen den Strom," the organ of the Brandier-Gruppe, now appearing in Strassburg, contains theses on the struggle against Fascism and other programmatic declarations. This number is very important in the determination of the physiognomy of the group. What have the Brandierites learned from the catastrophe? Have they moved forward? Let it be said right at the outset: the theses contain a number of quite indubitable fundamentals, principally in the domain of criticism of the party regime, of the policy of the "United Front" only from below, and the theory of social Fascism. But apart from these critical ideas (which, despite their elementary character, must be insistently repeated), "Gegen den Strom" remains a document of opportunism, as much by what this publication says, as by what it fails to say.

1. The theses justly accuse the Stalinist bureaucracy of deliberately minimizing the importance of the defeat. But from their own evaluation of the catastrophe, the Brandierites do not draw the necessary conclusions with regard to the party. As in the past, they express the desire to return to the party, that is, they act as if no catastrophe had taken place. In this manner, the Brandierites help the Stalinists politically to cover up the significance and the dimensions of the defeat.

2. "It is not Communism that has been beaten," they write, "it is the ultra-Leftist tactic that has been beaten, the bureaucratic regime that has been beaten." The method of leadership pursued up to now that has been beaten? The question is not put politically but in doctrinaire fashion, as if the struggle was between abstract principles and not between living political forces. Communism as a doctrine has, of course, not been beaten; what has however been beaten is that party in Germany which had a false tactic, a bureaucratic regime and which pushed the proletariat to the catastrophe.

3. The "ultra-Leftist course" has been shipwrecked. Whence does it come? Is its social content? Who is its enemy? On this score, just as in the past, we do not hear a single word. Yet the Brandierites acknowledge that the false policy of the Communist International, which led to its ruin, has lasted for ten years. Whence comes this unprecedented perseverance in a discredited "ultra-Leftist course"?

4. Is it true, however, that the course of the epigone Comintern has always been "ultra-Leftist"? Was the five-year long subjection of the Chinese Communist Party to the Kuo Min Tung ultra-Leftist? How shall we characterize the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which ruined the very promising Minority Movement in the British Trade unions? Was the policy of the Comintern ultra-Leftist in India? In Japan? ("Workers and Peasants' Parties"). Isn't it obvious that the program of "national emancipation" was and remains a gross opportunistic adaptation to the chauvinist psychology of the German petty bourgeoisie? Can one regard as ultra-Leftist the present-day policy of blocs with bourgeois pacifists, with individual democrats, etc.: the Anti-War Congress, the Anti-Fascist Congress, the Anti-Imperialist League, and in general all the work directed by Muenzenberg's department for masquerades and charlatanism? Can one tax with "ultra-Leftism" the declaration of the Comintern on March 5th, which proclaims its readiness to refrain from criticism of the social democracy all during the period of the united front?

5. The theses declare that the ultra-Leftist policy of all the foreign sections is executed at the command of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Union. And what about the policy in the USSR itself? Doesn't the ultra-Leftist course have its origins there as well? Are not the one hundred percent collectivization and the exaggerated industrialization, expressions of an ultra-Leftist course? And on the other hand: Can it be denied that the period of economic adventurism in the USSR was preceded by years of economic opportunism?

6. The Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U., according to the theses, is not in a position to give direct leadership to the policy of several dozen countries. In and by itself, this is incontestable, but it does not explain at all the character of the disease which is ravaging the Comintern. Were it simply a question of the remoteness of the Political Bureau, of the lack of time, of the lack of information, of the lack of knowledge of the situation in the various countries, then the mistakes would be of the most diversified character. But it is not a question of isolated empirical mistakes. What is the essence of it? What determines its persistency and its comparative constancy?

7. What is the meaning of the system itself of commanding several dozen parties by the secretariat of the Political Bureau? Is this accidental, or an aberration of the mind? The Brandierites talk a great deal about bureaucratism; but they do not clearly understand the meaning of the term. Bureaucratism, to the extent that it is a question not of isolated accidental aberrations but of a mighty system, is the manner of thinking and of acting of a bureaucracy, that is, of a special social stratum which may and does come into conflict with the proletarian vanguard. Who is the principal bearer of bureaucratism in the Comintern if not the Soviet bureaucracy?

A Few Steps Forward - But No Conclusions

8. The Brandierites are compelled to evade this central question because, by their whole character and spirit, they are only a proscribed, insulated little detachment of this same bureaucracy. They fight against "ultra-Leftism," but they say nothing about the opportunism of the bureaucracy, for they themselves shared, and still share, in all its rightist mistakes.

9. The theses declare that the beginning of the false policy of the Comintern coincides roughly with the withdrawal of Lenin from work. But don't the Brandierites know that the shifting of the general line to the Right and to the Left of Marxism — was accomplished with the aid of one single ideological lever: the struggle against Trotskyism? If one pushes aside the personal details, the falsifications, the baiting campaign, etc., and grasps the essence of the matter, the revision of the methodology of Marx and Lenin took place under the aegis of the struggle against Trotskyism. The Brandierites have not understood this to the present day. They think that the struggle against Trotskyism was "in and by itself" correct, but that under cover of this struggle which constituted the principal content of the party's ideology for many years past, some miracle or other caused a bucksliding from the line of Leninism to the line of the "ultra-Leftist" course (in actuality, the line of bureaucratic Centralism).

10. Were the Brandierites Marxists, internationalists, they would be unable to declare the policy of the Comintern bureaucracy in the USSR inviolable and demand the same inviolability for themselves in Germany. It is not at all a question here of the autonomy of the national sections (we fully acknowledge the necessity of such an au-

China Receives New U. S. Loan

The new deal government at Washington, so solicitous for the welfare of the poor speculators on the Chicago wheat market and the New Orleans cotton exchange, is about to come to their aid again. The present step, like most of the new deal kind, is completely surrounded with the usual trappings of "aid to the impoverished farmers." But like most of the farm aid bills, seventy-five percent of the benefit will go to the financiers whose nearest approach to a farm is the wheat room of the Chicago Board of Trade.

This week's newspapers carried the headline announcements of a fifty million dollar sale of wheat and cotton to the Chinese National Government. The money, to pay for the purchases by the Chinese government of the wheat in this country, is to be advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as a loan payable after several years. Although no mention of the subject appears in the dispatches relating to the subject, the cotton will most probably be used in the contemplated Nanking campaign against the peasant armies. The Chiang Kai-Shek government which has been spending millions in his unsuccessful campaign against the peasant armies of inner China, has now succeeded in securing the advance of this fifty million dollars from the American government.

For the American unemployed, however, the Roosevelt administration, like that of Hoover, is providing merely fine phrases. In the same day there appeared the announcement that despite the grain crop failures in many parts of the country, and despite the campaign of the government to cut down the wheat acreage, the total amount of wheat being stored in the granaries of this country at the present totals almost four hundred million bushels. This huge supply of wheat is being let to spoil in the huge warehouses of the country, and attempts made to secure any of it for the unemployed have been frustrated (with the exception of a few million bushels of Farm Board wheat turned over to the Red Cross last year.) A conservative estimate would show that if the four hundred million bushels stored in the country today were advanced to the unemployed, it would last for almost five years.

Instead of taking any measures to relieve the suffering, exactly contrary steps are being taken by the government and the various relief agencies. The New York City Home Relief Bureau has cut off all payments of rent. In addition, the Gibson Committee which through the Red Cross has been distributing food have announced their intention of discontinuing this work after the summer.

This is the indictment of the present system; amidst plenty, there are many starving. Only a powerful working class movement will force from the capitalists a portion of the huge supplies of all types of food and clothing stored throughout the country.

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New Falsifications of the Stalinists

The Slander of Trotsky's "Judas" Role

In the past year a new bit of gossip emanating from Moscow was put into circulation: Lenin declared Trotsky to be a "Judas." When? Where? Why? At first, the European Stalinists were a little disturbed about telling this filthy rot to the face of the advanced workers. But when the defeat of the German proletariat entered another crime, the most terrible of all, into the inventory of the exploits of the Stalinist bureaucracy, they had to take recourse in very stiff measures. They now began to circulate the gossip about a "Judas" with increasing frequency.

What is it based upon? Two years before the war, in one of the moments of the ascension of the Russian struggle, Lenin angrily called Trotsky a "yudushka" in a note which he wrote. Whoever is even slightly acquainted with Russian literature knows that "Yudushka" (Golovyer) is a literary type, the hero of the Russian satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin. In the emigrant struggle of those days one could find in almost every polemical article "digs" borrowed from Saltykov. In the case before us, it was not even an article, but a note written in a moment of anger. At all events, Yndushka Golovyer has no relation at all to the Judas of the Evangelists.

In connection with the unavoidable exaggerations in the polemical letters of Lenin, Stalin taking up the defense of the attitudes of Zinoviev-Kamenev in October 1917, wrote in 1924: "Lenin sometimes deliberately runs ahead in his letters, pushes into the foreground such possible mistakes as may be made, and criticizes them in advance with the aim of warning the party and insuring it against mistakes, or else he sometimes pushes up trifles and makes 'an elephant out of a goat' towards the same philological aim." To draw from such letters of Lenin (and there are not a few of such letters by him) a conclusion about "tragic" differences of opinion, and to make a big deal about it, means not to understand Lenin's letters, not to know Lenin. ("Trotskyism or Leninism?"—1924.) These deductions of Stalin, which stand up very badly as a justification for the conflict of Zinoviev-Kamenev in October 1917—it was not a question of a "trifle" at that time, nor a "goat"—can nevertheless be completely applied to that third-rate episode which produced Lenin's note from exile on Yndushka Golovyer.

That Lenin had violent encounters with Trotsky in the years of emigration, is known to everyone. But that there was a number of years before the October revolution, the civil war, the upbuilding of the Soviet state and the founding of the Communist International. The true relations between Lenin and Trotsky are, it would appear, set down in later and more authoritative documents than that of a note resulting from a conflict in the emigration. What do the professional calumniators want to say when they throw the comparison with "Judas" into the debate: that Lenin did not trust Trotsky politically? Or that he did not trust him morally? Out of hundreds of utterances of Lenin, we cite two or three.

On November 1, 1917, Lenin said at a session of the Petrograd party committee: "I cannot even speak seriously about it. Trotsky has long

The Slander of Trotsky's "Judas" Role

said that the unification (with the Mensheviks) is impossible. Trotsky has grasped this and since then there has not been a better Bolshevik."

In the days of the civil war, when Trotsky by himself had to make decisions of extraordinary scope, Lenin, on his own initiative, handed him a blank sheet of paper with the following inscription at the bottom: "Comrades! I know the rigorous character of the orders of comrade Trotsky, but I am so convinced, convinced to such an absolute degree of the correctness, the expediency and the necessity of the order issued by comrade Trotsky in the interest of the cause, that I completely support the order—V. Lenin."

If the first of the two declarations cited above gives a clear enough political evaluation, the second one reveals the degree of moral confidence. It is hardly necessary to quote the dozens of citations from the articles and speeches of Lenin where he expresses his attitude toward Trotsky, or to reproduce here once more the correspondence of Lenin-Trotsky on the national question or on the question of the foreign trade monopoly. We will confine ourselves only to recalling the letter which N. K. Krapavka, Lenin's companion for so many years, addressed to Trotsky a few days after Lenin's death: "Dear Lev Davidovich: I am writing to tell you how Vladimir Illich, about a month before his death, stopped, in reading through your book, at the passage where you gave a characterization of Marx and Lenin, and asked me to read the passage to him, how attentively he listened and then how he himself read it over again. And there is another thing I want to tell you: the feelings which Lenin conceived for you

Chilean Left is Organized

country," now threatening to stifle proletarian internationalism; they were shown the responsibility of Stalinism for the various revolutionary defeats, especially for the German defeat, the revolutionary process of which was carefully analyzed; the zigzag policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy was carefully explained.

In the national field, these comrades found themselves obliged to recognize, first, the growing influence of our party even in the Leftist ranks; secondly, they recognized the errors and the internal dissension fostered by the bureaucracy of the official national organization as well as that of the South American Bureau.

We demonstrated by means of testimony provided by the Leftists themselves that our party was growing and developing in scope and influence at an accelerated rate in contrast to Leftism, whose ranks were rapidly diminishing and in some localities, disbanding. We did this without the least desire of underestimating the surviving importance of the bureaucratic forces.

Appeal for Unification

That the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition) could hold such a Congress, whose great political influence is undeniable and at which the workers' positions were consolidated through weighty debates and discussions, was due to the fact that the Communist Left represents a movement that is historically in the process of development. In the C.I., as well as in the official national sections, such meetings are sterile, because everything is fixed beforehand, all dangers of criticism by the rank and file against the top being carefully avoided.

The Leftist bureaucracy does not only fear a common congress of both factions. It also stands in terror of a democratic congress of its own faction, where uncovered as well as latent discontent exists. The Leftist (Stalinist) bureaucracy, backed by the international bureaucracy, will only call a national congress when everything has been gotten ready to silence the expression of discontent by the base.

The Left Opposition, here as everywhere, is ready to take part in a Congress for Communist Unification because it sincerely desires Communist unification.

Comrades, it is up to us, after this Congress, to redouble our efforts and our Bolshevik tenacity. We are the standard bearers of the revolutionary movement of the world. The tens of thousands of oppositionists whom Stalin holds exiled in Siberia, the deportation of Trotsky to Pripkovo, the example of Oppositionists all over the globe—all this shows us the way.

We have united in an international organization in the triumph of which are rooted the accelerating factors of the proletarian revolution. We must fight on. We must labor heroically. We must attack Leftism in the entire country, taking it by storm in the city as well as in the rural districts. This is the basic slogan peeled forth to you by the Central Committee of the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition), elected by acclamation by the delegates of the First National Congress of the International Communist Left in Chile.

The Central Committee of the Communist Left
(Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opp.)

—N. B.

News From German C. P.

Reject E.C.C.I. Resolution

Six Berlin districts of the C.P.G. have rejected the E.C.C.I. resolution on the German question as politically false. One district demanded the return of Heinz Neumann (probably from the Soviet Union). The E.C.C.I., however, denied this request. These are working districts. The rest have no connections.

Expulsion at the Top

The majority of the members of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. is in Moscow. Their reports are of the same character as the Heckert speech. The "Lehmannite" There has been no defeat in Germany. The E.C.C.I., together with the Germans, has decided to expel everybody from the party, who speak of a defeat and express critical sentiments generally. Thus, for instance, comrades Wollenburg and Felix Wolf have already been expelled because of criticism against the German policy. The expulsions at the top, where only few uncorrupted comrades still attempt to draw the lessons of the catastrophe, speak mountains for possible mass expulsions in the lower ranks.

Remmele Disagrees with Heckert

In a letter to Moscow, Hermann

Stalinists Furnish False Information

The information in the Stalinist press regarding the circulation and regularity of appearance of the *Rote Fahne* is simply fabricated. It appears irregular and rarely. "Unser Wort" strikes fear into bureaucratic hearts.

The E.C.C.I. has criticized the representation of the C.P.G. abroad as well as Muenzenberg's organization for lagging behind *Unser Wort*, which was the first Communist organ published abroad. The E.C.C.I. warns against the great "danger" of Trotskyism. The representatives of the official apparatus abroad, above all in Czechoslovakia, have reported to Moscow that *Unser Wort* makes a big impression everywhere and leads to "demoralization" in the party.

Teachers Fight Expulsions by BofE

ward to their pensions and retirement. They prefer a salary cut, or some "small sacrifice" which they can afford to a struggle to maintain salary schedules and working conditions which may involve retaliation by the Board of Education thru the loss of position in the school, petty persecution or even outright victimization with the consequent loss of their pensions.

To be sure they fail to understand entirely that their failure to resist the present attacks will encourage the bankers and politicians to make still further and more drastic attacks with the possible result, that, in the end, as in Chicago, they will get no salary at all and will lose their pensions as well. Apparently they have learned nothing from the experience and struggle of the Chicago teachers.

That is why the union administration policies are confined to lobbying in Albany, paper resolutions and the usual hollow squawks of outraged but impotent dignity.

But the great majority of the 45,000 teachers in the system do not fall into the stratum from which the union administration draws its support. These teachers are younger and receive lower salaries. They can less easily afford to make "sacrifices." They have less to lose in a struggle in defense of their interests.

The 15,000 unemployed and substitute teachers are in an even worse state. Under the "economy" lash of the bankers and politicians (the Ryans, the O'Briens, and the Lehmanns) have demonstrated the high esteem which state and municipal bureaucracies place on the educational system. School construction has been stopped. This puts an immediate quietus on the hopes of the unemployed, substitute teachers and the hundreds more the training schools and colleges are turning out. These teachers, must look to an expanding educational system for an opportunity to make a living and to become so-

Problems of New York Dressmakers

(Continued from Page 2)

The question of the establishment of a single union in the trade is now a question of life and death. A successful strike, a thorough-going organization drive must take into account other essential branches of the trade which are indispensable for united struggle and for its extension. The establishment of one union would give the Left wing access to the Cutter's Local, lack of unity with which has destroyed many a previous action; to the Spanish and Italian workers who are increasingly becoming the predominant factor in the trade and who are organized almost exclusively in the International; finally, to the out-of-town market which is the sore spot of needle trade organization, and which finds even the powerful tight wing only with skeleton apparatuses.

Perspectives of the Struggle

These sections of the trade must be given consideration, if the strike is to achieve its ends. The question of the out-of-town market is especially a burning one, in view of the attempts of the bosses to rid themselves of winter union control there is even in New York.

The unity of the dressmakers can well become the starting point for the establishment of unity in the whole needle industry and when it reaches that point, the strength of the Left wing will be increased tenfold due to the powerful victory it will have achieved by rallying the majority of the fur trade. Tremendous possibilities lie ahead for the Left wing in the needle trades. It is only necessary to know how to reach out for them, how to make use of them. The first step is the establishment of one single, class struggle union among the dressmakers, the elaboration of a single organization drive, the conduct of a single, united strike.

The Industrial Union has no time to lose. If it has learned the lesson of the failure of dissipated, scattered militancy; if it wants to really harness the heroic militancy of the great bulk of workers in the trade, it must proceed immediately with the proposals to the International indicated above.

—N. B.

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THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

C.C.N.Y. Students Expelled for Fight Against War

(Continued from Page 1)

gain an entrance through the students.

Not a student laid a hand on the president or any member of his group. Several self-styled "vigilants" who claimed affiliation with the athletic committee began to assert themselves among the demonstrators, and so, the capitalist press reporters got their story of a "students' anti-war riot." The athletic committee of City College denied any association whatsoever with these "vigilants."

The American Civil Liberties Union is taking the case to court on the ground that the students have the right to parade on the campus, therefore the expelled students should be reinstated.

This is clearly a question which resolves itself around the students' militant demonstration against militarism. As such there is nothing about it which can be settled in court. It can only find its solution in the struggle between the workers and the boss classes.

The N.S.L. in an executive meeting decided recently on its change of platform, in true Stalinist manner, without any discussion on the floor by its rank and file membership. From a Communist organization basing itself on adherence to Marxist policies (more or less), they have become a sort of "students' union" having itself on student issues. "It is hoped that in this way we will attract the student by his own problem so that we may develop our principles from practical work with the students," says the statement on the change of policy.

The expulsions at City College deprive the student movement of its most militant members and its most active fighters. Through the introduction of a few arbitrary decrees the authorities have succeeded in isolating the Left wing leadership from the mass of the student body.

The success of the faculty in their expulsion campaign, and the failure of the organization of a real protest movement in behalf of the expelled, can in no small degree be placed at the doors of the National Student League in failing to build up an anti-war movement of fighting dimensions, in confining its anti-war movement to the student plane and in supporting the Stalinist "Amsterdam" brand, the dimensions of the present fight were to a great extent laid down beforehand. At the Chicago anti-war conference the proposals of the Left Opposition delegates, proposals to organize the anti-war fight on the only plane on which it would be effective—that of the Communist movement taking a leading role in the organization of a genuine worker-student united front against war—were rejected by the N.S.L.

The whole opportunistic tactic of the Stalinists in the recent period in the anti-war movement has isolated the students from the working class at large without whom the struggle against imperialism war, heroic though it may be, will be of little or no consequence. Instead of calling for a genuine united front from the bungeers of Stalinism called into being the criminal masquerade of Amsterdam which based its strength not upon the proletariat and its organizations but on isolated intellectuals of the Barbusse-Rolland variety. The results of this frightful division perpetrated by the Stalinists between the students and the workers now becomes apparent even here at home, in the College of the City of New York where the students fighting heroically are left to shift for themselves with no genuine labor support. The responsibility for this rests on the shoulders of the Stalinists whose whole zig-zagging policy has caused this frightful isolation, this absence of any real sentiment in the working class for assistance and support to the expelled students.

But the task still remains to organize a genuine movement against imperialism war. Only in this way will the best service be rendered to the expelled students. The struggle for their re-instatement can only be effective if it becomes the spur for the building of an anti-war united front which will bind the students to the main body of the militant working class.

More Flowers. . . Naturally, Germany will not become Fascist. The victories of Communists vouch for this, victories beginning with the mass defense against Fascism and all the way to the struggle of the Berlin Transport Workers. This is vouched for by the hundreds of thousands of German workers who are striking under the leadership of the C.P.G. This is vouched for by the new hundreds of thousands of workers' votes which have been cast for Communism, this is vouched for by the irrepressible advance of Communism. . . (Kommunistische Internationale, No. 17, December 15, 1932, Page 1215.)

"In spite of the pompous declarations of the government, the 5th of March is not a victory for Fascism. . . (Manifesto of the Central Committee of the C.P.G., March 15, 1933.)

ARTICLE DELAYED

Due to technical difficulties, the article on the movement among the Upholsterers, announced last week for this issue, has had to be held over to the next number of the Militant.

Opportunists in Bloc vs. Lefts at Gillespie

(Continued from Page 1)

When the matter of these omissions of the policy of the PTUEC was brought up by the delegates, McFarlane answered that they "didn't have enough money to have all the points mimeographed" as he was forced to send out a mimeographed sheet with only the minor points—16 of them. Most of the delegates chuckled up their sleeves. They understood.

The Stalinists were down in full force—Minerich, Shaw, Kling, Weber, and a baker's dozen of lesser functionaries from Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, etc. Due to their ceaseless activities in the past several months (and more important, their change of policy in regard to the P.M.A.) the Stalinists are winning back some of their former adherents who parted company with them at the time of their "third period" strike strategy. The Stalinists proved to be the major force at the conference. However, the only politically advanced group in the conference was the Left Opposition which ideologically whipped the Left wing forward.

Course of Action Adopted

The conference re-affirmed the position of the other three conferences and again disposed of the "new federation tendency"; went on record urging the Progressive Miners of America, the National Miners' Union, West Virginia Miners, I.W.W. of Colorado, rank and file of the I.M.W.A., the Miners Union of Nova Scotia, etc., to unite nationally in order to prepare a national organization campaign and a strike against the prevailing scale; recommending the organization of Committees of Action in the various localities to carry on united front activities against forced labor, yellow dog contracts, inflationary process, and other local grievances; urged unity of the employed and unemployed and called upon all unemployed organizations to attach themselves with the National Federation of Unemployed Leagues; and passed resolutions against forced labor in Carlinville, against Governor Horner's reign of terror, for the immediate liberation of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys, etc.

Only one resolution met with Stalinist opposition. This was a resolution giving a political analysis of the Industrial Control Bill which was submitted by an outstanding Left Oppositionist, Hugo Oehler. Tony Minerich, spokesman for the policy and resolutions committee, led the fight stating that it was unnecessary to read the resolution—which would have taken but a few minutes—and proposed in its place to go on record "against the Industrial Control Bill and its class collaboration provisions."

Oehler Gets the Floor Despite Stalinists

Despite Stalinist opposition, comrade Oehler succeeded in getting the floor and introducing his resolution as an amendment to the report offered by the policy committee. The resolution gave a political analysis of the international situation and the perspectives for the future of the American labor movement in regard to the newly passed Industrial Control Bill. In particular, it explained the defeat of the German working class which marks the beginning of a world-wide capitalist reaction to further beat down

the workers' standard of living. It stressed the necessity of immediately setting in motion, on a national scale, the workers' resistance against the "new deal," which erects a gigantic class-collaboration paraphernalia, makes strikes illegal and a crime against the government.

The Stalinists united with the Right wing to defeat the L.O. proposal. The Stalinists interpreted the document as a "counter revolutionary" resolution. They objected with hypocritical indignation that the "German working class did not suffer defeat." They wasted a lot of hot air with their usual trite, resolutions and conferences" and ended up, not unnaturally, with a call to vote down the resolution and to send a protest (!) to Washington. The Right wing, construing the resolution as an attack upon them, frantically hurried around trying to muster votes to defeat it. They were at one with the Stalinists. Politics makes strange bed-fellows.

All sorts of attempts were made to gag comrade Oehler and prevent him from summing up on his amendment. The Stalinists became full-blown parliamentarians with the complete support of the Right wing. But comrade Oehler managed to get the floor.

Summing Up the Discussion

He pointed out that the resolution on the Industrial Control Bill resulted in the most important discussion of the day. Comrade Oehler stated that since this was the first conference since this Bill had gotten under way it was the proper place to take action on it. He expounded the straw men set up by the Stalinists, pointing out that although none of his opponents gave a substantial argument against the political analysis, yet they will vote it down. For the benefit of the Right wing, comrade Oehler stated that the resolution was not a slander against the P.M.A., but on the contrary, it gave the officials even more credit than they gave themselves, by showing their progressive character in relation to the entire American labor movement. In conclusion he brought out the historical perspective for the American working class proving that the attack upon its standards through the Industrial Control Bill was a direct result of the defeat of the German proletariat. He finished his speech with the axiom that action is meaningless unless it is based on a correct policy.

Minerich succeeded in squeezing in a last word with arguments that posed the question from a local angle—and not an international one (which is beyond the horizon of these national socialists). He professed not to see the connection with Germany and asked why Oehler didn't mention China to the extreme hilarity of the myopic Stalinists present.

The voting, of course, was a foregone conclusion. The amendment lost by a vote of 73 to 17 with about a dozen abstentions. The amendment was defeated but the Left Opposition again demonstrated its political superiority over the Stalinists who cannot see the necessity of preparing to fight against anything until it is too late—Fascism in Germany and now the Industrial Control Bill.

— MARTIN PAYER

Nazi - Austrian Tension Brings Sharp Clash

(Continued from Page 1)

to do that. On the contrary, they have the sorry courage to defend their policy as correct and vindicated. Look at the social democracy. It is now, literally, a rotting corpse. But the Stalinist faction, which, at present, still stands at the leadership of the Comintern, which is responsible for the policy of the C.P.G., which, in the final analysis, led in such a way that it helped Hitler in his road to power, what position do they take? They cover themselves partly with silence and partly they speak in such a manner as if nothing had happened.

Didn't Hitler Triumph?

"The German proletariat has not suffered a defeat." Then has Hitler not triumphed, too? Or is there a victor without a vanquished? Has nothing changed in Germany? But in the same breath they count on a quick collapse of Hitler; that the economic crisis alone will accomplish that which the powerful organizations of the German working class were unable to achieve; that is to break the neck of Fascism.

Question upon question—the answers, however, are awaited in vain. Let us not deceive ourselves—a "congress" which has nothing to say but the old empty phrases and formulas, will, despite the numerous workers' delegations, only sow further confusion, disappointment and discouragement in the working class. Courage is needed to speak out what is. Empty rationalization serves only to hide the cowardice of a bureaucracy which can no longer justify its own policy.

The I.L.O. speaks a clear language. It has nothing to hide. For years it has struggled for its principles of Marxism-Leninism. The correctness of the principles of the Left Opposition has been demonstrated.

The I.L.O. has something to say to the working class and it speaks clearly and openly. Our declaration is laid on the table of the Anti-Fascist Congress. It must be given serious consideration. Ever wider circles of the working class turn their attention to us. The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot silently watch this growth of the Left Opposition. But, it is too weak, too impotent and too cowardly to discuss with us politically, openly and honestly before the entire proletariat. Its weapons are:

Flowers of Stalinist Prognosis

(From the German Pamphlet "Leninism against Stalinism")

"Nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist overestimation of Hitlerist Fascism. If we permitted ourselves to lose our correct class gauge because of the swelling up of the Hitler movement . . . and allowed ourselves to be pushed into a panic frenzy . . . then we would of necessity be led to a false manner of posing the question in our practical work against the Nazis as well as above all with regard to the S.P.G." (Thaelmann, Speech at the Plenum of the C.P.G. on February 19, 1932. Page 24.)

"It would be false to believe that the most important process that is taking place in Germany at present is the growth of Fascism." (P. 1198) is the growth of Fascism." (Page 1198.)

"Also, the 22nd of January (the Fascist mobilization in front of the Karl Liebknecht House) stood under the sign of the turn in class forces favoring the proletarian revolution (!)" (Thaelmann: "The Nazi Provocation in Front of the Karl Liebknecht House and Several Lessons," quoted from Muenzenberg's *Unsere Zeit*, February 5, 1933. Page 134.)

And now the Senate committee is worrying about whether there were enough or too many or not enough holding companies involved in the process of the acquisition of these railroads, and whether they paid all the taxes that they should have, and whether the investors' interests were properly considered. Not a word about the frightful abuse of the real wealth of the nation, about the utter disregard of the interests of the workers who were speeded up and those who were fired by the thousands in the Van Sweringen's efforts to show Morgan how cheaply they could run a railroad, about the waste of resources involved in the building of new links to join roads in a field whose traffic was insufficient to support existing lines, or about the permanent burden on the masses represented by the issue of over-capitalized securities whose hunger for interest and dividends will be met by increased fares and freights, as was done last year, and by further cutting wages, firing workers, and speeding up the rest, with a 20 percent wage cut to be proposed to the railroad workers shortly. Not a word about the part all these manipulations played in raising the fictitious level of prices to a new high on top of another until the whole flimsy structure collapsed and buried the existence of millions in its ruins.

No—all this is taken for granted, shoved aside, regarded as "legitimate private business." That is the real scandal of the investigation. And an indispensable step on the workers' road to power will be to write up a clear understanding of the fact that the scandal of scandals is the existence of capitalism itself, of its normal life and methods as well as of the diseased and parasitic by-products which inevitably breeds.

— B. J. FIELD

Plot Pogrom on L. O. at Anti-Fascist Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

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Campaign of Slander and Provocation Against the International Left Opposition.

Provocations and slander—are the answers which the Stalinist bureaucracy gives to the principle declaration of the I.L.O. to the Anti-Fascist Congress. It does not shrink from the most flagrant accusations against us. Let us take one instance: the I.L.O. and comrade Trotsky are blamed because the Anti-Fascist Congress could not be held in Prague as scheduled. So writes A. Karolski in the Basle *Kundschau*.

"This time it was not only Wells, Stanger and Hitler who prevented us from holding the congress in Prague . . . these are all harmless in comparison with the provocations of Mr. Trotsky against the Anti-Fascist Congress. He denounced the Congress to the world bourgeoisie, told them that it had been arranged by paper organizations, made fun of the factories participating in it and electing delegates to it, mocked at the invitations to the intellectual circles who wanted to fight for the cause of the working class . . . etc." Together with this and in the same breath comes the unheeded slander that Trotsky demands of the Fascist murder bands in Berlin that they bring the arrested Bulgarian Communists "To the gallows!"

These are the arguments of the Stalin bureaucracy against the principle declaration of the I.L.O. Instead of thorough, principled discussion—a pogrom incitement. How hopeless the cause of such people must be who have to resort to this sort of "arguments!"

The idea that the International Left Opposition denounced the congress to the bourgeoisie and told them that it had been arranged by paper organizations is simply absurd. Does not the R.G.O. (Red Trade Union Center) belong to the initiators of the congress? And does not the world bourgeoisie know what the R.G.O. is? Just so much trash and slander.

What About Copenhagen?

And what about Copenhagen, where the congress also was supposed to be held and couldn't be? Was that Trotskyist "denunciation" too? We would not at all be surprised to read this in the Stalinist press tomorrow.

Apologies Copenhagen: Who was it, during the journey of comrade Trotsky to Denmark, that denounced to the world bourgeoisie a "secret Trotskyist conference in Copenhagen?" It was the official Stalinist T.A.S.S. (Press Agency of the Soviet Government). We shall leave things rest with this small reminder. The method of the Stalinist slanderers is simple: they attribute to others their own actions. Such a method is quite transparent.

The question of the Comintern is of interest in this connection. In Germany, a catastrophe has taken place; the strongest Communist party in the capitalist world lies prostrate, with a broken backbone; a strong Fascist wave is rising in Europe; the Communist Party of Austria is proscribed; the S.P.G. swept aside; the Second International writhes in the throes of rigor mortis—but the Third, the Commu-

Workers Interests Hit by Industrial Recovery Bill

(Continued from Page 1)

branch of industry fail to come to any agreement suitable to the government, a "fair code" will be forced upon it, and any protesting will be repressed by the "license" necessary to continue to operate under the new law.

The past five years has seen this complete about-face on the part of the relationships of government and business. Under the Coolidge administration we had—non-governmental interference in industry, both in words and in action. Under Hoover this had changed to governmental proclamations of non-interference, together with the readiness of increased government participation in private industry (Farm Board, Railroad Credit Corp., Reconstruction Finance Corp. aid to the banks and railroads, etc.) Today, we see the Roosevelt regime proposing to supervise and direct American economy, and in addition, admitting so openly. Such has been the change brought on by the past few years.

How Is the Working Class Affected

It is only in an indirect manner, however, that we are concerned with the inner organization of the capitalist system, only in the reflections of this organization upon the working class. And the reflection of the above measure can be seen to portray the real image of when translated into labor reorganization and consolidation, terms means: less workers, increased lay-offs and wage cuts; for it is only in this manner that the bill is to be interpreted by the working class. The railroad workers are to be the first to receive the gentle medicine of coordination, and they have already begun to feel the full meaning of the government's labor program, so that even the railroad unions have begun, in their mild manner—began to raise a voice in protest against this American bearing Greek gifts.

As for those combinations of words seeming to indicate that Roosevelt will introduce the minimum wage, and maximum hours, one cannot but be reminded of the record of the man empowered to enforce the measures. Hidden beneath the sugar coating will be revealed the cruel harshness of the starvation program. The "right of collective bargaining" will be transformed into a company union program. The "maximum wages, maximum hours" will, when translated into reality, become, most likely nothing more than the extension of the "stagger system" to every large factory in the country. It is not the bourgeoisie that will voluntarily surrender part of its profits to better the condition of the working class. The workers will have to organize, to fight many a difficult battle to win these elementary labor demands, the thirty hour week with no reduction in pay.

— H. STONE

cism, in the defense against attack, the Bolshevik-Leninists will take their fighting places in the common ranks, just as they have done up to now, everywhere and at all times."

"This is the position of our Declaration to the Anti-Fascist Congress. And in this sense we shall do our work at the congress. Slander and pogrom incitement hamper us, to be sure, but our voice will be heard by the working class in Fascist Germany and by the whole world proletariat. (From Unser Wort)

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The Industrial Control Bill

Workers Must Organize Against State Capitalism

The speedy adoption of the Industrial Control Bill was no surprise to the industrialists. Before the bill became law three conferences of the railroad presidents, the coal operators and the iron and steel men were held in Chicago. Long before President Roosevelt signed the bill, the now administrator, H. S. Johnson, was busy at work on his job as the head of industrial control. Within the first week after the bill became law five major industrial groups, which, in normal times employ two-thirds of the workers of America, were in session working out their industrial codes.

The iron and steel, soft coal, automobile, oil and textile bosses are busy planning how they can increase profits under the terms of the bill. The twenty leading manufacturers of oil burners have already drafted their industrial code and sent it to Washington for approval. The railroad presidents commenced the good work with an announcement of a 22 1-2 percent wage cut.

The Industrial Control Bill which is accredited to Roosevelt, was, in reality, originated by the leading financiers and industrialists. Their democratic office boys, headed by Roosevelt, only carry out their orders. The Industrial Control Bill is a necessary step to tighten up the decaying structure of capitalism at home. It is aimed to hurry the process of centralization and concentration to enable the American imperialists to obtain a position of advantage in the intense and bitter international economic and military struggle for world markets and trade advantages. The small producers and others who are opposed to the bill, as are a handful of capitalists. The competition and anarchy of capitalist production will be "organized" on a higher level. However, the leading section and the real rulers of the country were behind the bill. Those who put up a howl, such as the merchants and manufacturers, were not objecting to the bill, but to the section which gives lip service to the workers' interests. There are a section of the open shoppers who continue to speak plain English. They are not yet familiar with the new kind of talk, copied from the European reformers—a language which gives lip service to the workers' interest everytime a new attack upon the working class is to be launched.

A Form of State Capitalism

The Industrial Control Bill, as a form of state capitalism, is a desperate attempt to find a way out of the contradictions which engulf capitalism. Traylor, the La Salle Street banker, speaking before the soft coal operators in convention at the Drake Hotel in Chicago, where they were planning how to make more profits said, "the program of the new administration is an effort to save ourselves from annihilation." "There is more security in the new deal, whatever that may be, than there is in the communism of Russia, which might be our program if we failed in the old standard program which you and I believe in."

We are informed by the bourgeois economists and the rest of their ilk that the "planned economy" is to inaugurate an era of "fair competition". But have not these apologists for capitalism informed us for the last score of years that any

governmental interference, capitalist or otherwise, into private business, will wreck our industrial system and eliminate fair competition? Industry and government always were partners and always will be, because government can be nothing else than an instrument of suppression used by the dominating economic group. The only difference is that in the past the relationship was more disguised only in emergencies, in wars, and in the period of decay capitalism is the relationship of the economic masters and the government office boys stripped naked before us.

The conferences already held, and what little has leaked out from them, clearly indicate the line of

(Continued on Page 4)

Mass Meeting! Germany Under Hitler

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT of the

Fascist Dictatorship in Action—The Condition of the Social Democracy—The Communist Party and the Trade Unions

Speaker:

ARNE SWABECK

Just arrived from a visit to Germany and to comrade Trotsky.

Stuyvesant Casino.

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THURSDAY, JUNE 29th at 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Left Opposition Excluded at Anti-Fascist Congress

On June 4 and 5, the European Anti-Fascist Congress, many times delayed and postponed, was finally held in the Salle Pleyel at Paris. The Daladier government had refused permission to hold the meeting anywhere outside of the well-known Communist halls. The restricted nature of the congress, lacking a broad working class base, did not allow for a mass protest and pressure to force the concession from the government to hold the convention in full view of the Parisian proletariat.

The "free lancers"—the Radical deputy Berger, the novelists Andre Gide, Victor Marguerite, Henri Barbusse, the professors Prenant and Nejedly, etc.—naturally dominated the scene. The Stalinist Comintern bureaucracy, which improvised the whole affair, kept well in the background during its entire duration.

"DAILY WORKER" ON CONGRESS

Significant for the sham character of the whole business, is the reaction of the Stalinist press to it. The Daily Worker, for instance, did not even dignify the congress with a first page account, but relegated it to the back page. This speaks enough for the bureaucracy's own lack of confidence in their doings. No decisions of any value were adopted, no discussion of fundamentals was permitted. Ceremony and flowery speeches—there is the sum total of the results achieved by it.

LEFT OPPOSITION EXCLUDED!

The International Left Opposition was officially excluded from the sessions. Behind the scenes, the bureaucracy built up an entire apparatus whose business it was to see that the Left Opposition's voice be stifled, no matter from what quarter it may come. Direct reports are still forthcoming and it is not yet definitely known whether the Bolshevik-Leninists gained access by round-about ways or not. But from the preliminary impression made by the congress, the intent of Stalinism not to permit the Left Opposition to force it to give an account before the whole working class of the crimes it perpetrated against the German and the international proletariat in the tense months and weeks preceding the seizure of power by Hitler.

SLUG HOLDSHEV-LININISTS!

At a regional Anti-Fascist Congress in the Franco-Belgian (Luxembourg) Union Headquarters of Paris, Left Oppositionists delegates from the League Communiste and local unions were forcefully misused and disgracefully battered by slugs organized under the direct leadership of outstanding French bureaucrats.

At a second regional meet in Paris, not only were the delegates from the Left Opposition excluded, but bona fide trade union and mass organization representatives suspected of solidarity with the views of the Left Opposition were barred from the hall. Stalinist united front!

NEVERTHELESS—OUR VOICE IS HEARD!

It remained for a member of the Young Communist League of France to take the floor for a presentation of the views of the Left Opposition. That was entirely unexpected and consternation reigned in the ranks of the bureaucracy. Before the young orator could conclude his remarks with a declaration of concrete proposals put forward by the L. O., the bureaucracy organized a monstrous noise throughout several parts of the hall to drown out his voice. His counter-resolution received two votes, the Stalinist mass-querade was not entirely airtight.

WHY THE TERROR AGAINST THE LEFT OPPOSITION?

Why the terror against the Left Opposition? Why this unheard-of determination on the part of the bureaucracy? A glance at one of the speeches is sufficient for illumination on this point. The German delegate Mueller, shoved to the forefront by the bureaucratic impresarios, had the following to say: "If today Fascist terror is raging worse than ever before, it is not an indication of the strength of Fascism, but of its weakness (1). But it is also a sign of the rapid rise of the revolutionary wave." (Daily Worker, Saturday, June 17, 1933.)

A FABRIC OF LIES

It is with such a fabric of lies and illusions that the Stalinist bureaucracy attempts to cover up its criminal shipwreck in Germany. It is upon this self-same rotten fundamental of untruths that Stalinism proceeds to cover up its tracks before the working class of the world by speaking of preparations for a German general strike to overthrow Fascism now. It is their fear that the Left Opposition would tear the mask off their cynical, lying countenances and force through a discussion of the real state of affairs and those responsible for it that

(Continued from Page 1)

All Out to Anti-Nazi Meet on Union Square

On Saturday, June 24, the militant workers all over the United States will come out in the streets and demonstrate their solidarity with their German fellow workers tortured under the bloody heel of Hitler's Fascist rule. This demonstration, called by the United Front Anti-Fascist Committee in conjunction with various labor groups, must try out its answer to the bestial oppression of the naked capitalist dictatorship in Germany. Down with the Nazi terror!

The Left Opposition calls upon its members and sympathizers to be on hand in the demonstrations throughout the country and in New York on Union Square on Saturday, June 24th at 2 P. M., in the common protest against German Fascism. All out! Down with German Fascism!

Danger Signals Flash at London Conference

War to Solve Crisis Nears as Contradictions Sharpen. Imperialists Wrangle Over Tariff, Prices, Markets. Hugenberg Betrays Real Plans -- to Attack USSR.

Although the London Economic Conference has been in progress for only two weeks, it has already given ample proof of two things: the breakdown of the illusions of reasonable, peaceful international agreement, and the built-in head-on collision of American imperialism to smash through every obstacle to obtain its ends.

In view of the high tension of the world crisis on all fronts—economic, political, social, military—this means that the London Conference, by exhausting some of the

theoretically possible peaceful alternatives, and by bringing international conflicts of interest before an international arena, will constitute a long step in the preparation of the coming imperialist war.

The keynote of the conference—intrigue, treachery, a nauseous hypocrisy, and the naked violence of an accomplished fact—was given before it started, when Roosevelt took America off the gold standard while MacDonald was on his way to Washington, thus breaking the strongest weapon in the British armory, the stabilized depreciation of the pound sterling in terms of the dollar. England repudiated MacDonald had left, with a preferential trade agreement with Argentina that gave the lie to its sanctimonious talk about increasing the freedom of international trade.

America, which had insisted on putting the question of German reparations on the agenda at the Lausanne conference last year, refused to permit the war debts to be discussed in London; as if a genuine settlement of currency questions could be reached unless it were decided whether or not hundreds of millions of dollars would be moving each year to the United States. MacDonald promptly opened the conference by throwing the question of war debts on to the table, quickly followed by Jung of Italy. Hull of the American delegation held over his speech for twenty-four hours during which the threat of possible withdrawal by America hung over the conference.

Matters were patched up enough to permit of the organization of the conference into two committees, one on currency and the other on economics. The composition of the committees alone indicates how little seriously the conference itself took their activities. The chairman of the currency committee is a provincial Ohio politician, James M. Cox. The economic committee consists of representatives of Holland, Argentina and Germany. England is represented on neither committee.

The real negotiations all this time have been taking place behind the scenes. While the pretentious masquerade and the speeches dripping with international good-will were going on at the conference, a little committee having nothing to do with the conference was fighting grimly and silently behind the scenes for the real decisions. It consisted of the governors of the central banks of the United States, England and France. Five days after the conference started, this real and small committee disbanded when the American representative left for Washington.

In the same way the wheat conference had been sitting for a week before the "big show" started. Like the bankers' committee, it has run into a deadlock of national interests; as the bourgeois press reports, it only exhibited "the hesitations of the Australian and Canadian wheat growers, the apprehensions of the Polish and French peasants, the grievances of the Argentine live stock producers, the concern of Italy and other countries to reserve their internal markets for their own farmers."

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S.P.G. Vote Shakes 2nd Int'l

May 17, 1933: A Comparison With Aug. 4, 1914

1.

The policy of coalition and tolerance, ever typical of the Socialist Party of Germany, found an ignominious end when Hitler seized power. As a social raises a child so did the Nazis raise a child. From 1914 to Hitler's accession, the S. P. G. bore direct responsibility for the policy of the German bourgeoisie in regards to the German masses. Its occasional attitude of opposition expressed itself in pitiful amounts, as the refusal to consent to retrenchment in social insurance and reduction of salaries. Other goals and other tasks the S. P. G. was incapable

of setting for itself. It was too closely bound to the decadent state apparatus of the German Republic. The forces of the social democracy could just bear a penny opposition and no more.

Already long before Hitler's seizure of power, the S. P. G. was rotten, corroded internally thoroughly by bureaucraticism. It was a party without an inner life. That for one time another grotesque "State Party" could establish itself alongside the S. P. G. was one of the curiosities frequently occurring in the history of the Weimar republic. However, the S. P. G. was the state party. It was the party of the Weimar republic. The "work of Weimar" was condemned to destruction, and with it the S. P. G. proceeded to its end. Nobody has so clearly formulated the task of the social democracy as Tarnow at the Leipzig party convention. Its job, according to him, was to act as doctor at the sickbed of the capitalism. Indeed, the Tarnows, the Weises, the Severings, have guarded the sick patient solicitously, but they could not cure him. Even their medicine of the "lesser evil" was of no avail, and the magnificent patient sent his Fascist henchman, Hitler, to break the head of the old family doctor, the S. P. G. And so the medical career of the Social Democracy came to an end.

Very rarely has history offered such an extreme example of heedlessness and helplessness as the "straggle" of the S. P. G. against Fascism. Not only was the S. P. G. incapable of showing how to fight against Fascism; it did everything in its power to prove that it could take the place of Hitler in all respects. As usual, reformism wrongly estimated its forces in this case too. The S. P. G. has long ago lost all feeling of the requirements of the class struggle. It placed faith only in the omnipotence of the apparatus. The bureaucratic apparatus could gag and deceive faithful workers. It could choke strikes and uprisings. It could not, however, deceive the bourgeoisie, and it did not have the strength to choke and gag Fascism.

Even if the social democratic apparatus did not collaborate in policy, they believed at least in the inner value of a policy of class toleration. To them the thought of

(Continued on Page 4)

Hitler Clashes with Hugenberg for Control

The Hitler-Hugenberg rift has more than an internal significance. Especially is this so when simultaneously with the raids on Hugenberg's Green Shirts the Nazis also raided the office of the Bavarian People Party (Catholic) in Munich.

At least in so far as the raids on the Catholic center were concerned an official communiqué declared: "Leading personalities of the Bavarian Peoples party were connected with the recent events in Austria, especially with the suppression of the National Socialist party" (Austrian Nazis).

The Nazis mean serious business in Austria. They will tolerate no vacillation from distant allies or near allies. That is, from the Bavarian Catholics or from Hugenberg's nationalists. Already the Nazis have undertaken a mighty propaganda—not only in word but in deed. Nazi bomb factories have been discovered in Austria. Dollfuss, Austrian Chancellor, has used this as a pretext to banish the Nazi press.

Lovestone and his kind notwithstanding, the differences between the Hitler and the Hugenburgs are not yet completely ironed out. The social and political aspirations of each still represent varying phases of dominant class interests.

Hitler has not yet completely consolidated his power. But he has been and he is marching forward on the path of reaction with seven league boots. Unless the Communist movement sounds the alarm and acts in time—Austria will be next in order!

But here it must be declared that the American party, at least, if Robert Minor and Alexander are its true spokesmen, and we have no reason to doubt that they are, has learned nothing from the past.

Speaking before an audience of workers in Brownsville, Brooklyn, the other night on Fascism, they offered such empty and vainglorious platitudes that though the hour was nearly twelve when the two main speakers concluded the audience virtually demanded speakers from the Left Opposition to take the floor and present their point of view. Though three minutes were allotted, the speaker for the L. O. took the opportunity to point out that Alexander's theory—the more misery the better—was in reality a petty bourgeois Anarchist theory, that the Leninist approach is to call a defeat a defeat and not to say that the ravages of Fascism are "in reality a victory and a sign of strength for the German working class," as Alexander and Minor inferred. When the speaker's time was up he asked for an extension of time. The sentiment of the workers was to grant it. The chairman refused to intervene and as the speaker started to con-

(Continued on Page 4)

Ill. Miners in Mass Action

Women's Auxiliary Takes Valiant Part in Struggle

10,000 MINERS IN FUNERAL CORTAGE

10,000 miners marched in the funeral cortege of Thomas Urban, member of the Progressive Miners Union slain by Lewis and Peabody gunmen, in Springfield, Ill. Thomas Urban, laborer in the United States, was murdered in the gun battle that took place when scabs attempted to operate a mine struck by the Progressive Miners of America. The "democratic" governor of Illinois, Horner, prohibited all banners and bands in the parade in the interest of "law and order."

Everywhere except in those places where the armed National Guards prevent meetings, the miners and their wives gather in their thousands to discuss their problems. The whole of the mining territory seethes with agitation and action. Seven miners and one miner's wife have paid with their lives for the crime of organizing and fighting for a union of their choice.

MINERS WOMEN A SERIOUS "MENACE" IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

The chief of police of West Frankfort, Ill., and his henchmen forcibly and brutally dispersed members of the Women's Auxiliary of the P. M. A. drill team which was practicing on a base ball diamond in that city. With no provocation whatsoever the uniformed thugs charged the women, leveled the vilest curses at them, slapped them, pointed a machine gun at their children and ordered them to disperse. One woman and five men were arrested for the "horrible" crime of marching around on a ball field. Several were beaten. A monument to the "freedom of assembly" in America.

NO RACE DISCRIMINATION HERE

We have always contended that the solidarity between the white and Negro workers will be best achieved in struggle. It is in the impact struggle against the bosses that the artificial barriers of race and color will melt like so much ice on a hot summer day. We quote the following simple, eloquent testimony of this fact from a letter written to the Progressive Miner, organ of the P. M. A. by a miner's wife from Saline County, Ill.

"About two weeks ago we went to attend a colored funeral and they honored us to the full extent. The Negroes said that this was the first time white and colored folks had ever mixed here. They said that they were glad to find some people who didn't discriminate and lived up to their union obligations."

Hold Protest Meeting in Phila.

Philadelphia Pa.—An enthusiasm which more than hints at the smoldering unrest of the workers and their desire for leadership in struggle blazed forth in answer to the protest open air meeting called by the Philadelphia Branch of the Left Opposition where more than six hundred workers came out to show their resentment and to denounce the Fascist tactics of the police and the courts exemplified in the malicious frame-up of our comrade Leon Goodman at an open air meeting held at the same corner two days earlier.

This protest meeting was far bigger than any open air meeting the Stalinists have ever had in this city. The workers responded to our leaflet appeal. Eight o'clock they lined the street within the vicinity of Hope and Jefferson Streets. Some hailed us as we approached. The workers were heartened at our appearance and drew close to hear the protest meeting and to take part in the protest meeting.

Comrade Carey, though not a member of the Opposition was invited to take part in this meeting and was the first speaker. The other speakers were comrades Morgenstern and Roberts, Hirsch acting as chairman. The workers were anxious to listen to our comrades

and called for them by name.

A resolution was passed condemning the action of the arrest and demanding the immediate unconditional release of comrade Goodman. Petitions were passed among the workers which many signed willingly. At the close of the meeting workers formed groups among themselves and around our comrades and discussed.

The Philadelphia Branch has been carrying on a campaign of open air meetings before the workers in the Kensington section of the city. The workers are willing to fight but they demand leadership. Stalinism with its bureaucratic ultimatum demands stifles initiative and independent thought among the vanguard of the working class. This mass meeting protesting Goodman's arrest casts a perspective of what strength lies latent among the workers. The Stalinists with their policy of isolation are in great measure responsible for their non-organization.

To get aid from the L. I. D. was as easy as it is to pull an elephant out of a quicksand bog. We were advised to let Goodman serve the sentence and our request for a speaker to be sent to the protest meeting was met by evasion and finally refused.

—MEYER HIRSCH.

New York City to Stop All Jobless Relief

The announcement that on September 30th, the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee will discontinue its activities receives little comment in the bourgeois press. And for good reason. Open admission of the failure of "private charity" would be too much to expect. Nevertheless, it is now clearly evident that the bourgeoisie is unwilling to shoulder the expense of even the beggarly sops thrown to unemployed workers.

As a matter of fact, however, the bulk of the funds for this work, as class conscious workers probably realized a long time ago, was coming not from our great philanthropists but from employed workers.

For the past several years many firms in New York had followed the policy of "requesting" their employees to make weekly donations to the unemployment fund. These were mainly of small amounts, running from 10 cents to 50 cents per week. With the deepening of the economic crisis, followed by further drastic wage reductions, a militant spirit developed among the workers, many refusing to continue the weekly payments. Confronted with a dilemma, the bourgeoisie characteristically faces the problem: disband the committee! This is equivalent to a starvation sentence for the unemployed.

So as to make a pretense of continuing the work, a good deal is said about coordinating public and private charities, with emphasis on the former. Everything will be left in the hands of the past masters of relief distribution, the Tammany politicians.

Such a prospect must be doubly alluring to the jobless of this city, especially in view of the attitude of the bankers on governmental economies. To expect the bourgeoisie to submit to additional taxation, for the purpose of meeting relief needs, is to expect too much. The dissolution of the Gibson Committee should make this fact plain.

On top of that, Mayor O'Brien announced last Tuesday night that if the city's revenues "broke down," they would have to appeal to private charitable agencies to help carry on unemployment aid. Revenues have already broken down, and the attempt to pass the buck back to private charities means eventually the utter breakdown of the whole system of relief to unemployed workers and their families.

How is the miserable condition of the unemployed to be improved? Only through a broad and militant struggle. Such a movement demands above all united action. The need of the hour is unity, a common working class policy to fight the onslaught home that the workers mean business, that the starvation program of the new deal will not be quietly accepted. A united front of all workers organizations must be the answer. This is the only way that the emergency can be met.

—D. BELLOWS.

C. Zetkin, Veteran Red Dies at 76

Clara Zetkin is dead. The veteran revolutionary labor leader of more than 50 years of active, militant service to the cause of the German and international proletariat has passed away in a sanatorium near Moscow a few days ago. The death of Clara Zetkin, a real tragedy to the world's working class, coincides with the greater tragedy of the German proletariat whose movement now writes under the heel of Hitler and his brown cohorts.

The name of comrade Zetkin is associated with some of the most glorious traditions of the German proletariat and its struggle for emancipation. She began her participation in the socialist movement under the tutelage of Marx and Engels. She was in the forefront of the battle against the anti-Socialist laws of Bismarck. The great honor of being the initiator of the organization of working class women on an international scale belongs to Clara Zetkin. Her name is indissolubly associated with this indispensable activity.

More important and more outstanding in the fighting career of comrade Zetkin has been her unremitting warfare against the traitors of the German social democracy and the Second International. Together with Karl Liebknecht

and Rosa Luxemburg, she kept aloft the banner of internationalism during the dark days of the imperialist slaughter. This indomitable fighter did her part in the foundation of the heroic Spartacus League in Germany, the Communist International. The Bolshevik work of Clara Zetkin was a milestone in the days when the proletarian international had all its strength turned towards the world revolution—in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin paid her a significant tribute when he said that "the only man in the German party was an old woman."

In spite of her militancy and heroism, comrade Zetkin was soft and even equivocal, at times, in the inner struggle in the ranks of Communism. Sometimes her sympathies swayed to Brandler, in the early days she showed inclinations towards the Left Opposition. The epigones many times made malicious use of the prestige of Clara Zetkin.

Notwithstanding, the death of this brave leader is a real loss to the Communist and revolutionary workers. The name of comrade Zetkin is an inspiration—it is enshrined in the hearts of the proletarian vanguard wherever it battles for freedom!

P.M.A. in Perspective

A Review of the Past and Signs for the Future

With each passing day it becomes increasingly necessary to consider the situation in the Progressive Miners of America with the aim of ascertaining its tasks in the light of recent developments. The P.M.A. is at the crossroads. The policies it adopts will decide its future. In any discussion of this union, it must always be borne in mind, that the organization was founded on the basis of a militant struggle against the Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers of America.

At the outset, its struggles for existence revolved around two fronts: against the coal operators (primarily the Peabody Coal Company) and the officialdom of the UMWA (having at its disposal money, materials, etc.), both working with the support of the State of Illinois, its courts, police, the controlled press, etc. With such an array of reaction surrounding it, the course chartered out in advance for the new union was (and it remains so now) a precarious one.

Under such conditions two paths are open for the new union. Either it succumbs to the pressure of reaction or it maintains that militant class struggle character which brought it into existence, and endeavors to spread the union beyond the borders of the State of Illinois in order to make it a truly national union of the coal miners. There is no middle road for the union to travel. The militants in the union must understand that their successful struggle against Lewis in Illinois laid years before in the fight made by the Progressives in 1924, by the Save-the-Union movement in 1928 and similar struggles over a period of a decade. The victorious struggle of the Progressive Miners Union came as the mighty wave of these many fights.

The "Red" Scare

After a series of unsuccessful efforts by Lewis and the Peabody Coal Company to destroy the new union, they resorted to a familiar weapon used by all reactionaries and hunkies in the labor movement. The "red scare" was employed. It was directed against Gerry Allard, the editor of the Progressive Miner. By this means they hoped to drive the officialdom of the P.M.A. into reactionary channels. This offensive launched by the reactionaries met a healthy rebuff in the rank and file of the P.M.A. The leadership of the P.M.A. said to go, reacted in a most shameful and pitiful manner. It apologized and did precisely what the reactionaries desired. It too declared itself in deadly opposition to Communism in general and to Communists in the new union. It announced that the union was "pure" of radicalism. Instead of meeting this challenge in a straightforward militant manner it engaged in a "red-hunting campaign." And in their own way, they now proceed to cleanse the union and direct blows against the most militant section of the P.M.A., that section without which the new union would have been an impossibility.

One thing is certain, the drive against militants in the new union will spell its inevitable death, and at present constitutes an ill-omen of what will take place in the union, if the leadership will persist in its present course—remaining smug and self-satisfied with early gains; a union in Illinois and a few contracts. In a discussion of the union it is necessary to return to some fundamental questions of tactics and strategy that are indispensable to the miners' organization.

The greatest possible error that the militants can commit is to consider that the struggle against the Lewis machine in the UMWA, was an isolated struggle for democracy and the rights of the rank and file miner in the union as such. It is impossible to make such an abstraction of the struggle for democracy in any workers' organization. The inner life of any organization is a reflection of its policies. In a like manner the inner life of the UMWA was a result of the policies of betrayal committed by its leadership. It cannot be said that Lewis and his murderous regime is more brutal and vicious than other reactionaries in the labor movement. All of them act alike, when confronted with a desperate and militant rank and file. It is in defense of their policies, that the Lewis machine resorted to the vilest methods in destroying the will and desires of the coal miners. In the same manner the basis for the struggle of the miners against their leadership, arose primarily in reaction, not to the throttling of democracy, but to the traitorous policies of the ruling clique.

Why the Fight Against Lewis?

The Lewis machine dedicated itself to the task of helping the coal operators at the expense of the coal miners. Instead of acting as the labor leader of workers and serving their interests, they acted as labor lieutenants in the service of the capitalists—in this case the coal operators. The decline of the once powerful United Mine Workers, is a tale of successive betrayals of the miners. Strikes were sold out. Wage agreements were made that added only the operators and reduced the already low standards of the miners to an even lower scale. Conditions in the mines became steadily worse. With the coal industry, already over-developed and constantly menaced by the development of electric and water-fuel-power, drifting to the south and the unorganized fields, the Lewis regime did not raise a finger in the direction of the organization of the unorganized miners. The un-

organized fields steadily increased production until they were mining the great bulk of the coal produced in the United States. Yet the leadership did not budge. Wherever such possibilities of organization existed, as in West Virginia, Lewis betrayed the miners.

With such a background of constantly worsening conditions for miners, is it any wonder that with in the rank and file a wave of resentment developed into a stormy revolt? In order to enforce its policy of betrayal, the Lewis machine resorted to every means at its disposal to check the revolt of the miners and thereby, to successfully carry through his policy. To accomplish it, he had to steal elections; expel militants by the hundreds; kill, maim, torture; and destroy every vestige of democracy in the union. The union was no longer an organization of the coal miners. It was a place of loot for the agents of the coal operators in the union who, in carrying through this great betrayal of the miners, also proceeded to rifle its treasuries.

What should have been the course of the UMWA? Assuming it to be a genuine organization of workers, it should have proceeded on a bold scale to unionize the unorganized fields, extend the struggle against wage cuts and for wage increases, for a general improvement of the working conditions of the miners. Needless to say, it did exactly the opposite. As has already been cited above, in order to enforce his external policies, Lewis resorted to a destruction of the inner life of the union. It is to be observed, thus, that the struggle for democracy in the Lewis union, was dependent upon raising at the same time the question of policies.

Every movement of revolt in the UMWA, whether or not it momentarily raised the question of democracy as a forefront issue, nevertheless had to first of all present to the miners a program in contrast to the prevailing program of the Lewis union. Of what value is a program for democratization of union, which is not accompanied at the same time with a program of vital, militant struggle to save the union (through its extension); against wage cuts (for increases); for retaining the improved conditions in the mines (and their extension)? Obviously it cannot be of much value.

The Howat Movement

The outstanding experience of the Howat movement which rode the wave of one mighty revolt, and gained power in Illinois, was that in spite of its cry for democracy, and the need for turning the union into the hands of the rank and file, it failed miserably, brought about no changes in the life of the union, acted as a perfect agent for Lewis, because its policies were identical to those of the Lewis machine. Unless any movement can tear itself from the policies of betrayal to the adoption of the course indicated, all its pretenses of democracy, of a "rank and file" union, will fall to pieces.

The democracy of the union will be achieved only on the basis that the union is militant, and aggressive in the interests of the rank and file.

(Continued on Page 3)

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union of New York City, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers in the A. F. of L. It embodies the ideas of a number of Progressive Group and Rank and File teachers, the two Left wing groups in the union.

II.

Contrary to its picture of the situation in the union, in which it appears as the representative of the interests of the teachers, the administration is clearly revealed by its policies to be the representative of only the higher-salaried, older, and more conservative teachers in the union to the exclusion of the larger interests of the union and the teachers as a whole. Let us take first the question of the fight against the salary cut which the teachers got last December.

Long before the cut was actually passed at the special session of the State legislature, called for that and similar purposes, it was clear that the attack was impending. The Left wing claims that it was obvious as much as two years ago. It was certainly unmistakable by the end of last summer, when Walker, who was then mayor, asked all civil service employees and teachers to accept a cut of 8-13 percent.

An organization which exists for the purpose of defending the interests of the teachers against such attacks, must be on the alert to discern them when they are being prepared. If the administration can show that it saw the attack in time, gave warning that it was coming, energetically mobilized the teachers to resist it and armed them with a correct policy, it can be said to have discharged its duty and deserves the confidence of the membership of the union.

But this is what the Lefkowitz-Linville administration cannot do. They failed to see the attack in time. Worse! They turned a deaf ear to the warnings of the Left wing. It was only when Walker took to the press with his appeal for voluntary cuts in the interests of economy, that the administration stirred from its lethargy.

By that time it should have been clear to all from the financial situation of New York City and the negotiations between the city and

ON THE WORKER'S FRONT

New York, N. Y.—For the past few weeks negotiations have been going on between the Pocketbook Workers Union and the Industrial Council of the Leather Goods Employers Association. The conferences were broken off several times. According to our members report at the union meeting of June 15, the employers demanded (1) a piece work system for operators and cutters; (2) abolition of the two weeks' trial period, which means the free right to hire and fire; (3) abolition of the unemployment insurance fund and the employment office, etc.

In other words, the bosses are demanding the open shop and hope to undermine the already meagre conditions of the workers. After a heated discussion the membership decided unanimously to call a strike as soon as possible.

How is it that at a time when there is general talk of raising wages, the pocketbook bosses are demanding a lowering of conditions? The answer is that our present administration, the "Fraternal Club" misleaders did not enforce 10 percent of even that rotten agreement which they forced on the workers last year. For the right to collect dues in the shops, they gave the bosses a free hand to whatever they pleased with workers. The bosses have naturally taken advantage. Workers have been thrown out of

Sugar Coated Misery

New York City.—The firms and factories operated by the bankers (they are many after four years of crisis) are the first to be affected by the Industrial Recovery Act.

The H— Paper Co. is such a place, and already last week the employees were informed they would go on a six hour day. As the workers were being paid by the hour and were working eight and a half hours per day that meant, exclusive of considerations of higher prices and rents, a thirty per cent wage reduction.

Thirty percent less than what they were getting (they were averaging less than forty cents an hour, and many of them got only three days per week every other week, or five dollars and ten cents per week to live on—none of them had been working full time) brought forth a healthy response from among the workers who threatened to walk out in protest.

The superintendent sensed the possibility of this development and immediately busied himself, personally interviewing the "loyal" employees best acquainted with the factory as a whole. Then he must have met with the president of the company and with the bankers again. For his tactic was changed. He met the threat of a walkout with the threat of firing a certain number of workers (he would not name them nor in any way imply who they might be), but accompanying this threat with a promise of a five day week.

For the present, this move having been given the authority of law and having been put over on them in the name of the President of the United States and the Federal government, the workers involved are experiencing the meaning of the Industrial Recovery Act and the New Deal: more unemployment, more misery. —SHOP WORKER.

Pocket Book Workers Vote for Strike

their jobs indiscriminately, the wage scale is not being paid, time-and-a-half for overtime has been done away with. Certain shops like Blum and Mittenhal, Kadon Bros., etc., have been allowed to send their work to outside contracting shops.

The "Fraternal Club" administration never made an attempt to carry out the agreement which carries provisions against all of the above abuses. If these S. P. fakers have not enforced the agreement they signed last year, how can they trust them to sign a new agreement today which may be still worse? That is why the workers demanded the election of a conference committee from amongst the membership. The workers know that they can have no faith in Shiplacoff, Wolinsky and Co.

The present agreement, which was enforced, "expired" June 1. While the agreement guaranteed \$32 and \$37 per week, workers are actually getting only \$15 to \$22 a week. While the agreement did not permit more than 5 per cent shop reorganization, Chlick, Morris, White, Mazik, Stone and Groper, Blum and Mittenhal have thrown out from 30 to 50 per cent of their workers. The union leadership put up no resistance whatever.

This is the leadership that was driven from our ranks a few years ago and only recently got back into it. Who is responsible for the return of this disastrous leadership which has brought our industry to such a terrible state of affairs? It is the clique? The so-called and fake Progressives, the Leather Goods Workers Society who formed a united front with the "Fraternal Club", not to better conditions but to defeat the Left wing. It is these same people, who know that the leadership cannot be trusted, that rejected the demand for a new conference committee representing all groups and tendencies and the election of a general strike committee under rank and file control.

The Left wing approached these "progressives" for common action against the bosses and the "Fraternal" clique, but they refused. The Matlins, David Myers, etc., will be held responsible for any treacherous acts perpetrated by the administration, for failure of militant strike preparations.

But the Left wing too must be criticized for not using their united front proposals to the Progressive openly before the workers, for not putting these people to the wall by continually hammering them in the open with such proposals. The Left wing must be criticized too for leaving such a favorable opportunity as the Bridgeport revolt of the Morris White workers (and the resentment against the blood-sucking tactics of White in his New York shops, with which we will deal in a separate article) go by unexploited.

It is now a week since the membership decided to go out on strike in answer to the bosses' demands. Instead of carrying out the membership decisions, the leaders are trying to patch things up by a back-door agreement. They are preparing a new sell-out which they mean

to force upon the workers by terror.

What can be done in order to prevent a new sell-out? (1) All groups must unite in a general strike committee and force the officials to call the strike immediately. (2) The strike must be prepared so as to involve the non-union shops. (3) Militant mass picketing must be organized. (4) The general strike committee must select a negotiations committee composed of one member from each group to negotiate on the following demands:

- (1) A 40 hour week, to relieve unemployment.
- (2) The abolition of reorganization and readjustment privileges.
- (3) For unemployment insurance to be paid by the bosses only.
- (4) For the abolition of the institution of the "impartial" chairman.
- (5) For the right to strike when employers violate the agreement.

These demands will be granted only when the employers see an organization which can strike unilaterally and strike hard. Only through struggle have the workers gained conditions from the employers. The pocketbook bosses will be forced to grant our demands not by any industrial Recovery Bill from Washington or by any Miss Perkins, but only through their own struggle and organization. —N. D. F.

'Law an' Order' in Illinois

Homes of the Progressive Miners in Christian County, Ill., were bombed last week and one house riddled with bullets by coal company agents in an effort to terrorize the miners to return to work under company terms. While picketing is forbidden and even peaceful meetings of miners' wives broken up by the National Guard, apparently "law and order" allows coal company thugs to bomb and shoot with impunity.

SUBSCRIBE TO "UNSER WORT"

Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to *Unser Wort*, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague.

The paper appears every other week. Subscriptions are for a year only and are \$2.00. Subscriptions must be accompanied by currency. Checks and money orders will not do.

Comrades who subscribe must take into account the time element involved. They must allow time for their snubs to reach the center here, and ten days for the snub to reach Prague and on top of that ten days to two weeks additional for the paper to reach them. In short, the first copy should reach the comrade about three weeks after remittance to us.

Address all subs to *Unser Wort*, care of the Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

Teachers Union and the Fight Against Wage Cuts

the Wall Street bankers for a loan to the city, that the impending salary cut was an integral part of this banker-politician inspired economy. The policy of the union administration should have had the aim of making this clear to the union membership and all the teachers in the system. That was its simple duty.

Policy of the Administration

But that was not the line which informed the policy of the administration. On September 2, in another statement issued by the union, over the signatures of Linville, president; Lefkowitz, Legislative Representative; and Charles J. Hendley of the CPEA, Treasurer, the administration stated: "(1) Mayor Walker has asked all civil service employees and teachers to accept a voluntary salary cut.... (5) Deputy Comptroller Frank J. Priol, and his civil service group are opposing the proposal for salary reduction actively, vigorously, and successfully." (our emphasis.)

This was on September 2. On October 20, in another statement, signed by the Joint Committee on Left wing activities in the Teachers Union, and the officers of the union—a document which attempts to reply to the criticisms made against the administration by the Left wing—the administration has the following to say on the question of the salary cut: "(4) In the summer of 1932 following the action of Mayor Walker in demanding voluntary cuts of 8-13 percent from all city employees, at a time when the leaders of the conservative organi-

zations were showing signs of submitting, the officers of the union came out with three strong statements opposing the cuts under any circumstances. Undoubtedly, these statements turned the tide against the proposal for the cut!" (our emphasis.)

As every teacher knows now, the special session of the State legislature cut the teachers pay from 6 to 10 percent. The banker-politician economy triumphed over the bossanons of the union administration. What the administration succeeded in doing, was to disarm the teachers before their attackers and restrain them from active resistance.

The Joint Salary Committee

This record does not exhaust this aspect of the question. The Teachers Union is represented in the Joint Salary Committee and has four members on its Executive Board. The Joint Salary Committee is a city wide organization made up of representatives of the approximately 75 teachers' organizations in the city, including the Teachers Union. At this point we cannot undertake a detailed analysis of the composition of the J. S. C. Suffice it to say that most of the 75 organizations represented in it, are paper: 44 organizations have less than 100 members—one numbering only 8; 21 organizations have less than 500 members; and 15 have above 500. To boot, supervisors, who by their position in the school system, are partly or almost entirely integrated into the Board of Education, and whose interests, consequently, are not those

of the classroom teacher—these supervisors who comprise only 4 percent of all the teachers in the system, make up almost 50 percent of the membership of the representatives to the J. S. C. and of its Executive Board. The cause of this situation and the various plans for its necessary reorganization will be discussed later.

The Joint Salary Committee was created for the purpose of advancing the salaries of the teachers, protecting their pensions, etc. In the course of its existence it has collected tens of thousands of dollars from the teachers for this purpose. How well it has defended their interests can be seen from its record in connection with the recent salary cut. The Joint Salary Committee did absolutely nothing to resist the salary cut. It declared that the issue was not at all a salary reduction but the protection of the legislation on the books in Albany, making mandatory, salary increases for teachers! And along these lines it conducted its agitation. Such a policy must be branded for what it is—a teacherous sell-out!

The union administration tailed completely to sound the alarm against this treachery. On the contrary, it participated in it and covered it up. On December 16th, Lefkowitz put a motion at a meeting of teachers, calling for a vote of confidence in the Joint Salary Committee! By this policy the union administration compromised itself in the eyes of all thinking teachers.

The Gillespie Meet

A Resolution which was Rejected and the Reason Why

The June 11th Gillespie Conference, called by the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee, consisting of Left wing trade unionists in this section ended by preventing the establishment of a New Federation of Labor and by reaffirming the decisions of the previous conferences. The backbone of the conference, as usual, was the delegation from the Progressive Miners of America and the numerically largest force from other organizations was under the control of the Stalinists.

The policy committee took a correct position by rubber stamping the program and policy laid down at the previous conferences and by bringing in some proposals for concrete action and for committees of action to be established in the different sections of the country to work toward the coordination of all Left wing groups in the trade union movement.

However, the Stalinists, who had the largest number of delegates in the conference, and the policy committee which they controlled, failed miserably to measure up to the task confronting the American working class and the needs of the conference. To call a conference to rubber stamp the decisions of the previous conference is a waste of energy. Conferences are not called for such a purpose. A conference of Left wing trade unionists must consider the most pressing problems of the class, point out the dangers developing and confronting us and map out a program of action for the class to fight against the capitalist offensive.

Thrust of Industrial Control Bill
The most menacing capitalist measure confronting our class and the least understood by our class at this stage is the Industrial Control Law of the capitalists and their state. In the future, when the labor history as well as the economic history of America is written, this measure will stand out in all its capitalist ugliness as an attempt to hold up a tottering structure and beat down the workers.

The Gillespie Conference was the only Left wing conference of trade unionists held in this period and the logical starting point to rally the American workers against the Industrial Control Law and to fight the labor misleaders' plan to tie the American workers to this scheme.

The Left Opposition delegates and some of the other delegates realized this danger and the needs of our class. We were fighting independently against this Industrial Control Bill in the past and could easily have found common ground at the conference. Delegate Hugo Oehler drew up a resolution (appearing in this issue of the Militant) giving a political analysis of the Industrial Control Bill and endeavoring to use the Gillespie Conference as a starting point for a national fight to prepare our class to fight the capitalist offensive.

The Stalinists could not equal the task because they could not understand the situation. They have not yet learned to point out the dangers ahead, to foresee the blows. They can only feel blows when they fall upon their heads. Their policy committee, in reporting, rejected our political analysis and instead brought in a report with a one-

sentence motion which said merely that we go on record against the Industrial Control Bill. Delegate Oehler entered his resolution which was rejected by the Stalinists as an amendment and then the fight started.

Stalinists Set Up Straw Men

The Stalinists set up straw men and proceeded to tear them to bits in their fight against our resolution. They said: Oehler wants to waste our time calling conferences to fight the Industrial Control Bill; what we want is mass action of the workers. They said our resolution was too long, they said everything imaginable but they did not show where the resolution was wrong, where the analysis was false. The Stalinists opposed the international approach in the resolution with shameful and narrow-minded localism. The Stalinists must some day learn that action must be built upon correct analysis.

The task of the Gillespie conference gathered together from all parts of the state was not to rubber-stamp our previous policy, but to present a correct analysis of the most dangerous move at present of the capitalists against the workers, and to map out a program of action upon a correct analysis in order to fight against it.

Delegate Payer told the Stalinists that in Germany they did not realize the danger of Fascism until after Fascism had smashed the party, that they do not understand anything until it falls upon their heads and are repeating this blunder here; that this Left wing conference, called on the eve of the Bill becoming a law, should be used as a starting point to organize the American workers against the capitalist offensive and present to the workers a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Bill.

The leaders of the P. M. A., the right wing counters by circulating petitions, and at that, not against the Industrial Control Bill and the dictatorship it will establish over the coal industry, but merely against having Lewis appointed czar of the coal industry, asking that the Progressive Miners Union be also considered by the Government when they select the czar! Instead of the brutal dictatorship of Lewis they want to give the workers a sugar-coated dictatorship, as though it makes any difference how you're killed, by hanging or by the electric chair.

Finally, when the vote was taken, the Right wing P.M.A. delegates, the delegates who were for a new federation, and the Stalinists voted together against our amendment. The vote was 72 to 17. Our vote was a conscious vote of Left wing miners and other delegates, who like ourselves, realized the importance of using this conference to start a fight on this issue and to present a correct analysis.

—HUGO OEHLEH

Resolution on the Industrial Control Bill

The American working class has lived through four years of the world crisis which has violently shaken the American structure and completely changed the position of the working class. In this period the offensive of the American capitalists against the working class has continued on all fronts. The working class has been driven back in disorderly retreat. Wages have been reduced and the standard of living has been reduced below the necessity level. The unemployed number over 18 million. Private charity has long ago broken down. Public and governmental relief has proven inadequate to cope with the present situation.

The labor leaders and reformers have done nothing to check the offensive. Everywhere the misleaders of labor and the agents of the capitalists have held in check the workers' resistance and have only functioned to console the workers after the capitalists have delivered their deadly blows.

The struggle of the Progressive Miners of America, in revolt against the corrupt Lewis machine, the Operators and the State was a heroic attempt by the miners to stem the tide of the capitalist offensive, to stop the retreat of our class. The struggle of the Illinois miners acted as a temporary rallying center for the whole class. Then the pressure of the enemies' forces and wrong policies of the leaders swerved it from its course. It is not yet too late to correct these errors and utilize the Progressive Miners of America as a rallying center for the whole American labor movement. For this a daring leadership and policies of class struggle are needed.

Admission of Capitalist Bankruptcy

Following these attacks the capitalists and their government, thru the Roosevelt administration, are driving through the Industrial Control Bill, which will strengthen the dictatorial power of the capitalists over the working class. When the Roosevelt administration declare an emergency existing and proceed to "solve" the emergency by the Industrial Control Bill, through government partnership, it is an open admission of the decay and breakdown of capitalist production, an admission that the gigantic productive forces can no longer cope with the situation and be used, under private ownership, to feed the millions of wage slaves.

It is a capitalist attempt to find a way out of the contradiction between socialized production and private capitalist appropriation by establishing a form of State Capitalism.

(Continued on Page 3)

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(To be continued)

The Banning of the Austrian C.P.

Vienna, May 28.—On May 26th, the proscription of the Communist Party of Austria was signed by the Council of Ministers because of "its off-times established danger to the state and its illegal activity." The proscription has already been carried out, the party offices closed, all literature, etc. confiscated. The Rote Fahne, the central organ of the party, still appears, but it has changed ownership. The Workers Bookshop also remains as an independent enterprise. There can be no possible doubt as to how long the Rote Fahne will hold out.

With the proscription of a political party the Bonapartist Dollfus regime has taken a significant step in its further development. The significance of the step does not lie in a change in the relation of forces. The C. P. A. had become too insignificant for that, and the government knows this only too well. This government measure is important, however, and to the highest degree at that, insofar as it establishes a precedent that can be utilized later.

It must also be recognized that this time too "little" Dollfus proceeded very skillfully about the work. It is no mere coincidence that at this same time Hitler's new measure which, by requiring a passport charge of 1000 Marks, practically stops the entire traffic of foreigners from Germany to Austria. On this basis, the Christian Socialists deal sharp blows against the Austrian Nazis whom they accuse of having inspired these measures of the German government and of open treason to Austria. The forthcoming proscription of the Nazi party is spoken of in papers closest to the government. At the same time we learn that the Nazis made an offer of a coalition to the Dollfus government, but that it was rejected. Every means is used, Hitler's fullest support is given right out in the open, in order to consummate the Black-Brown coalition.

Importance of Foreign Traffic

The tying up of the foreign traffic on the part of the German government serves the end of lifting the Austrian Nazis into the saddle of power and by this means, to bring about the integration of Austria with Hitler-Germany. Since foreign traffic plays a great role in Austria's trade balance and especially now, because of the scarcity of foreign valuta, the government feels that it has been hit in its sorest spot. An immediate political consequence of the German measures could also work havoc in the Christian Socialist party in the fascist country, Tyrol, Salzburg and Kärnten, where the Nazis already dispose of a considerable following.

The Austrian Christian Socialists, however, do not desire to share the fate of the Nazis in Germany. Dollfus carries on a desperate fight against his Brown shirt opponents and their leader, Hitler. To work to strike a decisive blow at the Nazis, who constantly undermine his basis; unwilling to conduct such a struggle, because by doing that he would change the relation of forces in favor of the social democracy, he merely resorts to empty threats against the Nazis by proscribing the nihilistic C.P.A. He will not intimidate the Nazis by such methods. The Communist party, however, has been laid prostrate.

Workers Passive to Banning of C. P. A.

This party, the oldest in the C.I., made it easy for him to play the strong man. The entire bourgeois press limits itself merely to the publication of the official report of the proscription. Only the Arbeiter Zeitung devotes a leading article to the event of May 27th, in which it shows that the Communists could complain to the Constitution, in case it still existed. An empty protest, in which the Arbeiter Zeitung declares its feeling of solidarity with the Communists, marks the final tone of this article. Otherwise, the proscription of the C.P.A. has brought forth no repercussion in Austria, the working class has not responded in the slightest degree to this blow of the government. No one can doubt the lack of influence of the C.P.A. any longer. The Communists have been stripped of still another action.

That it was possible to remove the C.P.A. from the scene so noiselessly, in the manner of an ordinary police action, without any political uproar—that cannot astonish anyone who at least in the last few years observed attentively the policy of the C.P.A. It has reproduced the political and theoretical balderdash of Stalin and Thaelmann in an even more vulgar form. Its leading bureaucrats represent the very dregs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They saw Fascism established in Austria in 1929 and were earnestly of the opinion, as early as the Fall of the same year, that an immediately revolutionary situation existed in Austria, that Workers' Councils should be formed and the struggle for power prepared.

Austrian Stalinists in Dregs of Bureaucratic Stupidity

In the Spring of 1930 even the ECCI has to prove to the Austrian leaders that this was pure idiocy. But the expulsions of those who had opposed the Central Committee were confirmed. Since then every government became more Fascist and the social democracy ever more social Fascist. The Stalinist bureaucrats, in the Central Committee, became ever more absolutist, ever more stupid and conscienceless. Whoever dared to think critically inside the party and to defend his opinion was unalterably stamped as

Dollfus Strikes an Ominous Blow against the Austrian Proletariat

a counter-revolutionary. They had no ideas of their own and restricted themselves to being Stalinist loud-speakers in Austria. Nowhere could he have found such willing worshippers as here. This they proved also in the months after the collapse of the German Communist Party. Thaelmann's shameful oratory was for them a revelation, doubt in which brought with it immediate expulsion from the party.

It became exceedingly futile in the weeks just passed, in which the situation became ever more critical, to look for the line of the C.P.A. That they could not trust in their lucky stars became clear even to the Vienna Stalin agents after the German catastrophe. But to defend democracy and to push the social democratic workers forward in this direction—that was Trotskyism and counter-revolutionary. The party swung round and about without a rudder and without an aim.

"C. P. A. Comes to Infamous End" The last possibility to obtain political significance and influence was cut off from the C.P.A. by the Comintern through the refusal to decide upon an international united front action against Fascism by direct negotiations between the Second

and Third Internationals. Left to itself it had no other perspective before it except that of vegetation. Its infamous end, which it had to face defenselessly, will, it is to be hoped, cause a part of the old guard in the C.P.A., insofar as it has not yet scattered, to reflect more seriously. A perspective for illegality is entirely lacking insofar as the C.P.A. is concerned.

The relationship of forces has not changed at all with the proscription of the C.P.A. But the fact that the masses, who today still stand behind the S.P.A., remained apathetic in connection with it, is a dangerous omen for the future. Even in the next few days Dollfus will prove that against the Nazis, whom he meant to threaten with the dissolution of the C.P.A., he will not and cannot undertake anything decisive. For the forces of development go far beyond Dollfus's head and in the last analysis it will be shown that the blow against the C.P.A. was a blow against the entire working class—not against, but to the advantage of the Nazis. Germany has also proved this to us.

Stalinism was, indeed, hard hit by the proscription of the C.P.A. and will not be able to recover. Communist lives, it has long ago ceased to be carried by the Central Committee of the C.P.A., the latter only compromised it. The Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists,

will, in spite of the circumstances, assure the extension of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and recreate the revolutionary vanguard in Austria together with all Communist and social democratic workers who are prepared to learn from the events and draw conclusions from them.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C. EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Vol. 6, No. 32 (Whole No. 178)
SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

If the number on your wrapper is 179 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly issues.

THE MILITANT

126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

The End of Austro-Marxism

The Austrian social democracy was highly esteemed even before the war among its brother parties for its statesman-like spirit. "Our Deibel," a member of the German party leadership once said to Austrian friends, "our Deibel is only a cavalry colonel, but your (Victor) Adler is a Field Marshal."

After the war, socialist Austria became even more famous. And why not? If Stalin could undertake the building up of socialism in a single country, then the Austrian social democrats could tackle an even more complicated task, the task of building socialism in one little province, and even in a single city. They gave the new Austria "the most democratic constitution in the world" and created thereby the prerequisites for a socialization which was to be just as irresistible as it was peaceful.

And this achievement they brought about—as the highest triumph of socialist statesmanship—in union with the Christian Socialists. But the red Vienna built cooperative houses and children's baths, overhauled the whole educational system in a fashion hair-raising for the "blacks" (the clergy) and brought about other such bold changes. In short, the Austrian social democracy rose by its deeds and became the "Exemplary Party of the Second International," it became looked upon in the whole so-

A Review of the Past That Helps to Understand the Present

cialist world as if it were some miracle. Its prominent, after they had reconstituted the Second International, the bloc from Friedrich Adler to Noske, led on the floor at all the international congresses. The teaching which its thinkers had thought up, Austro-Marxism, victoriously surpassed the narrow bounds of the homeland.

And the Austrian Social Democracy Under such circumstances it is self-evident that today, after the German social democracy has suffered a collapse unique in the history of the labor movement in its "struggle" against the swastika, all socialists turn their eyes to Austria, the exemplary little country of socialism, where Fascism, encouraged by Hitler's victory has just taken up the struggle for power. All socialists hearts and minds are stirred by the question: How will the Austrian social democracy stand up in this struggle? Will it not stand the test much better than the German party? Are not, looking aside from its striking qualities, the circumstances themselves auspicious for it?

The German working class was defeated because it was split, but the unity of the Austrian working class has never been seriously threatened by the Third International. The Communist Party of Austria has always been of negligible size, small, weak, unimportant. The Austrian social democracy is proportionately bigger than any other social democracy. In addition to that, Austrian Fascism is in itself split into two hostile camps, Heimwehr Fascism, with the aid of which Dollfus wants to cut the throat of democracy and smash the workers, does not enjoy the support of the National Socialists, but is hard pressed by competition from them. Really, in such a situation, should not the Austrian social democracy come off with flying colors?

The question is already answered. It cannot be doubted that the collapse of the German social democracy will not stand alone for long. The Austrian social democracy will soon stand just as naked by its side. It will lose the "war" against "Dollfus the little," has already lost it in fact. For it hasn't begun any and won't ever, under any circumstances, undertake one.

Its True Face

In order to understand this as the only possible, as the self-evident thing, what this Austrian social democracy, praised in all tones and admired in all languages, really is—not in its own imagination, not in the imagination of its brother parties, but in actuality.

Heinrich Luger once said: Liberalism has a great future behind it. That can be said equally as well for the Austrian socialism. Its beginnings were auspicious. Under the leadership of Victor Adler the Austrian working class waged battle against the decayed Hapsburg monarchy which aroused the admiration of the old Engels. But ultimately, the Austrian state remained the victor in this struggle.

Not in open battle. It crushed its opponents gradually, and incorporated the Austrian social democracy slowly within itself. Thus arose Austro-Marxism.

If we look upon its lists and not upon its mouth, Austro-Marxism proves to be nothing else but reformism. Like every other form of reformism, it is the adaptation of the labor movement to the bourgeois state, its subordination to the bourgeois state. What distinguishes it from the other forms of reformism, what allowed it to appear for a long time as something essentially different and unique was the circumstance that it assumed the task of adapting the labor movement to a state which was going to pieces. Therein lay its extraordinary strength, that is what gave it the possibility to achieve successes to which it appeared to have no right according to the relationship of forces. The Austria in which all the national parties leaped at each other like wild beasts and daily threatened the existence of the state, was in reality the classical country of the most guarded compromise. All these state conspirators who made the men of being so intransigent and irreconcilable were in reality mercenary, had the souls of petty shopkeepers and were members of the vulgar compromise. They held their fists under the nose of the government so as to be able later to stretch out their empty palms before it with all the greater success.

Collusion With Hapsburg

In this state, which could not live and could not die; whose existence was a lamentable drag; which had no friend if it did not pay him in cold cash—in this decadent world, the great Austro-Marxist idea was born: the renovation and entrenchment of the Hapsburg state in return for concessions to the working class. This program looked very new, very bold. It was like a creative thought in this world of fruitless pettiness. But in reality, this grandiose Austro-Marxist conception was only the translation of the common garden variety reformist program—common fodder for ruling rights—into the Austrian.

Since then Austro-Marxism continually made state policies, no longer class policies. Its ideas revolved only around parliament. It emulated all the petty arts of parliamentary revisionism from the bourgeois parties. The Marxist conception that the liberation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves was smiled upon as old fashioned.

Austro-Marxist lore knows of no acting, struggling proletariat. According to it the worker does not make his history, he only experiences, suffers. And so, little by little, almost imperceptibly, the suffering working class becomes automatically triumphant, quite in line with the immutable laws of capitalism and capitalism becomes filled more and more with a socialist content. That was the secret force of Austro-Marxism. Public opinion is blessed with the most scholarly, with the keenest arguments for its inner thoughts and for its actions.

(Continued in next issue)

— AUSTRIACUS

(From "Unser Wort")

Versailles Revisionism Engenders New Social Chauvinist Wave

Bratislava, C. S. R.—For and against the revision of the border lines—that is the bone of contention in Europe. The line-up is not yet complete—the governments haven't got that far; neither economically, nor politically, nor strategically—the two fronts are still being prepared. The befuddled peoples of Europe have reached a new stage of the two chauvinistic fronts: Versailles and Anti-Versailles. The trench lines are becoming more and more discernable—Italy - Germany - Hungary against Versailles and for Revision. France and the small Entente against Revision and for Versailles.

The line-up of the two fronts signifies—war preparations. The Four Power Pact stands only in appearance in contradiction to this fact. It is merely an episode, a temporary agreement, a postponement so to speak, in the meantime, the working class and the Soviet Union is to be got rid of. Through the assumption of power by Hitler the Revision Front was enormously strengthened. Therefore also, the commotion in Hungary. The reactionary masters of Hungary are not yet agreed in their opinions—as to who could best carry out the Revision policy.

The Legationists count mostly upon the monarchist Restoration. The Hungarian Nazis expect most of a Revision under the protection of Hitler. And the Goemboes wing considers itself as the most appropriate executive. But all are agreed to bring back the past, to further the chauvinism against Versailles. These are war preparations.

Workers Against All Capitalist Wars

How does the Czechoslovak chap-

ter of the other front look? The same sabre-rattling, but against Revision and for Versailles. The bourgeois government of the Czechoslovak Republic is also carrying out an ideological mobilization. There is the futile talk about "Defense"—that is only diplomacy. The truth is that Hungary as well as the C.S.R. are ruled by profit-hungry capitalists who are chasing after markets. Therefore the friction, the inevitable wars in the capitalist system, in the next war of the capitalists, just as hitherto, there will be no "defenders" among the bourgeois governments. It is not decisive who begins the war—for or against Revision—for every war is an aggressive war against the working classes of both the belligerent capitalist countries. If there is any one who has to defend himself, then that is the working class, the international working class.

In this light, we must regard the demonstrations which the Czech bourgeoisie held in Bratislava and Kaschau on May 27th. The Slovak League marched in full force against revision. For the demonstration there were mobilized: the Sokol, the Legionnaires, the social democrats and the representatives of Hunania, Jugoslavia and Poland. What the workers organizations do not yet understand, or cannot understand, the bourgeoisie understands admirably well: One speaker at the demonstration said, "We may belong to different parties, there may be differences between Czechs and Slovaks, but in the question of Revision we stand united."

It is this little thing that the "labor leaders" did not understand in the struggle against Fascism. Therein lies the deep tragedy of

the German reformist and Communist parties.

And this lack of understanding does not restrict itself to Germany. A leading member of the social democratic party of the C.S.R., Dr. Markovic, was one of the main speakers at the demonstration. He spoke under the nationalist banner and in line with the heated atmosphere of chauvinism.

Social Democrats Carries Patriotic Banner

What does a social democratic leader seek at such a chauvinistic affair? The official slogan of the social democracy—is it not "War against War"? It is supposed to be not the Versailles front against the Anti-Versailles front, but the international front of the working class against the capitalists on both fronts, is it not? Class war against the patriotic war of the capitalists, is it not? But did Markovic say that? No, he did not. He said something entirely different: "If we are attacked, we will know how to defend ourselves," namely, against Revision. "This is a patriotic capitulation before capitalism, for as long as the latter will exist the working class cannot have any interest in 'attack' or 'defense'."

The working class is neither for nor against Revision. It stands on the international front. This third front the social democratic leaders have entirely forgotten. That is their betrayal. That is the logical continuation from the year 1914. Chauvinism bears its fruit remarkably quickly: the fanatical youth demonstration before the Hungarian consulate, shattered the windows in the Jewish quarter and soon the chauvinistic-Fascist slogans were to be heard: "Kick out

the Hungarian Jews"—that surely did not bring any joy even to Dr. Markovic.

Neither Revision nor anti-Revision can be considered as a solution. Both can bring only imperialism. Only revolution can save us from imperialism—war—that means overthrow of the profit-greedy imperialists on both sides of the Danube. Then there will be no chase after commodity markets, no tariff walls, no boundary lines. The peaceful cohabitation of the peoples of Europe can be guaranteed only by the socialist, planned economy.

No Balkanization of Europe, no European dream, no Revision or Counter-Revision—but struggle for the Soviet United States of Europe.

— H. LENOROVICS

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P.M.A. in Review

(Continued from Page 2)

and file miners, not in words, but in deeds. This applies with particular emphasis to the P.M.A., as it does generally to all unions. Conversely, a lack of inner-democracy, a rule of bureaucrats, is an indication of the need of this same bureaucracy to enforce a policy of betrayal which finds resentment apace in the rank and file.

In 1932, the struggles of the Illinois miners resulted in the organization of the Progressive Miners of America. The apparently immediate reason for this development lay in the struggle of the miners for democracy, for a rank and file union. Behind this struggle for democracy (which at that moment rose to its highest pitch through the big steal of the miners ballots on the wage cut) lay the real issue. It was a fight against the policies of betrayal of the Lewis machine, which endeavored to force a wage-cut upon the coal miners.

At its inception, the P.M.A. not only promised democracy in the union, the rights of the rank and file, the rights of minority opinion, inviting also those expelled by Lewis for their militancy, but at the same time sounded a militant tone in its program of struggle for the interests of the miners as against those of the operators. Precisely in the latter sense did the union give much hope for its future. The union pledged itself to spread nationally, to wage just a struggle in the interests of the miners as Lewis had refused and prevented. Any other course would have established no distinction between the two unions. The distinction did exist, however, in that the new union promised to fulfill the desires of the miners and to wage struggle in their behalf.

"Stabilization" of the P.M.A.

Since that time much water has flowed under the bridge. The new union stabilized itself momentarily through the gain of local contracts throughout the state. It was able to make these gains only through a heroic struggle in which the union gave up many martyrs. With this struggle the present solidification of the union would have been impossible. During the period

of conflict, when the union was earning the name of the Progressive Miners of America, all forces stood united at least on one question—the maintenance and stabilization of the organization. Everyone recognized that this was impossible without waging a fierce struggle for recognition and against the Lewis Union, which has within its ranks a minority of the miners, and the greatest number of these kept in the UMWA through coercion. It was this stage in the development of the union that pointed to its great future.

Recent months witness a recession in this policy of the P.M.A. The campaign of red baiting testified that something else is brewing. This can be described as a settling process. The early cry of building a national union has now become less sharp and the leadership wants to be respectable as well as respected. It is interested in the "legal" aspects of their existence. It wants peace in the Illinois coal fields and for this it even enters into false negotiations with the Lewis union. It promised two statements to Lewis: one calling for a referendum of the coal miners to ascertain their support of the two unions, the result of this vote deciding which union shall remain in Illinois (this correct proposal was naturally unacceptable to the Lewis machine); the other: that the unions function where they are a majority (a division of territory) declaring that they recognize the UMWA as an organization existing in the interests of the miners, i.e., a miners' organization.

A Glaring Error

This latter statement reveals glaring errors which can react only against the P.M.A. In those areas where the P.M.A. is in the majority, it is so because the miners are compelled to remain in the union by force. In recognizing that the UMWA is a union existing in the interests of the coal miners, an actual betrayal of the interests of the P.M.A. is committed. For what reason, then, one may ask, should the P.M.A. exist? Its wage-scale is the same. If the Lewis union is an organization existing in the interests of the coal miners, then why the organization of a new union? This second statement was a surrender to the Lewis interests, even though it was presented as a

concession, a compromise. Such a compromise can only cut the heart out of the new movement. Alongside with this gradually milder tone of the union, its attempts to be a "respectable" organization, to negotiate with Lewis, to put matters in the hands of the "impartial" Governor Horner, comes this red baiting campaign and the attempts to expel a number of Left wing elements from the P.M.A. One of the chief accomplishments of the P.M.A. was its invitation to all expelled UMWA militants, to join the P.M.A. But when after a few months of existence, it in turn, begins an expulsion campaign against these very persons, something is wrong in the union.

There exists a great contradiction in the P.M.A. The contradiction exists between the rank and file and the leadership. The rank and file is militant. It is serious. It is not carried on its virtuous struggle for nothing. It sought to build an organization that would recoil at the mere mention of Lewisism. The leadership, however, which rose during the early struggles, is trying to check this militancy, to become respectable, to insure the existence of the union for at least two years through the contracts signed and is closely treading on false grounds. The leadership is adopting a course that is bringing it closer to class-collaboration. The miners on the contrary, want to continue the splendid struggle they began.

There is a great dissatisfaction in the ranks of the union against this policy of the leadership, which can have only one effect: that of weakening the new union and leading it to collapse. The weathervane, the drive made against the militants in the union and the raising of the red scare. We pointed out above, that for Lewis the destruction of the democracy in the union, the task of the Left wing elements in the P.M.A. Without an organization of its forces, it will be blown to smithereens, and they will see the organization that they brought into existence, dwindle to nothing through the false policies of its leadership and through the heavy assault of all the forces of reaction in the Illinois coal fields who look with glee upon this campaign against the militants in the union.

— ALBERT GLOTZER

Gillespie Meet

(Continued from Page 2)

talism. Within the framework of the capitalist mode of production these contradictions cannot be solved.

The seizure of power of Fascism in Germany has intensified the contradiction of world capitalism and has strengthened reaction throughout the world. The defeat of the German working class is a defeat of the whole world working class. The Industrial Control Bill, as a dictatorial measure over the working class, is part of this reaction and the struggle between the imperialist powers to gain a point of advantage for the struggle for the redistribution of the earth.

Subsidy to Decayed System

The government partnership, thru the emergency law and the Industrial Control Bill, will result in government subsidy to the decayed industries of American capitalism, such as coal and railroads, etc. It is an attempt to uphold a tottering and decayed structure by shifting the burden upon the working class and by eliminating small exploiters. Trusts were opposed in the past but Carrels will now be organized by the government.

The big capitalists intend to eliminate the weak and small concerns in all industries as well as to establish a monopoly price of a group of favored capitalists. The Industrial Control Bill is an attempt to "organize" capitalist competition on a higher plane. It is an attempt to eliminate competition, but instead will lead to a greater anarchy of capitalist production. It will intensify all of the basic contradictions of American and world capitalism. The Industrial Control Bill is an attempt to hold up the failing rate of profit by the reorganization of industries and by beating down of the workers standards to a new low level.

The agrarian crisis has prevented the farmers from paying the debts owed to the bankers. The Roosevelt measures to help the farmers is to help the farmers pay the bankers what they owe. This agrarian measure and the Banking Law, which gives the government unlimited power of inflation, were Hugo Oehler.

necessary steps and parts of the big capitalists' plan that the Industrial Control Bill fits into.

The Industrial Control Bill and its arbitration scheme for labor and capital is an attempt to set up an elaborate class collaboration plan to head off the developing class struggle. It will establish dictatorial power over the American working class. The bill with a government inflation policy will establish a high MONEY wage but a VERY LOW REAL WAGE for the American workers.

It is an attempt to side-step the role and social insurance and in its place, give the equivalent of the role, in the form of a money wage, through public works, which is nothing more nor less than a cloak for forced labor in exchange for relief.

The Europeanization of the American working class is at hand and with it goes the intensification of the class struggle. The Industrial Control Bill is an attempt to hold in check the rising tide of class struggle, and to place the workers in the harness of class collaboration.

Our trade union movement is to be harnessed to the capitalists and their state. Agents of the capitalists, the Lewises and Greens, will be selected to control the labor movement. A strike against the exploiters of labor will be a strike against the government. The struggle of the workers for our class interests will be outlawed.

The June 11, 1933 Gillespie Trade Union Conference, called by the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee, goes on record as opposed to the Industrial Control Bill and its sugar coated, class collaboration, anti-working class provisions.

The Conference goes on record favoring the calling of a national united front conference of all labor organizations in the United States, to be held in Chicago in the future, to rally the American working class to fight the capitalist offensive, to map out a program of action to protect the workers interests and to rouse our class to action.

The Conference gives the incoming national committee power to act for this united action, for joint action with all working class organizations. (Introduced by delegate, Hugo Oehler.

Danger Signals at London Meet

(Continued from page 1)

Behind the Scenes
The United States in the meantime has again risked a crisis in the conference by insisting that the question of stabilizing currency be postponed until American prices had risen to a "satisfactory" level. This meant that only "economic" questions outside of currency could be taken up for a period of weeks or more likely, months. The French threatened to split away, but have remained in. Under American pressure, the British have come out in favor of higher prices and cheap, plentiful credit. America meanwhile keeps the key to monetary policy—to inflate or not to inflate, how and how much to inflate—in its own hands.

Talk and Action—a la American

In the currency committee itself it has stood for a policy of lowering the legal minimum gold reserves, using 20 percent silver to 80 percent gold in such reserves, and limiting the use of gold to international settlements and central banking reserves—in other words, making permanent and international the present situation in the United States whereby a bank is not obliged to pay out gold against paper. The French with their inflated gold standard satellites are fighting this proposal tooth and nail, as it will remove one of their strongest pieces from the chess board—their powerful gold reserve position.

In the economic committee, the American contribution so far has been a proposal for a 10 percent tariff reduction all around—basically withdrawn by the American delegation itself and labelled as simply a "suggestion by the experts." This showed the emphasis of the phrases of the American delegate Litvinoff in his opening speech on the de-bility of lowering tariffs and on the harm done by economic nationalism.

In fact, the whole Roosevelt policy, based on the manipulation through government agencies of American economy on strictly national lines, is in sharp contradiction to the effort to obtain international agreement on currency, tariffs and trade, as was implied in a speech by the president of the world bank, himself an American.

The battle behind the scenes continues, meanwhile, in the face of the palaver about international agreements on tariffs. France passed a law raising customs duties on American products 15 per cent before the conference opened, and a few days ago, before echoes from the speeches before the economic committee had died down, passed another bill raising the tariff on about a hundred products, mostly of German and American origin.

Meanwhile the whole proceedings are being held up while the head of Roosevelt's "brain trust," Moley, arrives—in other words, until America places its fist on the agenda sheet.

Behind the scenes also was the settlement of the question of June 15 payments on the war debts—France paying nothing, England and Italy making small "token" payments, the latter received with diplomatic irony as the "disappointment" which it might cause in certain circles because of its small amount.

Litvinoff at London

From the standpoint of the revolutionary workers, the outstanding development of the London economic conference so far has been Litvinoff's speech, which throws a glaring light on the extent to which the Menshevik degeneration of the Soviet regime has progressed. In the effort to adapt himself as closely as possible to the bourgeois diplomats by whom he was surrounded, the Soviet delegate deliberately blurred the lines between Soviet and bourgeois policy, did not refer once to the interests of the working class, speaking as one diplomat to other diplomats, and tangled himself in hopeless contradictions while making the most impermissible concessions to the bourgeoisie.

Standing on the basis of "socialism in one country," he, according to the Associated Press report, "largely recognized the peaceful coexistence of the two systems—capitalism and socialism." Even for an American Stalinist editor, this was too much to swallow, so the Daily Worker kept this sentence out of its report. The "peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism" means the abandonment of the world revolution, nothing less—and not only as an immediate but as a long-term perspective, and to shove it off into the distant future, out of the reach of "practical" politics. Was he trying to fool the diplomats, while keeping his own mental reservations? Or is he fooling the working class instead?

His conception of non-aggression goes far beyond the tariff truce initiated by the United States, he said. "Speaking of a truce acknowledges the existence of a state of war. An armistice means cessation of all fighting, not merely abstention from the beginning of fresh battles. The same should be true of economic warfare."

In other words, he claims to be even more of an economic pacifist than Roosevelt, by the degree that an "armistice" is more peaceful than a "truce." He is therefore in favor of removing the restrictions on international trade, just like his bourgeois colleagues.

A Few Pointed Questions

We must ask a serious question. Is the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade a hindrance to the international movement of goods or is it not? Does Litvinoff (comrade Litvinoff) propose to liquidate the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade, one

of the pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Stalin proposed in 1923, or does he propose to keep it? If he proposes to keep it, why does he not say so? Is it because that would compel him to point out that after all, there is a difference between the Soviet State and bourgeois states? And would not this raise a question in the minds of the conference about the "peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism?"

The part of his speech which interested the conference most was his plan for "lengthened credits and normal conditions for Soviet exports," with an offer to buy a billion dollars' worth of additional commodities under these conditions. To raise the demand for "lengthened credits for the Soviet Union" is counter-revolutionary Trotskyism when addressed to the working class, and constitutes grounds for expulsion, as in the case of J. L. Murphy of the British C. P.; but it is perfectly all right as long as it is addressed to the bourgeoisie only.

But what is the purpose of these long-term credits? To relieve a critical situation in the U. S. S. R.? No—no such situation exists, according to the Foreign Commissar. On the contrary, prosperity prevails throughout the Soviet Union and it has not been touched by the world crisis (so that there is a difference after all between capitalism and socialism). The real reason for Litvinoff's proposal, in his own words, as quoted by the New York Times, is: "We merely wish to set this conference along the right which, in our opinion, is most likely to lead to effective results in alleviating the crisis." Clearly the crisis which is to be alleviated is the crisis of capitalism.

When the German social democracy at its Leipzig conference in 1930 proposed itself to the bourgeoisie as the "doctors of sick capitalism," Communists answered correctly that what capitalism needs is not a doctor but an undertaker. Which role is Litvinoff proposing for the Soviet Union?

The Left Opposition has for years been advocating long-term credits to the Soviet Union, and economic collaboration between the Soviet Union and advanced capitalist countries—but always on a revolutionary basis, always pointing out the value of these demands in mobilizing the masses. What Litvinoff says today as the Stalinist line was rejected a year and a half ago by Trotsky as—Stalinist slanders against the Left Opposition!

In What Next?, page 175, we read, "During the first stage of the crisis—more than two years ago—we posed this question (Soviet-German collaboration, B. J. F.) in print. And the Stalinists immediately set up a hue and cry that we believe in the peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism, that we want to save capitalism, etc." This was written by comrade Trotsky early in 1932.

However, if Litvinoff really presented the line which we have a right to expect from a Communist appearing in negotiations before bourgeois diplomats, if he talked to them as Trotsky talked to Kuchemann at Brest-Litovsk, or Chicherin to Lloyd George, or Rakovsky to the French concessionaires, and if his correct revolutionary line has been perverted by the bourgeois press, then the Stalinists owe it to the revolutionary movement to denounce the reports given by the Associated Press and the New York Times as distortions and forgeries, and to present an authentic and full report of Litvinoff's speech at the London Conference.

Hugenberg's "Feeler"

Two days after Litvinoff spoke, Hugenberg made an open demand for support for Germany in regaining its African colonies and "opening up territories for settlement and construction of great works of peace." Undoubtedly it is correct to see in this a declaration of intention to seize and exploit the Soviet Union.

Hitler, as comrade Trotsky points out, is playing for the gradual arming of Germany after the failure of disarmament and in the name of the defense of Europe against Bolshevism, against the desire of the German Nationalists for quick "results." He at once repudiated Hugenberg's statement as being purely personal, forced him to return to Berlin, and emphasized his repudiation by forcing the dissolution of the Nationalist "Battle Ring" and the integration of the Stahlhelm into the Nazi movement.

Pravda reacted to the Hugenberg statement with "the first Soviet editorial in denunciation of Hitler's Germany," as the New York Times correspondent remarks. What a degeneration—the smashing of the German proletariat brought forward not a single word of protest from the Soviet Union; only when its elementary, "national" interests were involved did it raise its voice! The editorial in Pravda said, "Hitlerism is being forced by economic and financial difficulties to adopt a policy of military adventure by which Germany hopes to redress her own affairs and re-establish her shattered prestige."

This is precisely what comrade Trotsky said—a year before Hitler took power, in the April 1932 issue of the American liberal magazine, the Forum. The difference is that the Left Opposition foresaw, while the Stalinists ran after the tail-end of events; that we distinguished between the policies of the Nationalists and those of Hitler, and above all, proposed a policy of initiative and preparation for action instead of the "khvoistism,"

passivity and empty threats of the Stalinists.

In view of the growing danger of war graphically illustrated both by the actions and the failures of the London economic conference, it is necessary to warn the revolutionary workers of the world again, and with all the emphasis in our power, against the dangers which result from the spineless, compromising, capitulationist policies of the Stalinist leadership in the Soviet Union and the Comintern. This leadership, forced by the iron logic of facts to follow out to the bitter practical consequences the fundamentally false and petty-bourgeois theory of "socialism in one country," has lost faith in its own working class and in the world proletariat. It supports itself on the bureaucracy at home, and on diplomacy and negotiations with the bourgeoisie, reactionary, liberal and radical according to circumstances, abroad. Confronted with the ravages of an internal crisis, the dangers of intervention from Hitler and the threat of Japan, with the ominous lack of recognition from the United States, its only answer has been to retreat.

The possibility of a gigantic catastrophe lies before the workers' movement of the world unless its forces are reassembled under the leadership of the Communist International and rearmed with a Marxist policy. As the immediate steps to this end we call upon the workers to demand the reinstatement of the International Left Opposition, within the Communist International, and the immediate convocation of the long-overdue Seventh Congress of the C. I.

—B. J. FIELD.

Workers Must Organize and Fight Against State Capitalist Measures

(Continued from page 1)

attack of the industrialists in complying with the Industrial Control Bill. The relation to labor will first be kept in the status quo where ever possible. Where necessary, the industrialists will fulfill the requirements of the law, which, at the most, call for a "safe-and-sound" class collaboration scheme.

The Chicago Tribune, reporting the steel men's conference, says, "The Youngstown steel companies have been forming 'employees councils.' In none of these movements does the word 'union' appear." The industrialists, it is said, are trying to steal a march on the American Federation of Labor, which through President Green recently announced the start of a nation-wide drive to minimize the operators'.

How the Coal Operators Take It

The soft coal operators have fought any attempt or suggestion to change the status quo. In Illinois they will deal with the unions but in the rest of the fields they will deal with the unorganized. The Chicago Tribune quotes a coal operator as follows: "Our job is going to be one of the most difficult. It is comparatively easy for the makers of shoes to get together and add a dollar to the price of shoes. There is no substitute for shoes. But how can you add an arbitrary dollar to the price of a ton of coal. A few million building owners get out a pencil and start figuring how much they can save by using oil, or gas, or electricity." The industrialist conferences are secret but any one who has an ounce of brains can easily see that their secret is, how they can add another dollar on a pair of shoes or a ton of coal. If prices go up thirty percent, the kind hearted capitalists and their government will bent the drums and announce a five or ten percent raise. And the capitalists will pocket the twenty percent difference....

The Industrial Control Bill is a capitalist reform. They drove this bill through without the pressure of the working class, and yet the four of the 17 million unemployed was one of the whips that drove them to make this law. If there had been a working class pressure, under the leadership of social reformers who sit on top to hold in check this pressure, the bill would have been to a far greater degree sugar coated with phrases about labor and labor rights.

The difference between reforms and "social" reforms is the difference between the absence of working class pressure altogether and working class pressure misdirected by the misleaders and agents of the capitalists in our ranks. Without the pressure of the working class, the Industrial Control Bill, the capitalists can drive through their form of State capitalism without the service of the social reformers to keep the restless working class in check.

How the Labor "Leaders" React

The labor leaders are attempting to jump on the band wagon and help the capitalists put over their Industrial Control Law—of course, with paid jobs, the same as in the war period. The Right wing of the Progressive Miners are competing with Lewis for the job of shackling the miners to the new slavery. Percy took a special trip to Washington for this purpose. The Communists, the only ones capable of pointing out the meaning of the Industrial Control Bill, and of rallying the class to action against the capitalist offensive are bound hand and foot and gagged by the Stalinist bureaucracy, who do not measure up to the task. (See the article on the Gillespie Conference, elsewhere in this issue).

The "planned economy" of the

Exclude L.O. at Anti-Fascist Meet

(Continued from page 1)

caused the Comintern bureaucracy to work so diligently to keep the delegates of the International Left Opposition away from its halls.

It feared the concrete proposals of the Left Opposition for the organization of the European Anti-Fascist front from organization, beginning with the problem of Austria and proceeding into a wider plane. For the Stalinist bureaucracy is afraid of its own shadow. It has lost all actual faith in working class action. It is interested only in maintaining its own dwindling and undermined prestige. And for that purpose the united front masquerade a la Barbusse is sufficient for it.

But the last word has not yet been said. The Left Opposition will not allow the Stalinist organizers of defeat to cover up their already overblown crimes with new crimes. The Left Opposition will continue to expose mercilessly the shameful maneuver at Paris and its Stalinist initiators. It will work tirelessly to make the truth known to the workers of the world and to organize genuine, effective united front action that meets the needs of the real situation. —S. G.

As we go to press, we have at hand a dispatch from Paris, confirming the scandalous exclusion of the International Left Opposition and rendering a full account of the proceedings. The article will be published in the next issue of *The Militant*.—Ed.

Workers Must Organize and Fight Against State Capitalist Measures

(Continued from page 1)

capitalists will make the future of the workers under the "new deal" worse than the past. The "Century of Progress" witnessed the further centralization and concentration of wealth and capital in the hands of fewer and fewer capitalists while the vast majority have been driven to deeper levels of misery and degradation.

The working class battle against the capitalist offensive organized by the Industrial Control Bill will have to be fought in the sphere of unemployment relief, the struggle for wages, hours, and the unionization of the workers into class struggle unions. To do this, the working class must be told what the "planned economy" means. The Communists must present a Marxist analysis, organize the class, especially to head off the action of the Greens, Wells and Lewises, who desire to utilize the State capitalist measures for their class collaboration schemes.

The Workers' Answer: Class Struggle Organization

It is not difficult to understand that a law which gives the capitalist and workers "equality" on paper means nothing in reality, except giving the strongest organized force the right to do what it pleases. In this case the capitalists are well organized and entrenched. In addition it is they who have made the laws of the "game" which we must play. Our lack of pressure, due to the lack of any worthwhile, powerful, organized industrial union as well as to a blunderbuss leadership within the Communist ranks (that of the Stalinists) gives the capitalists the overwhelming odds in deciding the whole question.

There is only one way the working class can answer the capitalists and their Industrial Control Laws: The organization of powerful industrial unions of class struggle, capable of bringing working class pressure upon the capitalist system. Upon such a foundation, the American working class can build a movement that will become powerful enough to abolish capitalism.

We must oppose the Industrial Control Law; present a correct analysis of the Industrial Control Law; agitate and propagate to rally the class; organize a powerful Left wing in the A. F. L.; unite all the Left wing forces nationally as the T. U. L., the P. T. U. C., the C. I. A., etc. for common action; amalgamate the craft unions, such as the 21 railroad union, etc.

We must answer the capitalist drive with a powerful united front drive of the workers against the capitalist offensive.

—HUGO OEHLE.

Hitler Clashes with Hugenberg

(Continued from page 1)

His remarks Minor snarled "get away from here, your time is up."

Then Minor and following him, Alexander started harranguing those present in a fashion to make a Holy Roller preacher blush with envy. No answers to our arguments. No comradely discussion. Instead—vituperation, slander and hysteria. Minor almost outside himself in trying to create a lynch spirit in the audience. But Minor's demagoguery and vituperation was answered subtly by the workers present. When the appeal came for workers in the audience to join the party—not a single worker responded. The chairman hastily adjourned the meeting. —M. G.

August 4, 1914 and May 17, 1933

(Continued from page 1)

a possibility that in time to come not even a penny would be offered for their most obliging "toleration" was inconceivable. And not only the social democratic apparatus, but also the bureaucracy of the Stalinist faction, dominating the Comintern, arrived at the same conclusion:

"Even in the case the Nazis are taken into the government there will be no question of the bourgeoisie not desiring to get along without the cooperation of the social democracy in the solidification of the fascist dictatorship." —Die International, January 1932.)

The thought rings very absurd today. The fact remains, however, that the Stalinist bureaucracy lent support to the illusions and wish-thinking of the sister social democratic bureaucracy. And all of this could not fail but have an influence on a great section of the social democratic workers. The unexpected became a fact: exactly a year after the famous Stalinist prophecy of January 1932, Hitler actually repudiated the "cooperation" of the social democracy in the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship.

"Germany Is Not Italy"

A damnable and blighting catch phrase ran through the ranks of the German proletariat, wandering through all the organizations of the working class. They consoled each other with it. It was thought up and set in circulation by frightened, helpless bureaucrats, at their wits' end. "Germany is not Italy," "Germany is not Italy,"—in pompous and heroic speeches and innumerable newspaper articles, the incantation was thrown again and again at the masses. "Germany is not Italy." This mystical rhetoric, not good enough to hypnotize rabbits, was considered sufficiently potent to put to sleep the best organized working class of the capitalist world. "Germany is not Italy," blabbered the degenerate social democratic bureaucrats on the windows of their offices. "Germany is not Italy" echoed in the high places of the Stalinist Comintern, in the Communist Party of Germany, in all other sections of the C. I.

The Twelfth Plenum has... shown that there is not—and there cannot be—such a thing as a so-called "classical" Fascism, and that all theories derived from the history of Italian Fascism, regarding the necessity of first striking down the working class, are bloodless abstractions. (Communist International, January 10, 1933, page 19.)

Didn't the Stalinists give unaltered heuchman's service to the Social Democracy in that way? Did that not amount to actually facilitating Hitler's accession to power? The Left Opposition raised its voice in warning:

"The coming of the German Nazis to power would mean, first of all, the destruction of the power of the German proletariat, the annihilation of its organizations, the eradication of its belief in itself and in its future. In accordance with the greater maturity and acuteness of the social contradictions prevalent in Germany, the bolshewk work of the Italian Fascism will probably appear as a pale, almost immune, experiment, in comparison with the work of the German National Socialists." (Trotsky, Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?, Nov. 1931.)

The bureaucrats, left without any plausible arguments, maligned and persecuted and attempted to hide their panicky helplessness behind the phrase: "Germany is not Italy." This they still chanted when the boots of the Nazi storm troopers were already trampling in the ground the most active proletarian forces of Germany. And even today the bureaucracy, which events have already proved bankrupt, cannot separate itself from the slogan grown dear to its heart. They hope, and say so, that the economic crisis will by itself finish off Hitler.

Socialist Hopes For Mercy Shattered

Hitler came to power, and there was not even the slightest talk regarding cooperation with the Social Democrats. All the secret hopes of the treacherous bureaucracy vanished. The theories, derived therefrom, also vanished. The first blow of Fascism was meant for the revolutionary proletariat, as embodied in C. P. G. But the accusation leveled against the S. P. G. on the occasion of the Reichstag fire already suggested that the Socialists would be the next victims. The Welles and Breitscheldts tried to win a reprieve. They moved away from the Marxism that they never belonged to. They "tolerated" the bloody deeds perpetrated by the Fascists on the social democratic workers and the members of the free trade unions. Weis, too, protested (though he knew better) against the so-called exaggerations of German excesses abroad. He even went so far as to resign his post in the administrative circle of the Second International. True as it was absurd, —the S. P. G. hoped for mercy; it hoped to be granted a sort of role as his Nazi Majesty's most obedient opposition. But Fascism, which had thrived on social democratic toleration, never thought of tolerating the S. P. G. in its turn.

The First of May came. Zeor-giebel, who on his way was quite ready to murder 35 workers, was

kicked out to the devil, and Hitler arranged the miserable comedy of the "National Holiday." Hardly had Leipzig returned from marching behind the Swastika banner when he was called back to be incarcerated in the famous "sick-house." The free trade unions became Fascist. A week later, the S. P. G., too, was done away with.

"Fascism, nourished by the Social Democracy, will be obliged to break the head of the Social Democracy in order to arrive at power." (Trotsky, November 1929.)

Where were now the speculations of the social democratic bureaucracy? Where were the fancy theories of Stalinism?

The odor of the decay of the beleaguered social democracy contaminated the air. The vote for Hitler at the recent "great statement on foreign affairs" was—temporarily—the last link in the chain of treason. It was the consequence and crowning of the high 20 year old policy of coalition and toleration. This crime threatened to pull down the entire Second International.

The pure instinct of self-preservation has led the leading spirits of the Second International to move away from the latest acts in Germany. But they are moving away only from one section of the social democratic fraction. They are not moving away from the policy, the natural result of which was the vote for Hitler.

On May 18, 1933, the bureau of the Labor and Socialist International assembled in Paris under the chairmanship of Vandervelde for a "thorough consideration of the most recent events in Germany". It drafted the following resolution to be presented in the Reichstag:

"The Labor-Socialist International is convinced that the consent of a number of the social democratic deputies of the German Reichstag to a resolution expressing unreserved solidarity with the recent declaration of the German government, does not express the true convictions of the German working class. It declares that the support of that declaration contradicts the principles of the Labor-Socialist International...."

In a late issue of the Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung, Oda Oldberg "examines" editorially the last Reichstag vote of the German social democracy and asks the following questions:

"Do these people really believe that the German workers will understand this attitude, that they will be able to make out this pattern of lies and facts in which formal justice and cunning injustice are so cleverly intertwined? The workers will not understand; the sacrifice has been in vain. The workers will consider themselves betrayed.... With Hitler no pact should have ever been attempted." This is actually said: "they will consider themselves betrayed." Here is the true face of the Second International. They—the workers—will only "consider" themselves betrayed. Haven't they been betrayed? Oldberg and the Arbeiter Zeitung are silent on this count.

Leon Blum, shedding some light on the history of the Reichstag vote, declares:

"The question of participation of the social democratic delegates in the last session of the Reichstag was the theme of the conference of the newly elected party presidium. This conference expressed itself unanimously against the participation of the social democratic delegates in the Reichstag vote. There was for the social democratic delegates only one attitude possible—and that dictated by the conscience of the Socialists International—to declare the Hitler comedy null and void by their absence,—to smash the Reichstag comedy as the ironic

and miserable parody that the German workers refuse to participate in....

"I do not care whether these delegates have placed themselves outside of the German social democratic party, but I do declare that by their attitude they have broken the last faith with the spirit and solidarity of the International of Socialism."

That sounds radical, but it is only Leon Blum, who throws out his chest now and then and speaks of the "International of Socialism."

Le Peuple, the central organ of the Belgian Social Democracy goes a step further:

"Finally there appeared at the Reichstag session a greatly reduced part of the social democratic fraction.... and completed the sad capitulation before Hitler's terror and demagoguery."

"Completed" the capitulation, says Le Peuple. "Completed", however, was what had already long before been begun. It was—and is—the line of the entire Second International which the Reichstag seapagoes "completed" with such consistency on May 17, 1933.

In the meanwhile, Stampoer went abroad, and there appeared in the social democratic press an article of his entitled "Do Not Strike Them!" Not even he dares to defend the shameful treachery of the last remnant of the once proud social democratic Reichstag fraction. He tries to explain by alluding to such influences as the "compulsion of conscience," the fear of physical terms, "the consciousness of responsibility to the workers" who were thus to be protected against further "terrorism." How in the role of the social democracy shows itself in complete clarity. It did its heuchman's service against the working class. It is not even taken aback by the most gruesome crimes. And then it calls all of that "service to the people". This service was Hitler's most fertile ground.

IV.

"The workers will consider themselves betrayed", writes Oldberg. They have been betrayed. Betrayed for decades, and not merely by the last Reichstag vote, which was merely the crowning of the betrayal.

The S. P. G. Is Dead

The S. P. G. is no more. Their past "work" has had the good effect of making itself superfluous. The S. P. G. has finished its work. Its members are leaderless. For the degenerated bureaucracy shrinks from illegal work, being, indeed, completely unsuited for it. Members and party functionaries who want to do such work are frowned on. The bureaucrats die, as they have lived, as cynical scoundrels. An S. P. G. leader in Leipzig, from whom the party members demanded the issue of information material in regards to the crisis, replied to them: "Clever, aren't you? But we don't care to go to jail. If you want to publish something attend to it yourselves."

Only very rarely can a more courageous word be heard. In Bremen, the S. P. G. exhorted: "Remain true to the idea of Socialism." Too late for the leaders to think of loyalty to Socialism. At any rate, it is a misque case, which, however, can restore nothing and hold back nothing. The rank and file of the former S. P. G. are without leaders. A strong wave of depression and a wave of ruckery will not fail to sweep the masses. The best elements, however, will look for new ways. To stand by them is our task. We are sure that the greater section of the social democratic workers will help in the creation of the new Communist party. In this task the Left Opposition will stand in the front line.

—O—It.

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THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]



Published weekly by the Com

munist League of America (Opposition) at 128 E 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

Workers Slave for Pennies in Penna. Sweat Shops

Paul Comly French, writing in the Nation of May 31, gives an at most unbelievable account of conditions in factories in Pennsylvania: hours of labor of from 55 to 90 a week; wages as low as 3 cents an hour; girls in their early teens forced into sexual relations with their bosses, superintendents and foremen to keep their jobs. There is no limit to which capitalist exploiters will not drive their starved and stunted child slaves.

In the earlier days of capitalism, under the banner of "freedom and equality," children were chained to machines so that orderly production would continue. In 1893, as capitalism welters in its decaying stage, under the banner of "rugged individualism" and the "New Deal," girls just emerging from childhood, who are working 55 hours a week for 3 cents an hour, are dragged to New York at night by their masters to give up their half starved bodies to prospective buyers of the shirts their sweated labor created.

At the session of the Pinchot investigation committee on sweat shops, the following revealing testimony, taken from the Nation article, was made by the bourgeois of the borough of Northampton, where a child-labor mill is located:

"If I had my way," he told the Governor's commission, "I'd give no food orders to unemployed persons who urged factory workers to strike." And his wife who handles unemployment relief in Northampton, has even more amazing ideas: "I don't believe the strikers should be entitled to any unemployment relief," she testified before the commission, "because they don't have souls."

"In Gottlieb's Sewing Factory at York the usual wage is \$3 or \$4 a week; girls in Bernstein's factory at York reported a payment of \$2.00 for two weeks' work—an average of three cents an hour. At the York Suit Co. button sewers receive from \$3 to \$4 a week for fifty hours; York tobacco workers said they received \$2.50 for a week's work totaling fifty hours, while workers in a second cigar factory in this rich Lancaster Co. agricultural section said their wages averaged \$1.50 for fifty-four hours. A silk mill in York charged girls \$10 for "teaching them how to become operators." Pressers at the Lehigh Valley Shirt Co. in Allentown receive \$4 a week as against \$14 paid for the same work two years ago. At the Adkins Shirt Co. in Allentown only three girls in the place were over fourteen; their pay averaged from \$1.30 to \$2 a week, while one girl, with seven years' experience, earned the magnificent experience, earn-week. One boy in an Allentown shop earned ten cents a week for a ten-week period. . . ."

STALINISTS BREAK UP LEAGUE MEETING IN N. Y.
On Wednesday night, June 28, the Communist League of America (Opposition) held a meeting at Pitkin and Bristol Streets where about two to three hundred workers, including a number of party members and Y. C. L.ers, assembled to listen to the point of view of the Left Opposition. When the last speaker had concluded his remarks he asked for questions from the workers. Up piped a party member, J. M., and demanded nothing short of the platform for as long as he wanted. It was explained to him that it was our platform and our meeting.

The party members then set up a yelling and hooting that would undoubtedly have brought the police had not the speaker from the platform promised to grant him the three minutes that many from the audience urge that he get. He was asked if he would confine his remarks to three minutes and he promised that he would. When he got the platform he immediately reversed his promise to speak for the time granted him and set about telling the workers gathered there that he was going to speak for as long as the workers (read: party members) demanded: "whether for three minutes or one hour."

This was too much for even some of his own followers. One worker declared: "You will speak over my dead body and I am a party member." He was asked to leave the platform and a general melee began. Cries of shame were heard throughout the audience. Many workers were frankly disgusted with the party and Y. C. L. members' tactics.

The meeting was then resumed. Because of the shouting on the part of the party members it was impossible to conduct an orderly meeting with the announcement that we were not going to be driven away and would return to this corner. Our comrades struck up the Internationale which, to the shame of the workers present, the party members refused to sing, and left in a body. —M. GLEBE.

Return to Narrow Basis at N. Y. Mooney "United Front" Confab

New York, N. Y.—The great promise for the broadening of the united front to free Tom Mooney at the recent National Chicago Mooney Congress was given a deplorable setback by the narrow and overwhelmingly party-packed conference held last Sunday at Irving Plaza in New York. Not only were the delegates for the greater part from the C. P. and its auxiliaries, but the atmosphere of the conference harked back to the old "third period" days when any criticism was met with a hysterical howling from the party followers.

There is a great danger, if the indications at the conference mean anything, that the party will give up its recently adopted turn on the united front and reverse to its ultimatum "united front from below" policy.

The Left Opposition delegates were refused the right to address the conference on the ground that preference must be given to trade union delegates. That this was merely a pretext to prevent the Opposition's voice being heard at the conference was plainly evident by the bureaucratic antics of Robert Minor who carefully sifted the speakers' list before anyone was permitted to get the floor. Minor, who was introduced as the impartial representative of the "Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee" and gave the key-note speech was tireless in his efforts to make what was called as a united front conference into a C. P. convention.

When comrade M. Goldman, L. O. delegate, made a motion that representatives from trade unions and political organizations be given preference on the speakers' list,

Minor suavely and demagogically made an appeal that the motion be voted down and that all delegates be given equal opportunity to speak. How much interest Minor had that all delegates have an equal opportunity to speak was plainly to be seen when in the late hours of the conference he introduced a motion that the last speakers be three trade union delegates, and spoke against the amendment of the L. O. delegate; that a representative of the Left Opposition who had not yet been included succeeded in getting the floor amongst the last few speakers.

Despite Minor and the bureaucratic procedure of the conference the delegate of the Left Opposition succeeded in getting the floor when the resolution to be adopted at the conference came up and read a statement. Comrade Goldman, speaking for the L. O., upon being given the floor for a couple of minutes, made the following statement: "The delegates of the Left Opposition accept the draft resolution for the N. Y. Free Tom Mooney Conference and pledge themselves to carry out all the provisions contained therein. We protest however against the undemocratic procedure of the chairman in excluding our representatives from the opportunity of addressing this conference. We state categorically that unless the conference follows democratic procedure the fight to free Tom Mooney is in danger and a united front of working class organizations which Tom Mooney asked for is irreparably harmed."

This statement was received with some degree of sympathy by some (Continued on Page 4)

The Textile Code Shows Real Face of the 'New Deal'

The past week has seen the publication of the first few proposed industrial codes drawn up under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The most important one advanced is that by the textile industry. The code as proposed exposes in all its viciousness the present program. Where Roosevelt spoke of a maximum 30 hour working week, the manufacturers propose a 40 hour week. Where Roosevelt spoke of a minimum wage, these shameless gentry translate this into the terms of the inflated dollar, and quote ten dollars for the south and eleven dollars for the north.

Protests against this brazen despicable proposal were heard from even the most reactionary of labor leaders. All those labor leaders who for years have done nothing to better the conditions of the most exploited section of our industrial population, the textile worker, have today decided to attempt to rebuild their lost prestige in officially protesting the miserable proposals. It is thus that we find Thomas F. McLaughlin of the A. F. of L. proposing that instead of ten dollars the minimum wage be set at fourteen, and instead of the forty hour week, the maximum number of hours be set at thirty-five. Today, with the more than 17 million unemployed, with the dollar rapidly falling in value, the proposals of the official A. F. of L. can be looked upon as nothing but an attempt to forestall a real effective movement to resist this starvation program.

Finally, to complete this new deal picture, we see the provisions (Continued on Page 4)

Roosevelt Program Long-Range Plan to Stabilize U.S. Capitalism On the Backs of the Workers

Situation of American Imperialism in World Economy Forces «New Deal» Demagogues to Reverse Historic Policy - at Expense of Agriculture and the Proletariat. Program Disguised to Enlist Support of Toiling Masses.

Congress has adjourned, leaving in Roosevelt's hands the most far-reaching authority which any American president has ever had in peacetime. How he proposes to use it is becoming increasingly clear—the consolidation of capital into cartels, the beating down of wage standards, the course toward inflation, the aggressive assertion of nationalistic policies at the risk of disrupting the economic conference (allegedly based on international cooperation).

Why is American capitalism, which for so long has raised the slogan, "Take the government out of business" now in need of the Roosevelt program, which does the exact opposite? Why, particularly, is the policy of government intervention in business carried further and further the more evidence accumulates of a temporary and limited upturn in business? Is it not a paradox to see a doctor recommending his efforts the more signs of convalescence his patient shows? The answer is that the doctor's efforts are not directed to the immediate symptoms which already show some improvement, but to an inner cancer which threatens the very existence of the system. It is not a question of overcoming the

immediate crisis, which had already begun to show signs of slackening a year ago, but of preparing for a long period of violent shocks and disturbances; of economic, social and political upheavals with which the "normal" forces of capitalist recovery are insufficient to cope, but which on the contrary, demand the utmost concentration and mobilization of the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.

A valuable key is furnished by the famous sentence in the President's inaugural address in which he likened the present emergency to a state of war. The facts themselves clearly show how unlikely it is that he was talking about the immediate banking crisis, or even about the cyclical crisis of business as a whole. The banking crisis began to improve rapidly from the second half of March on; over \$300,000,000 in gold came back to the banks, Federal reserve notes in circulation declined by \$150,000,000, and interest rates declined with increasing rapidity. What the Government Accomplished

General business, following the sharp slump caused by the banking developments of the month between Feb. 18 (the Michigan moratorium) and March 15 (reopening of the New York Stock Exchange), resumed the upward trend which had begun as far back as July of last year and had flattened out in the fall, to begin again in the early weeks of the present year. Carloadings, electric power consumption, automobile sales, steel production, and a host of similar indices showed the scope of this improvement. The basis for it is to be found in the establishment of a low level of production costs through the stabilization of commodity prices at a low level; the extensive reductions in wages, leading to an improvement in profit margins; and in the re-accumulation of a substantial fund of liquid capital seeking investment, as the result of far-reaching liquidation and low interest rates. The direct intervention of the government was effective in bringing about recovery, at this stage, only by counteracting through prompt action, to the reopening of the banks. Since then it began to steer a course toward inflation, which accelerated but did not create the tendency to increased activity.

The emergency with which the Roosevelt legislation is concerned goes further and deeper, and looks forward to a period of years. This can be seen by the scope of the measures themselves, and of the government apparatus which must be provided to make them effective. It involves, in short, the long-term future of American business; that is, an attempt to readjust American economic life to a new set of conditions apart from the "natural" and "spontaneous" recovery which is taking place before our eyes.

Every previous crisis has closed a similar recovery, which has then passed on into the stage of stabilization or definite prosperity and then into a boom, marked by new high records in production and trade. Sometimes the driving force has been the opening of new territory, or new markets; sometimes high crops, or foreign wars which have stimulated American exports; sometimes the growth of new industries.

None of these factors making for peaceful stabilization and prosperity are even in sight today. On the contrary, the outlook is that the whole post-crisis period will be marked by severe shocks and violent readjustments, both within American economy and in its relations to other countries.

The Long Range Perspective of U. S. Capitalism

When America was changed from the course of the World War from a debtor to a creditor nation, a tremendous readjustment was needed in every single phase of the national economy. A debtor nation is one which has not fully grown up economically; it imports capital, exports raw materials and foodstuffs, needs a large export surplus with which to pay its debts, has relatively small industry and an imperfectly developed or dependent banking system, a shortage of labor and high wages. Exactly the opposite is true of the economically mature, capital exporting (imperialist) creditor nation. America even before the war, while still a debtor nation, had begun to partake of some of the characteristics of the creditor nation especially in its high state of industrial development.

Since the war, however, its whole economic structure has been shot through with anachronisms and contradictions. Its banking system remained a contradictory two-story affair, on top a few score banks of world importance but with few or no branches at home, and below them, 30,000 country and neighborhood banks, were steadily decimated down to 20,000, by failures in good times and bad. Agriculture, through rapidly giving way to industry, remained the most important single phase of economic life, providing a huge export surplus annually, contrary to the food deficits of every other important industrial power. Industry itself, while rapidly increasing in size and concentration, had been exporting only 10-11 per cent of its output, a much smaller proportion than any other economically advanced power. The huge export surpluses continued, while returns from capital exports were beginning to come in and complicate the transfer of international payments, which the other industrial powers have solved by accepting annually more imports than they (Continued on Page 4)

The Paris Anti-Fascist Congress ... an Anti-Trotskyite Slug Fest

Empty Parade is a Complete Failure

Paris.—The specter of "Trotskyism" haunted the organizers of the "Empty parade" (l'Empty parade) which gave the congress thousands of men, optimistic speeches, brutal sergeants-at-arms were nothing else but expressions of Stalinist impotence.

The Congress Utilized by French Imperialism
Better yet is that if this congress was not under government protection it played the game of the foreign policy of the Daladier government. By means of an alibi of a letter from the police department Daladier took all the precautions of foreign policy by his dealings with the organizers of the congress, he knew how to use the congress as a "national" reserve.

Soviet Workers Excluded from the "European" Congress
What is more eloquent on this point was the absence, from this European Congress of any Soviet worker's delegation. That demonstrates, once again, how low this parade stood in the estimation of

U. S. S. R. government circles and the desire of these circles not to break faith with the Hitler Government and Mr. Daladier in any way at all.

The Marxist Wing Excluded from the Congress—The Preparation
Roubaige, Courdeau's lieutenant, the party's confidence man, maneuvered through the medium of several tricks of the organization committee so as to serve as bait for the socialist "rank and file".

We have already revealed how, in the Parisian district, the Oppositionists after being methodically slugged were systematically thrown out of the district "congress". This was only the expression, on a district scale, of a strained international system. The date of the Congress approached; the stitches of the bureaucratic lining drew closer, and more, it appeared that the Organization Committee desired to systematically eliminate the sections of the Opposition and the Oppositionists from the Congress; in fact, every delegation had to receive the stamp of its national leadership, that is, the Stalinists.

In face of all of these facts, the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition sent a delegation to openly pose the question of our admission to the Anti-Fascist Congress. This delegation received an evasive reply. On Saturday, June 3, on the eve of the Congress an official answer was sent us. We publish the letter of the Organization Committee below.

The Explanations of the Organization Bureau

"TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE C. I.

"In reply to your letter of May 23, we answer the following: "The European anti-Fascist workers Congress is a mass congress, to which the largest sections of the toiling masses have given their adherence and have elected, through the prosecution of a common and active anti-Fascist struggle, representatives of the masses of all countries. The groups connected with you do not represent any masses and we know nothing of their participation in the anti-Fascist struggle and in the strengthening of the anti-Fascist front, in connection with the European anti-Fascist Congress.

"The appeal of the organization bureau of February 26 for the convocation of the Congress was addressed to all workers' political and trade union organizations inviting them to adhere to the Congress and to send delegates to it. Participation in the congress presupposes the acceptance of the platform of common anti-Fascist struggle presented in the appeal of the organization bureau.

"We have no communication on the subject of your acceptance of the platform of the Congress and

of your adherence on this basis. On the contrary, Trotsky, your International Secretariat, and the groups connected with you have conducted an infamous campaign against the Congress. (See Unser Wort, organ of your German section). You can no longer ignore the fact that your German group in Paris has made a decision expressly against the Congress and for the boycott of the latter. In your struggle against the Workers Anti-Fascist Congress, that is, against the united front of millions of men for the decisive struggle against the advance of Fascism and for the overthrow of the murderous Fascist dictatorship, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist group finds itself in a fitting front with the leaders of the 2nd International.

"This is our answer to your request.

"Organization Bureau of the Convocation of the European Workers Anti-Fascist Congress."
Needless to say, we expected such a maneuver; they had already rejected "political organizations" as well as others, with the exception of rank and file organizations, at Amsterdam. All the delegates of the International Opposition who were present in Paris were at the

for the saving of the lives of the against Hayward Patterson one of framed-up Negro boys, the chief of the nine Scottsboro defendants, was set aside on June 22nd by Judge Horton.

This is the second reprieve granted to Patterson, the first having been obtained some time ago through a decision of the United States Supreme Court.

In his statement of opinion accompanying the order for a new trial Judge Horton merely repeated what the defense has been saying from the first. "The testimony of the prosecutrix (Victoria Price) in this case is not only uncorroborated but it also bears on its face indications of improbability and is contradicted by other evidence, and in addition thereto, the evidence greatly preponderates in favor of the defendant."

The change in the point of view of Judge Horton, who but on last Palm Sunday sentenced the convicted youth to death, was hardly the result of "preponderance of evidence". The frame-up evidence had in no whit changed since that day the sentence of death was read to Hayward Patterson. The change was not one in the "preponderance of evidence" but rather in the tearing to pieces of the crude frame-up by the united efforts of tens of thousands of Negro and white workers in the struggle for the freedom of the boys.

For the granting of a new trial,

Left Opposition's Delegates Beaten

Some time delegates of workers organizations and, as such, had the right to enter the Congress. But there also the bureaucrats were watchful. A note appeared in l'Humanite demanding that those wanting to receive his credentials had to appear at the Grange aux Belles (Red Trade Union headquarters).

The Left Oppositionists, at this time, were in possession of credentials of the following organizations. These organizations, for material reasons, were not able to multiply the number of delegates nationally contrary to the Stalinists who multiplied their delegates for each local group.

Spain—Spanish section of the Left Opposition; Autonomous Building Workers Trade Union; Oil Workers Trade Union of Astillero; United Trade Union of Ileva; **Belgium**—Belgian section of the Left Opposition; Knights of (Continued on Page 4)

Stalinists Expel 3 L. O. Youth

New York, N. Y.—On June 18, Joe Elliott, Sam Shabel and George Ray were expelled from the Y. C. L. controlled organization, the Student Forum. Their expulsion, based on the flimsiest and most transparent charges of inactivity, comes as a result of the feeling of alarm among the Stalinists and the growth of influence of the ideas of the Left Opposition among the young workers and students of the locality.

In particular, the Stalinists have become worried over the class on the "History and Principles of the Left Opposition", organized under the auspices of the N. Y. Spartacus Youth Club. This class, led by George Ray, began with an attendance of 18 and has now risen to 30. Joe Ross, president of the Student Forum, attended one session of the class with the aim of "exposing" the Trotskyists. Unfortunately for himself, he succeeded in exposing only his own ignorance.

The expulsions of the three comrades in the Student Forum is only part of the expulsion campaign inaugurated by the Stalinists in the East New York and Brownsville sections. Joe Elliott and M. Layton were expelled from the American Youth Club. Elliott made an application to the Student Forum. The Stalinists wanted to refuse him admission on the grounds that he had been expelled from the American Youth Club. Their proposal was defeated by a vote of 19 to 18. Since then the Y. C. L. (Continued on Page 4)

ers have been joining the Forum en masse.

From the Brownsville Youth Club, Morris Shapiro, a member of that organization for seven years, and one of its founders, has been expelled for Trotskyism.

S. Casar and H. Conroe have been expelled from the Y. C. L., also for Trotskyism. Neither of these comrades has endorsed the program of the Left Opposition, but have been studying it.

In the Student Forum new expulsions have been put on the order of business. At the meeting of June 25 a motion was introduced by a Y. C. L.er to expel Sam Gordon, B. Casar and B. Lerner for circulating a petition protesting the expulsion of the three "Trotskyists".

20 members signed their names to the petition. The motion was postponed to the next meeting because some entertainment had to be prepared for the evening. However, this was no obstacle to passing a motion barring the 3 expelled "Trotskyists" from appearing in the Forum headquarters.

The chairman very democratically allowed two speakers on the motion, one for and one against, each having one minute apiece.

The sum total of all these bureaucratic expulsions is that more and more young workers and students are interesting themselves in learning what actually is the program of the Left Opposition. —GEORGE RAY.

Scottsboro Decision Reversed

The verdict of guilty brought in against Hayward Patterson one of framed-up Negro boys, the chief of the nine Scottsboro defendants, was set aside on June 22nd by Judge Horton.

This is the second reprieve granted to Patterson, the first having been obtained some time ago through a decision of the United States Supreme Court.

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Furniture Union Accepts Left Wing Proposals

"The correctly understood task of the Communist party does not consist solely of gaining influence over the trade unions, such as they are, but in winning, through the trade unions, an influence over the majority of the working class. This is possible only if the methods employed by the party in the trade unions correspond to the nature and the tasks of the latter. . . . If the party buys its influence in the trade unions only at the price of a narrowing down and a factionalizing on the latter, converting them into auxiliaries of the party for momentary aims and preventing them from becoming genuine mass organizations, the relation between the party and the class is wrong. . . . Out of this springs the policy of combinations behind the scenes' of hushing up, of adaptation to the ideas and slogans of others, and finally the complete passage to the positions of opportunism."—Leon Trotsky.

American industry is beginning to stir into open class struggle. Uppermost in the mind of the working class is the burning question: How can these miserable depression wages meet the rising cost of living. Spontaneous, elemental strikes and protests break out with increasing frequency from unexpected quarters and in a surprising manner. What distresses the bosses and annoys the trade union bureaucrats is that this upsurge does not wait for the unions to act, nor does it wait for the "busy season," or for the "better moment," or for the thousand and one excuses of the conservative labor "strategists" for delay. It bursts out for wage increases; it bangs its fist, even in anticipation of the "season"; it gives the bosses a foretaste of what is to follow in the "season."

The furniture industry is no exception to the trend of the day. On the contrary it strikingly illustrates how determined, militant action, in most cases without union leadership, can wrest conditions and wage increases from the bosses by sporadic strikes and stoppages.

Of the three to four thousand upholsterers in greater New York, barely three hundred are organized into both unions: The Furniture Workers Industrial Union and Local 76 of the Upholsterers International, of which the latter, though smaller in actual number, has signed agreements with three or four shops. Local 76, in the manner of all A. F. of L. unions, is based on the "job trust," that is, the control of certain shops through agreement with the employer which allows the latter to use the union label on his goods and limits the membership to little more than those working in these shops. This gentlemen's agreement between the union and the boss, while it maintains wages and conditions in the union shops above the general level of the unorganized industry, and offers protection in the form of a strike fund and other considerations; nevertheless, it quite effectively creates a barrier between the unorganized mass, to whom the "union cannot give jobs." This condition stimulates the development of reactionary policy, machine control ignoring of the unorganized and the stifling of the rank and file in the union.

The Left Wing in the Trade
The Furniture Workers Industrial Union was born out of the old Left wing of Local 76 under the leadership of the T. U. C. L. Under the hysterical lash of the Stalinist "third period" policy, it was not difficult to break off (or have expelled) a substantial group of the union who together with a number of rank and file workers who had lost their confidence in the reactionary A. F. of L. union formed the Left wing union. In the period of its existence it has advocated the principle of one union for the entire industry and has stressed the shop as the basic unit of the union. It has championed the democratic rights of the rank and file and the idea of an international revolutionary movement of labor. On the other hand, it has succumbed to the adventurist practice of the united front from below and the theory of "social Fascism," which has produced within the union the atmosphere, and without, the policy, of the revolutionary sect.

The discontent and unrest among the furniture workers of New York has had a marked effect on both unions. Suddenly Local 76 announces an organization drive. The Industrial Union intensifies its efforts. Local 76 makes some headway; the P. W. U. leads some small strikes and stoppages. But each, naturally, must undermine the basis of the other union in order to proceed. And they are both met with stony indifference and cynicism on the part of the furniture workers who say: Two houses divided against each other cannot stand. A plague on both your houses.

Realizing the burning need for the unification of the industry, the Left wing elements in both unions have come forward with the demand for trade union unity on the basis of a fighting policy against the boss upholsterers in the coming season. In the Industrial Union, we have fought for close to six months to put the question of the unity of the unions on the agenda of the union. Our proposals were ridiculed and rejected. "No united front with the social Fascist lead-

ers", was the demagogic cry, "only with the rank and file!" And so the Stalinist leadership in the Industrial Union staved off the responsibility of approaching the A. F. of L. organization.
But so vital is the issue among the rank and file of the union that it could not be postponed for long. On May 8, after ordering the Left wing proposals stricken from the minutes and without much confidence in the outcome of the negotiations, the Stalinist leadership of the union sent a unity proposal to Local 76. Why was it necessary to conceal our policy from the membership by expunging it from the record and then resurrect it as though it were their own? Unquestionably because it was "Trotskyist contraband!" And second, because it didn't jibe with the party line. . . .

In our next article, we will consider the account of the fight for unity of the furniture workers together with the Left wing program for its achievement.

—CARL COWLE
—SOL LANKIN.

SPARTACUS CLUB LECTURES

The Spartacus Youth Club will hold the following discussions at their meetings.

July 6: The Student Question—the discussion leader will be comrade Mamie Garrett.

July 13: History of the Marxist Youth Movements, and the Draft Thesis of the Plenum of the Y. C. L. Meetings are at 8:15 Thursday nights at 126 East 16th St.

On Sunday, July 2, there will be a talk to Forest Park in Queens. Meet at 126 East 16th St. at 9:30.

The Columbus Meet and Muste's Labor Party

Current history is harshly proving the Marxist postulate that there is no middle course between the dictatorship of the capitalists and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The American workers must eventually choose the path of Communism and build their own Soviet United States of America or else endure a period of barbarism. As revolutionary Marxists we can go into the united front with any and all groups in a struggle for immediate, concrete issues and at the same time not give up our cease to propagate the above idea.

History has proved that no great social problem will be solved by parliamentary votes alone; advanced workers know that by elections and trade union activity alone it is impossible to permanently raise the standard of living of the working class or put an end to economic crises, unemployment, etc. As revolutionary Marxists the Communists can go into the unions, the unemployed organizations, the fraternal groups, etc.; we can unite in action with any and all working class groups in an effort to win immediate demands, and, at the same time, retain the above position and explain to the workers why we are trying to organize them around a revolutionary program.

At the July 4th Columbus Convention of Unemployed, called by the CPUSA through the leadership of the Ohio Unemployed League, the Musteites hope to organize a "mass labor-front party," or a "united mass party of workers and dirt farmers." It is the duty of every revolutionary worker, and particularly the Communists, to patiently explain the role of the "labor party" to all workers and to persuade them to actively oppose its formation. (In this respect we might advise the Stalinist Central Committee that its faithful followers are patiently "waiting for the party's line and instructions" and are, in the meantime, hesitant in condemning Muste's Labor Party for fear the C. C. might support it.)

However, should our efforts fail to win the support of the workers and they, in turn, pledge their support to a "labor party," then our task is not to push-pool it from without but to "revolutionize it from within." That is, if, in order to keep contact with a good element of the working class, we are forced into a "labor party," then we must organize ourselves inside as a fraction for the purpose of convincing the workers of the insufficiency and inevitable treacherous impotence of such a party. We must use the "labor party" as an arena in which we shall tactfully agitate for a Communist party. . . . of course, this is a hard job, but then Lenin taught us by example that we should "not drag the labor movement along line of least resistance" He taught us to avoid the "easy," opportunist road and to "combat spontaneity" by "diverting" the labor movement from its spontaneous trade unionist, "labor party" course into the channels of revolutionary preparation, organization and activity.

EXPLORE THE "LABOR PARTY" SUPPORT THE COMMUNIST PARTY!
—N.

CORRECTION

The passage in the Pocketbook workers article last week which reads: "The workers know that they can have no faith in Shipplacoff, Wolfnsky and Co." should have read "The workers know that they can have no faith in the present 'Fraternal Club' administration which is the heir and protector of the Shipplacoffs and the Wolfnskys."

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

Militant Strikes on West Coast

Los Angeles.—The city of Los Angeles has witnessed, and is witnessing, the beginning of a wave of strikes as the workers are commencing to think that it is as well to starve fighting as to starve working. About six weeks ago, the Cleaners and Dyers struck. This union is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. A strike of upholsterers is now going on.

The two most important strikes, however, are those of the agricultural workers and of the milliners who are in the Left wing Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The Mexican agricultural workers are a super-exploited section of the Southwestern proletariat. These workers are generally migratory or semi-migratory. Entire families work in the fields, from the little children of six and seven to the adults. The wages paid range from six cents an hour for seven years olds to eight cents an hour for twelve year olds and thirteen cents an hour for adults. Payments for work is highly speculative, as the Mexican laborer, under constant threat of deportation, is very reluctant about going to the legal channels to collect his wages. The ranchers knew this and have been quick to take advantage of the Mexican agricultural proletariat.

Beginning as a spontaneous struggle the strikers in this field have now reached the number of 6,000. Arrests of pickets are a daily occurrence but in spite of this the strikers' morale is still high.

A curious phenomenon in this strike is the attitude of the Mexican government. Ex-president Calles has sent the strikers \$750 and President Rodriguez has sent them \$1,000. The explanation for this most probably is that in order to succeed in present-day Mexican politics with the radicalized workers and peasants one has to be "socialist" or "labor" or "agrarian."

Milliners in Militant Strike
Another strike now going on is that of the milliners led by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. About four or five weeks ago, Golden Bros., the second largest shop in the city attempted to celebrate the "New Deal" in a fitting fashion. They introduced a piece-work, speed-up system. The workers, amongst whom were a nucleus of Left wingers, stopped work without going down into the street and brought the Golden Bros. to their knees.

The victory at Golden Bros. became the talk and inspiration of the millinery workers who are most desperately in need of militant organization. The union is growing daily. It has increased its membership ten-fold at least in the last month, since the triumphant stoppage at Golden Bros.

The millinery trade has a large representation of Communists and sympathizers. The new split within the millinery workers also had a thawing effect upon the Communists and Left wingers. Long silent, they have once more begun agitating. The next fruits of their agitation has been a strike at Lubes flat Works, where forty workers walked out demanding the 44-hour week, (they were working 48 hours) division of work, recognition of a shop committee and the cessation of wage cutting.

A picket line was thrown around Lubes. This line was reinforced with girls from other shops, particularly from Golden Bros. in a demonstration of solidarity. The "Red Squad" did not succeed in intimidating the girls and men on strike. In forty-eight hours, the bosses at Lubes surrendered to all the demands of the workers.

If the millinery market was as bright with hope after the first victory at Golden's, the condition of the workers' minds after the second brilliant victory can only be left to the imagination. The workers were inspired, but the bosses' chief emotion was one of fear and alarm.

Mr. Sam Golden is the vice-president of the Millinery Ass'n, the bosses' organization. In an evidently planned attack, the bosses of the Golden Bros. shop began to lay the ground work of again attempting to introduce the piece-work system. The workers who are nervously alert demanded of the Golden Bros., the giving up of these plans. When the Messrs. Golden refused, the workers walked out to the number of 70 out of 90 employed. Of the 20 remaining, most of them were relatives. This was about a week ago.

The first day of the strike witnessed the arrest of two pickets, comrade Elsie Meyers and Helen Costello. This did not in any way frighten the strikers. Picketing kept right on in spite of the almost unbelievably brutality of the most despicable collection of human filth which bears the title of "Red Squad". Thursday night six more pickets were arrested. They are

still in jail as charge after charge is being placed against them making bail impossible to secure. The original strikers, however, are out nearly one hundred per cent.

Strike meetings, held under the leadership of the chairman of the strike committee, comrade Sam Meyers, an active Left Oppositionist, are as enthusiastic now as on the first day of the strike. The workers are giving themselves for a long time struggle. The bosses are doing likewise.

The Chamber of Commerce presented Mr. Golden with a \$5,000 check to be used in keeping Los Angeles the "white spot" of the country.

However, like a pack of wolves, the other manufacturers are snatching the Golden Bros.' orders away as deliveries are not made. Mr. Golden's bank credit is none too high. Victory is possible for the strikers provided the leadership of the union can formulate and apply correct policies.

The need at the moment is a mass picket line. This picket line should bear the character of a united front. The issue is elementary and appeals to the proletarian instincts of every worker of every type of labor organization. Will the leadership of the union make this appeal to every progressive labor organization or will they remain their old position of "united front-from below" only? Or what is still worse, will they give lip service to the idea of a genuine united front and sabotage it in action?

The strike can be won provided a correct policy is followed. The L. O. in Los Angeles will attempt to point out this correct policy inside of the union and in the struggle, itself.

This strike wave particularly in the N. T. W. I. U., the only T. U. C. L. group of anywhere near a bonafide character in Los Angeles, has caught the party unprepared. The long paralyzed by the ultra-Leftism of the C. I., the worker-Communists are re-learning the art of leadership in the every day struggles of the workers. Once liberated from the effects of the "Third Period" they are becoming skillful Communist organizers and not parroting sectarians. In the class struggle itself, the correctness of the views of the Left Opposition are being shown. The worker-Communist, after these struggles, will not be the easy prey for a pen-pushing, "infallible" bureaucrat.

The activities of the L. O. in the agricultural fields, in the Needle Trades workers, in the unemployed organizations are putting the Left Opposition on the map. Our influence is growing rapidly, and while our membership is growing in an extremely slow pace disproportionate with the growth of our influence, organizationally too, we can mark some progress. —C. C.

Bosses Lockout Pocketbook Workers

BULLETIN
As we go to press we learn that the leadership of the Pocketbook Workers' Union were forced by the pressure of the workers in the Union to call a general strike in the trade in New York.

In the past issue of *The Militant* we described the present situation in the Pocketbook Workers' Union. Now we will show in brief the development that took place for the last few days.

Since last week, the Industrial Council of the Leather Goods Employers Association took the offensive and locked out 2000 workers from their shops. The employers are demanding open shops. The union was forced to answer the lockout with a strike against the association shops only.

The "Fraternal Club" administration did not carry out the decision of the membership to call a general strike in the industry. A strike in the Association shops will give the bosses a chance to make their samples in the independent shops. This will prolong the struggle of the workers in the Association shops. The progressives and the Leather Workers Society who are the leaders in the general strike committee are just as responsible as the administration for not calling a general strike in the whole industry.

Furthermore, at the last meeting of the general strike committee when election of all important committees to lead the strike took place, the Mattins, the David Myers, the Drenowitzes voted against the Left wing to be represented in the important committees. They again united with the "Fraternal Club" against the rank and file. This demonstrates that the administration and their alliance are not interested in a struggle against the employers. They are more interested in the fat plums (for them) of the Industrial Recovery Bill, the way it was explained by our man-

ager Stein at the Rand School meeting last Monday. The Left wing must be on guard, mobilize its forces, explain to the workers that our leaders together with the cliques are not interested to fight the bosses, but rather patch up an agreement that may be worse than the present agreement.

It will be of interest for the Pocketbook Workers and for readers of *The Militant* to know to what a deplorable situation the present leadership brought the Pocketbook Workers. We have a manufacturer by the name of Morris White. This employer was and is today one of the largest manufacturers in the industry. Morris White, as many other employers, gambled at Wall Street and invested in other speculations. He lost the money he made from the sweat and blood of his workers during the Wall Street crash. After the crash, Morris White declared himself bankrupt, and closed his factory. The workers walked the streets and starved with their families. When the workers had been starved out, Morris White opened his shop again. He signed an agreement with the union and threw out some 60 per cent of the workers from the shop. This was hailed as a victory by the administration.

At the same time, or before yet, Morris White opened another shop out of town in Bridgeport, Conn. If we would have even an honest, conservative administration, the union would have sent out an organizer or a committee from time to time and organize or make an attempt to organize the Bridgeport shop. The present administration did not get in touch with the workers of the Bridgeport shop. The result was that Morris White decided to make up his money he lost gambling in Wall Street as quick as possible, naturally at the expense of the workers as his manager Valinsky taught him. The philanthropist Morris White saw to it that his workers in the N. Y. shop should not make more than \$10 to \$15 a week. Workers who protested were not given any work at all. In Bridgeport he paid his workers from \$1 to \$8 a week. In N. Y. shop he made samples, in Bridgeport he made the work of the N. Y. shop and the workers in the N. Y. shop went around idle.

No matter how many times the union officials to take a stand against Morris White but it fell on deaf ears. Morris White gave such treatment to his workers in N. Y. and in Bridgeport that the non-union workers in Bridgeport revolted two weeks ago and went out in strike without the knowledge of the union. According to information, even the Chamber of Commerce urged the workers not to go back to work till employer would grant a raise in wages. The employer did grant a raise of a dollar or two a week. Under the influence of the Chamber of Commerce—left without union guidance—the workers went back to work without union conditions and without recognition of the union.

At the same time, a committee of the N. Y. shop went to Bridgeport to investigate what was taking place there. When Morris White saw the committee he arrested the members and tried to frame the committee men. But he failed in his efforts. The committee was freed. When the committee returned to N. Y., a shop meeting was called. At this meeting the workers forced the union to take a stand and it was decided to call a strike against Morris White's shops.

What does this signify? Had the union been in touch with the workers of Bridgeport, both shops would have struck together, and victory would have been assured against Morris White. This would have been a death blow to these methods and a warning against other employers, especially against the Industrial Council who demanded open shops, and refused to renew the agreement with the union. Our "Fraternal Club" administration have acted the other way around. They have not utilized the discontent of the workers, they have not been in touch with the workers in Bridgeport, and lost the best opportunity to organize the workers. The workers of the Morris White shop in N. Y. are waging a militant struggle, but the situation in Bridgeport is not so rosy due to the negligence of the administration to be on the spot in time and make the necessary preparations.

This shows the workers cannot have any illusions that this leadership can lead the workers to victory. On the contrary, they will lead them to disaster and defeat.

—N. D. P.

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The Teachers Union and the Fight for Union Democracy

(Continued from last week)

It is no accident that in the period of the "salary attack", from September, 1932 to the present date, the Left wing grew in size and influence, increased in boldness and aggressiveness and pressed the attack more sharply against the union administration. In sounding the alarm in time and conducting a persistent agitation for the union to energetically resist the attack on the teachers' salaries the Left wing was only doing its duty and serving the interests of the teachers and the union. That is why it won the sympathy of a number of teachers and increased its ranks.

The reply of the administration to this campaign of the Left wing was an attempt to silence it by expulsions. In this the administration was continuing the policy which it had adopted against the Left wing in 1931. In that year it proposed the expulsion of the "Progressive Group." This was not realized. In June 1932, it attempted to expel the entire Rank and File group. By September of that year the administration changed its plan and proposed to expel only the leading members of the Rank and File. To this list it added a leading member of the "Progressive Group." The total number was eighteen. By October this number was reduced to twelve. By the time this proposal reached the membership of the union the number slated for expulsion was reduced to six.

The steady retreat of the administration reflected the pressure of the Left wing and the union membership which the Left wing successfully aroused against these reactionary proposals. The expulsion proceedings, which were begun in June 1932 reached the membership for action April 29, 1933. The sentiment against expulsion was so marked by this time that the administration changed its plans in the meeting and proposed suspension. This was defeated—a victory for the Left wing!

Disloyalty

At the height of its expulsion campaign, the administration resorted to a disloyal act. Upon the request of Lefkowitz, Bogun was summoned to appear at a hearing before O'Shea to answer charges which involved his possible disloyalty from the school system? At the hearing, Lefkowitz, president of the union testified against Bogun! These were acts of treachery. The union exists for the purpose of defending the teachers against abuses by the B. of E. It cannot permit the B. of E. to intervene in its internal affairs. And it cannot tolerate in its ranks, be they rank and file or leaders, informers to the B. of E. against its members.

The expulsion campaign was accompanied by an undercover campaign of incitement of the conservative, and even reactionary, prejudices of a large number of the union membership against radical labor and Communism. This was the counterpart in the union of the same campaign conducted by the B. of E. in the system generally. It is unquestionable that the present expulsion proceedings from the system by the B. of E. which involves the outstanding militants of the Left wing, is, in large part, the fruit of the expulsion campaign from the union waged by the union administration. For this, too, the union administration must assume its share of responsibility.

Democratic Rights Violated

The expulsion campaign was also accompanied by the most flagrant violations of the democratic rights of the union membership. Meetings which manifested sympathy with Left wing proposals and which threatened to carry them, were arbitrarily adjourned by the administration on technical pretexts. Motions, resolutions, etc., presented and supported by the administration were railroaded through. Minority points of view were ruled out of order, or denied the right of expression. Contrary to the charge of the administration, the friction and disorder at the union meetings, must be attributed, not to the Left wing minority, but to the arbitrary practices of the administration, which sought mechanically to retain its hold over the membership, often in direct contradiction to the will of the membership itself, in short, by its persistent refusal to recognize, in practice, the right of minorities to exist and function as organized groups, an essential condition of trade union democracy, the administration has demonstrated its reactionary character.

The fight between the administration and the Left wing has been a tense and heated one. If the issues involved have not been made as clear to the union membership as they should have been, due to false policies of the Left wing on many questions and the division in its ranks, this served only to make the fight more heated and to produce a situation in the union which threatened to paralyze it even included the possibility of a split. The responsibility for this situation lies, principally, on the shoulders of the administration.

The Special Grievance Committee
But the administration tried to put the responsibility on the Left wing. The Special Grievance Committee which was elected to hear the administration's charges against Left wing leaders and report on them, also took up the

situation in the union and proposed a solution for it. The report is the "supreme" effort of the administration in its fight against the Left wing. Four of the five members of the Grievance Committee were among those who preferred the charges!

Over this flagrantly bureaucratic set-up the administration tried to draw the veil of respectability. It nominated and elected as the fifth member of the Committee—John Dewey, noted liberal, father of the League for Independent Political Action and instrumentalist, Dewey, to whom the draft of the report is attributed did his job well. The report is a mountain of confusion. It asserts several times that the difference between the Left wing and the administration involves fundamental questions of union policy: "The union is faced not with a matter of personal controversy, but with differences of policy that are fundamental to its existence." "(The) main cause (of the conflict in the union) is (the) existence of a conception (on the part of the Left wing) as to the proper functions and objectives of the union." (page 4.)

The Delegate Assembly

Notwithstanding, the report carefully refrains from analysis of the fundamental questions of policy involved. It deals only with "secondary" questions. Its thesis is that the light over the fundamental questions produced an intolerable situation in the union which threatened its continued existence. For this situation, like the administration, it holds the Left wing responsible. On this motivation, principally, it made several proposals which help put the union in the pocket of the administration. The most important changes the structure of the union. "1. The creation of an assembly whose delegates will be elected to represent the members in their respective schools. This assembly will have the powers—deliberative and voting—now exercised at business meetings."

This effects a radical change in the structure of the union. Point 2 of the Committee's proposals disturbs this structural change in an outrageously bureaucratic manner. "Business meetings of the membership to discuss, deliberate, and suggest to the Assembly but not to commit the union to any policy". (Our emphasis). By this distorted version of the shop delegate system the reactionary administration is aiming to shut off minority expression and deepen and further conservative the organization.

A fight over fundamental questions of policy cannot be solved mechanically nor by administrative measures. The recourse of the administration to these methods says, on the one hand, that it cannot match its policies against the Left wing and on this basis defeat it. On the other hand this proposal and other resolutions introduced by the administration giving the Executive Board sole power, to suspend and expel, the outlawing of opposition groups, etc., which are aimed ostensibly at the Left wing are, in reality, blows directed against the democratic rights of the union membership.

If it is not defeated the administration may succeed in stilling, not only the opposition, but the collective initiative of the union membership. This will be a long step forward toward the destruction of the union.

The Left wing must adapt itself to the new situation and work to penetrate the Assembly. There and in the school it must carry on the fight against the administration for trade union democracy and the democratic reform of the Delegate Assembly.

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Discussion of the German Tasks

The draft resolution (unfortunately undated) clears up some differences (real and imaginary, that is, based on misunderstandings), but at the same time left others untouched. The task of the present criticism consists in defining as exactly as possible the real character of the differences today.

1. The resolution ascertains right at the beginning that "the collapse of the C. P. G. has deprived the slogan of its reform of all content", in other words, that the C. P. G. cannot be regenerated. Needless to say this declaration, which signifies the renunciation of the position that we all held up to March 5, bears a tremendous significance for all of our activity.

Paragraph 3 of the resolution says: "The development is in the direction of a new party". This thesis completes the preceding one and thus restricts extremely the sphere of differences. The leading comrades of the German section recognize that the Stalinist party in Germany is politically liquidated and that the German Communist Party will reconstitute itself as a new party, outside of the Stalinist organization.

2. But let us quote more extensively from paragraph 3: "Although the development is in the direction of a new party, the slogan of the creation of the latter would be premature and false." The whole sense of this sentence lies in the content that one gives the term "slogan". It may be interpreted as both an open proclamation of our new position with regard to the official party as well as an appeal for the immediate creation of a new party with the existing elements. Insofar as the second interpretation is concerned, it would be the most ridiculous sort of adventurism. Among ourselves, no one has made such a proposal. If at the opening of the discussion, such misunderstandings could arise, the last few weeks have created absolute clarity on this score. It is not a matter for us of decreeing bureaucratically the creation of a new party, but of proclaiming openly our position towards the old party as well as our new perspective for work. It would be impossible to diminish or to mask the significance of this turn. Our course is one of propaganda for a new party and preparation for it. It is necessary to speak out clearly and openly about this change. Are we agreed on this? The draft resolution does not offer the necessary clarity.

3. After a correct point of departure the resolution then falls into a number of contradictions, masks its fundamental declarations and does not give any practical directives. The slogan of the "new party", says the resolution, will repel all critical or semi-critical Communists. Why? Obviously because they still believe in the reform of the old party. The devoted but shortsighted revolutionists, who at the cost of great sacrifices will attempt to reestablish the Stalinist party in illegality will naturally show themselves to be hostile to our affirmation that the "perspective of the reform of the C. P. G. no longer bears any content" and that "the development is in the direction of a new party". But it is precisely on these two theses that we find agreement with the German leadership. What shall we do about it? Shall we keep these ideas to ourselves without expressing them out loud in order not to repel from us the partisans of reform? Such a position would be altogether unworthy of Marxists and I do not doubt that the German comrades do not have this in mind. Under the blows of experience the utopians of reform will become convinced that we are correct. The more firmly and the more swiftly we shall establish our position, the greater will be our political authority.

4. The draft resolution poses the question of the creation of cadres. In itself this slogan is absolutely irreproachable. It is only necessary to reply: for what purpose, the cadres? For the reform of the old party or for the construction of the new one? If under such conditions, we take the road of diplomatic silence, the Stalinists will demand an answer just the same of us and we shall appear before the rank and file Communists like those augurs who have two doctrines, one for themselves and one for the uninitiated. It is clear that the authors of the resolution cannot want and do not want such a duplicity.

5. In the draft resolution as well as in other documents the idea is often repeated that the perspective of a new party is correct, but that the advanced workers are not prepared "psychologically". If it's a matter of creating a new party immediately, then the workers are not prepared not only "psychologically", but also politically and theoretically. The necessary cadres are lacking and the existing cadres have no masses. It is impossible to understand the reference to "psychology" otherwise than as follows: our own partisans and even our sympathizers and semi-sympathizers are not prepared "psychologically" for the sharp change of perspectives. The authors of the resolution confuse, quite obviously, two questions: the preparation of the proletarian vanguard for the creation of a new Communist party and the preparation of our own organization for a courageous and decisive change of our own orientation in the question of the old and the new party.

A Reply to the N. C. of the German Opposition

Here we are not concerned with anything but this second task. It results not from any "psychology", that is to say, from the state of mind of various layers of the proletarian vanguard, but from the whole of the objective conditions: from the victory of Fascism and the collapse of the policy as well as the organization of the Stalinists. The state of mind of the workers can yet change—especially in the sense of an ever clearer understanding of this historic fact. But the political attitude (perspective) of the Left Opposition should not have as its point of departure the fluctuating sentiments of the heart, but the objective changes in the situation.

6. To interpret the slogan of the new party as a mechanical unification with the elements of decomposition of the old party (Brandenburg, S. A. P., Leninbund) would not only be an absurdity but a simple mockery of our entire past. With regard to one group or another, we can only speak of taking some steps together, steps dictated by the situation. So, for instance, at the anti-Fascist congress we should seek an understanding with the Socialists group, the S. A. P. (German Socialist Labor Party), etc., against the bloc of Munzenberg with Barbusse and the Hindu bourgeoisie. There is not the slightest reason for confusing tactical understandings of this order with the question of the new party. Only one thing can be said: skillful tactical agreements, on the basis of a correct strategic line, can accelerate the process of the formation of cadres for the Communist party.

7. In the German documents, the slogan of the "new party" is counterposed with the slogan of a "new Zimmerwald". It is absolutely impossible to understand this counter-posing of things. Zimmerwald represented a temporary bloc of Marxists and Centrists. The former marched under the slogan

of the Third International; the latter under the slogan of the reform of the Second International. There were, to be sure, some participants who avoided answering the question: for the T. I. or the I. I. International? by hiding their hesitation under the banner of Zimmerwald "in general".

The record proved to be an episode, while the slogan of the Third International has determined the revolutionary policy of the whole new epoch. At the present, the questions are the same. The record, let us say, with the S. A. P., can become an episode (much less important than that of Zimmerwald) on the road to a new party; but these are two different questions.

8. By the way, how is the question of the S. A. P. posed? In the struggle for their own preservation, the leaders of the S. A. P. without giving an answer to any of the programmatic questions, disassociated themselves from the Left Opposition, alleging that we still nurtured illusions about the C. P. G. This fundamental argumentation has been eliminated since, by the march of events. Addressing ourselves to the S. A. P. we say: "After March 5, we are also concerned with the creation of a new party. But a party is created on the basis of a program. What is your program?" It is necessary for us to be able to utilize the advantage of our new position. If the leaders of the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the only now in the process of elaborating their program, we can offer them quite openly our participation in the program discussion and propose even the creation of common theoretical discussion organ, naturally preserving our entire independence of organization as well as our political journal. The question of the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the decisive question. Neither do we want to substitute it for other questions, but only to place it side by side with them, as a serious partial question.

I will sum up: the discussion has already brought this result: it has cleared up a number of obvious misunderstandings and has thus restricted the sphere of the difference. Nevertheless, before getting

a clear and distinct reply from the leading German comrades to the questions posed above it would be premature to say that the differences have been overcome. We must recognize, not only formally, the perspective of a new party, but we must draw from this perspective the necessary practical conclusions and fight in common agreement for them.

April 21, 1933.

—G. G.

Note: The Resolution of the German leadership (Reichsleitung) referred to above was published in *The Militant* several weeks ago.

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THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
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Arne Swabeck

Vol. 6, No. 33 (Whole No. 180)
SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 6 cents per copy

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crossed arms, like the ancient Christians in the circus. We shall be ready, fists clenched, certain that the future belongs to us.

The violent repression being prepared for us will also be met in a violent form by the workers, who closing the ranks of the proletarian revolution will know how to put force and violence at the service of society.

For the bourgeoisie can no longer continue as the guide of human destiny. Under its direction humanity degenerates and rots. It is now the turn of the proletariat to take in its hands the reins of power in order to make possible the progress of civilization under the historic perspective of a socialist organization of economy, destroying without pity all that which stands in the way of the success of such an organization.

Referring to democracy, Trotsky, one of the most beloved leaders of the world proletariat, said: "There is no hope of conquering power peacefully as long as the bourgeoisie retains the instruments of domination. Triply crazy is the hope of attaining power by the simultaneous indication and trenches for itself, by the road of parliamentary democracy."

But this does not at all mean that we Communists should forego the opportunities, offered to us by the bourgeoisie itself, to make use of the national tribune in behalf of the revolutionary proletariat. "Battle must be given to bourgeoisie in its own terrain of democracy, thus tearing from the masses the illusion that the bourgeois parties can solve the problems of democracy."

In the measure that the foundation contradictions of the capitalist system become more acute, the bourgeoisie will abandon all liberal democracy and will resort to open government by force, thus hoping to postpone a bit longer the crumbling of the present social structure. All governments, all systems, about to fall, resort to brutal measures in order to retard the fall. However, no repressions, no massacres, can succeed to hold back the proletariat in its revolutionary mission.

Impelled forward historically, the proletariat will have to sweep aside the outworn forms of bourgeois society, in order to create on its ruins a society without classes without exploiters or exploited. Through the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will construct the socialist society. A beginning has already been made in the Soviet Union.

The social panorama is becoming more definite every day. Everywhere, on all continents, amidst wars, dictatorships and diplomatic comedies, capitalist society is crumbling. As soldiers of the revolutionary army we Communists members of the parliament refuse to hide our ideas, but will continue to shout them and to defend them today in the tribune of this parliament, tomorrow possibly in your prisons, in exile or in front of the machine guns of the same White Guard, the legal existence of which the Government and the majority of this Parliament recognize and even justify—for what purpose? For the purpose—so cynically made plain in the famous recruiting slogan of the Guard: "To shoot down the riff-raff!"

The End of Austro-Marxism

(Continued from last issue)

The war came and as its most immediate consequence, the Habsburg empire collapsed. As to Austro-Marxism, it lost the ground underneath its feet. But it did not notice this. It believed that its period of bloom had only begun. That was only natural. The domination of capitalism was heavily shaken and the bourgeoisie could not even think of rehabilitating itself by its own power. And so it transmitted the task of reconstructing economy—this is how it came to be called instead of: reestablishing the capitalist regime—to the social democracy.

And the latter went about this work with the greatest of enthusiasm, for according to its view the "reconstruction of economy" was the prerequisite and beginning of "socialization". And had not democracy anything else but the automatic generator of socialization? Things were quite simple: if capitalism developed, the working class grew, and side by side with the working class grew, and the social democracy would grow. Ultimately it would have to get the majority in the house of parliament, and then, no obstacle would any longer stand in the way of socialization. Society would thus grow into socialism, without revolution, without blood-shed, without a dictatorship and without a reign of terror.

The Dream is Fulfilled, But... But one fine day the cup overflowed. The bourgeoisie parties discovered that they could now get along even without the social democrats and took leave of their coalition brethren. But that did not rouse the social democrats from their democratic intoxication. The unfriendly attitude of the bourgeoisie parties only went to prove to them the correctness of the theory that the social democratic camp there arose a contest of calculation as to the chances of the party for the conquest of parliament.

While the latter wallowed in the delights of this socialization-mathematics, the bourgeois parties accomplished a less romantic but much more effective task. They cleaned up all those conquests of the revolution which the socialists

A Review of the Past That Helps to Understand the Present

praised as irrevocable. One after the other of these conquests came under the knife, so that a short time ago a madame social democrat voiced the complaint in the National Assembly: "From the commonwealth state, which we were supposed to be building up, nothing has remained any longer".

The bourgeoisie parties were, however, of a different opinion. They believed that there was still a great deal of "revolutionary garbage" that had to be cleaned up and that this work could not be done at all by democratic means, or at least, not as fast as they would like. Fascism raised its head and today about to establish its own domination.

The Rise of Fascism, Unnoticed... The oldest Fascist associations, the *Heimwehr*, arose as early as the days of the overthrow. Originally they were only to be border guards (therefore their name, *Heimwehr* equals home guards). But the reactionaries recognized in them, with their unfailing intuition, the possibility of playing a role as self-defense organizations against the "internal enemy".

"The social democrats naturally did not recognize this. As good patriots they even handed out arms to the *Heimwehr*. And when the Communists brought attention to the "white guard danger", the social democrats, at that time on their honeymoon with the coalition, put them off with a jest: they were saving white mice.... White Guards? Something like that could exist in backward Russia, but not in a highly civilized democratic republic; this was all the more so, because the democratic wing of the Christian Socialists, which was at that time still strong, did not have the slightest inclination for the adventure of a civil war.

"*Heimwehren*? What for?", said *Ernst Hanzer*, "I can get everything done that is necessary by agreement with Renner" (leader of the social democracy). And that was god's own truth. Everything

necessary for them could be got done in collusion with Renner. That was the pride of the social democrats and this pride allowed them to ignore the *Heimwehren*.

Of course, this could not go on for ever, because the *Heimwehren* soon began to show very distinct signs of life. Here and there, they went about assassinating one worker, then another.

The Incident of July 15, 1927

After every one of these murders the *Arbeiterzeitung* would write: "This should happen again, then.... What was to happen, then?" was shown on July 15, 1927. On this day, when the Vienna workers, outnumbered over the acquittal of several Fascist labor assassins, put the Palace of Justice on fire, the social democrats thought of nothing better to do than to propose the formation of a new coalition to the Christian Socialists!

And along this style they have continued to carry on the struggle against Fascism to this very day. The frightful aggravation of the crisis brought ever new forces to the side of Fascism. Side by side with the *Heimwehren* there arose National Socialism (the Hitler Brown Shirts). The unification of the workers' enemies kept on making rapid strides at progress in spite of squabbles within their own camp. Their plans became constantly more distinct. But the social democratic party persisted in complete inactivity.

It is not even doing anything now, after Dollfuss, half encouraged and half terrified by the events in Germany, has gone about creating these advantages for the bourgeoisie which a Fascist regime has to offer to it, while at the same time protecting it from the irksome consequences which such a regime brings with it for the ruling classes.

Even Dollfuss Can Put One Over...

When Dollfuss cast aside the parliament and announced a new constitution on the basis of the Empowering Act of Wartime Economy, intending thereby to clean up the rest of the "revolutionary garbage", they had no other resistance to offer him than their democratic outcry. Austro-Marxism stands there just as helplessly today before the advent of Fascism as the theoreticians and practitioners of reformism did before the advent of the war. It starts out with the assumption that the normal condition for capitalism is prosperity and that through increasing prosperity the class antagonisms will be straightened out by the collaboration of the classes, leading up to a perfected socialism.

As to phenomena which appear to contradict this assumption—it does not know even how to begin to tackle them. To the question as to what can be done about the crisis and its offspring—Fascism—they have as little an answer as they have to the question: how socialism will be realized in case the earth should collide with some other heavenly body.... Austro-Marxism one will hear, is not astronomy, but economics and politics. It concerns itself, in spite of the arsenal of the Republican Schutzbund (the social democratic defense organization) which Dollfuss is so feverishly searching for, not with shooting irons and other weapons of destruction, but with elections and parliamentary negotiations. Austro-Marxism is democratic and if the others do not stick to the democratic rules of the game, then it falls into that same condition as that which Napoleon always defeated him, called out despondently: "How can one conduct war against a man who doesn't stick to the rules of military science?"

What can be done against Dollfuss when, going against all human and divine justice, he simply thrusts his nose at the whole democracy, the most democratic of all constitutions included? In that case only one thing is left: submission. And in actuality, the *Arbeiterzeitung* has repeatedly declared that its party realizes that after the overturn in Germany, a good many things will have to change also in Austria and that it is prepared to negotiate with Dollfuss about the new constitution.

That means only this: the social democracy does not object if the democracy is beaten to death and interred, so long as, in consideration of propriety, the democratic ceremonial is retained. Naturally, the *Arbeiterzeitung* brings not only such declarations but also others, contrary to these. It threatens, mocks, wails, hatches the most ridiculous plans, vacillates between hope and despair, just as befits such a coalition of headlessness, into which that terrible Dollfuss has cast Austro-Marxism.

What does the social democracy still hope for? Naturally, it has no hope in its own powers, but—in the intervention of the foreign countries and in the quarrels within the Fascist camp. It does not see in the dispute between the *Heimwehren* and Nazis a war of unification, it does not see that it resembles a lovers' quarrel which ends in a warm embrace! It does not see at all any more, it does not understand the world, and more it is incapable of acting and that is why it will go along the road of debasement and devitalization to the bitter end, the German social democracy. The Austrian workers can expect nothing from the Exemplary Party of the Second International except disgrace and defeat.

—AUSTRIACUS.
(From "Unser Wort")

A View of the Labor Scene in the British Isles Today

Edinburgh, Scotland.—British capitalism is still in the throes of the crisis but a temporary boom in the building trades and a slight improvement in certain luxury trades have been responsible for a reduction in the number of the unemployed. The capitalist press has seized upon this pretext in order to announce a "British trade revival" and the usual cry of "Prosperity Coming" has again been trotted out. So far as the majority of the wage workers are concerned, the position remains the same.

Although relatively better off than many wage earners in Central Europe, the British worker is beginning to feel the strain of unemployment, while thousands of unemployed men and women have long since given up hope of ever working again. Especially in the case of the heavy industries such as steel, iron and coal and on the Clyde side on the west of Scotland many famous factories and shipyards are standing derelict or being used as rough-house dance-halls, gambling shazalons or scrap-iron stores. This was once the proud home of British shipbuilding, engineering and iron-working capital. The objective conditions are certainly favorable for a great advance on the part of the British working class movement, but unfortunately never was there greater chaos and confusion in the ranks of labor.

The Labour Party still holds the majority of politically thinking workers within its ranks but its policy continues to be a welter of everything under the sun and still is based on class collaboration. It therefore serves as a smokescreen for British capitalism and by the skillful use of "Left" phrases its leaders draw away from the Communist party thousands of healthy recruits. The many small sects such as the I. L. P., the S. P. G. B. and the anti-Parliamentary groups have been hammering at the "Reformist Labour Party and Trade Unions" for about thirty years but with little to show for their work.

After thirteen years, the Communist party is still isolated from the main strata of the working class and has completely failed to gain a foothold in the factories and workshops while the trade unions are still in the safe-keeping of the reformist bureaucracy who are conducting a policy of peace-at-any-price and brazenly selling the workers over the collective wage-bargaining counter.

Divorced from the employed, the C. P. makes great endeavors among the unemployed and has been successful in staging several big unemployed demonstrations and hunger marches. The last attempt was a Scottish hunger march and on Sunday June 11, about 1000 poverty-stricken unemployed men and women marched into Edinburgh in order to demand an interview with Sir Godfrey Collins, Secretary of State for Scotland and in order to discuss their demands.

Some of their demands were: 1. The abolition of the means test. 2. That children of unemployed and adult dependents be granted extra relief subsidies. 3. That rent be

reduced 25 per cent. 4. That relief work be provided at trade union wages and conditions. 5. That social service schemes be repudiated. Sir Godfrey was not in Edinburgh and made it known that he had no intention of seeing the hunger marchers. No accommodations were available for the marchers to sleep; but they declared that they would stay until Sir Godfrey climbed down from his high horse. The position resolved itself into a duel between the Edinburgh magistrates and the marchers' leaders among whom were Harry McShane and Aileen Ferguson of the C. P. and John MacGovern and Heenan of the I. L. P.

The marchers at first obtained hails to sleep in, then they were refused them and on Monday night that week they slept out in Prince Street, the main boulevard of the Scottish capital. By Wednesday their funds were getting low but they managed to threaten and cajole the magistrates into paying the marchers their fares back to the various parts of Scotland from whence they came. So the hunger march ended. It created great excitement and undoubtedly gave the Edinburgh authorities many a fright, but it failed in its main objective because of the sectarian nature of its make-up.

The members of the C. P. and National Unemployed Workers Movement, the party controlled unemployed organization were there to a man, but the large mass of the unemployed and employed treated the affair as "none of their business". As a consequence, a whole march savored more of a stage-managed stunt than of a real attempt to strike a blow on the part of the masses. All the recent marches and demonstrations have been of this nature and until the C. P. strikes a sound line, stunts will continue to be the order of the day.

Despite the fact that with each passing year thousands of sympathetic workers are turning their backs on the C. P. in disgust, the leadership still continues to whoop about imaginary victories—if not in Britain, then in Russia—but gradually the real situation is beginning to burn itself into the minds of many sections of the rank and file and with the recent German debacle and subsequent crazy united front antics of the Comintern, the Dollfuss and Co. are skating on thin ice.

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Roosevelt Long-Range Program

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export. Wages in many fields remained high in comparison with Europe, although the shortage of labor has disappeared as witnessed by the restrictions on immigration. The situation confronting American economy gives little reason to think that through the peaceful operation of natural and spontaneous forces, the present crisis will, like all previous ones, go on through a phase of stabilization and prosperity to a boom which will again set new high records.

The recovery which now seems to be under way is essentially a breathing-spell in a long, hard and painful process of readjustment, marked by internal shocks and disturbances, and abroad by increasingly sharp conflict of interests with the older powers in the effort to find a bigger place in the world markets.

The driving force of American industrial expansion supplies the motive power; the machinery readjusts itself by displacing agriculture and raw material production with the increasing production of manufactured products, small scattered industry and banking by powerful aggregates of capital and large-scale branch banking, production directed to the extent of 90 percent toward the home market by an increasing proportion of exports, and isolationism by a life-and-death interest in world affairs.

Roosevelt Contribution to Capitalist Technique
Roosevelt's contribution to capitalism's technique for getting out of the crisis appears to lie, first, in the recognition that natural and spontaneous recovery is not enough to assure, as heretofore, the transition back to "normal" prosperity after the crisis, inasmuch as his most energetic actions are taken precisely in the face of such a recovery, and to take effect over a period of years.

Second, he proposes to treat this coming period evidently on the basis of an emergency comparable to a state of war. That implies a mobilization of the full powers of the state, the coordination under Federal control of economic activities such as railroading, the encouragement to banks to consolidate and unify operations under Federal (or Federal Reserve) control, the unification of whole branches of industry in all important respects except actual ownership through trade associations, the concentration of all holdings of

gold under the control of the government, etc.

This feature of concentration and coordination is one of the most marked characteristics of the Roosevelt policies. Its result must be to shorten the period of readjustment and to combine as much as possible of its burdens with those of the cyclical (1929-1933) crisis.

The currency policy of the government, the much-mooted question of inflation, must be regarded as part of a general mobilization of control in the hands of the Federal government on a "war-like" basis. In its most extreme form, it becomes a policy of "managed currency," thus fully integrating finance and banking into the system of government controls.

The Mobilization of Public Opinion
Third, corresponding to the concentration and mobilization of industry, transportation and finance, is the mobilization of "public opinion," comparable to that of wartime except that the element of compulsion is lacking. This accounts for much of the demagoguery in the President's official statements and in his legislation. The incident of the reception of several hundred aggressive bonus petitioners at Fort Hunt, where they were allowed to wear themselves out in inaction and finally split, a part joining the restoration camps, is especially illuminating, not only in contrast with the methods used by Mr. Hoover last year in dealing with the "Bonus Expeditionary Force," but also in the light of the substantial reductions in expenditures for veterans carried through by the Roosevelt administration.

Similarly, the farmer, feeling the increasing pressure of the crisis on top of the general crisis of American farming, has been politically restless for years. By concessions such as the promise of inflation and the agricultural relief bill, it is proposed to win his sympathy or at least acquiescence in the whole program, while at the same time carrying out the work of reducing the production of American farms to as large an extent as possible with the consent of the farmer himself. The only alternative policy would have been to let him be starved and forced out of the farms by the naked operation of economic forces.

Similarly, in face of the real attacks on its standards and organizations, the support of the working class is sought through the ap-

peal to employers to increase wages voluntarily; through the announced intention of including binding agreements on wages and working conditions among the subjects on which trade associations are to agree, through the friendly attitude toward minimum wage legislation, and the Black bill for the thirty-hour week. All this in the face of the \$1 a day forced labor, the 10 per cent wage cut for the railroad workers, the anti-labor provisions of the Industrial Recovery Bill, etc.

A Period of Drastic Readjustments
So long as American business looked forward to automatic recovery and new high records of prosperity after every crisis, the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover policy of minimum intervention of government in economic life was a natural corollary.

Under present conditions we see American economy, to provide an outlet for its rapidly growing productive forces in a cramped world, readjusting itself by closing small banks and businesses and enlarg-

ing big ones, expanding its production of manufactured goods at the expense of its production of foods and raw materials, reaching out more and more for export markets as its home markets diminish, and above all, throwing the main burdens of these readjustments on to the working class. This means that the next period is one of drastic and painful readjustments internally, and of sharpening conflict of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt program is not to stem or reverse these tendencies, nor, as in the old days of unalloyed optimism, to let them work themselves out blindly. On the contrary, it not only accepts the existing trends of American economy, but put itself at their head to give them leadership and support during the critical period to come. Through mobilizing and concentrating economic control, with a corresponding mobilization of demagogic propaganda, it attempts to hasten the necessary domestic readjustments and present a solid front against the outside world in the struggle for international markets, and against the working class, the farmers, and broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie at home.

—B. J. FIELD.

Stalinism Weakens the U.S.S.R.

I.
The revisionist conception of Socialism in One Country and the policies flowing from it have not only helped to lay the political foundation for a cyclical revival of capitalism but also have aided in creating a danger for the Workers' Fatherland far greater than active support of revolutions outside of Russia could have done. Stalinism with its theory of the "united front from below," together with the social democrats, has helped to lead the German working class to defeat. It has helped to destroy the second strongest Communist party of the world. At the same time its impotence has been instrumental in creating a condition the workers fear.

With the rise of Hitler to power not only has the revolutionary movement had a set-back but we are beginning to witness an alignment of social forces favorable to a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union itself. In spite of the so-called "non-aggression pacts" between the USSR and other nations, particularly France and Poland,

the contradictions between the imperialist world and an isolated workers' state are developing toward the point of explosion.

If the Workers Triumphed
Had the German working class defeated Hitler, thereby taking a step toward social revolution, the influence of their success would have spread. Workers throughout the world would have been heartened and the objective revolutionary factors created by the present world crisis might have been matched by a growth of subjective factors now lagging behind. A political crisis for capitalism, as well as its economic crisis, might have developed.

History is replete with examples of revolutionary movements in one country leading to progressive reforms in other parts of the world. As comrade Trotsky pointed out in *Whither England?* the great French Revolution served as a powerful stimulus to the growth of the labor movement and democratic tendencies in England; the July Revolution of 1830 in France was largely responsible for the first English Election Reform Bill in 1832; the revolutionary movement of Chartism contributed to a reduction of the English working-day in 1844-47 and to the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846; the influence of the Russian Revolution in 1905 helped to raise the Labor Party to the position of an important fraction in the English Parliament, while the Russian Revolution of 1917 was to a large extent responsible for the new Election Reforms of 1918.

In short, an examination of history leads us to the conclusion that a triumph of the workers in Germany would have strengthened the international working class in general.

Defeats Bring Reaction
But with the rise of German Fascism the reverse is true. Both the German workers and the international working class movement have suffered a tremendous defeat. Just as the defeat of the great French Revolution led to the restoration of the Bourbons in France and the Corn Laws in England, the defeat of 1848 dealt a blow to the English working class, and the "defeat" of the German workers in 1923 gave American capital the opportunity to begin with the realization of its plans for the (momentarily, peaceful) subjugation of Europe," so today, a subjugation of reaction is beginning to set in.

a series of advances of the imperialist world and an isolated workers' state are developing toward the point of explosion. The existence of the Soviet Union still remains a threat to the capitalist world. Its territory is needed by the imperialists during the present period of their decay and it is the one power all of them wish to destroy. But now political conditions for intervention have shifted in their favor. The Soviet Union's first line of defense (the possibility of effective workers' resistance in other countries and particularly in Germany) has been temporarily weakened.

(To be continued)
—SIMMONS.
Kansas City, Mo.

The Textile Code

(Continued from Page 1)

calling for labor representation being turned to precisely what they were intended for—the formation of company unions. Even the American Federation of Labor is not acceptable to our industrial magnates, unless it is needed to head off a real class conscious union. Particularly the steel and coal industries have been active in the formation of these company unions. The New York Times reports of "numerous instances of coercion to force the workers into the company unions. In some parts of Kentucky, workers have been evicted from company houses for refusal to sign company union rolls." This practice will within the next few weeks probably assume national proportions.

These are the first few signs of the trend of the future developments. Many workers undoubtedly believed that the Roosevelt program will lead the country back to "prosperity." Their disillusionment will be both soon, sharp and complete. The working class cannot expect aid from the Roosevelt administration; this hard master of events will make only too clear. To secure a living wage, to secure a thirty hour week, no conference board will suffice. For this the American working class must be organized into powerful industrial unions that will learn and know how to fight for better conditions.

—H. S.

Narrow Down N.Y. Free Tom Mooney Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

of the delegates present but was subjected to the usual barrage of abuse on the part of Minor, Alexander and other party leaders. Even those staunch upholders of democratic principles, the Mustelies, who complained so loudly when they were refused the right to distribute their paper at the recent united front National Youth Day, refused to fight for the elementary right of every working class organization to a voice in a united front conference. The conclusions to be drawn from the actions of the C. P. L. A. delegate, a certain Larry Cohen, who not only was given the opportunity to speak but was elected to the executive committee, is that they are in full agreement with the Stalinist clique policy of an exclusive Free Tom Mooney movement.

An executive committee of 25, arbitrarily selected by the executive of the previous conference, was elected without any consideration of the organizations represented at the present conference. Again upon an appeal by Minor, the conference voted down a motion by the L. O. delegate to include in the execu-

tive representatives of the political organizations in the conference.

So effectively did the steam-roller work that even a non-partisan representative, the one from the L. D. who was nominated from the floor and received an equal vote with the other nominees was declared not elected by the chairman for the simple reason that the delegate spoke up for the right of the Left Opposition and all political organizations to a voice at a united front conference!

There were 314 delegates present at the conference representing 74 organizations. Out of the entire delegation 34 came from trade unions. Of the non-party delegates present there was only the C. P. L. A., the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Lovestonites, the Federated Press, the Weisbord group and the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). The trend of the conference was for work in the A. F. L. locals, socialist locals and opponent fraternal organization locals. The organizational secretary, "Brother" Begun, even stressed penetration of the Knights of Pythias, the Moose, Elks, the American Legion and the boy scouts. These organizations are to send

delegates to future Mooney conferences.

The conference, though adopting the principle of the united front of all working class organizations, departed in actuality from this principle and set itself the task of winning the local organizations and disregarding entirely the central bodies.

It is necessary at this time to issue a warning to the Left wing workers who for years have been in the thick of the struggle to free Tom Mooney from the capitalist jail which has held him since 1917; that unless a real united front of all workers organizations is forged, Tom Mooney will not be released. The Left Opposition, as its statements and actions have shown, stands for such a policy of united action, a policy which, through a correct application of the united front, will force the S. P. leaders and the A. F. L. labor fakery to answer before their following and the whole working class, if they will obstruct the unity with the Left wing and Communists in order to force the capitalist jailers to free Tom Mooney.

—M. GELDMAN.

THE EUROPEAN ANTI-FASCIST CONGRESS . . . AN ANTI-TROTSKYIST SLUG FEST OF THE STALINISTS

"Let these Gentlemen Hold the Congress in Peace!"
-- Say the Police to the L. O. Protest Delegation

(Continued from Page 1)

Labor (Gilly miners); Delegation from a meeting of 500.

Greece.—Greek section of the Left Opposition; General Federation of Wounded War Victims; Union of War Veterans; Union of Widows and Orphans; Woodworkers Trade Union of Athens; Barbers Trade Union of Athens; Bakers Trade Union of Athens.

Poland.—Polish section of the Left Opposition; Meeting of Polish Emigres of the Paris District.

Switzerland.—Swiss section of the Left Opposition; Young Socialists of Zurich; Marxist Circle of Zurich.

Jewish Workers.—Clarke group of the Paris district.

Germany.—German section of the Left Opposition.

Italy.—Italian section of the Left Opposition; Group of anti-Fascist emigres of the Paris district.

Hungary.—Hungarian section of the Left Opposition; Hungarian language group of building workers; Factory meeting of building workers of the Paris district.

France.—French section of the Left Opposition; Amsterdam Committee, Charente-Inférieure (Orléans); Public meeting in Lille, Red Aid (Chavigny section); Railroad workers; Several meetings in the Paris district; Workers meeting at Montigny-Gohelle; Indo-Chinese group of the Paris district; Trade union section, Committee for the Defense of Humanity, and various other sections of the Red Aid and workers meetings.

The sum of these credentials represented about one hundred delegates. We repeat, we limited the number of delegates from the provinces and from abroad for material reasons.

According to prattle of the Stalinists, the Oppositionists "represented no one"; but one of the organizations represented by us, the General Federation of Disabled War Victims of Athens consists of SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBERS!

Bureaucratic Sifting
All the credentials of Oppositionist organizations were automatically rejected.

The comrades who appeared with regular credentials officially stamped by workers organizations passed through the sifter of the national leadership; all those recognized as "Trotskyists" were subject to the following maneuver: Their credentials was demanded from them in order to issue a delegates card against it; they were requested to wait a minute, then they the bureaucrats cynically refused a card and retained the credential! Then, more diplomatically, they requested

them (the delegates) to return and upon returning, since they no longer had a credential nor a card, they refused them admission into the Grange aux Belles Hall! That did not happen without protest but the sergeants-at-arms brutally squelched the protests. In a word, they systematically robbed the credentials from the members of the Opposition.

Bureaucratic Measures Breed Arbitrariness

Besides this, many of the scenes were comical: A delegate from an anti-Fascist committee was deprived of his credential and sent back to his district because they suspected him to be a Trotskyite. One of our comrades having previously presented a credential from Charente (the same place), the suspected "Trotskyite" was "liquidated" the real "Trotskyite" protesting by this bullabuloo secured a delegates card.

Another case is no less comical: A delegate from a Spanish trade union was recognized by a bureaucrat from his country and refused a card; accidentally, they returned his credential. A Swiss comrade whose credential had been rejected from Switzerland appeared with the Spanish credential. The Spanish Stalinist did not know him, he secured his admission card to the Congress!

However, they discreetly distributed credentials to members of the Young Communist League and the party; notwithstanding, that caused many surprises to the Stalinist apparatus.

The Congress Begins

The detailed instructions given to the sergeants-at-arms were directed at us. The organizers succeeded in creating a sentiment of violent reaction against any revolutionary intervention: the pretended struggle against the Young Patriots was only a means of striking at us. The management committee was organized with several guards and a corps under the leadership of a "specialist."

The sergeant-at-arms was baffled from the very first day, and not knowing whom to suspect, he bullied everyone: "And that one, isn't he a Trotskyist?" In this way a member of the party was violently thrown out because he didn't have his membership card on his person! The slogan was to hound the Trotskyists. A special squad was assigned to that task. The squad was completely put off the scent when they learned that a plain clothes detective was in the hall. "Take him out quietly! No provocations!" "Get him to go out!" "Outside" on the sidewalk, two young workers who listened very attentively to "a Trotskyite" much to the chagrin of the sergeant-at-arms, were thrown into the street under the fallacious pretext that they weren't delegates.

Two Regimes, the Detectives and the "Trotskyites": Example of the Press Cards

Two detectives of the North-African police, Gaudin's agents, well known to the Algerian workers, presented themselves to the organization committee. Press cards. Invitation. Admit the hearers of the cards. "Come in, gentlemen, this way, gentlemen!" And the dicks passed the zealous sergeant-at-arms.

Saraceno, former editor-in-chief of *Unita*, the central organ of the Italian Communist Party, possessing a regular press card, entered the Congress.

Led away into the cellar by the agents of the "political control" to the "special Italian committee" comrade Saraceno was forced to surrender his right to enter. Before allowing him to leave, the Stalinist "nazis" (twenty against one) threw themselves on our comrade striking him with their feet and their fists. Our comrade had his glasses broken and was bruised on his left temple by the bureaucrats.

Welcome to the Delegates

Comrade Altan was unable to obtain his delegates card at Grange aux Belles and appeared at the Pleyel Hall on the first day of the Congress. They wrested his credential from him, drew him to a corner, violently slugged him and then threw him into the street. Since he protested and a crowd had already gathered about him, the sergeant-at-arms spoke to him in this tone: "You really want to enter! Oh well, come in!" Altan once again entered the Pleyel Hall. Many delegates were commenting on the incident. Beaugrand reassured them, saying: "We will check up on his credential and then give him access to the hall." They drew Altan into a small retreat, closed the door to the retreat. A member of the 13th Section of the Red Aid, Beaugrand, and Rouffange insulted him and slugged him, shouting to the disturbed comrades who were massed behind the door: "You see how they examine his credential, they are dealing with him in a comradely way". But in subdued tones they told Altan that he would remain sequestered until the conclusion of the Congress and they beat him brutally. Altan's cries drew the attention of numerous delegates who energetically insisted that they let him go.

To the delegates that protested they declared that Altan was a police agent that they found in the hall. We have told above just how they received the police agents.

First Day in the Hall of the "Congress"

The packed hall at the first session bore the aspect of a mass meeting rather than a Congress; no real discussion.

The delegates grouped according to languages had to obey national discipline, to make known the number of delegates desiring the floor. An Italian comrade requested the floor. The individual responsible for the group came to see him and demanded that he submit the out-

line of his speech.

The evening session was marked by a violent incident. A Belgian comrade, Vereken, handed in his name at the very beginning of the session and, unable to get the floor, made a point of order; they saw him from the platform, pulled him out of the hall, and kept him in the cellar. When several comrades protested against the violence committed, they were themselves violently dragged from the hall, their delegates' cards were demanded and taken from them and they were thrown out. Other delegates who protested against this violence were threatened with expulsion if they did not keep quiet.

The same afternoon two members of the Unitary Trade Unions, a railroad worker and a metal worker, were expelled from the hall. The sergeant-at-arms thought they had a "doubtful attitude".

The first day of the discussion, after the hollow and official optimism of the reports which contained neither analysis nor general perspectives, was devoted to anti-Trotskyist speeches of the usual type, and a theatrical scene in the course of which the Belgian delegate on the platform ripped the Hitlerite flag. The session concluded with collective singing.

The Parade Ends

Upon their entry into the corridor, two delegates, Ohlin of Montigny and Devreyer, were simply thrown out of the hall because they were recognized as Trotskyists. Their credentials were torn up!

On the opening of this session comrade George Vitoris delegate from the General Federation of Disabled Veterans of the Imperialist War of Greece submitted a written request to the presidium demanding the floor. The chairman wrote back that each delegate who wanted the floor had to get it through an intermediary, the leader of his "national" section, who was always a Stalinist. Thus the floor was denied to any Oppositionist delegate.

The Left Opposition refused to submit to this anti-proletarian and bureaucratic decision. That is why on Monday morning at the moment when the chairman announced that Bergery, petty bourgeois radical, would take the floor, comrade Vitoris stood up and addressing himself to the Congress, shouted out: "Comrades, in the name of 60,000 disabled Greek War veterans I protest against the exclusion of the Left Opposition. I demand the floor in its name. Long live the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky! Long live the proletarian revolution! Down with Fascism! Long live Trotsky! Free Rakovsky!"

Bands of bureaucratic dunkeys coming from all parts of the hall threw themselves on him with savage bestiality, dragging him by the hair and beating him with their hands and feet. Comrade Marie Dimitriedes, delegate of the War Widows and Orphans of Greece; comrade Paget, delegate of the section of the Red Aid of Chavigny (Menthé-et-Moselle); an Indo-

Chinese comrade, delegate of the Red Aid of Paris; comrade L., were savagely slugged for having protested with comrade Vitoris.

Our comrades struggled with the bureaucrats to retain their places. The Stalinists hurled themselves upon them but a great number of delegates, particularly the English delegation, indignant at the brutality, protested energetically. It was only with considerable effort that the bureaucrats were able, despite the protests, to throw our comrades out of the hall.

But their anti-Trotskyist action did not stop at that. Once again led to the cellar of the theater, our comrades were searched and questioned in typical police manner and sequestered there under the guard of twenty "sergeant-at-arms" for more than two hours.

Among the bureaucrats Vaillant-Couturier, Comrade Vitoris protested to him and demanded that our imprisoned comrades be freed immediately. Vaillant-Couturier smiled ironically and turned his back.

It was only after the arrest by the police of the Left Opposition group, who came to the Congress to protest the treatment accorded our delegates, that our comrades were freed in the afternoon, although in a very bad condition.

During this time the radical bourgeois deputy, Bergery, continued his speech.

Obliged to free our comrades by the pressure of the comrades from the outside, Beaugrand demanded that our comrades sign a declaration stating that they were not Trotskyists. Our comrades responded by saying that since they were beaten they would not sign such a declaration.

In the Future We Will Speak to You with a Revolver

In the meantime a German comrade was violently dragged from his seat and led away with violence into another corner of the cellar. He was told: "No discussion with you, give us your identification papers, your passport." They took all his personal papers besides, and returning two hours later, they said: "In the future we will speak to you with a revolver." All his personal letters were kept. Comrade Paget protested in the hall when he saw our comrades rounded up. He was immediately ejected into the street.

Young Socialists Protest

A girl comrade, member of the Socialist Youth and of the Youth Anti-Fascist Committee, outraged by the proceedings against our comrades, when the brutalities against them began anew, protested vigorously on the floor. She too, was immediately made "harmless" by the anti-Trotskyist squad and finally reached the street with a bloody nose. The other Socialist Youth comrades left the meeting protesting with her. In discussing with the young Socialist comrades, our delegates made clear to them that these Stalinist maneuvers had nothing in common with a genuine united front.

Some of our comrades were still

under guard at that time. A group from our headquarters came down to get them out. They demanded their immediate liberation of the squad leaders. A loud argument ensued in the hallway. Cops passing by interfered and reproached our comrades for not letting "these gentlemen hold their congress in peace."

The intervention of the group from our headquarters was, however, effective. Our comrades were immediately afterward released.

Bergery Prepares the Break

The opponents of the united front from organization to organization soon found themselves in an uncomfortable position with their combinations. The Pleyel Congress emphasized how the already miserable results of the Amsterdam horse-deals have sunk to even greater depths. Not only wasn't any advance achieved but an obvious retreat is also being prepared by elements foreign to the party to break away from Amsterdam.

Bergery is prepared to take an important part of the Amsterdam delegates under his influence. Bergery does this with ease. He publicly advertises his support of Amsterdam. He cements his positions which will permit him to slam the door with greater advantage accusing the Communists of unimportance.

Bergery already has an undertaking, the "Common Front", which groups most of the independent personalities of Amsterdam on a platform which is on the same level as Amsterdam.

Many conferences have been held between the party and Bergery in the corridors and behind the scenes. Doriot represented the party at the initial meeting of the "Common Front".

The situation is serious. The party is trying and will still try many compromises. All that, of course, is happening without any party. Bergery's speech paved the way for his eventual break. From the Communist point of view Doriot's reply was no less odious. It shows just where "the sympathies of the Political Bureau" rest.

Last Day of the Parade

After much petty discussion, one of our comrades, representing the Belgian Knights of Labor (the Gilly miners), requested the floor. The leader of the Belgian delegation stated that he could have the floor but only on the condition that he first submit to him the outline of his speech. Our comrade answered that his point of view was that of the Left Opposition. This was enough to gag him.

Most important in this last session was the intervention of comrade Aulas from the Unitary Federation of Teachers. Aulas demonstrated the responsibility that the R. I. L. U. bore in the German catastrophe and in the failure to

call a genuine Congress. He was continually interrupted by the bureaucrats and when he placed the criminal policy of the German Communist Party in its proper light his voice was drowned by a hue and cry from the howling pack.

The chairman proposed that this delegate from a red trade union be ruled out of order. In spite of a great number of votes against this bureaucratic decision Aulas was forced to leave the platform and the hall.

Unanimity at Any Cost

At the conclusion of the discussion the chairman made a long appeal proposing that the delegates show their agreement with the resolution presented by a demonstrative acclamation. He put the resolution to a vote and a half dozen hands were raised against it. Stupefied, the chairman believed, at the time, that the German delegates who had voted against it had not understood the resolution. He had the resolution translated and again they voted demonstratively against it. One of them explained his position by shouting out: "Long live Trotsky!"

Then a German delegate from Frankfurt stood up and said: "When I came to this Congress I was not a Left Oppositionist. But by your slanders against the Left Oppositionists who, in every case work as revolutionaries along with us in Germany, you have driven me closer to them and I vote against your resolution of confusion."

The organizers of the Congress who wanted a unanimous vote at any cost were thrown into confusion. They surrounded the French and Belgian delegates who had voted against the resolution. The chairman made a new ballyhoo appeal for unanimity. The Left Oppositionists who protested were thrown out of the hall. But even after they were ejected new hands were raised against the resolution. Nevertheless this did not prevent the organizers from declaring that the vote was unanimous.

Results of the Masquerade
The Congress has succeeded in neither in improving the relation of the party to the masses, nor in sinking its roots among them nor in raising the fighting power of the party and the masses. The Congress was a party gathering and its results are already apparent.

The problem of Fascism and the struggle of the workers against it remains before the international working class. The Pleyel parade has not only not solved any of these problems but has augmented the confusion. The Left Opposition through its struggle against the criminal Stalinist policy alone can solve these problems.

From *La Verité*, organ of the French Left Opposition

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 128 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 34 [WHOLE NO. 181] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

Austrian Fascism and the Party Meet C. I. Impotence Veils Itself with Parliamentary Cretinism

The strength of Marxism lies in its ability to recognize reality. In the mouth of a Marxist, "parliamentary cretinism" is not an insult but the characteristic of a political system which substitutes for social reality, juridical and moral constructions, a ritual of decorative phrases. The strength of Bolshevism consisted therein, that in Lenin's person it applied the materialistic method of analysis with the greatest theoretical honesty—not permitting any optimistic neglect to speak out what is, not permitting any consoling illusions—to all the problems of our epoch.

In the fundamental questions of revolutionary policy—in the method of this policy—Stalinism signifies not only a negation of Leninism, but also the worst caricature of it. We can see this anew at the present time in the question of the fate of Austria. The proscription of the Communist party which has not called forth any protest on the part of the Austrian workers, should have, it seems, forced the Moscow organizers of international defeats of the proletariat to reflect on the sad results of their previous works. If the legal Austrian C. P., possessing its own press, showed itself to be unable in the least to offer any resistance whatsoever to the purely police repressions of Austrian Bonapartism, how will it oppose the attacks of the Fascist bands? However, the Moscow Pravda sees in the very suppression of the Austrian section of the C. I., which took place unresisted, a "victory," or, at least, the immediate introduction to victory. "The Anti-Fascist movement in Austria is growing every day" (1)—writes Pravda of May 28th. "Despite the sabotage of the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy broad preparations are being made in all countries for the European Anti-Fascist Congress" (our emphasis—L. T.). In precisely the same manner the Anti-Fascist movement "grew every day in Germany" only to disappear suddenly on the 30th of March, no one knows where. These people not only have learned nothing but they always cut their optimism in the same pattern. They are not revolutionists, but priests who repeat this or that formula, made up of consoling lies, at the bedside of the dying.

However, precisely in what is the anti-Fascist movement manifested? And why does it pass over the proscription of the Austrian C. P. in silence? It was very busy, this movement "which is growing every day," with other more important tasks: the preparation of the Barbusse Congress in Paris. This is an example of parliamentary cretinism which should open the eyes of the most backward workers! It is wrong to think that a parliament is necessary for parliamentary cretinism; in general shaded rostrums are sufficient, forums removed from the arena of struggle from which false speeches can be made, barren formulas paraded, and twenty-four hour "alliances" concluded with journalists, pacifists, outraged radicals, tenors, and baritones.

Naturally it is foolish to believe that there are "broad preparations in every country" for the Paris masquerade, beaten down by unemployment, the police, the Fascist bands, the betrayal of the social democracy, and the impotence of the C. P., the Austrian proletariat is hardly interested in the lyricism of Barbusse, in the rhetoric of Bersery, and in the petty machinations of Aluenzenberg. In what manner can the international meeting in Paris change anything in the Austrian situation which not in ten years, nor in five, but this very day is moving towards the complete suppression of the proletariat? Isn't it clear that by speaking in its boastful tone on the Paris Congress, Pravda completely reveals its real significance: to sidetrack attention from reality to fiction, from the conquest of the masses to the parliamentary game, from the irreconcilable clash of the classes to collaboration with the "free-lancers," from the streets of Vienna to a luxurious hall in a rich quarter of Paris, from civil war to an exercise in empty rhetoric. In other words: from the methods of Bolshevism to parliamentary cretinism.

The paper Rundschau, published in Basle by the Stalinist bureaucracy, which seems specially destined to prevent the German workers from drawing the necessary lessons of the catastrophe, quotes the article from Pravda referred to above, in its issue No. 17 as a great revelation. Do not lose courage, Austrian proletariat; Barbusse, allied with your Renner (see (Continued on Page 4))

Nazis' Labor Front in Action Workers Get Big Wage Cuts; Look for Leadership

Berlin, Germany.—Hitler issued a decree shortly after he had taken over power—until September 30, 1933, no wage scales could be changed against the interests of the workers. (The government ordered—the NSBO (Nazi shop organization) is not allowed to depose shop councils or discharge workers in any shop on its own authority. Only the police chief, having jurisdiction, can take such action. The national leader of the "Labor Front" issued the following decree after the occupation of the German General Trade Union Federation—No employer shall dare to take advantage of the momentary confusion caused by the taking over by force of large organizations, to change the wages and schedules of the workers. He will be regarded as an enemy to the state and held responsible.)

Big words. The adherents of Hitler in the shops pointed triumphantly to these decrees before the others, who actively or passively reject Fascism. And in spite of, or even because of the barbarous persecution of the class-conscious workers, the latter are still the

great majority. Now, after the intoxication of victory, there followed very quickly the headache of the morning after. Now in all the shops the so-called "equalization" is being carried through with the sharpest emphasis by the leaders of the Hitler party. But what does "equalization" mean? Radical reductions in wages! Profits? Here they are:

How the Fascist Technique Works
At the beginning of May, in a Berlin shop, the Free Trade Union shop councilors were "equalized," i. e., dismissed. In their place was put a commissarial shop councilor who had had nothing to do with the shop. The "equalization" itself is carried on as follows: an S. A. storm division occupies the shop, the men are compelled to take part in the organization ceremony of the NSBO, the so-called reporter uncovers some monstrous nonsense, promises paradise and threatens, "Whoever does not immediately enter the NSBO will be regarded as an enemy to the state and arrested." That's all. The Nazi press says, "Again the NSBO was able, after long, patient, comradely clarification to smash the last bulwark of Marxism. The men received the report of our excellent party comrade X. Y. with enthusiasm, and spontaneously entered the NSBO, all except a few unteachable, and them too we shall convince in the course of time of the great ideas of Adolf Hitler. Heil Hitler!"

Eight days later, in the middle of the work, a shop meeting of the NSBO was suddenly called. The Nazi leader, an old foreman, known to be the worst hanger-on in the company, opened the meeting after first throwing out the non-members, i. e., the class-conscious workers. The commissarial shop councilor (a Nazi leader) took the floor. "The firm faces bankruptcy, it has been operating at a loss for months. Either the men will have to take a wage cut, or the firm will close up and move out of town, where it has been promised free land and also capital, if it establishes a shop there." A commission is chosen to negotiate with the firm as to the amount of the wage cut.

This commission, which, naturally in accordance with the customs of the Hitler regime, has nothing to say, came back with a wage cut. The office employees' salaries were cut 33.12 percent. The workers' wages 25 percent. The office employees accepted this dication. With the workers it was more difficult. Two meetings broke up. The ordinary proletarians understood splendidly how to take away the force of all the objections of the (Nazi) district leadership. Only when the commissarial shop councilor dictatorially ordered the discharge of two fellow-workers who had taken a prominent part in the defense against the wage

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Lay Basis for Real Federation of Jobless in Ohio

The main accomplishment of the Mahoning Valley Workers' United Front Conference was the endorsement of the Federation of Unemployed Workers League of America and the calling of another conference on July 16 for the purpose of organizing a local federation. This proposal, which was made by Newby of the Left Opposition, was accepted unanimously by the conference of 65 delegates who represented 30 organizations with approximately 5,000 supporters. The local federation will, of course, be allied with the national federation; it will probably be called The Federation of Unemployed Workers Organizations of Mahoning and Trumbull Counties.

Because the conference failed to rally the support of any of the A. F. of L. locals and was therefore composed of representatives of C. P.-influenced fraternal, defense and unemployed organizations, on the one hand, and sections of the Ohio Unemployed League and various labor groups on the other, it was decided to limit the conference, for the most part, to the problems of the unemployed. The lack of time also made such a limitation advisable. But it was agreed that the broader problems of the working class should be brought forward for action in the newly formed federation. However, the usual resolutions in regard to social and unemployment insurance, immediate relief, evictions, endorsement of relief march, struggles to free Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys, etc., were adopted. The conference also hopes to make an attempt to influence the state and national conventions called by the Ohio Unemployed League.

Part of Left Opposition
The conference was sabotaged by the A. F. of L., the Socialists, and the Musketiers. (Perkins of the C. P. L. A. sat in as an observer but did not submit a credential or take any part in the discussion, etc.) The L. O., however, played a very active part in spite of its small forces. The proposal for the Preliminary Conference came from an Oppositionist who was chosen to be on the Call Committee. The conference was opened by a member of the L. O. who also acted successfully as an authorized representative of the national office of the Federation of Unemployed Workers League of America. Furthermore, the Communist League of America was the only organization to submit in its own name, a written set of proposals for this particular conference a copy of these proposals was given to every delegate. Newby of the L. O., was chosen to continue with the other Call Committee members to serve on the enlarged committee which is to prepare the Federation Conference.

A GERMAN OPPOSITIONIST
CONDEMNED TO 5 YEARS
BY THE FASCISTS
R., Germany.—(In the Sunday of the Reichstag elections, there was a clash between S. A. troops and workers over a red flag that had been hoisted on one of the house-tops. The police arrested arbitrarily two comrades, R. Riess and Erich Neumann and turned them over to the Fascist Special Court. There was no evidence that could be presented against them, especially not against the latter. The court simply "assumed" that he was guilty and sentenced him accordingly.)

Comrade Erich Neumann is a veteran of the labor movement and has enjoyed special prestige in his home town. As an upright and honest functionary he realized the weaknesses and shortcomings of the labor movement and did his bit to fight against them. For this reason he also faced expulsion from the party in the course of the last year for "counter-revolutionary" fractional work. But since the whole party section stood solidly behind him, the bureaucracy had to refrain from expulsion. Today, the "counter-revolutionary" is one of the first victims of the Fascist Special Court.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTY OF GERMANY
DECOMPOSES
In Karlsruhe the Vorwaerts has reappeared as a social democratic weekly. Wels and Stampfer are publishing it with the aid of the Second International. But the German party takes a negative attitude against the emigrants. The new leadership, under Westphal and Kuehnster, holds on to the sub-mission tactic; side by side there is a strong current for a reform from top to bottom, and further, a current for the creation of a new Independent Socialist Party. But this much is certain: Wels and Stampfer, the tendency of the "New Vorwaerts", are completely isolated. We shall return to these developments later.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

To the District Comm.,
Dist. 2, C. P. U. S. A.

Dear Comrades:

On Wednesday, June 28, an open-air meeting of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), at Pitkin and Bristol Streets was broken up by members of the party and the Y. C. L.

Breaking up street meetings of opponent working class organizations is not a working class or Communist practice. It has been condemned by every responsible working class organization. It has been condemned by the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. It can result only in discrediting the people and the movement which practice it. Such tactics will repel workers who are moving towards Communism. Moreover it plays into the hands of the police who are looking for pretexts to break up workers' open-air meetings.

We call upon all party and Y. C. L. members and all workers generally to put a stop to this anti-working class practice. We call upon the District Committee of the C. P. to take the necessary steps to see that the members of the party and Y. C. L. conduct themselves as workers and Communists at workers meetings.

Comradely,
NEW YORK BRANCH,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF
AMERICA (OPPOSITION).

C. P. Expels A. Goldman Prominent I. L. D. Attorney Answers Party Charges

The Daily Worker recently reported the expulsion of Albert Goldman, long standing party member and leading counsel of the International Labor Defense in Chicago, from the official party ranks. A whole series of charges were filed against him. In a statement issued by comrade Goldman and reprinted below, the expelled comrade discusses the merit of these charges on the basis of fact and his own view of the expulsion. Comrade Goldman has held a public meeting on the whole affair in Chicago, an account of which is given below.—Ed.

Chicago, Ill.—Three hundred party members and sympathizers attended a meeting on June 28, called by comrade Albert Goldman, on his expulsion from the Communist party. The expulsion of comrade Goldman, who has been a party member for many years and whose activity in the courts of Chicago on behalf of the revolutionary workers is the talk of the movement, caused a surprise and resentment, unexpected by the local Stalinist bureaucrats.

The subject of the meeting "Criticism by Expulsion" was an extremely timely one. Comrade Goldman traced the origin of his conflict with the party leadership on the question of the united front and on other fundamental questions relating to the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Communists. His attempts to iron out these differences within the confines of the party were rendered impossible because of the stranglehold held by the bureaucrats maintain. Goldman pointed out that in every dispute he had with the party, his position was distorted and violated, simply because he was never given the opportunity to make his point of view public so that the membership could understand it.

This bureaucratic control of the party and the lack of inner democracy or discussion, Goldman pointed out, was not a local phenomenon, but arose directly out of the conditions in the Russian party and can be traced back to the struggle against Trotsky and the Left Opposition, over the fundamental questions of the revolution. Goldman showed that his attempts to invoke a discussion on the question of the united front in general, and specifically on the defect in the party leadership, that exists by retaining the rank and file in a state of ignorance and blind obedience. The speech had a profound effect upon these present and a lively discussion ensued. In the discussion comrades Poindexter and Becker spoke, together for forty minutes, on the party position. The speeches were a defense of the party bureaucracy. Extremely tragic was their view on Germany—where they indignantly refuse to

America Cracks Whip at London. Ruthless Policy Splits Confab

Lays Down Law to Rivals -- Hands Off the U. S.
'Domestic' Problems First, 'International' Questions Later. Roosevelt Ends 'Stabilization' Plans.

The current crisis in the London economic conference, brought on by Roosevelt's sharp note attacking the attempt to stabilize the American dollar in the international exchange market, has brought out openly and sharply the fundamental contradiction of the whole conference: the contradiction between the national organization of the power of the bourgeoisie and its international interests. Of all the imperialist powers represented at the conference, the United States is taking the most aggressive measures to concentrate all power in the hands of a small inner circle of the topmost levels of the bourgeoisie, and to interlock the apparatus of the national government with this concentrated capitalist power. Therefore it was only natural that the contradiction between the national and the international organization of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie should find its sharpest expression in the activities of precisely the American delegation at the conference. That is also why the American delegation, which showed superficially such vacillations and uncertainties in its proposals to the conference, was precisely the only which came out with a clear-cut statement on any subject—and that statement was "No" to a project of international collaboration in the stabilization of the foreign exchanges.

Least of all countries is the government of the United States willing to give up even temporarily, even in part, any of its rapidly increasing control over the processes of readjustment within its national economy. Roosevelt's statement was quite explicit, that "The sound internal economic system of a nation is a greater factor in its well-being than the price of its currency in changing terms of the currencies of other nations." When he goes on to add, "Restoration of world trade is an important partner, both in the means and in the result," he shows clearly that this internal mobilization and concentration of control is directed toward domination of world markets by greater power in international struggle, not by international agreement.

The later statement of the American delegation, amplifying the note struck by Roosevelt, that "We are interested in American commodity prices; what is to be the value of the dollar in terms of foreign currencies is not and cannot be our immediate concern," reinforces the hypocrisy and deception of the Roosevelt statement.

What they say is "First let us carry through our policy in America, then we shall come to an agreement with the rest of the world"; what they mean is, "We want to carry through our policy in America without interference from the rest of the world so that

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THE STATEMENT OF
COMRADE GOLDMAN

Even a cursory analysis of the statement of district eight with reference to my expulsion shows that the main reason for the expulsion is my view on the united front tactic, especially as applied in the Chicago united front action of the unemployed workers in October, 1932; my opinion of the tactics of the German Communist Party in the struggle against Fascism; and my criticism of the method of the calling of the Free Town Mooney Congress.

My violation of discipline at the Mooney Congress, the factor that led to my expulsion, is really incidental. (Continued on Page 4)

Archbishop Benjamin 'Blesses' USSR FSU Leaders Thank Wrangel Priest

New York, N. Y.—On Friday evening, June 30, a long haired and long bearded Russian priest Archbishop Benjamin, wearing a cassock with a big cross on his chest appeared at the New York Labor Temple on 14th Street and delivered an anti-Soviet propaganda speech, pure and simple. His secretary, appearing in the same attire, translated the speech into English. A White Guard meeting you think? Not at all. You are mistaken.

Paradoxical as it may seem, this meeting was arranged by the "Friends of the Soviet Union". The F. S. U. actually invited an enemy of the Soviet Union to deliver from its platform a speech that was nothing but a slander against the working class government from beginning to end. The Archbishop admitted having been arrested by the Bolsheviks in 1920 and having fled with the counter-revolutionary army of General Wrangel.

For all of this he received thanks and hand-shakings from Dr. LeRoy, who acted as chairman of the meeting, and B. Friedman, district secretary of the F. S. U., both of them members of the C. P.

The auditorium was filled with a mixed audience, mostly workers, a number of whom were party members and sympathizers. The meeting was advertised in the party press and through posters in the Workers Center. There were a number of White Guards present as was demonstrated by the applause given whenever the speaker

emphasized the strength of the church over the Soviet Government. Here are some of the remarks made by the Wrangelite priest:

"There are a hundred million Christians in the Soviet Union. Ten million very courageously proclaimed their Christianity.

"Faith is growing in the Soviet Union due to suffering....

"The Greek Orthodox Church has a great future in the Soviet Union....

"We shouldn't oppose the Soviet Union with reaction, hatred, and violence since its existence is the will of God.... (1).

Later on he pointed out, "that Hitler's government is also due to the will of God." And further, he summed up with an appeal: "If you could do anything to relieve the Church from suffering, please do so. If the church continues to suffer it is God's will." And so on ad nauseum.

The report of the N. Y. Times on the next day quotes: "The religious zeal of the Russian people is growing daily. Suffering is the best cure for a declining Christianity."

Now let the workers judge for themselves whether these words are pro or anti-Soviet propaganda. The workers looked at each other in confusion, shrugging their shoulders, not knowing what all this meant. What added to the confusion and disgust was the chairman's remarks

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Pocketbook Strikers Win Demands from Morris White Co. in Struggle

New York, N. Y.—The strike of 4,000 pocketbook workers is the best answer to the demand for open shops of the Industrial Council of Leather Goods Employers Association. In the first week of the strike 25 non-union shops were stopped from work. The response of the workers is excellent. The strikers are picketing the shops daily. What is necessary now is mass picketing and mass demonstrations in the market to spread the strike to the rest of the scab shops.

In the last issue of The Militant we wrote an analysis of the conditions in the Morris White shops where the workers are forced to a starvation level. Today we can show that through the militancy of the workers in the Morris White shop in N. Y., this boss was forced to settle with the union and concede to the union demands:

- (1) 40 hour week;
- (2) No hour week and readjustments;
- (3) One week trial period and the minimum wage scale enforced;
- (4) Unboulization of the Bridgeport shop;
- (5) 44 hours for the Bridgeport workers instead of the 49 hours they worked previously;
- (6) A raise in wages for the workers, etc.

The agreement has not been signed as yet. Morris White employs 250 workers in N. Y. and 150 work-

ers in Bridgeport, Conn. Criticism should be made of the union officials for their failure to state specifically exactly how they intend to have the workers of Bridgeport labor under the same conditions as the workers in N. Y. The danger is that the conditions of the Bridgeport workers will not be raised to the level of the conditions in N. Y. The workers in both cities will be seriously affected if such a situation develops.

Another such firm is Rosnick Bros., which has a so-called union shop in N. Y. and two shops out of town, in Holyoke and Springfield, Mass. Settlements with these shops and conditions different from those in N. Y. will result in un-dermining the conditions of the workers in this city. Then the employers will play the same dirty game against the workers in N. Y. and out of town.

We warn the workers of these shops to see to it in time so that settlements of out of town shops will be made on the same basis as those in N. Y. The workers of the shops should have no illusions that the present leadership will enforce the agreement. They must be on guard to insure the enforcement of the new agreement.

Our "Fraternal Club" administration is more interested in the Industrial Recovery Bill than they are in the enforcement of the agreements for better working conditions. Pocketbook workers, on guard!

—N. D. F.

AMONG THE YOUTH

Break United Front at Chicago Anti-Fascist Meet

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago Stalinists, like those of all other cities, following the appearance of the Communist Manifesto, appealing for national united fronts with social-democratic organizations for the purpose of aiding the victims of German Fascism, issued a call for a local united front. We shall deal here with the "vest pocket" nature of this united front nor of its tendencies to dissolve itself into a permanent organization. This body, in line with its work, planned a demonstration to be held in Chicago on June 24th.

Some weeks later, through the initiative of the "Arbeiter Ring Mittel-Schule" a United Front Anti-Fascist Youth Conference was held. (A real united front). Throughout the conference the representatives of the Spartacus Youth Club, who constituted the Left wing of the conference, waged a relentless struggle against the bloc of the Stalinists with the Right wing in an effort to establish the right of organizational independence, etc. As in every struggle, the Stalinists vacillated from one position to another. The S. Y. C. carried forth a consistent battle and in spite of our uncompromising position against the Right and Center wings of the conference, won the respect of every delegate present. For this we received an adequate reward.

Spartacus Speaker Chosen By Conference

The Youth Conference had agreed to support the demonstration of the adult conference. For this the adults promised us a speaker at the demonstration. The Stalinists at the Youth Conference who, we must remember, supported originally the Right wing on every important political question, expected as a reward for this that the Right wing would support their nominations and motions on all organizational questions. For speaker 2 nominations were made—Morris Fine of the Y. C. L. and Nathan Gould of the Spartacus Youth Club. To the great surprise of the Stalinists the latter was supported by every delegate but the Stalinists and was elected speaker.

A motion was promptly introduced which provided that we attempt to have two speakers and that the second speaker be Fine. Accordingly it was agreed upon that, if two speakers of different organizations in the Youth U. F. should speak, they be permitted to represent their respective organization from the platform.

From the outset the Stalinists broke the United Front. First they revised a leaflet that had been accepted by the publicity committee, without consulting any member of the committee. Second, they attempted to prevent our comrades from selling the Young Spartacus at the demonstration. At the same time they sold Young Workers, Labor Defenders, etc. Third, Y. C. L. members demanded that we leave the demonstration and promised to beat us if we didn't. Of the other and most important breaches we shall speak later.

Stalinist Disruption

To the Stalinist chairman they announced that there was to be only one youth speaker and he was not to be, as the conference decided, comrade Gould, but comrade Fine. After a long argument the chairman agreed to permit Gould to speak, but announced also that Fine would speak. Further, against all decisions of the conference, they placed upon the box George Smirkin of the Y. P. S. L., an organization within the Youth U. F. conference. This conference had made no nomination of Smirkin, nor was he picked by a conference emergency committee (there was none). But without anyone knowing why or wherefore, Smirkin was placed upon the box. This fact, plus the fact that Fine was scheduled to speak, gave Gould the opportunity to speak as a Left Oppositionist.

The thought of an Oppositionist speaking at this "strictly" Stalinist affair, to almost 5,000 workers, most of whom were C. P. members or sympathizers, threw terror into the hearts of the bureaucrats. John Williamson in his frenzy saw himself before the control commission charged with "Trotter Liberalism". The workers listened silently to the first few sentences of the speech. When Williamson was convinced of the Oppositionist nature of the speech he lost control and proceeded to shout like a hysterical woman.

Fearing the criticism he proceeded to work up a lynch spirit. "Counter-revolutionary!" he shouted. "Out with the Trotskyists!" "He can't attack our party!" "Enemy of the Working Class!" "Stop him!" "Throw the renegades off!" Etc. Thus he carried forth the historical tradition of Stalinism.

body after this outrageous affair. Following them were scores of workers who protested the Stalinist violation of the united front. Stalinism fears more than anything the criticism of the Left Opposition. Germany is their vulnerable spot.

Neither than allow the L. O. to speak the truth they will smash the demonstration, smash the united front, smash the Left Opposition, annihilate the speaker.

That is the explanation for the program spirit whipped up against us, but more than that it is the explanation for the Stalinist tenacious grip upon the united front from below; an explanation of its non-aggression pact.

It is not because they desire to win the Socialist leaders over to the united front that the Stalinists enter to them on the question of organizational independence and the non-aggression pact. It is the hounding fear of criticism; fear of exposure by the other organizations in the united front. Hence the non-aggression pact; no criticism of organizations in the united front. Short opportunism, but a splendid assurance for bureaucrats.

—MAXIMILLIAN.

A Resolution of the Int'l Left Opposition

Declaration of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) to the Youth Conference at Paris

The workers of the world stand at a turning point. After a series of victories of imperialist reaction, particularly Fascism, the proletariat will yet have to pass through years of hard tests and difficult struggle. The continuity of the revolutionary movement can be assured only on the condition that new phalanxes of convinced and tested fighters emerge from the younger generation.

The social democracy, as its flight before Hitler very clearly shows, is able to educate lackeys, but not fighters. The young workers have nothing to learn from the school of this party. The school of Marx and Lenin, alone, shows them the way to break through the imperialist and Fascist hell into Socialist society.

Although we appeal to the workers to rally around the banner of the Communist International we deem it necessary to clearly point out that the revision of the tenets of Communism and the bureaucratic degeneration of the regime powerfully fetters the influence of the C. I. on the young workers and renders their correct revolutionary education difficult.

The revision of the doctrine has found its worst expression in the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines proletarian internationalism and covers up all sorts of petty bourgeois, reactionary, imperialist and nationalist tendencies in the workers ranks.

The International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), in a series of programmatic documents, on the basis of the experience of the last two years, has denounced the fatal distortions introduced into the theory and practice of Communism by bureaucratic Centralism. It is necessary, here, at a youth conference to strenuously protest against the bureaucratic regime instituted in the party which stifles the internal life of the Communist vanguard and closes the road to an independent development of the youth.

Blind obedience is a virtue in a soldier of a capitalist army but not in a proletarian fighter. Revolutionary discipline is founded on collective thought and collective will. A supporter of the theory of scientific Communism does not believe anything on word. He judges everything by reason and by experience. The youth cannot accept Marxism on command, it should assimilate it for itself through an independent effort of thought. This is precisely why the youth should not only have the opportunity to educate itself but to make mistakes in order to rise through its own errors to the Communist conception. Bureaucratic and factional discipline has crumbled to dust at the moment of danger. Revolutionary discipline does not exclude but demands the right of checking and criticism. Only thus can an indestructible revolutionary soldiery be created.

The young worker needs leadership from the party. But this leadership should not be by command. Where coercion is substituted at each step for persuasion all living breath leaves from the organization and with it the living people.

Not only must we resist but mercilessly destroy the use of repression, slander and physical methods in the struggle of the different groupings and factions inside the workers movement. These invidious methods have nothing in common with the arsenal of Communist education and put into circulation during the last ten years by the Stalinist bureaucracy have poisoned the atmosphere of the proletarian vanguard, particularly in the youth, and isolated the organizations from the broad working masses. Here also we must purify the revolutionary doctrines from Stalinism to drain the internal regime in order to set the Communist International back on the path of Marx and Lenin.

Lessons of the Leninist United Front Tactic

THE UNITED ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The confusion within the ranks of the working class on the question of the United Front is primarily due to the present leadership of the Second and Third International. All leaders who fear a test in action, leaders who fear a comparison of policies, leaders who retain control of their organizations by bureaucratic methods—and those who are the direct agents of the capitalist class within our ranks—fear the united front of the working class. The pressure of the masses through the united front places a heavy burden upon all misleaders and non-Marxian leaders. That leadership which has a correct policy and uses a little common horse-sense will be favored to the highest degree by united action of the working class.

For these reasons, many organizations are systematically kept out of united front action or are mis-educated purposely by leaders who cannot stand the test. Those leaders who fear the test demand either a non-aggression pact (social democrats) or leadership of the movement conceded in advance (Stalinism), where the workers are told to join the united front under Communist leadership. Other forms used by these misleaders and non-Marxian leaders are the united front from below, or the united front of leaders alone, or the united front of leaders in negotiation behind closed doors. All such "united fronts" are false, are a denial in substance though not in name, in order to cover up and to avoid the test in action which flows from the Leninist united front.

The two most powerful working class organizations in the world, the social democrats and the Stalinists have been miseducating the reformist and revolutionary work-

ing class on the question of the united front. Likewise, the reactionary A. F. L. leadership fear this powerful working class weapon. The most criminal of all in miseducating the working class, are the Stalinists. Why—because we expect nothing else but confusion, opportunism and miseducation from the socialist and reactionary labor leaders; such leaders join united action only after mass pressure forces them into the united front; such leaders openly oppose revolutionary Marxism as practiced in the Russian revolution by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

But those who claim to abide by the decisions of the Communist International, as the Stalinists do, and who in reality have systematically revised Marxism, must be exposed for what they are worth, all the more so because they have usurped the October Revolution and have under their influence the greatest number of revolutionists (that must be won over back to internationalism) to Marxism.

If we consider two periods of the history of the errors of Stalinism on the question of the united front, which by no means was the most harmful error, but which flowed from more basic deviations from revolutionary Marxism, we can realize how great is the confusion contributed to by Stalinism. On outstanding example, in the first stage of the blunders, was the united front with leaders, in the British General Strike and in the Chinese Revolution. In these struggles the Stalinists and their bedfellows, the Right wingers, threw overboard all the lessons and experiences of the Russian Revolution. They violated the A. B. C. of how to make a united front and to set the masses in motion and how to break a united front when the

allies begin to break and openly betray the movement. After a series of such blunders and errors, the defeat of the Chinese revolution had the sobering effect of waking them up. But to wake up and to find the correct path—are two different things and the first without the latter will only lead to new mistakes. After burning their fingers badly while playing around with the leaders, the non-Marxian Stalinists swung to the other extreme, to "correct" the error without admitting the error, and thereby, the notorious "Third Period".

The opportunist Right zig-zag of the united front—from above—had the full support of the Right wing but the Stalinists' ultra-Left zig-zag—to the united front from below—was not consistent with the Right wing opportunist line of policy and the united front with leaders. Whereas, the British General Strike and the Chinese Revolution were the outstanding examples of the Right-Center (Bureaucratic) mistakes on the united front from above with leaders, the victory of Fascism in Germany is the crowning defeat and expression of the "united front from below".

As Trotsky says, Stalinism will go down in history as the leader of defeats. The wrong concept of the united front as well as the defeat is the result of a more basic revisionism of Marxism by Stalinism. Throughout this whole period the International Left Opposition has carried on a fight against the Stalinists and social democrats and other political currents and their position on the united front and since then, history has confirmed the correctness of our position on this tactical and strategic question as well as on more fundamental questions of Marxism.

HUGO OEHLEH
(To be continued)

A Delegate's View of the I. W. O. Convention

Bethlehem, Pa.—Over two years ago, on the initiative of the Left wing in the Workers' Circle, the International Workers' Order was organized. Simultaneously a call was sent out to the Hungarian, Slovak and Russian sick-benefit organizations for amalgamation. Each of these fraternal bodies approved the amalgamation proposal in special conventions.

A committee on constitution and by-laws was appointed by the central bodies for the entire amalgamated organization. The results of their labors along with the necessary changes made by the language sections, central and constitution committees were sent to the various branches only two weeks before the convention! Most of the branches called special meetings for the purpose of discussing the constitution and by-laws. The changes made or the approval granted by these branches were again sent to the central committee.

But to our great surprise we found, that in the Slovak workers' convention, for instance, a constitution committee of 3 was appointed, consisting of three functionaries and two rank and file delegates by the central executive committee of the Slovak section. This was reported to the convention and, of course, "approved"—through the use of steam roller methods.

This committee also made some changes so that the delegates now had four different drafts in their hands. Confusion resulted much to the joy of the bureaucrats.

The Chicago Convention. The convention of the language sections lasted for two days. Four days were spent in the joint sessions of all the delegates. More than 647 delegates participated in these joint sessions, making it more of a mass meeting than a convention. The most bureaucratic methods were used to jam through all the plans of the functionaries.

If absolutist, autocratic centralism is to be used anywhere it will certainly be in the I. W. O. The constitution gives the central committee all the privileges and the rights and the rank and file all the work and duties, without any rights!

Yet, for all its shortcomings, the I. W. O. is a workers' organization and has to be dealt with as such. This cannot be done in the abstract but by joining its ranks, actively participating in all of its activities; by struggle within it, its mistakes can be corrected.

No doubt, all sorts of names and epithets will be hurled at us by the Stalinist bureaucrats. But when we consider that there are about 1 million organized under the direct influence and control of the agents of the bourgeoisie, the reformists and nationalists, we can see how necessary it is to approach them with timely issues and recruit large

numbers of them into the I. W. O. The timely issue now is social insurance and old age pensions. This is a political reform, it is true, but it will serve to unify the workers on a class basis.

The I. W. O. must be made a mass organization, a recruiting station for the non-class conscious elements, a reservoir of revolutionary support, a source of class education.

The I. W. O. can and will fulfill these requirements provided the rank and file is able to control its leaders. This duty falls heavily upon the Jewish workers, who drew from the Workers' Circle as a revolt against its reactionary leaders and bureaucracy. It is their duty and the duty of all the members not to permit the newly formed I. W. O. to be degraded and corrupted by any bureaucracy. The joint session of the convention decided to issue a manifesto addressed to the workers in the various fraternal orders. Various resolutions were adopted among them one on social insurance and old age pensions.

The most important feature of the I. W. O. is its class character and proletarian composition. It is one of the tasks of the Left Opposition to see to it that this organization becomes an effective instrument of support for the working class movement generally. —C. O.

COL. ROBINSON 1918 AND 1933

Stalin is most unfortunate in his interviews. Since the international scandal resulting from the publication of his talks with Mr. Campbell, the American giant-farm advisor to the Soviets, he has chosen his interviewers, very carefully. He was closeted with Colonel Raymond Robins for an hour and a half. Although the Colonel had promised not to reveal the nature of the discussion, he did let loose the following illuminating remarks:

"In 1918 I saw the first May Day celebration after the Bolshevik revolution—out at Khodinka field—on the personal invitation of Leon Trotsky. Fifteen hundred tattered soldiers of the Red Army, a few thousand 'Red Guards' of the armed proletariat and an inchoate throng of workers streamed past the reviewing stand."

"This year, after fifteen years, I watched in Red Square a parade of 15,000 picked troops of the Red Army with perfect discipline, equipment and every new device of mechanized warfare...."

"That first May Day all the stress of all the speeches and slogans was on the world revolution—All together for world revolution and proletarian brotherhood."

"This year there was not one banner or one word of international revolution. It was 'Collectivization! Every collective farm Bolshevik, every collective peasant prosperous! Industrialization! ... to win, you must gain technique'...."

"In 1918 they thought in terms of world revolution; in 1933, in terms of their own effort."—Reported by Walter Duranty in the New York Times of June 18, 1933.

The Two Sides of USSR Recognition by the U. S.

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States, with long term credits and trade relations is a desirable step and would be a most favorable condition to offset the difficulties and contradictions confronting the Soviet Union, primarily due to the wrong policies of recognition by the United States have been increased due to the difficulties pressing down upon American imperialism. America is by no means intending to change her stripes. It has become profitable for American capitalism to recognize the Soviet Union and unless some new developments upset the present relationship, it probably will.

Diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist nations by a workers' government are born of realistic necessity and constitute for it a temporary concession. It should not be explained to the workers as a peaceful co-existing of two systems, as Litvinoff does.

Likewise, the treaty with Fascist Germany and the latest moves in regard to the Chinese Eastern Railroad can only be understood if one realizes that they are necessary steps due to the mistakes of Stalinism and are a sign of weakness and not a sign of strength or the "victory of socialism".

With recognition, America will attempt to use her experts and agents inside of the Soviet Union to undermine the workers' government and to establish relations with the enemies and Thermidorian element. At the same time America, will be forced to help Germany find a way out, in order to save the billions invested there. Germany is already moving in the direction of attack on the Soviet Union, as the path of least resistance.

Imperialist recognition of the Soviet Union carries with it the danger of counter-revolutionary activity within the Soviet Union. Such action is to be expected. Our policy must be to overcome these contradictions carried with recognition by imperialism. It will be extremely difficult to overcome these difficulties with the policies of Stalinism. The Left Opposition must say this frankly. The Left Opposition, while understanding and approving the forced concessions such as the treaties with 'Fascist Germany, etc., must at the same time warn the world proletariat that these concessions cannot be overcome if the policy of Stalinism continues. The criminal policy of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and the C. I. must be replaced with a return to Marxism; the theory of socialism in one country and all that flows from it throughout the world Communist parties must be replaced with the Marxian theory of the Permanent Revolution.

—H. O.

THE WORKERS FRONT

Millinery Strike Progress in Los Angeles

In the last issue of The Militant there appeared a report on the militant strike now in progress in one of the millinery shops in Los Angeles, Cal. We publish below a press release issued by the Strike Committee on July 1, 1933:

STRIKE BULLETIN

STRIKE ON THE THIRD WEEK FINDS WORKERS OF GOLDEN BROTHERS MILLINERY SHOP DETERMINED TO CONTINUE UNTIL SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION

Los Angeles.—In spite of the brutal terror displayed by the infamous Red Squad against the workers of Golden Brothers Millinery Shop who are the third week on strike for:

1. Recognition of a Shop Committee and Shop Chairman.
2. That Golden Brothers take responsibility for the new shop and all agreements with the shop committee include the new shop.
3. That Golden Brothers obey the minimum wage law for women.
4. Equal division of work.
5. No wage cuts and no piece-work.

The strikers are just as determined now as they were on the first day of the strike to continue until a victorious settlement.

Examples of the extreme brutality of the Red Squad and the bosses of the Golden Brothers Millinery Shop have been shown by the arrests, frame-up charges and the high bails imposed upon the arrested strikers.

The Strike Committee and the Needle Trades Industrial Union appeal to all workers and sympathizers to give moral and financial support to the strikers.

Bring or mail all strike contributions to the headquarters of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, 155 S. Main St.

STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE GOLDEN BROTHERS MILLINERY SHOP.

SAM MEYERS,
Chairman.

Is the Recovery Act a Fascist Measure

The dictatorial power embodied within the Industrial Control Bill which is now a law has been called by many, including the Stalinists, a Fascist measure. The Stalinists are well known to mislabel everything they take hold of. In Germany the Stalinists called the Brüning government, the Von Papen government, the Von Schleicher government—Fascist dictatorships. And thereby, they helped to disarm the German workers when real Fascism did arrive.

The Industrial Control Bill is not a Fascist measure. Every capitalist government is a dictatorship and just because transitional steps from the democratic form to the dictatorial form are taking place as a reflection of the further concentration and centralization of capital, that in itself is no proof of Fascism or of steps toward Fascism. The concentration and centralization of capital carries with it the centralization of government. Dictatorial measures are only one of the features of Fascism.

The common features between the Industrial Control Law and some of the measures of Italian Fascism lie in the fact that both contain forms of state capitalism. These common features can also be compared to some of the measures in Germany after 1918 when the social democracy introduced State capitalist forms.

As long as there is no serious working class pressure, as long as the working class of America do not threaten the capitalist rule, there will be no danger of governmental and state changes to Fascism. The Stalinist talk about the Hoover commission's Fascist measures and the Fascist measures of today will only disarm the workers to the real danger confronting the working class. We cannot replace the Marxian analysis of the Industrial Control Bill or any other capitalist measure by giving these measures high sounding names. In America the real Fascist danger, if one wants to talk about it at present, lies outside of the governmental structure and in the embryonic Fascist organizations. They will grow with the increased pressure of the working class against capitalism, unless the Communists know how to oppose them effectively.

The best help that Stalinism could render capitalism at this stage is to continue mislabeling as social Fascism and Fascist movements for which they have no understanding and as a substitute for a Marxian analysis. —H. O.

NOTICE

The series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union has been postponed until September, when the summer vacation will be over.

A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 60 cents.

Right Wing Excludes Left at Strike Conference of Boston Bakers

Boston, Mass.—On June 20th, the Socialist Party of Boston called a "united front conference" to help the Jewish bakers who have been out on strike for the last three months. The call was sent to all Right wing organizations; it was also in the press. However, Left wing organizations sent their delegates as well.

The conference was called to order by Arkin, the manager of the Boston Forward, who made a speech explaining the purpose of the conference. Then he proceeded to elect a credentials committee. This started a protest from the floor. Someone declared that it was proper to turn the conference over to the delegates, who would themselves elect a chairman and all the conference committees. Arkin agreed to this, but he insisted upon appointing a credentials committee first, in order to see who were the legally seated delegates so that they can elect a legal chairman. His reason for this procedure was obvious; he was preparing to oust the Left wing delegates. More protests from the floor saying that Arkin himself had not been legally elected to the chair.

Only Right Wing Seated

But Arkin insisted upon remaining chairman and made a suggestion to appoint a credentials committee. Many of the delegates who did not understand Arkin's reason for wanting to appoint rather than elect a credentials committee, voted for his suggestion and it was carried by a slim majority. Arkin proceeded to appoint his men with such rapidity that it was clear that his machine was well-oiled. The credentials committee went out to check up. It did not take them long for they knew in advance whom to seat.

In the meantime, Arkin called upon one of the bakers' committee to talk. The bakers made a strong appeal to everyone to help in the strike and to save the union. Criticism can be leveled against the bakers' union, which allowed the strike to drag out so long without themselves calling a conference for help. I won't go into details on this matter now. When he ended his speech, the credentials committee reported; recommending that all the Right wing organizations be seated, leaving out the Left wing. It said that there was another section to the report which would be given later, after all the conference committees had been elected. Again protests from all parts of the hall, demanding the full report of the credentials committee. Schlossberg, a delegate from the Workers' Circle and a sympathizer of the Left Opposition, asked for the floor to say a few words and to make a motion. Arkin insisted that he make the motion first and then speak. Schlossberg finally consented; and after making his motion that the full report be heard, he began to say a few words in favor of his motion. Arkin stopped him, declaring that he was not a seated delegate as yet and therefore could not speak. Other delegates insisted upon the full report, but Arkin, now and only becoming very democratic, hammered away on the table and insisted that a chairman must first be elected by the seated delegates. Protest was of no avail; a chairman was elected.

Ford Real United Front

Many of the seated delegates did not vote in protest of the procedure. Pineberg of the I. L. G. W. U. was elected and ruling with his hammer went over to the election of the other committees. The delegates again protested and after two hours of fighting with the Forward wing, succeeded in getting the full report of the credentials committee. It was found that the excluded organizations were of the Left wing: The Mothers League, Left wing schools, I. W. O. and Freiheit Gesangs Verein. Delegates who were seated protested against this exclusion. They pointed out that the united action was the main thing that could help win the main thing that the support of all organizations was necessary; and that this action was a hindrance. They also demanded that a baker get up to say whether he was in favor of splitting the conference. This was not granted for fear that the bakers would ask all the organizations to participate.

When it was seen that the play was for the devil; that nothing could be gained; that the conference looked like a madhouse with attempted fist fights; that it was already 10:45, many of the seated delegates walked out in solidarity with the ousted Left wing, making statements of protest. Amongst them were the delegates of Workers' Circle, I. L. G. W. U. and others.

Such is the united front of the Socialist party to help in the class struggle. It is now the duty of the Left wing to call a real united front conference to which it will invite the Socialist party and its organizations and show the working class how united action can be achieved to help the bakers.

—A SEATED DELEGATE.

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On "The Fourth of August"

When people cannot answer basic arguments they hide behind secondary ones. The Brandlerites as well as the Stalinists, are clinging with their nails at the composition of the 5th of March 1933. If we leave aside the outbursts of moral indignation or mere insults, the objections reduce themselves to the following: (a) In 1914 the social democracy went over to the government of Wilhelm II; the Stalinist bureaucracy has not even given the slightest indication of going over to the Hitler government; (b) The C. P. continues to work, to publish, in a word, to struggle; it would be a mistake to "underestimate" its forces; the social democracy did not die after the 4th of August, it continued to exist, and even came to power.

No historical comparison retains its validity if it does not confine itself to certain legitimate limits. We are very well aware that the Stalinist C. P. G. is distinguishable from the pre-war social democracy, and that the 5th of March—as much by its character as by its results—is distinguishable from the 4th of August. We simply want to say by our comparison: in the same way that the party of Bebel finally terminated its progressive mission on the threshold of the war, so the C. P. G. has finally terminated its revolutionary role on the threshold of the Fascist dictatorship. To complicate this analogy by considerations which have no bearing on the questions means to show oneself incapable of concrete historical reasoning, that is, of dialectic thinking.

Lenin compared the peace of Brest-Litovsk with the peace of Tilsit. It is not difficult to make objections to this comparison by serving up dozens of elementary truisms: for Prussia it was a question of national independence; for the Soviets it was a question of safeguarding a new social regime where the peace was signed by the monarchy, here by the party of the proletariat, etc., etc. But all these respectable commonplaces do not tell us anything about the essence of the question which interests us. We were forced to sign the peace of Brest-Litovsk in order not to completely succumb before the enemy but to reassemble our forces for freedom: it is in this sense that one can speak of a peace of "Tilsit".

The same Stalinists and Brandlerites rose up against the analogy between the pre-Fascist regime in Germany ("presidential" cabinets) and Bonapartism. They enumerated dozens of features in which the Papen-Schleicher regime differed from classical Bonapartism and always ignored this fundamental characteristic which makes them similar: the preservation of the equilibrium between the two irreconcilable camps. There is nothing worse than that pseudo-Marxist thought which, full of conceits, stops just there where the question first begins. The analogy with Bonapartism, quite concrete, precisely defined, not only clarifies anew the role of the last Glottli cabinet maneuvering between the Fascists and the Socialists, but also throws a burning light on the present transitional regime in Austria. Now one can already openly speak of the profound, logical necessity of the period of "Bonapartism" transition between parliamentarism and Fascism. The example of Austria demonstrates the enormous importance which an exact delimitation between Bonapartism and Fascism has (or more exactly, should have) for the aims of practical politics, but formalistic thought, instead of a social analysis, gives an enumeration of ready-to-hand criteria, abandons an analogy very concrete and rich in content for pale platitudes, which do not teach us anything. It is punished for this in every new historic situation like the ox in the Russian fable who always finds himself before a new door.

"The social democracy did not die after the 4th of August". Do the quibblers mean to say that the slogan of a new party, proclaimed after the 4th of August was false? Obviously they do not, but that is precisely the question. The social democracy continued to exist after the Fourth of August, but only as the democratic labor party of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Its historical function had changed. It was that very thing which justified the birth of the Third International.

Do they want to tell us that the C. P. G., despite the catastrophe which has finished it off forever in the minds of the proletariat as the revolutionary party, will nevertheless continue to exist as a mass organization? We think that nothing justifies such a hypothesis: it rests on an abstract and formal analogy with the fate of reformism. The old Social Democracy united within its ranks elements of revolutionary realism with those of opportunist practice. The 4th of August finally cleansed it from the revolutionary tendencies and determined its transformation into a conservative democratic party. The Communist party posed a revolutionary task to itself and to the masses, which it always put forth and emphasized in a bitter struggle against the social democracy. It is precisely in this task that the Communist party proved bankrupt in the decisive test. It will not be regenerated as a revolutionary party. Can it continue to exist under another form, with other political functions? If it can, it will not be as a mass organization of the German proletariat, but as the purest type of an agency of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Tha Limits of Historical Analogy. A Reply to Some Objections

No other political place remains for it.

Already on the morrow of the 5th of March one could have and should have formulated this prognosis on the basis of an understanding of the catastrophe in connection with the policy that had caused it. The only objection with any value at all in those days could be: perhaps the party will save everything, if, under the influence of the terrible defeat, it clearly and sharply changes its policy and its regime, to begin with, by openly and honestly admitting its own mistakes. On our part we believed even at that time, on the basis of all that has happened, that it was impossible to expect a miracle of a critical awakening; but even if that had happened it would not have saved the Communist party as an organization; there are political crimes which are unpardonable. But it is fruitless, today, to conjuncture on this theme. The test has already taken place in reality. There can be no question of a political awakening of the official party any longer. On the contrary, the last sparks of critical thought have been stifled. Nothing gives a better picture of the collapse of the CPG than the fact that on the morrow of the great catastrophe, instead of making a theoretical clarification of the events, it has exerted every effort to sweep away all the traces of it, by all sorts of insinuation, calumny, incitement and persecution.

In the guise of an objection, the example of 1923 might be cited, where the party also failed but did not collapse. We do not deny the importance and the lesson of this example: it is only necessary to draw the correct deductions from it.

British Group Leaves I. L. P. Statement Supports L. O.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The statement below was issued by comrades belonging to the Left Opposition fraction of the British Independent Labor Party. It was submitted to all delegates of the Bradford convention of the ILP, which in the Militant several weeks ago.

TO ALL COMRADES OF THE I.L.P.

At the Eastern ILP Conference, those comrades who have been striving toward a correct revolutionary policy will fight for the adoption of that policy by the ILP as a whole, but, whether they succeed or not, the question of our relations with the C.P. must be squarely faced. The British section of the C.I. is the only existing revolutionary party in this country. The undersigned members of the ILP believe that the place of revolutionary workers is inside the Communist Party. Recognizing that the present policy of the C.P. requires drastic changes, and appreciating fully the weaknesses of its tactics, we maintain that criticism of the C.P. is no legitimate excuse for staying outside.

The ILP, a Social-Democratic body, product of a past era, has its very economic basis from it. Therefore, correctly to criticize the ILP is to leave it, as a Party no longer able to play a progressive role. But the need, the economic basis for the C.I. is merely to attack its subjective policies, but never to challenge the fundamental basis of its existence. The R.P.C. (Revolutionary Policy Committee) accepts the fundamental basis of the C.I., and since new parties are the product of major political events, and cannot be created at the will of individuals, to pose the question of a new party outside both the C.P. and the ILP is a waste of precious time. The R.P.C. cannot build a substitute for the C.I.

But Marxists cannot, and should not, accept the programme and policy of any party without full and open discussion in the light of current events.

We, having discussed certain aspects of the C.P. policy, have concluded that there are certain weaknesses requiring immediate and adequate attention and discussion:

1. THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY: This theory, advocated since 1925, and stating that socialism can be established in Russia independently of the rest of the world, is a travesty of the Marxist conception of world economy, and has led to a completely contradictory attitude towards revolutionary developments in other countries, leading alternately to criminal reformist opportunism on the one hand, and blind, panicky adventurism on the other. This, a complete denial of Lenin's policy, weakens the struggle for world revolution, and is the main source of incorrect C.I. policies.

2. THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW: This policy, abandoned now at the eleventh hour, has meant in actual practice, no united front at all and its consequences can most clearly be seen in Germany. The change of front on the part of the C.I., although belated, is welcome, and must be supported, but the fact that the change is made without admission of previous error—in fact, with a denial of a change—suggests a possible reac-

tion, with further disastrous consequences.

3. THE AMSTERDAM ANTI-WAR CONGRESS: An example of the incorrect United Front from the top—with individuals, leaders, pacifists, clergymen, etc., but not with the Social-Democratic organizations themselves. A hotch-pot in which the C.P. is submerged, and takes no independent line.

4. DETERMINATION OF POLICY: Within the C.I. and the British C.P., all internal party democracy has been abolished. Policies and decisions come from the top, discussion being confined to their execution. The World Congress of the C.I., supposed to be held every 2 years, has not met since 1923, while during the last 3 years there has been only one C.P.G.B. congress, and that preceded by expulsions and suppression of effective criticism. Correctness is taken for granted, and those daring to question the policy of the centre are slandered and expelled. This is incompatible with the training of revolutionary leadership, and prepares the way for defections and confusions at times of crisis.

On the above points, we cannot accept the policy of the C.P. Nevertheless realizing that it is the only revolutionary party, we intend to enter it, to work as Communists, at the same time seeking, by every legitimate means, to change these points in its policy which we consider wrong.

We appeal to all revolutionary workers in the ILP to adopt the same position. Any comrades wishing to associate themselves with the attitude as stated above should write to the address appended.

T. HERNOT,
P. SOLOMONS,
J. SAINSBURY,
(Hackney I.L.P.)
M. GIBBS (Clapham I.L.P.)
March 19, 1933
19 Alwyne Road, N. 1.

British Group Leaves I. L. P. Statement Supports L. O.

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Browder Criticises John Reed - - for Trotskyism

We quote from one of Browder's masterpieces appearing in the April Communist page 361. Browder told the John Reed Club to read "Ten Days that Shook the World" and comrade X criticized his speech. (Our emphasis—W. M. K.)

"But I want to reject the criticism made by comrade X. He declared the Russian workers did not need any John Reed. I think the Russian workers did need John Reed. Lenin thought so. Lenin was delighted to have John Reed in the revolution and sometimes, after the ending of the civil war, comrade Lenin went out of his way to cause to be printed in Russian John Reed's book, and more, he wrote a special introduction for this Russian edition, in which he recommended it to the workers of the entire world. Comrade Lenin did not do that for many books—you won't find many introductions by comrade Lenin. I want to read the introduction. It is important for the purpose of our agreement.

"With the greatest interest and with never slackening attention I read John Reed's book 'Ten Days that Shook the World'. Unreservedly I do recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see translated into millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These problems are widely discussed, but before one can accept or reject these ideas, he must understand the full significance of his decision. John Reed's book will undoubtedly help to clear this question which is the fundamental problem of the international labor movement."

"Here it is necessary for me to say something I wanted to say at the John Reed meeting. I had made a note of it and meant to include it in my speech, and here is where justified criticism comes in because this should have been said at that meeting. It is something I must say here. That is, that there are serious political inaccuracies and mistakes in John Reed's book and some of these were even pointed out by comrade Stalin. There are certain statements which do not correspond with historical facts and which fit in with the Trotskyist distortions of history. I should have pointed these errors out in order to vaccinate the readers against these particular mistakes." (E. Browder, The Communist, April, 1933.)

Lenin sponsors the book first by giving it an introduction, then by "unreservedly" recommending it; finally, by calling it "truthful and most vivid". Stalin and Browder find that there are "serious political inaccuracies and mistakes" and "certain statements which do not correspond with historical facts and which fit in with Trotskyist distortions of history."

How could comrade Reed indulge in these political inaccuracies before Trotskyism was discovered? How could Lenin fail to notice them? Or was he a Trotskyist too? What is wrong with Reed's book then? Why did he please Lenin and not Browder and Stalin?

Read the book and judge for yourself.

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Austro-Marxism Retreats...

Vienna, Austria.—Several weeks ago the Arbeiterzeitung (central organ of the Austrian social democracy) published an editorial justifying the policy of the social democratic leadership and pointing out that up till then only "outposts" had been evacuated. What do these "outposts" look like? We will attempt to let the facts speak for themselves by drawing up a review of everything the Austrian working class, led and betrayed by the Austrian social democracy, has allowed to be snatched away from it without a struggle in the course of the last few months.

Freedom of Press and Assembly Destroyed

On the basis of the War Powers Act, the press law is revised backwards behind that of 1862 and the law of assembly backwards behind 1867. All of the labor press is submitted to pre-censorship. The holding of meetings must be announced 8 days in advance, a provision which actually stifles the working class in a period of such high political tension as the present. Marches and open meetings are prohibited "until further notice". On the basis of these provisions, the following were banned: 75 party meetings of the social democracy on March 10, the main annual event of the Vienna Free-thinkers on March 18, a meeting of the Friends of the Free School for Children Society on April 26; the annual conference of the social democratic women's organizations of Vienna was dispersed on April 28. In the middle of May, the conference of the Tenants' League was prohibited, etc., etc. On May 9 pre-censorship was also instituted for posters. Distribution of leaflets is made liable to arrest.

Streets Are Made Free... For the Reaction

"The State secretary for the maintenance of safety" announces on April: "In view of the demonstrations which have of late taken place in the form of street carnivals, especially on the side of the social democrats.... the safety authorities are hereby advised to apply the sharpest means provided for by law against all such attempts." The parade of the working class for the First of May (traditional since May 1, 1890) is banned, threats are issued against all attempts.

Fascism Receives Arms

While the Ringstrasse (main thoroughfare) is shut off for the workers by mounted forces and machine gun detachments on the First of May, the Austrian federal army marches in review down the streets. On May 14 an exception to the law is granted and thousands of Hitlerian men goose-step throughout the town.

26 Years of Austrian Trade Union Works Are Destroyed Inside of 24 Hours

On the basis of the War Powers Act the collective agreements of the bank employees are nullified. Wage cuts are instituted for Social Insurance employees. Railroad workers get cuts in overtime remuneration and in pensions that go as far as 40 per cent among the lower ranks.

Against Versailles

While thundering against the Treaty of Versailles and the dismemberment of Germany for the creation of the Polish Corridor, Hitler can make no serious move in that direction. Bankrupt Germany dare not risk a war with military superior France without a comparatively long period of rapid industrial revival and outside, particularly American, economic support. Hitler cannot free Germany from its "slavery of interest."

Neither can he stand still. The pressure of German capitalism upon the German working class, intensified by its defeat in the World War, are too great for that. So Hitler is compelled to act. He is forced to move toward war and from the logic of the situation it is quite conceivable that Fascist Germany may become the spearhead of an attack on the Soviet Union from the west while Japan attempts to grab Vladivostok and the Chinese Eastern Railway in the East. Soviet Union Menace to Capitalism.

It must be remembered that the workers' state is a constant bone in the throat of the capitalists. Its existence has been permitted not because Stalinism checked the world work of the Communist International but because of a lack of favorable conditions for intervention. As comrade Trotsky wrote more than a year ago, "To make intervention possible, a great, highly industrialized, and moreover European empire would be needed—one which would desire and be able, to take upon itself the principal weight of a holy pilgrimage against the Soviets. To be more accurate—a country would be needed which had nothing to lose. A glance at the political map of Europe will convince you that such a mission could be undertaken only by a Fascist Germany. More than that, a Fascist Germany would have no other road left to go. Having come to power at the price of innumerable victims, having revealed its bankruptcy in all domestic problems, having capitulated to France and consequently to such semi-vassal states as Poland, the Fascist regime would be inexorably compelled to seek some sort of a gambling way out of the contradictions of the international situation. A war against the Soviet Union would grow out of these circumstances with fatal necessity."

Foreign Interests in Germany

However, while the demands upon Germany have been reduced from time to time as the result of political and economic developments, particularly in the last two years, it is interesting to note that the amount of foreign-owned German bonds was estimated by the Second Committee of Experts at Basle in December 1931, at approximately 400 million Marks; foreign-owned shares and interests in German industries at between 2,500 million and 3,500 million Marks, and the amount of foreign-owned real property at approximately 2,000 million Marks.

The total amount of German foreign indebtedness on February 29, 1932 was estimated by the Statistical Bureau at from 25,600 million Marks (par value, 2382 cents) involving an interest service of approximately 1,225 million Marks per annum. Of this amount approximately 8,892 million Marks are owed to the United States alone, Germany's leading creditor, of which 3,227 million are in short term and 5,165 million in long term credits.

Such figures are interesting for two reasons. On one hand they shed light on the respite granted Germany by the Hoover moratorium and the reparations "settlement." The United States, in its role of the leading imperialist power of the world, granted Germany a breathing spell in order to prevent civil war and, if failing in that, to assist Hitler in his fight against the working class of Germany, thereby adding in not only averting a political crisis for Cen-

A Record of Passivity Before the Advance of Bonapartism

place in the form of street carnivals, especially on the side of the social democrats.... the safety authorities are hereby advised to apply the sharpest means provided for by law against all such attempts." The parade of the working class for the First of May (traditional since May 1, 1890) is banned, threats are issued against all attempts.

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Fascism Receives Arms

On April 9, the cabinet decides to form "voluntary auxiliary bodies". These are formed from the "self-defense" organizations already in existence. Into the auxiliaries (auxiliary police) are admitted: members of the Peasant Defense Corps, the Austrian Home Guards and the Austrian Storm Troops. All organizations furnishing auxiliary police are exempted from the law governing the wearing of uniforms. The task of the auxiliary police is evident from its composition.

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Capitalism has developed its productive forces to a point beyond the effective consumptive capacity of the world under the profit system. As a result, in many countries, the present crisis is primarily due to a glut of commodities arising from a narrowing of markets rather than from an increase in the level of production. In Great Britain, for example, by the latter part of 1929, production in many industries had not attained pre-war level. The output of coal was approximately 28 million tons less than in 1913. The British proportion of the world's output of pig iron was 13.2% in 1913 while in 1929 it fell to 7.8 percent; steel in 1913 was 10.2 percent and in 1929, 8.1 per-

cent. Consumption of raw cotton had declined by 617,000 tons. Yet, during the first two years of the crisis British production had a further decline of approximately 30 percent. Although industrial activity was hardly above the years immediately prior to the war, nevertheless British capitalism was suffering from "overproduction."

Only Avenue of Escape for Capitalism

Due to this contradiction the various national units of world capitalism are compelled to expand. They must find additional foreign markets. This they can do only at expense of some other power and the Soviet Union is the one power all capitalists wish to destroy. They see in an attack upon it not only a chance to destroy a political menace, not only a possibility to shift the much needed reparations from bankrupt Germany to the USSR, but also a chance to obtain a potential field for further expansion—a possible avenue of escape from their present position in an almost blind alley.

However, while the situation points to a probable attack on the Soviet Union by no means does it follow that the Workers' Fatherland will be destroyed. On the contrary such an attack might apply a spark that would consume at least a large part of world capitalism in the conflagration of social revolution.

In conclusion, however, it must be pointed out that Stalinism with its neglect of world revolution (and particularly the German situation) from fear of provoking a capitalist attack, instead of preventing such an attack, has helped to transfer it from the realm of imagination to the sphere of probability.

—SIMMONS,
Kansas City, Mo.

Unemployment Insurance Payment is Restricted for the Great Bulk of the Unemployed to 20 Weeks (Formerly 30 Weeks) and for Some Even to 12 Weeks. Emergency relief is to be cut off or reduced drastically by July 1. Young workers up to the age of 25 are to receive no relief at all any more.

Strikes Are Prohibited

Through a "Law for the Protection of Economy against Stoppage of Work", political strikes are altogether banned and economic strikes in the "vital" industrial enterprises including printing plants). The provisions for penalties are much sharper than those of the penal code of 1853. An example: On April 27 the Viennese Bakers' agreement, in existence since 1923, is terminated summarily. The bosses refer to the above law as "valid" also for the baking establishments (it provides for a strike ban in all enterprises that are "vital" for maintenance).

Prayers Are Ordered

On April 14, compulsory participation in religious exercises is instituted in all schools, like in the old days.

Against the Constitution

The Christian Socialist members of the Constitutional Supreme Court resign their posts on May 23 and the government declares the Constitutional Court as suspended. "Therewith the legal basis, upon which the whole state life, and along with it, also the existence of the federal government, rests, has been destroyed.... thereby the Austrian federal constitution is in fact invalidated, every door and gate is opened for any and every coup d'Etat." (Arbeiterzeitung, April 24.)

As can be seen from all this, the advance of the reactionaries is a matter of the conquest, not of "outposts", but of decisive positions.

The Austrian government has, as it informed the "Austrian people" in its manifesto of March 8, "firmly decided" to "proceed with iron determination and with impassionate but hard perseverance" along the road it has taken.

What did the manifesto of the Social democratic party leadership say on March 9?</

C.P. Expels Albert Goldman

(Continued from Page 1)

I was opposed to the joining of the Scottsboro issue with the Mooney issue. I was not given a chance at the Congress to explain my position. The joining of the two issues in such a mechanical manner was harmful both to the Mooney issue and to the Scottsboro issue. But I would have voted with the party had I been asked to attend the fraction meeting and given a chance to make my position clear.

But the expulsion had to come. The violation of discipline at the Mooney Congress was but the pretext. My views on the various problems confronting the American movement and the world movement are such that a conflict between myself and the party leadership was inevitable. If the party permitted freedom of discussion, that conflict would run its natural course within the party; but without freedom of discussion a breach of discipline is inevitable.

A typical example of the dishonesty typical of the party is the statement that I was expelled for a "willful misinterpretation." Without claiming that there is a sharp line of demarcation between a plain statement of fact or, in plainer English, a downright lie and an answer for the purpose of convenience, will deal with these two types of falsehoods under different headings.

The answer does not assume to enter into a detailed explanation of the various problems which I discussed in articles and speeches within the last eight months. It confines itself merely to a simple denial and a short explanation of all the distortions contained in the statement.

I. DISTORTIONS OF FACT

(1) "He (Goldman) was previously expelled from the Party for his opposition to the policy of the Communist Party in the Trade Unions."

I was never expelled from the party for that reason or any other reason. I was not opposed to the policy of the Communist Party in the trade unions, during the years 1920-25 when I was active in the underground party. I was opposed to the policy of some of the party leaders of those days in their tactic of the united front from above with the Hillman-Levine gang of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a tactic which, at that time, killed the Left wing in the Amalgamated and which to a large extent explains its pitiable weakness at present.

The above falsehood has a source which, to those who are acquainted with events of that period, is quite obvious. Undoubtedly the secretariat accepted the word of that ignorant confuser par excellence, Robert Minor. It was he who asked me not to attack the Hillman leadership at the 1922 Amalgamated convention. It was he who was most completely taken in by the shrewd and slippery Hillman. It was he who fought me bitterly at the fraction meeting of the comrades in the needle trades, subsequent to the convention. There was a complete united front between him and Hillman against the Left wing. As a result of this unholy alliance, Minor took advantage of the vicious frame-up of Hillman and Levine against me, on the basis of which I was expelled from the Amalgamated as a spy.

Rumors pointing the finger of suspicion against me began to be circulated in the party two years after everyone knew about the frame-up and during which time I was very active in the underground party. I demanded an immediate investigation, and refrained from activity in the meantime. A committee to investigate was appointed, and not until the united front between Minor and Hillman was broken up did the committee come out with a statement branding the action of Hillman and Levine as a frame-up to get me out of the Amalgamated. I was then studying law and did not go back to party activity, but I was never expelled.

(2) "...Goldman at that time (during the united front conference held in October 1932 in Chicago) defended the leaders of the Socialist Party against the Communist Party position."

After a stupid and violent attack on Bordaberry and the Socialist Party leadership by Williamson of the Communist Party, an attack which alienated all the rank and file of the non-party organizations, I was called upon to make a collection speech. I stated that I, for one, would accept the Socialist leaders who came into the united front at their word, and would criticize them only on the basis of their action in the united front struggle. In an article in the December issue of *The Communist*, (an article which was not listed in the table of contents, and which was printed immediately after Williamson's reply—all for the purpose of giving as little prominence to it as possible) I developed my position and criticized my own statement. I refer everyone to this statement which I defended the leaders of the Socialist Party.

(3) "On the occasions he defended the position of the Second International and that of the counter-revolutionary renegade, Trotsky..."

He slandered the Communist Party of Germany...

...sentence in anything I wrote or to point to any statement that I made, indicating that I defended the position of the Second International. I have said many things about the united front, and about the German situation which were in agreement with Trotsky's ideas. I do not apologize for that. As there are many party rules, saying that one must first find out what Trotsky has said, and then say the exact opposite? The claim is constantly made that Trotsky was expelled for violation of discipline and not for his ideas. If that is so, (and I am not naive enough to believe it) is it not possible to agree with Trotsky and still be a good party member?

In the course of a discussion with the District Committee on my views, I explicitly stated that I do not consider Cannon and Lovestone counter-revolutionaries. I am still of that opinion. By virtue of what rule in the party or the Communist International is one liable to expulsion for such an opinion? If there is such a rule, let it be made public immediately!

In what way did I slander the Communist Party of Germany? By saying that its united front tactics were incorrect? Let me call attention to the fact that when the party leaders were grandiloquently proclaiming that the Communist Party of Germany will crush the Fascists, I was warning everyone of the impending calamity. It gives me no satisfaction whatever to say that I was right. The real truth of the matter is that when one criticizes the leaders of the party, it is called slander; and when the party leaders slander everyone who disagrees with them, it is called criticism.

(4) "He developed a theory that only a united front with leaders is possible."

What a shameful untruth! One must lose all hope in the possibility of a successful Communist movement when leaders can stoop to such misrepresentations. Fortunately we understand very well, that the Communist movement is only temporarily burdened with such "leaders," who depend upon lies and repression for their control of the Communist party. All I can say is, where and when did I say or write anything justifying this slander?

(5) "He persistently resisted the independent role of the party in the united front, objecting to every political criticism of the American Federation of Labor or the Socialist Party leaders."

I did not object to political criticism, but I did object to vile and stupid attacks which had the inevitable result of alienating all the non-party people from us.

(6) "The letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, he interpreted as agreeing with his position."

This charge is exceedingly humorous. I did not, as a matter of fact, make that claim. How could I make that claim, when my position was that we should criticize the Socialist leaders, but mainly on the basis of the issues involved in the particular united front action, whereas the Communist International came out with its advice to the various parties to refrain from criticism? It seems that many party members were of the opinion that my position was endorsed by the Communist International, and to counteract that opinion, the district leaders attributed it to me.

(7) "At the 'Free Tom Mooney' Congress, he made a speech in which he held the Communist Party and the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee responsible for the absence of delegates from the Socialist Party."

I did not say a word about the

Communist Party. In short, my criticism of the method of calling the Congress was that it was called under the auspices of one organization, whereas it should have been called by a provisional committee representing all tendencies in the labor movement. This very idea was advocated by the party about eight weeks before the Congress. I said that the ones who called the Congress thought of the united front tactic as something which permits one organization to invite all other organizations to its affair. One organization decides to have a congress or a hunger-march or what not, and then graciously sends an invitation to all other organizations to join it. I pointed out that the proper way is to make all organizations feel that they are participating in the calling of the united front conference. Had this been done, we would have been able to swing many more Socialist party locals and American Federation of Labor locals away from the reactionary leadership. The criticism was leveled at the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee and not a word was said about the Communist party.

II. Willful Misinterpretations

(1) "Goldman developed a theory that there can be no united front of unorganized workers, therefore laying down a light wing theoretical justification against any activities in the shops were the masses of workers are unorganized."

A real gem of logic, worthy of the leaders of district eight! How the conclusion follows from the premise is a mystery which only the logicians of district eight can solve.

The statement I made in an article which was not published for one reason or other, but which the district eight bureaucrats misquoted and misinterpreted was that the united front presupposed the existence of organizations differing on fundamental principles, but agreeing to act together on some immediate issue; that the necessary attempts to organize the unorganized workers around some immediate issue would not be by any stretch of imagination be considered a united front. Where, then, does the idea that there should be no activities in the shops come from? Ask the leadership of district eight! They will tell you that to invite workers to one of our dances constitutes a united front that when Negro and white workers struggle together, it is a united front; and will probably furnish you with similar examples of their conception of a united front. Can we not, must we not, establish a school where district eight leaders and similar leaders could be compelled to attend classes in the A B C of Communism?

(2) "He also developed a 'Leftist' theory against the united front campaign of the Communist party in election campaigns, declaring that in the elections there can be no united front of the workers since the workers already support different political parties..."

He sharply opposed the policy of the Workers' Ticket charging that this is a reformist policy to appeal to the members of the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party, to join with the Communist Party in the election struggles."

What a jumble of misrepresentations and half-truths! Had the article which I wrote on the subject been published, I could easily refer the reader to it and the whole issue as to what I wrote would be settled. But the article was not published, so that all I can do is to give its leading ideas. I said in that article that the

united front has as its main purpose the involving of large masses of workers of different organizations in a struggle against the capitalist class on the basis of an immediate issue. I further stated that the main purpose of our parliamentary campaign should be the education of the workers in the principles of Communism; that this can best be done if the Communist party has its own candidates and conducts its campaign on its own platform; that a united front for the purpose of electing someone to a capitalist legislature is opportunistic. I did not altogether exclude the possibility of a united front on the parliamentary field, but very severely criticized the tactics as pursued in Chicago.

Why then deliberately lie in attributing to me as the reason for my opposition to the united front on the parliamentary field, "since the workers already support different political parties"?

Why give the absolutely false impression that my opposition to the Workers' Ticket was based on the fact that this is a "reformist" policy to the appeal to the members of the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party, to join with the Communist Party in the election struggles?

Of course the lies and distortions have only one reason. To discredit with the workers who will never get a chance to read my reply to the slanderous statement.

(3) "He did not participate in any mass activity, and abstained from work in mass organizations, confining his activity to that of a lawyer, appearing in a number of cases in court, and occasionally as a speaker for the 'Friends of the Soviet Union'."

I do not of course claim that I did the most important work in the party. I did not organize any party units, nor did I organize any unemployed councils or industrial unions. But the statement above quoted leaves the impression that I handled very few cases and did practically nothing else besides.

For the last four years I have handled very few cases and did practically nothing else besides.

For the last four years I have handled hundreds of cases for the International Labor Defense. There were times when I appeared in court every day for weeks and weeks, spoke at least an average of three times a week, before different branches of various organizations.

I do not say this with any feeling that I did a lot for the movement, but simply to show the dishonesty contained in the above statement of the secretariat.

III.

If freedom of discussion were to exist in the party had I been given an opportunity to talk to the membership on the various problems that I raised in my articles; had two articles which I wrote dealing with the united front on the parliamentary field and with the slogan of amalgamation of the unemployed workers' organizations been published; had I felt that the district leaders were honestly opposed to me but were willing to permit me to discuss all the vital issues before the membership, I would now feel extremely vexed at myself for my breach of discipline at the Mooney Congress. I do not think that expulsion would have been merited, but I would feel that almost any other punishment would be well deserved. Communist discipline is something that cannot be taken too seriously. But when Communist discipline is used to trap a comrade who has ideas, it assumes a formal and obnoxious character, far removed from the ideas of Communist discipline as taught by Lenin.

Everyone knew I was a delegate to the Mooney Congress, I am quite positive that the fact that I was a delegate reached the ears of the leaders of district eight before the Congress convened. Why was I not invited to the fraction meeting where I should have been given a chance to present my views on the conduct of the Congress and on the advisability of joining the Scottsboro and Mooney issues? On the one hand, I am kept out of the fraction meeting and on the other hand, if I say anything contrary to the decision of the fraction, I violate discipline. "Heads I win, tails you lose!"

Yes, I violated discipline, but under the circumstances expulsion is not justified, and since expulsion was decided upon, it is obvious that the real reason is not my conduct at the Mooney Congress, but the fact that for the past six months or so I have dared to come out with theories of the united front tactic and with an explanation of the German situation not to the liking of the district eight leadership.

I cannot deny that expulsion would be a terrible blow. No real Communist would take expulsion from the party calmly. On the other hand, no real Communist surrenders the most cherished possession of a revolutionist, intellectual honesty and independence and integrity. Party membership and intellectual honesty should never conflict. If there is a conflict, if the party does not permit freedom of discussion within the limits of Communist discipline, if a party member must conceal his views in order to remain in the party, the expulsion is no longer a disgrace, but a badge of honor.

Woe to the party that must resort to repression and expulsion to compel members to agree with the leadership! Has it come to such a TWENTY TWO stage in the Communist movement? My expulsion indicates that it has. The affirmation of the expulsion by the Central Committee of the party will prove conclusively that there is no room for a thinking revolutionist within the party.

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

Perspectives for American Labor

Although American capitalism is entering, or has entered, the upward swing of a new cycle, it is reasonable to assume that the perspectives of the near future point to a growing realization of the American masses.

While it might seem as if the United States stands as a refutation of Marxism, due to the fact that it possesses both the most highly developed forms of the capitalist mode of production and the least (or near the least) developed revolutionary working class, in reality this contradiction is no refutation at all. On the contrary, it can be understood to its fullest extent only by means of an analysis based on the larger content of Marxism.

The political lag of the American working class is the result of peculiarities of national development. In the past the consciousness of the American workers as a class rose to a certain level as a result of various stages of American economic development only to subside under the influence of a subsequent period of comparative "prosperity."

American historical development (with the opportunity of the frontier and the possibilities of individual escape from the working class by means of a limited success as a farmer, small merchant or professional man) operated as a safety valve preventing the rise of the American proletariat as a political factor in the social life of American capitalism. The American wage earner viewed himself as a potential capitalist rather than as a member of the working class. His ideology was that of the petty bourgeois and he failed to recognize the desirability of acting as a mass.

But today the peculiar historical conditions which drilled the philosophy of individualism so deeply into the minds of the American workers are no longer present. They are crumbling, or have crumbled, to the march of economic development. The frontier is closed. No longer is it possible for any appreciable number of workers to rise out of their class by becoming small farmers or by entering the permanently over-crowded professions. The small farmer has been reduced to the economic status of the "poor peasant" of Europe. American schools and colleges are turning out thousands of young persons, trained for professional service, for whom there is no employment. "The possibility of a success as a small merchant has been reduced to the neighborhood of zero by a rise in the minimum amount of capital necessary to start in business for oneself" and by the invasion of large scale capital (with its superior technique, greater control over sources of supply and similar advantages) into such hitherto neglected fields as retail distribution, to such an extent that in 1929 it made a total of 21.5 percent of all retail sales.

At the same time, American workers are beginning to realize that their interests and those of the capitalists represent two antagonistic poles.

They are becoming aware that a rise in productivity does not necessarily result in a corresponding rise in their so-called share of the national profit. And to this the fact that a cyclical recovery will not bring a substantial restoration of the depressed American standard of living and it is easy to believe that the awakening process will continue.

Labor power is a commodity. As such its true value is determined by the value of the physical minimum of requirements necessary to reproduce that labor power from day to day plus certain requirements dictated by natural conditions and by the particular social level of the United States. However, by reason of its being a commodity, labor power is amenable to the invisible laws governing all commodities. It is influenced by the factors of supply and demand, being forced below or carried above its true value according as the available supply of labor power is above or below demand. But with the tremendous technological advance of production in recent years there exists a permanent and relatively growing over-supply of labor power. While a cyclical recovery would cause them to rise slightly above their present level, as a result of the absorption of a part of the over-supply of labor power, from that point they would once more recede.

Thus we are led to believe that the period of "prosperity" existing between 1923 and 1929, as far as the workers are concerned, has passed never to return. It is estimated that improvement of productive technique has progressed to the point where a return to the production levels of 1923-29, which is not likely, could be made today with the re-employment of not more than 50 percent of the 16 million American workers unemployed at present. Thus, the United States will enter any period of cyclical recovery with a permanent industrial reserve army of at least 8 million persons. Nor will this army shrink. On the contrary, it is reasonable to presuppose its further growth. The technological displacement of workers will continue. Each year an influx of young persons who have attained "working age" will swell the ranks of available workers. So take it, all in all, it may be said that the American period of high wages is a thing of the past.

In 1929 the United States definitely joined Europe in a condition of general capitalist decline. Its industrial activity, held up by the export of capital between 1923-29, permanently slackened. The general crisis of capitalism laid it by the heels and today America is confronted by an accumulation of surplus capital seeking investment, excess plant capacity, over-capitalization in expectation of high monopoly profits, restricted markets and other phenomena characteristic of the period of capitalist decay.

However, this does not mean that cyclical variations are excluded. On the contrary, one is beginning to

take place now. But all phases of the business cycle—bull, average production, boom and crisis—from now on, will occur on a generally descending curve in contradistinction to a formerly ascending one. They will take place within a restrictive circle dictated by the present stage of development of the international economic and social relationships of world imperialism. Things will be extremely short-lived and succeeded by crises of unusual length and depth.

(Continued in next issue)

Parliamentary Cretinism

(Continued from Page 1)

Bordaberry's paper, *Monde*, are keeping watch over you! And, as if to complete the picture of political decay, the same number of the *Rundschau* prints a leading article on the present relations between Germany and Austria. A revolutionary phrasist relates that "for the first time" (!) in the relations of the two countries, "Hitler has recourse to reprisals against Austria to force measures of internal policy from that government." For the first time in the relations of two states! The article concludes with the following remarkable words: "The relations between Germany and Austria have never been, since the existence of the *Bismarck*, as bad as they are at this moment. Such is the practical result of Hitler's foreign policy."

It is somewhat unbearable to read this philosophy which is worthy of a conservative Privatdozent (professor). Hitler is conducting a policy of counter-revolutionary realism in Austria. He wins over the petty-bourgeois masses by digging the ground from under unstable Austrian Bourgeoisism. With obstinacy and perseverance, Hitler is changing the relationship of forces in his favor. He does not fear the straining of relations with Dollfuss. In that he distinguishes himself—and distinguishes himself to his advantage—from Otto Bauer and from... the Stalinist bureaucracy which does not view the relations between Austria and Germany from the standpoint of the class struggle but from the standpoint of diplomatic cretinism.

Moscow's enthusiasm for the Paris Congress called to replace the revolutionary struggle in Austria, and the indignation at Basel over the policy of Hitler who does not fear, in the struggle against the Austrian masses, to dispute with Dollfuss himself—"there is no animal stronger than a cat", says the mouse—this enthusiasm and this indignation complement each other as two forms of parliamentary and diplomatic cretinism. By a minute part the whole can be judged. In many cases one can precisely determine the sickness by a symptom. These two articles are enough—one in *Pravda*, the other in the *Rundschau*—to say: perhaps the Centrist bureaucracy has adequate means at its disposal to hire expensive halls in Paris and to publish bulky papers in Basel, but Bureaucratic Centristism as a revolutionary current is dead, it decomposes before our eyes and poisons the atmosphere.

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 13, 1933.

London Meet Splits

(Continued from Page 1)

We can more successfully attack the rest of the world."

To help cover up the real policies of concentrated attack on international markets, they set up a utopian nationalistic ideal of high prices, stabilized for a generation, of a nationally managed currency, of broader purchasing power for the masses in the face of rising prices, of improved conditions for agriculture as against industry, of a general return to the "prosperous period" of 1924-1925. The realities, however, are not stabilization but the wildest speculation; not the stimulation of agriculture, but the elimination of the small farmer; not greater purchasing power for the masses, but less purchasing power due to inflation and the tying up of the trade unions, hand and foot, with the ropes of the Industrial Recovery Act.

The combination of open force with sentimental hypocrisy, of ruthless driving toward a fixed goal with apparent vacillation, of an open splitting of the London conference with pious attempts to keep it going, are Roosevelt's distinct contribution to the technique of aggressive imperialism.

—B. J. F.

COMRADE MILICENT SHOOTER

We have received the sad news from abroad that one of the first supporters of the Left Opposition in England, comrade Millicent Shooter, passed away at her home in Helston, Cornwall. Comrade Shooter rallied to *The Militant* with contributions, both literary and financial, from its very inception. We wish to record our appreciation at the excellent Jimmy Higgins work she carried on to the limit of her capacity in Great Britain and our deep grief at losing a faithful comrade-in-arms, who remained with us to her last day.

The next issue of *The Militant* will contain an article by comrade Trotsky in reply to the critics of the History of the Russian Revolution.

Archbishop and F.S.U.

(Continued from Page 1)

In this anti-Soviet speech: "In behalf of our organization, the F. S. U., we thank the Archbishop Benjamin and his secretary, Mr. Hieromonk Dimitri for being present here tonight." And then followed hand shaking between the two counter-revolutionary white guards and the two Friends of the Soviet Union, Dr. Le Roy and B. Friedman. Sarcastic laughter greeted this very dignified ceremony from various parts of the hall.

Open air meetings conducted by the Left Opposition are systematically broken up by the Stalinists while a class enemy is given all opportunities to express anti-Soviet propaganda from the platform of a party-controlled organization. Left Oppositionists are being expelled, not only from the party but also from auxiliary organizations by the same leaders who shake hands with White Guard Wrangellites. The earnest Communist must ponder over these facts.

Party members should demand an explanation from their leadership. Instead of repudiating this affair the *Daily Worker* has maintained complete silence in it. The proletarian elements in the F. S. U. (if there are any) should demand an accounting from their leadership for this shameful business.

The Left Opposition must sharply condemn this dangerous infamous stunt and the attitude of the party leaders, who by their silence share the responsibility for it. The depths of Stalinist degeneracy as revealed in this criminal episode, which is only symptomatic, makes the fight of the Left Opposition for a return to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky more necessary, more imperative than ever before.

—J. KAMIAI.

"They in our ranks who erroneously act along the line of a belief in the existence of a basic contradiction between bourgeois democracy and Fascism, between the Social Democracy and Hitler's party, are harmful and fatal to the Communist movement. Indeed this is our chief danger." (Manuilsky, Report at the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I., April 1931; Communist International, number 16, April 1931, page 708).

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Industrial Recovery Act Prepares New Capitalist Crisis in Near Future

The National Industrial Recovery Act, its immediate and its further consequences, occupy the center of the American stage today. What effects does the bourgeoisie want the new policy to have on the standards of living of the American worker, on the reformist and on the revolutionary trade unions, on the relations between capital and the bourgeoisie state apparatus? The new legislation reaches so deep into the inner machinery of capitalist organization that the workers must be on their guard from the very beginning to resist the new attacks which the sharpening of these new and extraordinary powerful weapons is preparing.

To begin with a rapid survey of the economic background against which the new policy stands out, we may summarize the situation as follows: The first really prolonged symptoms of an upturn began to appear last July, with a speculative boom in securities and in commodities, following on the successful overcoming of a banking crisis in the late Spring. The tentative efforts at spontaneous recovery resulted in relatively small increases in production and trade in the second half of 1932, which failed to hold, but did not return to the low levels reached earlier in the year. By the first quarter of this year, some signs of a renewal of the tendency toward improvement were again perceptible, but were cut across by the banking crisis which developed in the second half of February and culminated in a nationwide closing of banks from March 4 to March 15. Within a few weeks after the banks had begun to reopen, the tendencies toward recovery again manifested themselves. From May on, however, they were powerfully accelerated by the increasing evidence that the government was prepared to make large concessions to those sections of the bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeoisie which were demanding inflation (farmers, export trade, certain sections of industry, etc.). The biggest concession actually made was the embargo on gold shipments, which tore the dollar away from its anchorage to a gold base, and opened the door to speculation in the foreign exchanges. Along with this came the provision that banks could not pay out gold against paper money, which was generally taken as a preparation for inflation.

An enormous wave of speculation, both in the markets and in actual production, was thus added on top of the "natural" or spontaneous forces within capitalist economy making for an upturn. To give one instance, steel production, which had dropped to 11 percent of capacity, picked up by leaps and bounds to 54 percent, the highest figure in more than two years. Railroad car loadings, which indicate the physical movement and consequently the production of commodities, increased over 60 percent in a period of three months. Electric power production, which had been 10 percent below 1932 figures in the early weeks of the year,

increased sharply, because of the increased demand from large industrial users of power, and is at the moment not far from figures for the corresponding weeks of 1929 at the height of the boom.

Yet during this whole period the financial basis for the upturn was not broadening, but narrowing; in other words, not inflation but deflation was actually taking place. The tremendous increase in the volume of speculative securities and commodities bought, at rising prices, together with a substantial increase in the physical volume of goods produced, also at rising prices, was financed by less money and less bank credit than had been in use before the boom started in April. Actually, money in circulation was about 1-2 billions lower, much more than the 600 millions of gold which were added to the money supply by the return of gold from private hands to the banks under threat of punitive measures; bank credits showed a corresponding contraction in deposits and loans.

Yet there was no shortage of money, although the demand for it was greatly increased and its supply reduced—money can still be obtained on time loans for 1 to 1-2 percent a year. It would seem as if the results of inflation—higher prices and stimulation of production—were being obtained while actually carrying through deflation.

The answer to the apparent paradox is simply that the existing amount of currency and of bank credits is being turned over faster, that is, that the average velocity

(Continued on Page 4)

C.P. Holds Extraordinary Conference To Whitewash Bureaucrats' Failure

The defeat of the German working class by fascism through the betrayal of social democracy and Stalinism has already had its repercussions in the Communist Party of the United States. The revisionist policies of Stalinism having already sapped the main vitality of the American party, it was shaken from top to bottom by this repudiation. The Stalinists do not realize the cause, but they do see the effects.

An acute party situation has been revealed. An extraordinary party conference was called in cope with this situation. The conference has issued an open letter to the party members.

The open letter is the most confused, worthless piece of trash ever issued by an extraordinary party conference. It is an attempt to prevent the disintegration setting in, in the party, at a rapid pace due to the defeat of the German proletariat and the smashing of the Communist party in Germany. It is an attempt to cover up, to prevent a real analysis from being made, to prevent an understanding, and to enable the bureaucrats to retain their hold upon the party and the apparatus.

The party fathers admit that

SAVE CHEN DU SIU FROM WHITE TERROR!

We have received the letter printed below from our Chinese comrades. The urgent need of international action to save Chen Du Siu from a living death in jail is self-evident. Every comrade must agitate among the members of the International Labor Defense and the party members for the assumption of responsibility by the latter in the defense of our brave class war prisoner.

Chiang Kai-Shek must not be allowed to do away with the founder of the Chinese Communist movement! The Stalinists must not be allowed to sabotage his defense! Left Oppositionists, get on the job for the defense of comrade Chen!

Shanghai.—There has been no news of Chen Du Siu since the report of his having been sentenced to 13 years imprisonment, beyond a brief announcement in the press that he would appeal against the sentence. Legal processes in China, being even more slow and involved than in the capitalist West, it is not likely that this appeal, if it is ever heard at all, will come before the court in the near future. In view of the attitude taken up by the official Chinese Communist Party toward the arrest and trial of Chen—which was one of unbecoming exultation—the comrades abroad should do all possible to keep the matter before the attention of the workers. Wherever possible, protests against the continued imprisonment of Chen should be sent to the Nanking government and published as widely as possible.

(Continued on Page 4)

Plan to End Relief in N.Y.

New York, N. Y.—Suspension of all jobs relief by the city administration started in the faces of 2,000,000 unemployed workers and their dependents this week. The question is not yet decided as to whether the city will make any concessions to the unemployed remains highly precarious and a desperate tension exists in their ranks.

The suspension of relief came about as a result of a financial crisis due to the sabotage of relief bond sales by the local bankers. The bonds had been issued by the city government. The bankers are intent on cutting down the city budget so as to enable the administration to pay them on loans due, or at least to force concessions profitable for them (e.g. a raise of rates to bolster up the traction interests they control).

On Monday and Tuesday crowds of workers milled around the relief bureau voicing their protests and demands and anxiously awaiting word of the most recent developments. On Wednesday afternoon delegations of jobless appeared before a meeting of the Board of Estimate at City Hall to present their demands to the administration. And here, the whole sorry plight of the organized unemployed movement came to the fore. The delegates did not act in a body. Stalinists appeared separately and Communists separately. No attempt was even made to get a united delegation with a united program.

The result of this split of forces was obvious. The Tammany fathers naturally used the one against the other. While some time ago, on a similar occasion, they allowed the socialist Norman Thomas to speak and ejected the Communist delegation, they this time turned the tables and permitted the Communist Robert Minor to speak, while ejecting the socialist representatives. The socialists are reported to have protested vigorously against the "united front between the democrats and the Communists." It comes with ill grace from them. For they were in a similar situation the last time and may just as well be the next time. It is true that Minor did not protest against their exclusion, but neither did Thomas when he had occasion to. The responsibility for split in the ranks of the unemployed, which is of the greatest aid to Tammany fakery, rests squarely upon the shoulders of both the social reformist as well as the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Minor to the Board of Estimate: "Now Comrades..."

It is of special interest to revolutionary workers to observe how the delegate from the party-controlled unemployed council acted. Minor's address to the Board of Estimate was the purest reformism and did not breathe a breath of the revolutionary spirit of Communism. On the contrary, it serves to breed further dangerous illusion among the broad masses as to possibilities of permanent relief from their miseries under capitalist government. He restricted himself almost exclusively to a statement of immediate demands, never once even touched upon the Communist class struggle position. It could not be otherwise. Under the guise of "struggle against social fascism," the Stalinist leadership is making a new right turn whose opportunist trappings hit the revolutionary worker right in the eye. So engrossed did Minor become in his "positive, constructive" opportunist program that he forgot at one point before whom he was presenting it and broke out into the appellation: "Now, comrades..." amid the smiles of the Tammany racketeers. He barely caught himself.

The whole position of the Stalinists flows from their past line. Their rejection of the Leninist united front and their "third period" unionization program has left them divorced from the broad mass with an artificial, "private property"—as to speak—mass movement on their hands. Unwilling to make the turn toward a correct united front tactic and union policy because that involves their shaky bureaucratic prestige, and on the other hand, afraid of losing whatever non-party forces they still control, they mimic the reformists in the unemployed council headed by themselves and capitulate to opportunism within their own four walls, so to speak. How else can a speech like Minor's be explained?

In the meantime, this policy does serious damage to the working class as a whole and discredits the very name of Communism. What the unemployed workers need in

(Continued on Page 4)

Columbus Unemployed Confab Forms Dual National Organization

HOLD ANTI-FASCIST STRIKE IN TORONTO

More than 25,000 Toronto workers staged a two hour general strike against the Hitler regime in Germany. The demonstration which included a monster parade was carried through in defiance of the ban of the reactionary Bennett government against all public manifestations of the Canadian working class. This effective protest of the Canadian workers is a most fitting reply not only to the savage maltreatment of the militant German proletariat by the fascist hordes—it is a proof of the efficacy of the united front, under whose auspices the demonstration was held.

The Toronto branch of the Left Opposition took a most active part in the preparation of and in the demonstration proper. It issued a special anti-fascist strike number of the organ of the Left Opposition in Canada, the *Yankee*. This issue contains an appeal to the workers of Toronto to demonstrate against the persecution of the German workers by the Nazis and at the same time against the treatment accorded the Canadian workers by the government. It concludes its appeal with a ringing appeal for international solidarity to prosecute the struggle to victory under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky!

The coming issues of the *Militant* will contain fuller and more complete reports from our comrades on the scene; on the role that they played in the strike demonstration and of the status of the Canadian anti-fascist movement to date.

THE UNITED FRONT FROM ABOVE

The July 4-5 Unemployment Leagues Columbus Conference was a united front from above between the Musteites and the Stalinists. Weeks before the conference convened the Musteite-Stalinist bloc was formed with the rank and file of both organizations knowing nothing about it. The C. P. L. A. group ran the conference while the Unemployed Council representatives sat in as fraternal delegates waiting for the Musteites to pick the chestnuts out of the fire of the Ohio conference which was red hot with flag-waving, patriotic Americans who conducted religious revivals in the morning before the conference opened.

The united front from above called for a state federation of the Leagues and Councils; the adoption of the Unemployed Insurance Bill of the Stalinists; a committee of fifteen from the Leagues, Councils and the National Unemployed Federation; and a conference in Washington, in December, when Congress convenes, where an amalgamation of the unemployed organizations is to take place.

THE POLITICAL TENDENCIES

The Musteites objected to any talk of political control or political tendencies. However, they saw it that they elected fifteen Musteites out of twenty-two on the executive committee of the Unemployed Leagues. Other political tendencies within the conference struggles were the Right wing flag wavers, the socialists, the Lovestonites, the United Workers Party, the Stalinists and the Left Opposition.

THE MUSTEITES

The C. P. L. A. aim to use the Unemployed Leagues as the foundation for their Labor Party. Opposition to their Labor party aims did not come from the Stalinists from above with them. Opposition to the C. P. L. A. by the flag-wavers in the state conference forced them to concentrate their energies to retain political control, and for the time being open agitation for the Labor party was pushed to the background.

One must recognize the mass unemployed movement the C. P. L. A. have, but at the same time one must recognize that it is still a flag-waving, religious, mass movement by Musteism. Much of the unemployed Leagues' growth can be accounted for by the fact that the city and county reactionary forces are using the Leagues as buffers against the Unemployed Councils.

The Itzinger March on Columbus, led by the Unemployed Councils, was met by the police with clubs while the Unemployed Leagues' conference in Columbus was approved by the authorities. The "Workers' Patrol," established by the Unemployed Leagues to keep order, armed themselves with clubs. The Musteites cannot be accused of aiming this patrol but they are guilty of misdirection which led to this end.

THE SOCIALISTS

The few socialists on hand played a negligible role in the conference. If they did have policy differences, no one found it out because their steering committee wasted their time mainly on secondary points of order.

THE STALINISTS

The united front from above netted the Stalinists nothing. They did not obtain the committee of fifteen, they did not obtain an official statement of the conference.

THE MUSTEITES

The Musteites objected to any talk of political control or political tendencies. However, they saw it that they elected fifteen Musteites out of twenty-two on the executive committee of the Unemployed Leagues. Other political tendencies within the conference struggles were the Right wing flag wavers, the socialists, the Lovestonites, the United Workers Party, the Stalinists and the Left Opposition.

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A Letter from Fascist Germany

One could never have imagined in his wildest dreams such a transformation of the daily life as Fascism has brought about. The period of transition in the workers' movement is especially terrifying. We speak of the transition period until the movement has managed to rid itself of its dregs, the worst of which are at present the traitors. The police swoops down daily on the workers' quarters. One betrays another so as to exonerate himself. The Nazis penetrate everywhere.

On holidays—and there are so many of them now—the workers hang out the swastika flag. The C. P. G. has simply disappeared. Sometimes dues are still collected, but that is all. The two issues of the *Rote Fahne* (Stalinist organ), according to which all of Germany is gripped by strikes, and stands on the eve of the revolution, have been received here. They aroused great resentment everywhere. Some party comrades who swore by the "line" as by something holy until March 5, now speak of the bureaucrats as plain charlatans. The intelligent workers are beginning to realize that we are now entering into a long and difficult period.

Of the C. P. G. as such there is even less to be seen than of the C. P. U. But often it so happens that many former adherents of the S. P. G. are more upright and honest anti-fascists than, for instance, some of the C. P. U. unemployed. Those elements who have conclusively broken with the S. P. are very sympathetic to the slogan of the "new party," since their conviction about the disaster of reformist policy has in no case been

accompanied by any conviction in the "correctness of the policy" of the C. P. G.

A few more interesting observations: When we stroll through the streets here one is struck by the fact that the men wear better clothes than before, "when democracy still existed," as we always say here. This is due to the fact that the poor people, i. e., the Communists, no longer dare to creep out of their holes, and when they do, then they put on their best clothes so as not to appear "suspicious." The coffeehouses and restaurants of the city are frequented only by Nazis now. The workers' inns and the houses of the "people" are shut down. In the "ritzy restaurants" the officers frequent, in the others, the lower ranks. Very often someone starts singing the Horst-Wessel song (Nazi hymn). Then all those present have to stand up and participate.

PICNIC

Annual Midsummer Picnic & Outing
Sports, Games, Refreshments—
Good Time for All
Bring your Friends and Comrades
SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1933
at Tibbetts Brook Park
Directions: Take I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome train to last stop—then take bus and street car to Picnic Grounds
Sponsors: N. Y. Branch—C. L. A. (Opposition) and Protomagia Club

Pocketbook Workers Struggle

New York, N. Y.—The general strike of the 4,000 pocketbook workers is spreading day after day to the non-union shops. The strike is an excellent condition. The strikers are in a good spirit. It proves that all the talk we hear from the Right wing leaders that the workers will not and cannot fight due to the fact that the bosses starved out the workers for the last few years is nonsense. The workers have been and are eager to fight to improve their conditions. It is the Right wing leadership who keep the workers back from fighting for better conditions. That is why the employers took advantage of the last few years and brought down the conditions of the workers to the lowest level.

The strike of the pocketbook workers prove that in spite of the starvation and suffering the workers went through for the last few years, they are fighting to get back some of the conditions the Right wing has given to the employers without a fight.

The Right wing leaders in the Pocketbook Workers Union as well as other Right wing leaders look at the union as their private property—they have a monopoly on the union. They think that the union is an S. P. union, S. P. leadership, and only S. P. speakers are invited to address the meetings of the strikers. If the Left wing had been given a chance to be in the leading committees of the strike, it would have been 100 percent effective today in New York and vicinity. There is chaos and inefficiency in the leadership of the strike. The

Left wing must demand representation in all leading committees of the strike, otherwise there is a danger, as the strike goes on, that more confusion will develop which will demoralize it. More mass picketing and demonstrations must take place in order to show the employers that not a single bag will be made while the strike goes on.

In the last issue of *The Militant* there was reported that through the militant struggle of the workers in Morris White shop in New York, Mr. White was compelled to settle with the union and concede to the union demand. It also said that the agreement has not been signed. Last Saturday Morris White backed out and ran to court for an injunction instead of signing the agreement with the union. The workers of the Morris White shop are carrying on the fight against the firm with more vigor until Mr. White will be forced to settle with the union and grant the demands of the workers. What actually happened with the settlement of Mr. White nobody knows. One thing is certain and our leaders should know that diplomacy and maneuvering will not settle strikes. A strike must be fought in a militant way till the employers are forced to grant the demands of the workers. We warn the pocketbook workers again to be on guard and see to it that similar situations as the Morris White should not repeat themselves during the strike.
POCKETBOOK WORKERS BE ON GUARD!
—N. F. D.

Perspectives for American Class Struggles

(Continued from last issue)

It is a fundamental teaching of Marxism that capitalism, once out of its swaddling clothes, extends the scale of production at the same time as it restricts the available market. As capital accumulates, an ever larger share of its total is expended on the means of production in proportion to that expended for labor power. Competition between various capitalist units compels the production of commodities at a lower cost, that is, with each unit containing a smaller amount of necessary labor power. In an effort to do this, more and more capital is expended for labor-saving machinery with the result that unemployment grows, at first relatively, and later, absolutely, as well.

For example, the Hoover committee report, "Recent Economic Changes," tells us that the number of workers employed in the major branches of industry (agriculture, manufacturing, mining and railways) in the U. S. fell from 23,450,000 in 1918-20 to 23,425,000 in 1924-26. At the same time, production was increased 18 percent—an increase of 27 percent per worker. In manufacturing alone the number of workers fell from 10,780,000 to 9,810,000 and production was increased 22.5 percent—an increase of 34.5 percent per worker. Between 1923-25, according to Lewis Corey, while production was increasing, unemployment was also increasing by about 1-2 millions yearly, due to the displacement of workers by machinery and other technological causes.

On one hand, this process causes the rate of profit to fall, thereby compelling the capitalists to seek to increase the scale of operation and also to seek to increase the rate of exploitation or production of surplus value per worker by means of wage-cuts, speed-up, etc., and on the other hand, it reduces the number of effective consumers and the extent of individual consumption. It sets in motion a contradictory capitalism can never permanently solve.

Add to this the facts that capitalism has already developed its productive forces beyond the effective capacity of the world market, that its national aspects, that is, its contradictions, competition between its various units, etc., are international in scope, that capitalism is in the fourth year of a violent process which attempts to re-establish temporarily its lost equilibrium, that there has been a general narrowing of markets due to unemployment, lowered living standards and the development in many formerly backward countries of native industrial workers, and you have a rough picture of the world situation today.

The United States, as a national unit of world capitalism, is compelled to find additional foreign markets. That it will succeed in this there is little doubt. It is in the position of a highly efficient manufacturing plant competing with a less advanced one. Its superior technique and greater resources, as well as the burden imposed on its foreign competitors by means of war debts and loans, give it an advantage that cannot be overcome.

However, as the United States expands it will do so at the expense of other exporting powers, primarily England, thereby heightening their internal contradiction and driving their workers ever closer to revolutionary action. At the same time, the prerequisites for such expansion include a lowering of the standard of living of American workers by all the means at the capitalists' disposal as well as a tightening of the noose of centralization around the necks of weaker capitalist enterprises to the point where ever larger numbers of them are driven out of existence, thereby hastening the already rapid and extensive monopolization of American industry.

By the very process of attempting to escape the effects of its contradictions America will weld its workers into a class-conscious mass. As wages continue to fall and unemployment to rise, the petty fable of American class collaboration will disappear in favor of a growth of labor militancy.

In this connection it is well to remember that the use of militant action is not alien to American shores. America is not devoid of revolutionary traditions. It has had many a stormy outburst in the past and the political lag of the American workers behind their European brothers can best be explained not by reference to something inherently conservative in their nature but rather by the absence of material conditions necessary to give their philosophy its proper social direction.

In conclusion, however, it might be well to point out that capitalism will never collapse of its own accord. As Lenin once said "there is no situation from which there is absolutely no way out for the bourgeoisie." While the shocks of economic crises open wide cracks in the structure of capitalism, to bring about its collapse more than an economic crisis is needed. The workers will to revolution must rise to the point where it is strong enough

to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in contradistinction to the present more or less concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. A section of the working class known as "the vanguard" must have sufficient strength, both numerically and ideologically, to lead the revolutionary proletariat onto the broad highway outlined by Marx and Lenin. And, in the opinion of the writer, it is precisely this point which constitutes the fundamental task of the American revolutionary parties today. It is one of building the "vanguard", of drawing into a state of revolutionary consciousness a larger number of American workers, of educating them in the struggle and tactics of the coming struggle. Tomorrow the nature of our tasks may change. But, until that happens, they must be considered in their proper chronological order.

—SIMMONS.

A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

N. Y. Doll Workers Win Demands in Strike

The Doll and Toy Workers (Lafayette St.) won their strike at the Rosenberg Doll Shop, 48 West 25th St., one of the biggest shops in the industry.

Recognition of the union, and the shop committee; hiring and firing in control of the union; and increases in wage scales even for the girls who scabbed and tried to call the police, were gained by the militant doll workers after two weeks of picketing.

This victory in the first strike of the season has set the workers in action, and preparations for striking another of the big shops is under way. On this may hang the fate of the negotiations to be carried out between the workers of the industry and the bosses, under the provisions of the Industrial Recovery Act.

Last Saturday the A. F. L. union of Farulla and Joseph Cannon, who were defeated in the elections of officers in the union last year, and who thereupon opened up their own little private office, called a mass meeting of the Doll workers, because, to use their own words:

"They did not want to go to Washington without any workers to represent." About twenty workers and three thugs showed up.

The Doll and Toy Workers Union is calling a mass meeting Saturday, July 15th at Stuyvesant Casino.

In the struggle of the workers of Rosenberg Doll Co., as in the preparatory work of the union; in the printing and distribution of leaflets, in picket line duty, in work in the office; the Spartacus Youth Club, relatively small, played a more active and prominent role than the Young Communist League, for all its vaunted "activity".

—A. R.

Lessons of the Leninist United Front Tactic

(Continued from last issue)

AGAINST UNITED FRONT FROM ABOVE

An opportunist deviation which is sure to land the revolution in the swamp is the united front from above. When the leadership of an organization comes together and decides over the heads of their membership or without the participation of the membership, except by bureaucratic decree, what to unite on and how to unite you can be assured that wrong start will not bring the desired results.

The united front between leaders, the united front from above, is a denial and violation of the united front of the working class. The united front of the leaders guarantees in advance the victory of the right wing, the opportunists, and the labor fakery over the Left wing, the revolutionists, in the united action.

AGAINST THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

The Stalinist "Third Period" united front from below is the most harmful caricature and denial of the united front possible. If an organization desires a united front on some concrete issues and proceeds to send the call to all organizations it is sure it can control, mechanically or ideologically, but refuses to send the call to other organizations of the working class, because the leaders of the other organizations are fakery, because of fear of losing control; and instead invite the rank and file alone to unite, over the heads of their own leadership, the results will be a lasting service rendered to the misleaders and the fakery and a set-back for those who carry on the united front from below.

It would be excellent if the task of winning misled workers were so simple. If the united front from below were a short-cut to winning the rank and file from the misleaders, our task would already be an accomplished fact. This would imply a rapid transformation of a misled rank and file which has been shaken off its misleaders and their petty bourgeois ideology. The education of misled rank and file workers is not so simple that it can be accomplished by telling them to unite with us over the heads of their leaders. The united front

BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS, where the leadership and the policies of the organizations can be put to a test, to enable the rank and file to see leaders and programs in action—that is the way to educate and win the rank and file.

Workers belonging to organizations have faith in their organizations and often, their leaders. They are placed in a position where they must function THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION if they desire to continue as members because of faith, convictions, (no matter how false), or job control. By asking these workers to unite with us over the heads of the leaders and the organization through the united front from below, we are telling these workers to break with their organization on the one hand, and giving the misleaders an excuse for sabotaging united action, on the other hand. The united front from below strengthens rather than

weakens the misleaders of the other organizations. When we invite the whole organization and the Left wing responds and the Right wing leaders decline, it is far more difficult for the right wing leaders to fight the united front than it is when they have a chance to fight united action through the excuse of the "united front from below."

Letter from Party Member Exposes Bureaucracy

It is time that Communists should openly state their views and aims. The tactics of the official Communist party contradict the fundamental aspects of Marxism which are so essential for the strengthening of the party.

The tactics and strategy of Stalinism flow not from contemporary requirements but from complex system of bureaucracy which bases itself on an erroneous foundation. The bureaucracy has advantageously anticipated the successful building of an isolated socialist society in the U. S. S. R. This in turn has created a dogma of action which stands in fundamental contradiction to Lenin's teachings.

I have recently been admitted into the C. P. where I have come upon such situations that have dumfounded me and proved the impotence of my party which is allegedly the leader of the working class in its struggle for emancipation. Prior to my admittance I expounded some revolutionary concepts that coincided with those of the L. O. I was immediately branded a "Trotskyite." This caused a delay to my entrance into the party. Only when it appeared that I was converted was I given my membership book.

The bureaucrats refuse to polemize against "Trotskyism" in an objective way but immediately denounced it to all new members as a counter-revolutionary tendency. From these observations I have learned that the road for success for an opportunist or a careerist in the party—as a matter of fact, the internal regime tends to create these destructive characteristics in all members above the average intelligence—lies in the degree of the verbal denunciation of "Trotskyism."

I will do all in my power to force the C. P. back to the correct policy of the world revolution. I consider myself a part of the Left Opposition and will fight for its reintegration into the C. P. where it rightfully belongs.

I firmly believe that the theories and practices of the Left Opposition will make their way into the party because they are endowed with the power of Marxism.

Although I am unemployed at the present time, just as soon as I lay my hands on a dollar bill I will become a regular subscriber to the Militant which is the only revolutionary organ that gives its readers a realistic version of historical facts and a corresponding revolutionary diagnosis. —E. R.

THE KILLING OF THE UNITED FRONT FROM ABOVE AND BELOW

The united front with leaders and the united front from below are both wrong. A united front must be BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS of the working class (or the working class or between political tendencies, groups and factions, etc.) You do not appeal ORGANIZATIONALLY "from below." You bring PRESSURE on the organization from below. You win the rank and file from below to force the ORGANIZATION into the united front. Have the other organizations elect delegates through their organizational channels to the united front regardless of who are selected as the delegates. You try to obtain Left wing delegates but you take what you get—what they elect. If the organizations send misleaders and betrayers they must be seated in the united front representing their respective organization.

The dialectics of the united front between organizations is to win the rank and file (below) and expose the leadership in action (above). This concept of below and above has nothing in common with "united fronts" put forward under these labels.

UNITED FRONTS AND INDIVIDUALS

The united front is not a tactic to corral a group of prominent individuals, liberals and artists, who do not represent organizations or political tendencies.

A united front must have its foundation in WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS. Such a united front can use as an auxiliary a few prominent individuals and friends of labor. They must play a subordinate role and in no case should they be given the leadership of the movement.

"GUARANTEE" LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED FRONT

"Join the united front against the capitalist class under the leadership of the Communists" (the Stalinist formula)—is the best way to formulate what is not a united front. We Communists hope to win ideological control and leadership through our superior program, but no one, not even those who have the prestige of the October revolution, can mechanically obtain leadership of the movement in advance. United fronts are not called under our leadership, or any other leadership.

It is wrong for one organization or political current to set up the provisional committee and adopt a draft program and call the other organizations to the united front. There are certain exceptions where emergency demands speed, but those who take the initiative must see to it that the program and leadership is left open to be decided at the conference, where all working class organizations have delegates, even though the conditions force the initiative upon one political current. In fact, one political current will always take the initiative, but this has nothing in common with the Stalinists, who interpret this to mean, "under our leadership."

(To Be Continued)

HUGO OEHLE

The Bulletin of the Russian L.O. Needs Your Aid

BULLETIN OF THE OPPOSITION (BOLSHEVIKS-LENINISTS)

To Readers Who Are Adherents and to readers who are sympathizers!

The profound crisis through which the Soviet Union has been passing for the last few years has reached the decisive stage. The Soviet Union is in danger. Stalinism is leading it to ruin with seven league boots. Under these conditions the struggle of the Russian Left Opposition assumes tremendous historical significance. The Bulletin serves as one of the most important weapons of this struggle for the saving of the October Revolution. Even though it penetrates into the U. S. S. R. in an insignificant quantity of copies, it nevertheless plays a big role in its life, in the formation of genuine revolutionary cadres. The ideas of the Bulletin pass from month to month. Our task lies in strengthening this role; in achieving a larger circulation of the Bulletin in U. S. S. R.; in succeeding in publishing it each month regularly.

For this we require the help of readers and friends, primarily financial help. The Bulletin is forced to contend with unheard-of difficulties.

Spartacus Youth Club in Over-Night Hike

The Spartacus Youth Club invites all friends, sympathizers and young workers to meet at 126 East 11th St. on Saturday, July 15th, 12 noon. We leave promptly on our overnight bike.

Be prepared for a slice of genuine outdoor life, and bring flashlights, blankets, cooking utensils, etc.

We return Sunday evening to the headquarters for a social, Music, Songs, Dancing. All very informal all very free.

Every Wednesday evening the Spartacus Youth Club holds a mass open air meeting at the corner of 7th St., and 2nd Ave. Members and sympathizers, take note.

MINNEAPOLIS PICNIC

Sunday, July 23 Starting 11 A. M. Riverside Park on South Side

EVERYBODY WELCOME. Nationally Known Speakers. Auspices: Minneapolis Free Mooney Conference

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) EDITORIAL BOARD: Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

Vol. 6, No. 40 (Whole No. 182) SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1933

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

bulleties. It is forbidden not only by Stalin but also by Hitler and Mussolini; it is factually forbidden in Roumania, Jugoslavia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and a few other countries. The entry and circulation of the Bulletin into these countries is tied up with great difficulties and expense. Stalin, on his part, resorts to most ferocious measures to close up the roads for the Bulletin into U. S. S. R. The Bulletin is forced to seek for new ways. We are issuing a special edition of the Bulletin for USSR, the small size and bulk of which facilitates its entry into the Soviet Union. (Upon request, we will forward copies of this edition to our friends and readers.) This edition as well as the circulations we issue require new resources. These we lack. Generally there obtains among a few readers of the Bulletin an incorrect conception regarding the financial security of our publication. At no time was this even in prospect. This issue of every number is tied up with immense efforts and difficulties. But never before has the Bulletin been in so onerous a material condition as it is at the present time. The publication of the Bulletin itself is being threatened. And in the meantime, the situation dictates the transition of the Bulletin to a monthly schedule, to appear regularly on specified dates. The editors of the Bulletin have set themselves the pressing task of achieving this. This task as well as the guaranteeing of the existence of the Bulletin in general, cannot be performed without the decisive and systematic help of friends and readers. In the past this help was far from sufficient. Without this help it will be impossible to speed matters ahead. We appeal for decisive help and we are firmly banking upon it.

We are in need of financial help; of immediate and regular contributions. We are in need of new subscribers. All our friends and readers can and must find new subscribers. We are ready to forward five of charge "sample" copies of the Bulletin to addresses sent us by our readers.

We must succeed in having all subscribers pay for their subscriptions regularly and promptly. We must have addresses of book stores, selling Russian literature and papers and which would agree to stock Bulletins on commission basis (for sale).

We need assistance in the matter of popularizing the Bulletin; there should not be a single city in which our adherents live and in which the existence of the Bulletin is not widely known, and in which it is not on sale.

Every reader who is an adherent must take stock of all his resources and connections in order to help the Bulletin. We await financial assistance! We await financial assistance!

Address all letters and money remittances to "The Bulletin Fund", J. Meichler, 218 rue Edouard Marry, Paris (XX).

An account of the sums received will be published regularly in the Bulletin.

Editors of the Bulletin of the Opposition—Paris.

What Stalinism Said about Democracy and Fascism

Stalinism did not recognize as its task, to arouse the working class against the threatening danger of Fascism. On the contrary, the Stalinists took pains to "demonstrate" new day in day out, that "between democracy and Fascism there is no basic difference." Nothing was more qualified to make the workers underestimate the danger of Fascism than this distorted formula of Stalinism.

They in our ranks who erroneously act along the line of a belief in the existence of a basic contradiction between bourgeois democracy and Fascism, between the social democracy and Hitler's party, are harmful and fatal to the Communist movement. Indeed, this is our chief danger.

(Manilsky, Report, XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I., April 1931, Kommunistische Internationale, No. 16, April 1931, page 703.)

From this we draw the first conclusion—that only a bourgeois liberal can construe a counter-distinction between bourgeois democracy and a Fascist regime, and can assume that we are dealing here with two basically different political forms....

(Manilsky, Report, XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I., Kommunistische Internationale, No. 16, April 1931, page 703.)

The fact that the bourgeoisie is obliged to suppress the workers' movement by means of Fascist methods does not mean that the upper classes no longer rule as before. Fascism is not a new kind of governmental method to be distinguished from the system of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. He who thinks so is a liberal.

(Manilsky Report, XI Plenum, April 1931, Komm. Internat. No. 17, 18, May 1931, page 773.)

The Fascist dictatorship offers no basic distinction from bourgeois democracy, through which also the dictatorship of finance capital is carried out.

(Resolution of the C. C. of the

C. P. G. on the decisions of the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I., May 1931.)

The Leipzig party convention confirmed fully the correctness of the resolution of the IX (?) Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which declared that in our parties the counter-position of Fascism and bourgeois democracy is a liberal interpretation.

(Martynov, Komm. Internat. May 1931, No. 2, page 895.)

But even worse is the fact that in spite of the conclusions of the XI Plenum, in spite of the masterly clarification of the problem as presented in the final words of comrade Manilsky, there have appeared in our ranks tendencies towards a liberal counter-distinction of Fascism and bourgeois democracy, of the Hitler party and social Fascism.

(Thaelmann, "Some Mistakes in Our Theoretic and Practical Work", Die Internationale, November-December, 1931, page 487.)

Germany demonstrates.... that the transition of democracy to Fascism is an organic process, which does not have to take on the form of unusual and explosive occurrences but can be accomplished gradually and in a "bloodless" way.

(Wermer Hirsch, "Fascism and the Hitler Party", Die Internationale, January 1932, page 28.)

The objective situation in Germany is a striking and incontrovertibly practical argument against the liberal counter-distinction between Fascism and democracy, Social Fascism and Hitler Fascism.

By no means at all, therefore, is the task of Communists to search with extra-strong spectacles for any possible differences between democracy and Fascism.

(Wermer Hirsch, Die Internationale, January 1932, page 31.)

What the Left Opposition Said about Democracy and Fascism

the order of the day the question of the open participation of the Nazis in the government. Through this, the role of the socialist party of Germany will in no wise be weakened.

(Thaelmann, "Some Mistakes in Our Theoretic and Practical Work", Die Internationale, November-December, 1931, page 485.)

Leninism versus Stalinism

FOREWORD

The victory of German Fascism closes a distinct epoch of political history and opens a new one. In the course of the past year the Stalinist bureaucracy did all that was possible without it, to render the Fascist victory easier. Addressing itself to the proletariat of the world, the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) criticized implicitly the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and gave its answers to all problems as they were posed by events.

At present no proletarian revolutionary can close his eyes to the conflict between the two factions raging within the camp of Communism. Comrade Oscar Fischer has performed an important and instructive task by collecting and classifying according to subject the clearest and most inclusive statements that were given in answer to theoretic and practical questions, that were band by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and on the other by the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). I hope that this rare collection of citations will soon find its way to every thinking worker. There will be no advance unless we learn by the tragic mistakes and defeats of the past.

—L. TROTSKY.

Also in the event that the Nazis are taken into the government, there can be no question that the bourgeoisie will refuse the cooperation of the social democracy in the carrying out of the Fascist dictatorship. Die Internationale, January 1932, page 4.)

The XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. has swept aside the artificially constructed counter-distinction between bourgeois democracy and Fascist dictatorship. By this it has rendered an invaluable service to the Communist parties in their fight against social Fascism. The XII Plenum has demonstrated that so-called "classical" Fascism does not exist and cannot exist, and that all confusing theories, basing themselves on the history of Italian Fascism, about the Fascist need of first striking down the working class, are bloodless abstractions.

(Schwab, "The Nature of the Fascist Dictatorship", Kommunistische Internationale, No. 10, January 1933, page 19.)

WHAT STAND DID THE LEFT OPPOSITION TAKE?

Fascism makes its appearance as the second representative agent of the bourgeoisie. Like the social democracy, but to a greater degree, Fascism possesses its special army, its particular interests and its own logic as a movement. We know that in order to save and stabilize

bourgeois society in Italy, Fascism not only had to oppose sharply the social democracy but the traditional bourgeois parties as well. We must not imagine that all the political organs of the bourgeoisie worked in perfect concord. Fortunately things do not work out that way. Economic anarchy is supplemented by political anarchy. Now, too, Fascism, which has been nourished by the social democracy, will have to smash the latter in order to reach power.

(Trotsky, "The Austrian Crisis", November 1929.)

No matter how true it is that the social democracy, by its whole policy, prepared the blossoming of Fascism, it is no less true that Fascism comes forward as a deadly threat primarily to that same social democracy, all of whose magnificence is inextricably bound up with parliamentary-democratic-parliamentary forms and methods of government.

(Trotsky, "The Turn in the Com-

What the Left Opposition Said about Democracy and Fascism

munist International and the German Situation", September 1930, page 13.)

The XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. came to the decision that it was imperative to put an end to those erroneous views which originate in the liberal interpretation of the contradictions between Fascism and bourgeois democracy, as well as between the parliamentary forms of bourgeois dictatorship and the outright forms.... The gist of this Stalinist philosophy is quite plain: From the Marxist denial of the absolute contradiction, it deduces the total negation of any contradiction at all, even of a relative contradiction. This error is typical of vulgar radicalism. What Next, page 28.)

A contradiction does exist between democracy and Fascism. It is not at all "absolute" or, putting it in the language of Marxism, it does not at all denote the rule of two irreconcilable classes. But it does denote different systems of the domination of one and the same class.

(Page 29.)

The statement that the transition from democracy to Fascism may take on an "organic" and a "gradual" character can mean one thing and one thing only and that is: without any fuss without a fight, the proletariat may be deprived not only of its material conquests—not only of its given standard of living, of its social legislation, of its civil and political rights—but also of the basic weapon whereby these were achieved, that is, its organizations. The "bloodless" transition to Fascism implies under this terminology, the most frightful capitulation of the proletariat that can be conceived. (Page 36.)

In a Fascist regime, at least during its first phase, capital leans on the petty bourgeoisie which destroys the organizations of the proletariat. Italy, for instance! Is there a difference in the "class content" of these two regimes? If the question is posed only regards the ruling class, then there is no difference. If one takes into ac-

count the position and inter-relation of all classes, from the angle of the proletariat, then the difference appears to be quite enormous. (Page 34.)

In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations, these must needs be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

At this juncture the historic role of Fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are then in dread of being forced down into ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extermination of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative.

Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of Fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist advance guard but in holding the entire class in a state of enforced disunity. To this end, the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice. It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democracy and the trade unions. For, in the last analysis, the Communist party also bases itself on these achievements.

(What Next?, Page 12.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: The compilation of quotations published herewith is taken from the German pamphlet Leninism Against Stalinism prepared by comrade Oscar Fischer and published by the German Left Opposition. Other parts of this pamphlet will be reprinted in subsequent issues.

After the German Catastrophe

An Historical Evaluation
of the Events by
Leon Trotsky

The imperialist epoch, in Europe at least, has been one of sharp turns, in which politics has acquired an extremely mobile character. At each turn the stakes have been, not some partial reform or other, but the fate of the regime. On this fact the exceptional role of the revolutionary party and of its leadership is based. If, in the good old days when the social democracy grew regularly and uninterrupted, like the capitalism which nourished it, the leadership of the party resembled a general staff tranquilly elaborating plans for a war in the indefinite future (a war that perhaps might not come after all), under present conditions the Central Committee of a revolutionary party resembles the field headquarters of an army in action. The strategy of the study has been replaced by the strategy of the battle field.

The struggle against a centralized enemy demands centralization. Trained in a spirit of strict discipline, the German workers assimilated this idea with renewed vigor during the War and the political convulsions which followed it. The workers are not blind to the defects of their leadership, but none of them as an individual is able to shake off the grip of the organization. The workers as a whole consider it better to have a strong leadership, even if a faulty one, than to pull in different directions or to resort to "free-lance" activities. Never before in the history of humanity has a political staff played so important a role or borne such responsibility as in the present epoch.

The unparalleled defeat of the German proletariat is the most important event since the conquest of power by the Russian proletariat. The first task on the morrow of the defeat is to analyze the policy of the leadership. The most responsible leaders (who are heaven be praised, safe and sound) point with paths to the imprisoned tank and file executives of their policies in order to suppress all criticism. We can only meet such a spuriously sentimental argument with contempt. Our solidarity with those whom Hitler has imprisoned is unassailable, but this solidarity does not extend to accepting the mistakes of the leaders. The losses sustained will be justified only if the ideas of the vanquished are advanced. The preliminary condition for this is courageous criticism.

For a whole month not a single Communist organ, the Moscow Pravda not excepted, uttered a word on the catastrophe of March 5. They all waited to hear what the Praesidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International would say. For its part the Praesidium oscillated between two contradictory variants: "The German Central Committee led us astray," and "The German Central Committee pursued a correct policy." The first variant was ruled out: the preparation of the catastrophe had taken place under the eyes of everybody, and the controversy with the Left Opposition that preceded the catastrophe had too clearly committed the leaders of the Communist International. At last, on April 7, the decision was announced: "The political line... of the Central Committee, with Thälmann at its head, was completely correct up to and during Hitler's coup d'Etat." It is only to be regretted that all those who were dispatched into the beyond by the Fascists did not hear of this glowing affirmation before they died.

The resolution of the Praesidium does not attempt to analyze the policy of the German Communist party—which was, above all else, to have been expected—but constitutes another in the long series of indictments against the social democracy. It preferred, we are told, a coalition with the bourgeoisie to a coalition with the Communists; it evaded a real struggle against Fascism; it fettered the initiative of the masses; and as it had in its hands the "leadership" of the mass labor organizations, it succeeded in preventing a general strike. All this is true. But it is nothing new. The social democracy as the party of social reform, exhausted the progressiveness of its mission, as capitalism was transforming itself into imperialism. During the war the social democracy functioned as a direct instrument of imperialism. After the War it hired itself out officially as the family doctor of capitalism. The Communist party strove to be its gravedigger. On whose side was the whole course of development? The chaotic state of international relations, the collapse of pacifist illusions, the unparalleled crisis which is tantamount to a great war with its aftermath of epidemics—all this, it would seem, revealed the decadent character of European capitalism and the hopelessness of reformism.

Then what happened to the Communist party? In reality the Communist International is ignoring one of its own sections, even though that section rallied some 6 million votes in the election. That is no longer a mere vanguard. It is a great independent army. Why, then, did it take part in the events only as a victim of repression and pogroms? Why, at the decisive hour, did it prove to be stricken with paralysis? There are circumstances under which one cannot withdraw without giving battle. A defeat may result from the superiority of the enemy forces; after defeat one may recover. The passive surrender of all the decisive positions reveals an organic incapacity to fight which does not go unpunished. The Praesidium tells us that the

policy of the Communist International was correct "before as well as during the coup d'Etat." A correct policy, however, begins with a correct appraisal of the situation. Yet, for the last four years, in fact up to March 5, 1933, we heard day in and day out that a mighty anti-Fascist front was growing uninterceptably in Germany, that National Socialism was retreating and disintegrating, and that the whole situation was under the aegis of the revolutionary offensive. How could a policy have been correct when the whole analysis on which it was based was knocked over like a house of cards?

The Praesidium justifies the passive retreat by the fact that the Communist party, "lacking the support of the majority of the working class," could not engage in a decisive battle without committing a crime. Nevertheless, the same resolution considers the July 20 call for a general political strike as deserving special praise, though for some unknown reason it neglects to mention an identical call of March 5. Is not the general strike a "decisive struggle"? The two strike calls wholly corresponded to the obligations of a "leading role" in the anti-Fascist united front! Under the conditions of the "revolutionary offensive" Unfortunately, the strike calls fell on deaf ears; nobody came out and answered them. But if, between the official interpretation of events and the strike calls on the one hand, and the facts and deeds on the other, there arises such a crying contradiction, it is hard to understand wherein a correct policy can be distinguished from a disastrous one. In any case, the Praesidium has forgotten to explain which was correct—the two strike calls or the indifference of the workers to them.

But perhaps the division in the ranks of the proletariat was the cause for the defeat? Such an explanation is created especially for lazy minds. The unity of the proletariat, as a universal slogan, is a myth. The proletariat is not homogeneous. The split begins with the political awakening of the proletariat, and constitutes the mechanism of its growth. Only under the conditions of a ripened social crisis, when it is faced with the seizure of power as an immediate task, can the vanguard of the proletariat, provided with a correct

policy, rally around itself the overwhelming majority of its class. But the rise to this revolutionary peak is accomplished on the steps of successive splits.

It was not Lenin who invented the policy of the united front; like the split within the proletariat, it is imposed by the dialectics of the class struggle. No successes would be possible without temporary agreements, for the sake of fulfilling immediate tasks, among various sections, organizations and groups of the proletariat. Strikes, trade unions, journals, parliamentary elections, street demonstrations demand that the split be bridged in practice from time to time as the need arises; that is, they demand a united front ad hoc, even if it does not always take on the form of one. In the first stages of a movement, unity arises episodically and spontaneously from below, but when the masses are accustomed to fighting through their organizations, unity must also be established at the top. Under the conditions existing in advanced capitalist countries, the slogan of "only from below" is a gross anachronism, fostered by memories of the first stages of the revolutionary movement, especially in Tsarist Russia.

At a certain level, the struggle for unity of action is converted from an elementary fact into a tactical task. The simple formula of the united front solves nothing. It is not only Communists who appeal for unity, but also reformists, and even Fascists. The tactical application of the united front is subordinated, in every given period, to a definite strategic conception. In preparing the revolutionary unification of the workers, without and against reformism, long and patient experience in applying the united front with the reformists is necessary; always, of course, from the point of view of the final revolutionary goal. It is precisely in this field that Lenin gave us incomparable examples.

The strategic conception of the Communist International was false from beginning to end. The point of departure of the German Communist party was that there is nothing but a mere division of labor between the social democracy and Fascism, that their interests are similar if not identical. Instead of helping to aggravate the discord between Communism's principal political adversary and its mortal foe—for which it would have been sufficient in proclaiming the truth along instead of violating it—the Communist International convinced the reformists and the Fascists that they were twins, it predicted their reconciliation, embittered and repulsed the Social Democratic

News from Workers in Naziland

LETTER FROM HAMBURG

Our groups shows good advances here for the past few months. Few connections with C. P. G. and S. P. G. units have been established. There has not been any loss in numbers. Illegal work has been carried on smoothly, with only one comrade arrested for our special work. All other arrests have taken place on account of work in the party and the mass organizations. Our group is publishing its organs regularly. The composition of our group has been improved considerably in the last months by a growth in the number of factory workers.

Insofar as the party work is concerned, it must be said that its disintegration is being hastened by heavy blows dealt through spies. The most notorious of these cases is the case of a certain Kaiser. Kaiser was a leading functionary among the unemployed on the waterfront. A member of the District leadership of the party and of the defense organizations, he always knotted to the top leadership. Today Kaiser is a leading collaborator of the state police. Recently he declared on oath before a court that he had been for two years a functionary of the information department of the National Socialist German Labor Party (Fascists). Further, that he carried out the orders of these people exclusively within the ranks of the Communist party. It is also possible for a healthy party to contain within its ranks a number of spies and for these spies to attain positions within it. But this Kaiser is a lumpenproletarian type, with whom any decent worker will have nothing to do. Only the inner-party regime brought him to the top. This skunk is responsible for hundreds of arrests and raids. Rumors are spreading in the party ranks that other leading functionaries are spies. It is rarely possible to test out these rumors, but they cause terrible confusion. In the last days of April the party was dealt a particularly heavy blow. In two days, 6 big printshops were discovered and material worth several hundred thousand marks confiscated. The whole manner of the action showed that it was the work of a spy in the apparatus.

About the "Revolutionary Storm Troopers"

There is a wide-spread conception among party members here that the S. A. men (Hitlerite Storm Troopers) are revolutionary. The comrades are of the opinion that in the future struggles it will not be the masses included in the present labor organizations that will play the decisive role, but the disillusioned S. A. men, who will put the rope around the neck of

Fascism. There are united front formations here with the Black Front, some collaboration has already taken place.

In the transport concerns the "equalization" action brought within it a mass discharge of R. G. O. (Red Trade Union Opposition) members. Some 4 weeks later a great many of those discharged were rehired. In some concerns (e. g., the stockyards), R. G. O. functionaries were made commissary factory councilors, naturally after the inevitable "equalization".

The confusion in the party is increased by all sorts of clique fights among the D. E. C. leadership. The confidence of the membership in the top leaders is very low. Many units refuse to remit dues or higher. In many cases, comrades who formerly shunned the sight of "Trotskyists," come to us for advice. It is also not unusual for functionaries to request the collaboration of our comrades. The party comrades come to our discussions and ask us for material. All this forces the bureaucracy to call meetings at which they aim to "deal a final blow against Trotskyism".

The S. P. G.

The disintegration of the S. P. G. proceeds apace. The workers and officials of the state concerns hastened to leave it so as not to be lost out by equalization. The trade union bureaucracy acted especially shamefully in this town. After the arrests of May 2, they were soon released on pledges to cooperate. All trade union functionaries left the socialist party in a body. If they are not yet members of the Nazi party, that is not their fault.

But in spite of its capitulation, the S. P. G. still attracts many good proletarians. This has been expressed in 10 May Day meetings attended by 100 to 150 men on an average. At the funeral of the deputy Biedermann, who was murdered by Fascists, about 2000 social democratic workers gathered. As we have heard from S. P. G. circles, a Left wing is soon to split away under the leadership of several functionaries with the perspective of the creation of a new independent Social Democratic Party. Whatever leaflets have been put out by the S. P. G. recently came through the initiative of this group. Our comrades have established connections with it.

All comrades sending in news accounts and articles for publication in the Militant are requested to prepare typed copy, triple spaced.

workers and consolidated their reformist leaders. Worst yet: in every case where, despite the obstacles presented by the leadership, local unity committees for workers' defense were created, the bureaucracy forced its representatives to withdraw under threat of expulsion. It displayed persistence and perseverance only in sabotaging the united front, from above as well as from below. All this it did, to be sure, with the best of intentions.

No policy of the Communist party could, of course, have transformed the social democracy into a party of the revolution. But neither was that the aim. It was necessary to exploit to the limit the contradiction between reformism and Fascism—in order to weaken Fascism, at the same time weakening reformism by exposing to the workers the incapacity of the Social Democratic leadership. These two tasks fused naturally into one. The policy of the Communist International bureaucracy led to the opposite result: the capitulation of the reformists served the interests of Fascism and not of Communism; the Social Democratic workers remained with their leaders; the Communist workers lost faith in themselves and in the leadership.

The masses wanted to fight, but they were obstinately prevented from doing so by the leaders. Tension, uneasiness and finally disorientation disrupted the proletariat from within. It is dangerous to keep molten metal too long on the fire; it is still more dangerous to keep society too long in a state of revolutionary crisis. The petty bourgeoisie swung over in its overwhelming majority to the side of National Socialism only because the proletariat, paralyzed from above, proved powerless to lead it along a different road. The absence of resistance on the part of the workers heightened the self-assurance of Fascism and diminished the fear of the big bourgeoisie confronted by the risk of civil war. The inevitable demoralization of the Communist detachment, increasingly isolated from the proletariat, rendered impossible even a partial resistance. Thus the triumphal procession of Hitler over the bones of the proletarian organizations was assured.

The false strategic conceptions of the Communist International collided with reality at every stage, thereby leading to a course of incomprehensible and inexplicable zigzags. The fundamental principle of the Communist International was: a united front with the reformists cannot be permitted. Then at the most critical hour, the Central Committee of the German Communist party, without explanation or preparation, appealed to the leaders of the social democracy, proposing the united front as an ultimatum today or never! Both leaders and workers in the reformist camp interpreted this step, not as the product of fear, but, on the contrary, as a diabolical trap. After the inevitable failure of an attempt at compromise, the Communist International ordered that the appeal be ignored and the very idea of a united front was once more proclaimed counter-revolutionary. Such an insult to the political consciousness of the masses could not pass with impunity. If up to March 5 one could, with some difficulty, still imagine that the Communist International, in its fear of the enemy, might possibly call upon the Social Democracy, at the last moment, under the club of the enemy—then the appeal of the Praesidium on March 5 proposing joint action to the Social Democratic parties of the entire world, independent of the internal conditions of each country, made even this explanation impossible. In this belated and worldwide proposal for a united front, when Germany was revealed by the flames of the Reichstag fire, there was no longer a word about social-Fascism. The Communist International was even prepared—it is hard to believe this, but it was printed in black and white—to refrain from criticism of the Social Democracy during the whole period of the joint struggle.

The waves of this penicillin-stricken capitulation to reformism had hardly had time to subside when Wells swore fealty to Hitler, and Leipart offered Fascism his assistance and support. "The Communists," immediately declared the Praesidium of the Communist International, "were right in calling the Social Democrats social-Fascists." These people are always right. Then why did they themselves abandon the theory of social-Fascism a few days before this unmistakable confirmation of it? Luckily, nobody dares to put embarrassing questions to the leaders. But the misfortunes do not stop there: the bureaucracy thinks too slowly to keep pace with the present tempo of events. Hardly had the Praesidium fallen back upon the famous "twins," than Hitler accomplished the complete destruction of the free trade unions and, incidentally, arrested Leipart and company. The relations between the twin brothers are not entirely brotherly.

Instead of taking reformism as a historic reality, with its interests and its contradictions, with all its oscillations to the right and left, the bureaucracy operates with mechanical models. Leipart's readiness to crawl on all fours after the defeat, is offered as an argument against the united front before the defeat. As if the policy of making fighting agreements with the reformists were based upon the valor of the reformist leaders and not upon the incompatibility of the organs of the proletarian democracy and the Fascist bands.

(Continued on Page 4)

The Labor Movement in Greece

Economic and Political
Acts of Capitalism and
the Working Class

The national revolution of 1821-1829 against Turkish domination was carried through under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution and financed by the island bourgeoisie, which made its fortune in the Napoleonic wars and by foreign commerce, particularly with Russia. However the long duration of the struggle and the intervention of the Holy Alliance which prevented the extension of the frontiers of free Greece so weakened the Greek bourgeoisie that for the whole period up till the beginning of the 20th century Greek capitalism was unable to make any signal advances in its development. Manufacture had practically been ruined by the war and the merchant marine which constituted the principal basis of the Greek bourgeoisie transformed into a war fleet for the exigencies of the revolution was also badly crippled. The bourgeoisie was replaced by landlord elements who governed the country until the last years prior to the war.

In 1860 small scale industry began to spring up in Greece, trade grew and the merchant marine became more and more important. Weak bourgeois democratic tendencies began to assert themselves in the political movement and the bourgeoisie showed some signs of influence.

The rise of the bourgeoisie began to take on an accelerated rhythm at the opening of this century. It made headway against the landed proprietors who lost in influence and in economic strength. In 1909 the bourgeoisie gave a demonstration of its strength. A military coup d'etat took place in Athens and the trusted man of the bourgeoisie came to power without great struggle. With Venizelos as its political leader the Greek bourgeoisie led the Greek army to victory and to the annexation of new, rich and economically well developed territories (Macedonia, Aegean Isles, etc.).

The Balkan wars and the great war which lasted for Greece till 1922 and ended in the Asia Minor catastrophe helped the Greek bourgeoisie to amass a fortune, to centralize wealth by the expropriation of the peasantry which bore the brunt of the war, and which had to support almost 1,500,000 refugees who returned without any material resources to the country.

Through the wealth accumulated during the war, particularly by the munition manufacturers Greek capitalism began to boom. It established industries which now employ 200,000 workers. Hundreds of thousands of expropriated refugees supply the cheap manual labor so necessary to capitalism. The concentration of industry has progressed and now the industrial magnates

are seated in the Council of Banks and vice versa.

We have in Greece side by side with backward forms of production the most developed type of finance capital. Save two banks, which are greatly dependent upon foreign capitalist groups, the whole banking system is bound up with the National Bank of Greece. But the National Bank also collaborates with the Bank of England and with English capital as did the Habsburgs during the Balkan wars of 1912-1913. It shares the surplus value of the country with them. Through its collaboration with Greek capital, English capital exploits the huge transport and industrial concessions, etc.

The Greek proletariat, created together with capitalism, has courageously struggled against the bourgeoisie. The arrival of the refugees in 1922-1923 changed the composition of the working class and its conditions of struggle. They were utilized from the very beginning by Greek capitalism to cut wages and to beat down the demands of the other workers whose unparalleled suffering and wretched conditions were no better than theirs. But these young elements, of a higher cultural formation, who fell into the vise of capitalism, soon became the most aggressive elements and they have conducted severe battles together with the Greek proletariat.

The political and trade union organizations of the Greek proletariat were immensely influenced by the Russian revolution until 1923. All the sincere and even careerist elements took on a red coloration. After the reaction and the return of the bourgeoisie, the reformist leaders took control of the party and the C. G. T. (trade union center) was abandoned in 1925 to conservative elements by its leaders who as members of the party are now the leaders of the reaction in the proletarian movement.

The Communist Party

The Communist party was founded in 1918 by reformist elements who baptized themselves Communists under the influence of the Russian revolution and the sentiment of an imminently approaching revolution in Europe. Adventurism came to the fore in the party after 1922. It formed the basis of Stalinism. The Greek Communist party without ever having been a Communist party passed from the stage

of social democracy to Stalinism. Its most noteworthy adventurous acts are the following: in 1922 they were utilized by the militarists to explain the shooting of the royalist ministers. This was also stated at the League of Nations by the Greek ambassador at Geneva who used them as an excuse to the imperialists (the will of the workers). In 1923 at the time of the royalist rising the party allied itself with the military government and appealed to the workers to enlist as volunteers under the bourgeois flag to save democracy. In 1925 they collaborated with the dictator Pangalos. In 1926 with the emperor of Pangalos, and formulated the slogan of a "left republic" and "pure democracy" which provided a shield for the militarist elements. This was the third period. A logical chain.

Although the party led many workers struggles during this long period it could bring none of them to a successful conclusion, it could not reestablish a new leadership. Now the party is a shell of an organization without a spinal column. Its influence over the radicalized masses who are coming towards Communism only because it is the official and exclusive representative of the C. I. and the Russian revolution. By maintaining the appearance of the party Stalinism only compromises the struggles of the Greek proletariat by its militarist slogans which have no basis in actual fact and are purely scholastic.

The Left Opposition

The present Left Opposition, the Communist organization of Bolshevik-Leninists (Archimexists) has its roots in the origins of the party. At the foundation congress of the party in 1918 the Left wing clearly distinguished itself from the reformists, and after some time it broke from it, formed the "Communist Union", published the weekly magazine *Communismo*, organized its educational, agitation and propaganda courses, etc. It progressed. But after the adoption of the 21 points by the party and the persistent recommendation of the representative of the C. I. it fused with the party.

These comrades occupied the highest posts in the party. A number of them degenerated. The others understood that it was necessary to work for the formation of a cadres and to help the formation of the Communist party by its publications and by its activities inside the party and in the working class. It was in this sense that the first group met in the winter of 1921 and elaborated a program along these lines. Educational work among the proletariat began and was carried on systematically. This activity was combined with the issuance of the magazine *Archives of Marxism* which published the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in the Greek language. Up till that time no Communist publication existed in Greece.

The appearance of the magazine so disturbed the bureaucracy that the first numbers sold at the rate of 100 copies in 1923 were torn up by groups organized by them. This was the first hostile act against this tendency. The movement progressed. After ignoring it silently expulsions began. They kept discovering Archimexists in the party till 1925 and expelled them. The years of 1926 to 1928 were years of bitter struggle in which the Stalinists took recourse to terrorist acts to exterminate the Archimexists. The present leaders of the Spartacus group were the organizers of these attempts. In this way the cowardly murders of comrades Georgopoulos, a bakery worker and Lachis, a woodworker, took place. These workers were among the best in the cadre of militants in our times. That we did not have more victims is only because we had comrades in the party who warned us. In Kavalla powder and revolver cartridges, meant for us, were seized. Then came the third period. While the party was busy with the conquest of the streets, there was free ground for the rebuilding of the trade unions, so that in 1930 two revolutionary trade unions in Salonica, Athens and Piraeus were under our influence. On the eve of our first national conference there were scarcely any trade union organizations but ours and the reformists.

(from La Verite),

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Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to *Unser Wort*, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague. Address all subs to *Unser Wort*, care of the Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

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THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

Last Whimpers from Scheidemann

Philip Scheidemann, the German social-chauvinist, now safely buried in Karlsruhe, reappeared for a minute—to offer his apologies in the N. Y. Times of July 9th. It seems the Nazis and that dreadful Adolf have been very nasty—in fact they have been slanderous. One of the Nazi lies is the claim that Herr Scheidemann and the other social democrats stabbed the army in the back with a revolution. Instead, on September 29, 1918, the army leaders demanded peace because the army had completely broken down. On October 16, Wilson made it clear that he would treat only with a democratic government, never with the Kaiser. Only then did Scheidemann, a member of the Kaiser's last cabinet, and Ebert, presume to take the power handed to them both by the old government and the revolution. With these facts Scheidemann defends himself against "the agitator, Hitler," who "has continued for fifteen years to peddle the legend of the stab in the back by the November criminals."

But to whom is Scheidemann apologizing? Is it to the workers whom he and the other social democratic leaders betrayed on August 4, 1914 into the slaughter and starvation of the imperialist war? Is it to the Spartacists whom the Council of Commissioners, made up of Ebert, Scheidemann, Landsberg, Noske, and Wissel, all Social Democrats, killed in December 1918 and January 1919? Is it to Liebknecht and Luxemburg who were killed in cold blood at Noske's orders? Not at all. Scheidemann is apologizing to the same bourgeoisie whom he served so faithfully during the war, whom again and again he saved from the proletariat during the years of revolution, whose final triumph he made possible by disarming the proletariat with parliamentary lies.

But now Scheidemann and all the boot-lickers of his type are cast out as useless tools. No longer is the Social Democracy able to accomplish its task of supporting bourgeois democracy by holding back the workers. Instead the bourgeoisie are using the reactionary storekeepers, white-collar slaves, students, and peasants as a Fascist fist to crush the workers, destroy all traces of democratic rights, demolish all workers organizations—including the happy hunting ground of the Scheidemann bureaucracy the social democracy.

Now the social democrats, who have been fortunate enough to save their hides, fill the places of exile, whimper to their master how faith-

ful they were as servants, and mutter impotent threats against their successor, Hitler. These men who were glad in 1914 to support the Kaiser in the war, now call for a war against Hitler. Says Scheidemann: "It must be the task of the entire civilized world to paralyze these adventures." That this may not exclude a bloody war is self-evident."

After a lifetime of pussyfooting with the bourgeoisie in Germany proper, Herr Scheidemann makes bold—in his Karlsruhe exile. And even this Karlsruhe boldness is characteristic of the social democratic bureaucracy, though it is only a dethroned snout: Herr Scheidemann calls for war against Hitler—not, god forbid, by a mobilization of the world working class—but as the "task of the entire civilized world". In this appeal he summed up the beginning and the end of the bureaucratic physiology: "Too weak, too scared of itself to call upon the workers to struggle in time, the bureaucracy to the very last trust in every other quack salvation. And when everything is all over, when the enemy is firmly entrenched, it takes an order depriving them of their pensions to make the bureaucratic leaders so bold as to shake off their social-chauvinism in favor of salvation by the entire civilized world."

The example of Scheidemann is a deep, though tragic, lesson in the logic of bureaucratic degeneration. It is necessary once more to recall that this degeneration began by the substitution of social-chauvinist reformism for the Marxist conception of the Permanent Revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy too, within its own limits and in its own special circumstances, has already gone a long stretch of the road along this same line of degeneration. The fate of Scheidemann should serve as a warning to the Stalinists, lest they too have to resort to "Karlsbad Boldness". Communists everywhere must work with all forces to prevent this and for the reestablishment of the conception of Permanent Revolution in the Communist International and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS FOR NEW YORK

Manhattan: 7th St. and 2nd Ave. every Wednesday night 8 P. M. 86th Street and Lexington Ave. every Thursday night 8 P. M. Harlem: 125th St. and 5th Avenue. every Saturday night 8 P. M. Bronx: 163rd Street and Prospect Ave. every Sat. night 8 P. M. Brooklyn: Pitkin Ave. and Bristol St. (Brownsville) Friday night

Historical Objectiveness..

Everyone digests his food and oxygenates his blood. But not everyone will dare write a thesis about digestion and blood circulation. Not so with the social sciences. Since each person lives under the influence of the market and of the historic process in general, it is considered sufficient to possess common sense in order to write exercises on economic and especially historic-philosophic themes. As a general rule only "objectives" is demanded of an historical work. In point of fact whatever does bear this high-sounding title in the language of common sense, has nothing to do with scientific objectiveness.

The Philistine, especially if he is separated from the fighting arena by space and time, considers himself elevated above the fighting camps from the mere fact that he understands neither one of them. He sincerely takes his blindness regarding the working of historical forces for the height of impartiality, just as he is used to considering himself the normal measure of all things. Notwithstanding their documentary value, too many historical papers are being written according to this standard. A blunting of sharp edges, even distribution of light and shadow, a conciliatory moralizing, with a thorough disguising of the author's political sympathies, easily secures for a historical work the high reputation of "objectiveness."

In so far as the subject of investigation is a phenomenon as poorly reconcilable with common sense as revolution, this historical "objectiveness" dictates in advance its immutable conclusions: the cause of the disturbances lies in the fact that the conservatives were much too conservative, the revolutionaries much too revolutionary; the historical excesses called civil war, can in the future, be avoided if the private owners will be more generous, and the hungry people more moderate. A book with such tendencies has a good effect on the nerves, especially during an epoch of world crisis.

The demand of science, and not of a parlor-philistine "objectives", really is that one should expose the social conditioning of historical events, no matter how unpleasant they may be for the nerves. History is not a dumping-ground for documents and moral maxims. History is a science no less objective than physiology. It requires not a hypocritical "impartiality" but a scientific method. One can accept or reject the materialistic dialectic as a method of historical science, but one must reckon with it. Scientific objectiveness can be and must be lodged in the very method itself. If the author did not manage its proper application it must be pointed out exactly where.

I attempted to base my History not on my own political sympathies, but on the material foundations of society. Revolution I considered as the process, conditioned by all the past, of the direct struggle of classes for power. The center of attention for me was those changes in the consciousness of the classes taking place under the effect of the feverish tempo of their own struggle. I considered political parties and political agents in no other light than that of mass shifts and clashes. Four parallel processes conditioned by the social structure of the country formed thus the background of the whole narrative; the evolution of the consciousness of the proletariat from February to October; the change of the moods in the army; a growth of the peasant vindictiveness; the awakening and insurrection of the oppressed nationalities. By revealing the dialectic of the consciousness of masses thrown out of equilibrium, the author sought to give the nearest immediate key to all the events of the revolution.

A literary work is "truthful" or artistic when the inter-relations of the heroes develop, not according to the author's desires, but according to the latent forces of the characters and setting. Scientific knowledge differs greatly from the artistic. But the two also have some traits in common, defined by the dependence of the description on the thing described. An historical work is scientific when facts combine into one whole process which, as in life, lives according to its own interior laws.

Is the depiction of the classes of Russia true? Do these classes through their parties and politicians talk their own language? Do the events—naturally, without being forced—go back to the social source, i. e. to the struggle of living historic forces? Does the general conception of the revolution conflict with actual facts? I must admit with gratitude that a large number of critics have approached my work precisely from the standpoint of these really objective, i. e., scientific criteria. Their critical remarks may be right or wrong, but the great majority of them are fruitful.

It is not accidental, however, that those critics who miss "objectiveness" neglect completely the problem of historic determinism. They are really complaining about the "injustice" of the author toward his opponents, as if it were a question not of scientific research, but of a school report-card with marks for good conduct. One of the critics is offended for the monarchy, another for the liberals, a third for the compromisers. Since the sympathies of these critics got neither recognition nor indulgence from the actual reality in 1917, they would now like to find con-

solation in the pages of history; just as some people seek shelter from the blows of destiny in romantic literature. But the last thing the author had in mind was to interpret in his book the verdict of the historic process itself. The offended persons themselves, by the way, in spite of the fifteen or sixteen years which they have had at their disposal, have never attempted to explain the causes of what happened to them. The White emigration has not produced one single historical work worthy of the name. The cause of its misfortune it still tries to find in "German gold", the illiteracy of the masses, the criminal plots of the Bolsheviks. The personal irritation of the apostles of objectiveness—I trust this is indisputable—must necessarily be the sharper, the more convincingly the historical narrative reveals the inevitability of their destruction and their want of any hope for the future.

The more cautious of these politically disappointed critics often disguise the source of their annoyance in complaints to the effect that the author of the History permits himself to use polemics and irony. That, they seem to think, is beneath the dignity of the scientific guild. But revolution itself is a polemic become a mass action. Nor is irony lacking to the historic process; during a revolution it can be measured in millions of horse-power. Speeches, resolutions, letters of those taking part, as well as their subsequent recollections, have necessarily a polemic character. There is nothing easier than to "reconcile" all this chaos of bitter struggle of interests and ideas according to the method of the golden mean; there is also nothing more fruitless. The author strove to define the true relative might in the course of the social struggle of all opinions, slogans, promises and demands by means of a critical (or, if you wish, polemical) sorting and cleaning. The individual he reduced to the social, the particular to the general, the subjective he confronted with the objective. This is exactly what history consists of in our opinion as a science.

There exists a quiet special group of critics who are offended personally for Stalin, and for whom history outside of that question does not exist. These people consider themselves "friends" of the Russian revolution. In reality they are merely attorneys for the Soviet bureaucracy. That is not the same thing. The bureaucracy grew stronger as the activity of the masses weakened. The power of the bureaucracy is an expression of the reaction against the revolution. It is true that this reaction is still developing on the foundations laid by the October revolution, but even so it is a reaction. The attorneys of the bureaucracy are often attorneys of the anti-October reaction. This is not altered by the fact that they perform their functions unconsciously.

Like shop-keepers grown rich who create for themselves a new and more suitable genealogy, the bureaucratic class which grew out of the revolution has created its own historiography. Hundreds of rotary presses are at its service. But its quantity does not make up for its scientific quality. Even to please the most disinterested friends of the Soviet authorities, I could not leave untouched these historic legends which are perhaps very flattering to the vanity of the bureaucracy, but which nevertheless have the misfortune to contradict facts and documents.

I shall confine myself to one single example which, as it seems to me, well illustrates the matter. A number of pages in my book are devoted to refuting the fairy-tale created after 1924 to the effect that I attempted to postpone the armed insurrection until after the Congress of Soviets, while Lenin, it

government will have to face the question which it has been able to avoid so far—to inflate or not to inflate, how, how much. The higher prices and speculative production in anticipation of future markets have run up, the sharper will be the break. Graduated doses of "controlled" inflation may then be administered to soften the break or change the downward trend, but the resulting price advances will create a larger demand for money (each unit of which will have lower purchasing power) and thus only reproduce, after a shorter or longer time, the previous situation. Whenever the attempt will be made to alter the shock of readjustment and the demand by the bourgeoisie for relief through inflation will be repeated.

All during this period, unless the workers can succeed in organizing so as to obtain higher wages and higher profits in proportion to the advance in prices, they will be squeezed tighter and tighter, their living standards and real wages will be forced steadily downward. Finally, at some point or other in this course, the bourgeoisie, tormented at the prospects of losing control of its life-blood, money, will be compelled to call a halt, whether through drastic deflation or through the mere cessation of inflation, which will have a similar effect. The earlier this is done, the shorter and less violent the ensuing crisis. Even under present conditions, however, when actual inflation has not begun, the prerequisites for a sharp though perhaps short crisis have already been created.

With this perspective of shocks and sharp readjustments, the working class will find itself opposed by the class enemy, under the Industrial Recovery Act, in a threefold form—the capitalist himself, strengthened and concentrated through the encouragement of monopoly and the elimination of "wasteful competition"; the honor-roll state, as supervisor and coordinator of the concentration of capital and guardian of the new "code"; and the reformist trade-unions who will endeavor to utilize the present situation, so advantageous for them, to secure the exclusive monopoly before the capitalist organizations and the government of the representation of the working class, to the end of reducing it to a willing victim to the super-exploitation planned for the immediate future. —B. J. FIELD.

seems, backed by a majority of the Central Executive Committee, succeeded in having the insurrection carried out on the eve of the Congress. By adducing numerous evidences, mostly indirect, I tried to prove—and I think I undeniably did prove—that Lenin, cut off by his illegal status from the theatre of struggle, was too impatient to bring on the insurrection, separating it completely from the Congress of Soviets. I, on the other hand, backed by the majority of the Central Committee, tried to bring the insurrection as near as possible to the Congress of Soviets, and cover it with the latter's authority. With all its importance the disagreement was of a purely practical and temporary character. Later Lenin frankly admitted that he had been in the wrong.

While I was working on my History I did not have in hand the collection of speeches pronounced at the Moscow anniversary meeting of April 23, 1920, celebrating Lenin's 50th birthday. One of the pages in that book reads verbatim as follows: "We in the Central Committee decided to go ahead with reinforcing the Soviets, to summon the Congress of Soviets, to open the insurrection, and proclaim the Congress of Soviets the organ of state power. Ilych, who was then in hiding, did not agree and wrote (in the middle of September-L.D.) that . . . the Democratic Central Committee must be dissolved and arrested. We understand that things were not so simple. . . . All the holes, the pitfalls on our course were more visible to us. . . . In spite of all Ilych's demands we went ahead with reinforcement, and on the 25th of October confronted the picture of an insurrection. Ilych smiling, slyly looking at us, said: 'Yes, you were right.'" (Fiftieth Anniversary of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin, 1920, pp. 2728).

The above quotation is taken from a speech pronounced by none other than Stalin, some five years before he put into circulation the poisonous insinuation that I attempted to "belittle" the role of Lenin in the revolution of October 25th. If the just quoted document, which fully confirms my story (in cruder terms, it is true), had been in my hands a year ago, it would have relieved me of the necessity of adducing indirect and less authoritative proofs. But, on the other hand, I am content that this small book, forgotten by all, poorly printed on poor paper (1920, a heavy year!) happened into my hand so early. By this very fact it brings additional and very striking proof of the "objectiveness" of my narrative even in the sphere of those disputed questions of a personal character.

Nobody—I shall allow myself to state this in a most categorical manner—nobody has so far found in my narrative a violation of truthfulness which is the first commandment for historical, as well as all other narratives. Particular lapses are possible. Tendentious distortions—no! If it were possible to find in the Moscow archives even one single document directly or indirectly refuting or weakening my narrative, it would have been long ago translated and published in all languages. The adverse theorem is not hard to prove: all the documents in the least degree dangerous to the official legends are carefully kept out of sight. It is not surprising that the advocates of the Stalin bureaucracy, calling themselves friends of the October revolution, have to make up for this lack of arguments by a surplus of zeal. But this type of criticism worries my scientific conscience least of all. Legends dissolve, facts remain. —LEON TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, April 1, 1933.
(Translated by Max Eastman)

Relief Cut in New York
(Continued from page 1)
The face of the threat to cut off relief is a single, united unemployed organization that will be able to rally the whole million or more of jobless in the city solidly under its banner. That is the task for the present. That requires the immediate adoption by the Unemployed Councils of the unity basis put forward by the Chicago Conference, which last May created the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues, in which the Stalinist participated. On this basis, they will be able to challenge the social reformists to enter into the united front and to hold them responsible before the masses of workers.

The establishment of such a genuine, Leninist united front—with freedom of expression and criticism for every labor tendency—will also enable the Communists to carry out the Communist task in the mass movement—that of educating broad layers of the working class with demonstrative class struggle facts in the fertility and rottenness of the capitalist system and in the inevitability of the Communist way out of misery—the proletarian dictatorship.

The Tammany threat still impends. The need for the unity of the unemployed workers is indispensable. If it is to be defeated, if Tammany is to be prevented—by splitting the workers' ranks—from reducing the unemployed to a state where they get not enough to live, and just too much to die. The task of the Communists is obvious—frank and open, Leninist united front proposal to the reformists, which will make unity possible and insofar as it will permit the Communists to implant class consciousness within broad strata of the workers. —S. G.

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The Columbus Conference

(Continued from Page 1)
Unemployed Councils are associated (note the substitute for affiliation), and such other groups as are willing to cooperate in the unification of the unemployed organizations into one organization through a Unity Convention."

We call attention to the fact that this official statement of the Council N. C., which had been circulated in leaders from the first day on, was made before any national organization of Leagues was formed. Thus we see that the Stalinists for some reason or other saw fit to stop their earlier plea that "a new national organization" be not set up. We also call attention to the fact that although both the Councils and Leagues are represented on the N. C. of the Federation, neither the Councils did not ask support and affiliation to the FUWLA; they proposed instead a Unity Convention for amalgamation, which unification should be prepared by local "united front federations".

All the Stalinist-Musteite talk about preparing for "unity" and amalgamation without first of all having all the unemployed organizations work together in a National Federation for a long period of time is plain deception. Both of these groups are more interested in maintaining mechanical control of their own national movements for the furthering of their own "political" ends than they are in building one huge mass organization of unemployed workers on a national scale. When the Musteites and Stalinists refuse to support completely the national Federation movement they in fact refuse to take the most necessary step towards the complete unification and amalgamation of the unemployed; and all their talk about the fact that the FUWLA has not yet told them just how much representation they will get on its committees shows that neither of them believe that they will be able to long re-

tain their "leadership" if once they should happen to lose mechanical control of their movements.

While the Stalinists found it necessary to sabotage the work of the national Federation in a roundabout manner the Musteites merely used their machine for a steam roller. First the Resolution Committee which they controlled saw to it that no resolutions dealing with the question of affiliation, to the FUWLA came up until long after they had placed a new constitution before the convention and had it adopted. This constitution of the National Unemployed League contains a clause which leaves the whole question of unity, federation, etc., up to the incoming Musteite National Committee.

After this was adopted, a resolution by delegate Newby, asking that the convention affiliate the new organization which it had just set up to the FUWLA, was allowed to come before the convention for a short time. But this was only after the new organization had been set up and all of the officers' untested nominations. Moreover, a resolution from Rose of California dealing with the setting up of a national committee of federated and other delegates for the calling of a unity conference was just ignored in committee.

Bidenz set the Musteite key-note by speaking against Newby's resolution for affiliation to FUWLA and after Newby was permitted to speak, the Musteite chairman Kamuglia closed the discussion and railroaded Bidenz's motion that the resolution be referred to the incoming National Committee. A "division of the house" was not permitted as such would have shown much more support for affiliation to the FUWLA than the mere hearing of "ayes" and "nays" showed. For example, if put to a vote the 8 delegates from California would have received 10 votes equal to the votes of the 307 from Ohio.

(Continued from Page 1)

dissemination of their BILL, they did not obtain an endorsement of the December meeting. Muste gained the most out of the united front from above. However, this much can be said, now that the Musteites have the executive committee and the power to make the decisions that the conference should have made, they will be able to complete the original agreement by the continuation of the united front from above. The bloc of Leagues and Councils lost at Columbus but they hope to make up for this by December.

While Muste and Hathaway were roaming the conference grounds arm in arm the Daily Worker, in an editorial, accused the Musteites of breaking the agreement. When the Stalinists steering committee saw how reactionary the conference was the Unemployed Council representatives decided it was time to be ready in case they had to change horses in the middle of the stream, to negotiate with the Left Bloc of the conference around the National Unemployed Federation, of course trying to exclude the Left Opposition members present.

THE RIGHT WING
In the state conference of the Unemployed Leagues the flag-waving patriots took the conference out of the hands of the Musteites. A revival atmosphere filled the air more than once. This bloc of Ohio delegates numbered 300 out of the 500 in the national conference, were mainly composed of Right wing elements. The bulk of the remainder were Musteites. They had tremendous influence on the national conference and determined its main course. The Musteites fought this Right wing where they threatened the Musteite control but the Musteites did not take one step beyond this in a political fight against them.

THE FREE LANCERS
The Musteites catered to the progressive free lancers, slobbered all over them andaped some in on this basis. Dennis Burt was also present, but he paddled his own canoe. He was made chairman of the Constitution Committee that drew up the Musteite "Declaration of Independence". In the main, Burt supported the Musteites.

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THE LOVESTONEITES
The Lovestoneites were criticized by Lovestone for their concessions at the Chicago Unemployed Conference so they came to Columbus ready to bargain with Muste. But Muste had already closed his deal with Stalinism and did not care to deal with the Lovestoneites. The Lovestoneites, through their unemployed organizations which are affiliated to the National Unemployed Federation, presented a draft program for a new federation to the Columbus conference. They did not present this to the Federation to which they are affiliated. If the Lovestoneites had been able to obtain a "better deal" at Columbus they would have deserted the Federation which they are affiliated with. The old Lovestone policy, the two-faced game, cannot be discarded by their group.

The Declaration of Independence or rather Declaration of Workers Rights, a political document of the Musteites is signed by the Constitution Committee headed by Batt and the Steering Committee of the Conference which includes four Lovestoneite signatures. Does Lovestone agree with the action of his fraction?

and one delegate from Washington who favored affiliation had a vote of 5. The big votes of Ohio and Pennsylvania would have been split, and enough votes from the other states could quite likely have been gained for the federation affiliation. As have passed the resolution. But the Musteites railroaded the thing through because their followers would make the most noise.

It appears that the struggle of the workers for first federation and later unity of unemployed organizations on a national scale will have to be fought out in opposition to the Musteites and Stalinists. —N.

The German Catastrophe

(Continued from Page 3)

In August 1932, when Germany was still ruled by the "social general," von Schleicher, who was supposed to assure the union of Hitler with Weis, announced by the Communist International, I wrote:

Everything goes to show that the Weis-von Schleicher-Hitler triangle will fall apart before it has really been put together. But perhaps it will be replaced by a Hitler-Weis combination? Let us assume that the Social Democracy, without being afraid of its own workers, would seek to sell Hitler its toleration. Fascism, however, does not need this commodity; it is not the toleration of the Social Democracy which it needs but its abolition. The Hitler government can realize its task only when it has broken the resistance of the proletariat and all the possible organs of such a resistance. Therein lies the historical role of Fascism. ("The Only Road," page 31.)

That the reformists, after the defeat, would be happy if Hitler were to permit them to vegetate legally until better times return, cannot be doubted. But unfortunately for them, Hitler—the experience of Italy has not been in vain for him—realizes that the labor organizations, even if their leaders accept a muzzle, would inevitably become a threatening danger at the first political crisis.

Doctor Ley, the corporal of the present "labor front," has determined, with much more logic than the Praesidium of the Communist International, the relationship between the so-called twins. "Marxism is playing dead," he said on May 2 "in order to rise again at a more favorable opportunity. . . . The sky fly does not deceive us! It is better for us to deal him the final blow rather than to tolerate him until he recovers. The Leipzarts and the Grossmans may feign all sorts of devotion to Hitler—but it is better to keep them under lock and key. That is why we are striking out of the hands of the Marxist rabble its principal weapon (the trade unions) and are thus depriving it of the last possibility of arming itself again." If the bureaucracy of the Communist International were not so infallible and if it listened to criticism, it would not have made additional mistakes between March 22, when Leipart swore fealty to Hitler, and May 2, when Hitler, in spite of the oath, arrested him.

Essentially the theory of "social Fascism" could have been refuted even if the Fascists had not done such a thorough job of forcing themselves into the trade unions. Even if Hitler had found it necessary, as a result of the relationship of forces, to leave Leipart temporarily and nominally at the head of the trade unions, the agreement would not have eliminated the incompatibility of the fundamental interests. Even though tolerated by Fascism, the reformists would remember the despots of the Weimar democracy and that alone would make them concealed enemies. How can one fail to see that the interests of the Social Democracy and of Fascism are incompatible when even the independent existence of the Sted Helms is Mussolini tolerated the Social Democracy and even the Communist party for some time, only to destroy them all the more mercilessly later on. The vote of the Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag for the foreign policy of Hitler, covering this party with fresh dishonor, will not amandate its fate by one iota.

As one of the main causes for the victory of Fascism, the lackless leaders refer—in secret, to be sure—to the "genius" of Hitler, who foresaw everything and neglected nothing. It would be fruitless now to submit the Fascist policy to a retrospective criticism. One need only remember that Hitler, during the summer of last year, allowed the high peak of the Fascist tide to escape him. But even the gross loss of rhythm—a colossal mistake—did not have fatal results. The burning of the Reichstag by Göring, even if this act of provocation was crudely executed, did, however, yield the necessary result. The same must be said of the Fascist policy as a whole, for it led to victory. One cannot, unfortunately, deny the superiority of the Fascist over the proletarian leadership. But it is only out of an unbecoming modesty that the heathen chiefs keep silent about their own part in the victory of Hitler. There is the game of checkers and there is also the game of losers-win. The game that was played in Germany has this singular feature, that Hitler played checkers and his opponents played to lose. As for political genius, Hitler has no need for it. The strategy of his enemy compensated largely for anything his own strategy lacked.

Prinkipo, Turkey. —L. TROTSKY.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 128 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1932 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 36 [WHOLE NO. 183]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

Fighting the 'Recovery' Act

Cleveland Conference Against the N.I.R.A.

Weeks have passed since the Industrial Recovery Act became a law. In this time big business and its government have been drafting codes that are ushering in a new form of industrial slavery.

The broad layers of the working class have not yet been organized to resist and to fight back. This is due to the confusion that exists within the ranks of the organized forces of the class.

The A. F. L. leaders, the Right wing in the Progressive Miners of America and the conservative Independent unions are supporting the I. R. A. The socialist leaders are singing praises to the "great forward step". The majority of the other forces are in confusion.

The Stalinists, as usual, were not equal to the task. The Stalinists did not recognize the danger until after it had fallen upon their heads.

Now, at last the Stalinists have called for action to fight the Industrial Recovery Act. They are calling a national conference in Cleveland, August 28-29, for all trade unions, unemployed organizations, and others; to protect the trade unions, and to rally the class against the capitalist attack.

We welcome the fact that the Stalinists and Mustelites, who are jointly calling this conference, have at last realized the necessity of the struggle, but they have not presented a program suitable for resistance to the bosses' attack. NOW to fight the capitalist offensive is the most important question.

Anyone can criticize after the event. We are criticizing the program and method of calling the conference prior to the August 28-29 conference. Further, we were the first to raise the cry of alarm, to give a Marxian analysis, and to fight for the mobilization of the class against the capitalists' new attacks. At the Gillespie Trade Union conference a delegate of the Left Opposition presented a resolution, prior to the act becoming a law. A bloc of Stalinists and Right wing delegates voted down the Left wing of the conference fighting around the resolution (See the Militant of June).

The national conference called by the Muste-Stalinists bloc is a caricature of the proposal presented at Gillespie last June. A few weeks later, at the first national unemployed conference since the act became a law, at the Columbus Muste-Stalinist conference, the Left Opposition again raised the question of the Industrial Recovery Act, especially dealing with its effects upon the unemployed. We were the only ones to raise our voice on this subject. The Muste-Stalinist bloc ignored this vital question. At last they have realized its importance. But how are they going to fight it?

In regards to the Needle Trades Code, the Right wing proposed a 30-hour week and a definite minimum wage. The Left wing, Stalinist group proposed a 40-hour week and said nothing about a minimum wage. Later the Freiheit said that was a mistake but without stating what should be done. Preparations for the Cleveland Conference are under way. A trade union conference was called in New York, July 15th. The Stalinists passed out a draft resolution. This is a step forward and has some good proposals but the draft leaves out an answer to the trade union question. So does the resolution dealing with the Needle Trades that was passed out. So does the call for the Cleveland conference.

In all of the preparations for the Cleveland Conference, the Stalinists refuse to answer the following questions (Let us hope they answer them in the near future): Do the facts refute the Stalinist theory that the A. F. L. is on a decline and is being liquidated and that therefore we must split locals away and build parallel unions all along the line? Will the Industrial Recovery Act help to rearm the A. F. L. leaders in their hold upon the trade union movement? Should we hasten to build a Left wing within the A. F. L.? Should the work, Left wing, paper unions return to the A. F. L. en bloc and function as a Left wing there? To ignore these questions, in the needle trades resolution in the New York Conference resolution and in the Cleveland conference call, is to ignore the most vital question of trade union policy and tactics in the struggle to protect the class, its trade unions and to repel the capitalist offensive. The Left Opposition answers these questions in the positive now as we have in the immediate past.

The working class have no voice in drafting the codes for the different industries. Only the pressure of the class through class struggle will force concessions from the enemy class. How to organize this class pressure effectively against the capitalists depends

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Bonapartist Government Robs Labor of Long-Standing Rights in Austria

Vienna, Austria.—

Quite a number of bombshells have exploded in Austria in the last few weeks. Their significance should not be underestimated even if they did not quite hit their mark. It must not be overlooked that they constitute tremendous progress in the undermining of the entire Austrian labor law and therewith of the living standards of the Austrian working class. The work was carried on with deadly calm, without any outer effects. The peace was not even disturbed by those who were hit—the apparatus of the S. P. saw to that—but each blow had its effect.

The first mine was laid in the May days by the Dollfuss government, when it destroyed the workers' right to strike with one stroke of the pen. This blow was completed with the introduction of compulsory arbitration for all "vital" industries, to which the printshops were added, and lately so, the building trades. No matter how vague the clauses of this act may be, its sense is quite transparent: the old lordly rights of the boss class are once again to be established with unlimited sway. If no agreement is reached at the arbitration office, before which all disputes between employers and workers are brought, or if one party raises objections against the verdict, then the super-arbitrator can make a decision which is binding for all. That such a decision will never do harm to the employers cause is quite obvious.

In the public utilities the elimination of the workers' voice from the decision of their working conditions takes place even less maskingly. In the future only the administration is to decide about conditions of work there.

After the metal workers and the railroad workers, the workers of the building trades form the most

MINERS PROTEST VIGOROUSLY AGAINST RIGHT WING'S RE- MOVAL OF ALLARD FROM P. M. A. POST

EDITOR'S NOTE—In the rush to compete with the John L. Lewis gang for the favors accruing to labor fakers from the Roosevelt National Industrial Recovery Act administration, the Right wing in the Progressive Miners of America have launched a broadside against all Left wingers and genuine progressives in the union. Being in control of a majority on the leading organs, their first step in this direction was the removal of Gerry Allard from the editorship of the P. M. A. paper, the *Progressive Miner*. The reply of the rank and file to this Right wing challenge is recounted in the dispatch we print below.

Gillespie, Ill.—Local Union No. 1 of the Progressive Miners of America voted almost unanimously in favor of a resolution demanding the reinstatement of Gerry Allard, recently deposed editor of the official organ.

This is the largest single local union in the P. M. A., with a membership of 2500. Claude Peary, president of the union, is a member of this local.

President Peary and Secretary Keck appeared at the meeting to explain their actions. Allard presented his case in person, claiming that the officials had no substantial reasons for removing him. After a hectic 5-hour debate the local union voted overwhelmingly to support Allard. A statement previously issued by the officials stated that they were confident the membership of the organization would accept the executive board's decision on the matter.

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PICNIC

Annual Midsummer Picnic & Outing
Sports, Games, Refreshments—
Good Time for All
Bring your Friends and Comrades
SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1933
at Tibbetts Brook Park
Plot No. 3

Directions: Take I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome train to last stop—then take bus and street car to Picnic Grounds

Auspices: N. Y. Branch—C. L. A. (Opposition) and Proletaria Club

Fascists Kill Young Worker in Astoria, L.I.

New York, N. Y.—While bourgeois democratic America hailed General Balbo, representative of the first Fascist state, the latest embryonic Fascist organization the Khaki Shirts of America was proving its kinship to the Black and Brown Shirts of Italy and Germany by the murder of Antonio Ferro, a working class student of City College, New York.

The murder took place at a meeting of Khaki Shirts held in Astoria, Long Island, on Friday last. When some workers and students in the audience questioned the statements made by the speakers a general attack was launched against them. One of the Khaki Shirts drew a revolver and shot young Antonio Ferro.

Though the murderer is known to the authorities he has not been arrested, but instead two of the anti-Fascists who were present are being held by the police. They are Athos Terzani and Michael Palumbo, charged with felonious assault. The International Labor Defense which is handling the defense of the frame-up workers is also pressing for the arrest of the real murderer. Full support of the I. L. D. in this case is the duty of all workers.

The murder in New York by the Khaki Shirts is in line with their provocative actions elsewhere, particularly in Philadelphia, where apparently is their headquarters. With the tacit approval of "law and order", they direct their first efforts against the "Reds".

The history of similar organizations such as the "Nazis" which started out as "anti-Marxist" and ended up with the destruction of all forms of workers' organizations must be driven home and used in the building of a united front of all labor manifestation of nascent Fascism in America.

NAZIS LAUNCH NEW ATROCITY CAMPAIGN AGAINST WORKERS

Leipzig, Germany.—In the last few days, a new wave of persecution has swept the city, especially since the proscription of the S. P. G. In the streets, all those wearing corduroy jackets are halted and the jackets confiscated as impermissible "uniform apparel". The same holds true for the blue linen shirts formerly worn by the Socialist Youth.

But the Nazis are not concerned only with clothing. The strong distribution of material from all organizations has aroused in them a blind wrath. Consequently, at the unemployment registry offices, all the unemployed have been forced to undergo thorough examinations. Workers are also stopped arbitrarily in the streets. On the morning of the proscription of the S. P. G. the former social democratic factory councilors in many of the big concerns were put under arrest (Borgguld, Stoehr, etc.).

The new atrocities can be explained only by the fact that the fighting spirit of the Leipzig workers precisely has held on longer and more firmly than elsewhere. In many factories, the NSBO (Nazi factory cells) did not succeed in getting more than one or two members.

Along with the new printed organ you have at your disposal a hectographed (excellently hectographed) bulletin, "The Communist". It would be extremely desirable to devote the greatest possible space in this publication to the examination of the policy of the British Communist Party along the lines indicated above, and also to the discussion of controversial questions within the Left Opposition itself. While persistently striving to widen our influence among the workers, we must at the same time make it a point to work for the theoretical and political education of our own ranks. We have a long and laborious road in front of us. For this we need first-class cadres. With all my heart I wish you success.

—LEON TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, 18th of May, 1933.

HITLER PREPARES "SUICIDES" FOR COMRADE TORGLER AND THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS

Berlin, Germany.—The trial on the "arson" attempt against the Reichstag has been postponed several times. The mysterious Van der Lubbe is designated as the chief defendant, comrades Torgler, Popoff, Dimitroff and Taneoff are named as being "suspected". Those who are really responsible for it, Goering and Co., are working on new provocations.

The Fascist government keeps on postponing the trial and is attempting even to suppress it altogether. The jailed Communists are submitted to torture. It is quite apparent that "suicides" are being planned for the inconvenient "criminals".

The whole international working class must enter into a broad and serious protest action against the planned murder of comrades Torgler, Popoff, Dimitroff and Taneoff!

HOW NAZI "PACIFISM" LOOKS IN PRACTICE

From a small town in Thuringia, we receive the following news, which throws a sharp light on the "peace work" of the loud-mouthed Adolf: In this place there is a great watch factory which at one time employed thousands of workers. The watch factory was closed down completely. It has been transformed now for the production of hand grenades, incendiary bombs, and other war material. Comment is superfluous.

Spartacus Delegates Raise Internat'l Issues at Youth Anti-Fascist Meet

The Youth Conference against War and Fascism which met last Sunday, July 16 at the Church of all Nations was called by a long list of organizations, primarily the Young Communist League and its auxiliaries. The Sunday meeting was to prepare for an international conference of youth, in Paris, late this summer. About seventy delegates, composed in the largest part of young Communists representing Y. C. L. units, I. W. O. youth units and the like, appeared. The War Resisters League, a group of militant pacifists, the Lovestonite youth, the National Student League and the Spartacus Youth Club also sent delegates.

The only display of enthusiasm at the conference took place when the members of the Spartacus Youth Club, attempted to read the statement printed below, comrade Carter was allowed three minutes, after a protracted period of disorder, in which to read the statement. When another comrade attempted to complete the reading of the statement, a vote was passed forbidding it.

It is significant that the Y. C. L. ers who ran the conference refused an answer to the several times repeated question of the brutal treatment accorded to delegates of the International Left Opposition at the Paris Anti-Fascist Congress this past June. A report of the Paris Congress was the major, and only, report on Fascism, at the Sunday conference. Yet we were called "disrupters", and "out of order", for questioning and for condemning the treatment of our comrades at the Paris meet.

Little can be expected of this conference and its customary decisions for work, just as little can be expected of any of the numerous anti-war conferences that the Stalinists have conceived. Undoubtedly it, as well as the international conference still to be held, will go

Slavery Provisions Exposed in Code for Steel Industry

The fierce attack upon the living standard of the workers, which the American capitalists are making under the cover of Roosevelt's Industrial Recovery Act, becomes more openly vicious with each new code. In the newly-monthed hypocrisy of the proposed steel code, the robber barons of the steel industry make clear their intention of taking their rightful places at the head of the capitalist offensive. After the Cossack terrorism of the Great Steel Strike in 1919, and the consistent brutality with which all attempts to unionize the steel mills have been put down, nothing less could be expected of the barons than this code.

In the code "minimum" hourly wages range from 25 to 40 cents for different territories. Assuming workers are employed a full 40 hours a week, this means wages of from 10 to 16 dollars a week. Since the dollar is down 25 percent and more on the international exchange and prices are skyrocketing, these wages at present really are worth from \$3.50 to \$12, when inflation really gets under

way they will amount to even less. The steel workers shall not have a standard of living; they shall have a standard of starvation.

Publicity to Steel Barons' "Generosity"

Right now the capitalist press is giving all possible publicity to the generosity of the steel bosses in granting a 15 percent raise to their workers before the code goes into effect. But the flunkies journalists carefully forget that this 15 percent wage increase is wiped out and more than wiped out by the rise in living costs. The proposed code shows how strangely the clothing of liberality sits on the shoulders of the steel barons.

The code fixes the work week at forty hours. But there is a cruel trick in the provision limiting hours. The code reads: "None of the members of the code shall cause or permit an employee to work on average of more than forty hours per week in any six month period".

There is absolutely no limit set to the number of hours a worker may be forced to work in any single week. The code permits the steel manufacturers to drive their workers eighty hours a week for three months, and then to throw the workers on the street for the next six months. By this treacherous provision the steel code puts a premium upon seasonal unemployment coupled with the longest possible work week. Every advantage the workers can gain from the shorter work week is stolen from them; every hardship of irregular employment forced upon them.

The Right to Organize?

Finally, what about the right to organize, the great gift the A. F. L. takers claim is granted by the Industrial Recovery Act? Article IV, Section 1 of the code states: "That no employee and no one seeking work shall be required to join any company union, or to refrain from joining, organizing or assisting a labor union of his own choosing." So far, all is orthodox: "It is the belief of the industry that the method of collective bargaining set forth in such plans (Employee Representation Plans) provides for a day to day adjustment of all matters relating to the employment of employees... that such principles should be maintained and that the rights of the employees and members of the industry to bargain collectively through representatives elected or appointed in accordance with such plans without interference, restraint or coercion of any sort should be preserved and protected."

The so-called "Employee Representation Plan" provides for the election of representatives by the workers, but "such nominations and elections shall be held on the premises of the employer." These representatives shall settle differences between the workers and the employer by "collective bargaining" with representatives of the employer, but in case the representatives cannot agree, "procedure for appeal shall be maintained—if necessary, to the head of such employer, responsible for the management of the business of such employer." In other words the Employee Representation Plan is a company union, set-up in silicon-pure and foolproof, having its election under absolute control of the boss.

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Trotsky Greets 'Red Flag', British Organ of L. O.

Dear Comrades,
You have begun the publication of a little monthly, the 'Red Flag'. This is a modest step forward. We must hope that other steps will follow.

The advance of Communism in Great Britain is no way corresponds to the rate of decay of British capitalism. The conservative traditions of British politics, including the politics of the working class, are in themselves obviously insufficient to explain this fact. We only declare what is true and cannot be refuted when we say that above all, and, alas, with greater success, than by any other factor, the progress of Communism during the last years has been hindered by the leadership of the British Communist. They, of course, have not acted independently, but have only followed blindly the orders given by the leaders of the Communist. But this fact does not free the British Communist bureaucracy from its responsibility, nor lessen the damage it has done. The study and critical examination of the policy of the British

Communist Party during the last eight or ten years constitutes a most important task in the education of the Left Opposition itself. You should carefully study the official publications of the Party throughout this period, digest them, and bring out clearly the Party line on the main strategic problems: its attitude towards the Labour Party, the trade unions, the Minority Movement, the colonial revolutions, the united front policy; the I. L. P., etc. Even the mere selection of the most striking quotations, and the presentation of them in chronological order, would lay bare not only the glaring contradictions of the 'general line', but also the inner logic of these contradictions, i. e., the violent vacillations of the Centrist bureaucracy between opportunism and adventurism. Every one of these tactical zigzags pushed Communists, sympathizers, and potential friends back, to the Right, to the Left, and finally into the swamp of indifference. We can say with-out the least exaggeration, that the British Communist Party has

become a political throughfare and that it retains its influence only with that section of the proletariat which has been forcibly pushed to its side by the decomposition of both capitalism and reformism.

Along with the new printed organ you have at your disposal a hectographed (excellently hectographed) bulletin, "The Communist". It would be extremely desirable to devote the greatest possible space in this publication to the examination of the policy of the British Communist Party along the lines indicated above, and also to the discussion of controversial questions within the Left Opposition itself. While persistently striving to widen our influence among the workers, we must at the same time make it a point to work for the theoretical and political education of our own ranks. We have a long and laborious road in front of us. For this we need first-class cadres. With all my heart I wish you success.

—LEON TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, 18th of May, 1933.

Left Opposition Active in Toronto Anti-Nazi Meet

Toronto, Canada.—The Left Opposition was the last contingent in the big anti-Fascist parade on Tuesday, July 12, and followed directly behind the "official" Left wing and Communist organizations. Over 150 workers... members, sympathizers and friends rallied behind our big masthead "The International Left Opposition of Canada." This banner, in the centre of which was a big hammer and sickle, was carried by two young girl comrades, one of the Spartacus Youth Club and the other of the Y. C. L.

L. O. Slogans in Parade

As our contingent swung off, our comrades boomed out the international. Then followed a flow of revolutionary songs, "The Red Flag", "Solidarity Forever", "The Red Army March" etc. As we came up Spadina to Queen St., the workers lining the streets applauded and cheered. As the march proceeded, the enthusiasm and spirit of our comrades rose still higher, and soon were shouting out the slogans of our banners, all of which breathed the spirit of international solidarity and class struggle. "Free the Scottsboro Boys", "Long Live the

International Solidarity of the Working class", "Free all the Class War Prisoners", "Down with Section 88", "Freedom for Chen Duxiu and Andres Nin", "Forward to Victory Under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky", etc., etc.

We swung into Queen Park to the enthusiastic tune of the international. As our contingent proceeded to their station, they again shouted out the slogans of our prominent banners. When the Stalinists as it to reply to us, shouted "Long Live the C. P. of Canada," we joined in the loud unison. Then in order to reveal our identity our comrades immediately revealed our "Long Live the Left Opposition", "Forward to Victory under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky."

The speakers representing every tendency in the labor movement addressed the big crowd from 3 platforms. As comrade Spector took the platform we again shouted out the slogans of our banners amidst the general applause of the crowd. The same was repeated when comrade MacDonald stood up on a second platform. The Left Opposition were active participants and organizers of the

greatest and most militant labor demonstration since 1919, were able to show the workers the strength of its ideas, the enthusiasm and idealism of its banner-bearers, and the general growth of our movement. The militant character of our participation and banners, has already brought incitements and threats against us as well as the other revolutionary groups. We quote from the *Toronto Telegram*, July 13: "Nothing is more calculated to persuade Torontoans that Hitler was right than the presence in the Toronto demonstration of banners carrying such slogans as, 'Victory under the Banner of Trotsky', 'We demand the abolition of Section 88', and 'Hands off the Young Communist League'." ... Unless "Victory under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky" and Hands off the Young Communist League" do not mean the advocacy of revolution, the English language has lost its meaning." The editorial calls upon the police to take action.

What do the Stalinists say to the above? Is this another united front between Trotsky and the bourgeois press? —Q.

The Columbus Conference

1. The Background of the Unemployed Movement

The Columbus Conference can be properly understood only in the light of all past experience of the unemployed movement. Four years of economic collapse have not rolled by without leaving their mark. As a matter of fact, it radically changed the whole physiognomy of the labor movement. Trade union organization, which never did reach any great proportions, diminished in size and unemployed organizations gradually grew up and developed.

At the beginning of the "depression," whatever organization of the unemployed was done resulted through the activity of the Communist party. The leadership of the socialist party was still groggy from an overdose of "prosperity" and the A. P. of L. bureaucracy was busy helping Hoover cover up the existence of the crisis. A truly golden opportunity here presented itself to the Communists of building up a mighty nationwide unemployed movement such as might throw terror into the hearts of the bourgeoisie. Here also was the opportunity of cutting away the base of social reformism. But Stalinism is not rated for its accomplishments; defeats and setbacks are the rule that Stalinists work by, and the party's course during this entire period is certainly no exception to this rule.

Amidst such splendid possibilities, the party was weighed down with the Stalinist "third period" thesis, out of which flowed the ruinous theories and tactics that were guaranteed to bring about the isolation of the Communist party. Since the "third period" called for a "revolutionary upsurge" and this unfortunately did not exist—and in fact does not yet exist in spite of the fact that the C. I. has for the second time recently declared with great solemnity that "capitalist stabilization has ended"—the revolutionary upsurge had to be manufactured. The "fight for the streets" was inaugurated and demonstrations of unemployed organizations for that purpose. Somehow it did not occur to anyone to ask what the party would do with the streets after it had captured them—in the "third period" this would have been sheer heresy. Instead of organizing the unemployed around their immediate demands, the abstract slogan of "Work or Wages" was shouted to the four winds. The writer, who was active in organizing the unemployed in Milwaukee at that time and, together with others, began to lay some emphasis on the immediate needs of the unemployed instead of spending his time extolling the Chinese Soviets. Together with his associates he was hailed before a meeting of the District Committee and all were condemned as "Economists."

The party was out for "independent leadership." The party would have nothing to do with "social fascists." The party must "fight for the streets." The party must organize "revolutionary trade unions." This was surely the road to success—did not the party set into motion some million-and-a-half unemployed on the first March 6th? (See the Daily Worker)

The height of this fever was reached when Browder thundered out a manifesto to the American working class to follow the example of the Arkansas farmers, storm warehouses, and help themselves. But somehow no response came to this swashbuckling call to arms and it was not long before the same hand of Browder wrote another article in the same Daily Worker of a directly opposite nature and this without even a word of explanation. Whereas the first decree had instructed the workers to seize the food warehouses for themselves, the second article gave to understand that the real job of the unemployed Councils was to make the American working class "soup-conscious," i. e., to begin concentrating on the immediate needs of the unemployed. Naive people scratched their heads in amazement and marvelled at this sudden change.

Unemployment Councils Decompose
The whole secret lay in the fact that in that period the Unemployed Councils, which had at first experienced a relatively rapid growth, had now begun to decompose at an equally rapid pace, precisely because they could not be kept together on the basis of abstract slogans. In fact, the demonstrations, which had been the stimulant administered to keep them alive, had begun very seriously to decline in size and generally to flake out. Hence the zigzag.

Meanwhile the Unemployed Councils were the only organizations in the field. The S. P. was still blissfully oblivious to its own possibilities and the depth of the crisis had not been reached where spontaneous organizations would come into existence. But the inability of the party to adapt itself to the needs of the moment, as well as the deepening of the crisis, at length began to make their way into the consciousness of the American reformists. The failure of the Communists served to encourage the S. P. and it began to organize its own unemployed movement. The Muste group, not to be outdone, began to organize its unemployed organizations. Still another stratum of unemployed organizations came into existence, organized on a self-help or barter basis, of which the original California carrot-pulling organization is typical.

But as the crisis deepened, even these self-help organizations began

to change their complexion and inevitably gravitated in the direction of class struggle. By this time, the Unemployed Councils had drawn up several social insurance bills, the first one demanding twenty-five dollars a week for the unemployed, and the others gradually going lower and lower. Hunger marches on Washington and state capitals were organized which at first, as long as they served to dramatize certain campaigns, aroused the country to the brutality of the crisis, but later began to peter out. Due to senseless repetition. To obtain the actual numerical strength of the Unemployed Councils over this period is impossible. The Daily Worker is not famous for modesty and truthfulness.

Need of Unity
Gradually these various organizations developed and grew up side by side and a leveling process set in. The most radical, i. e., the Unemployed Councils, got out of the dizzy heights of the "Third Period" and began to pay some attention to the needs of the unemployed. In fact, the center of their entire activity became the fight for relief. On the other hand, the self-help organizations were driven to the wall and had to resort to the same activities as were conducted by the Unemployed Councils; that is, eviction activity, turning on gas and electricity, etc. So that, at the beginning of this year, aside from the spontaneous organizations, practically every political group had its own unemployed organization, each carrying on practically the same activity and having practically the same program. And gradually the thought of unity began to develop—the thought of uniting all unemployed organizations into one.

Another golden opportunity here presented itself to the Communist party—and another golden opportunity was missed. At this point, the "united front from below" hung like a pallstone around the neck of the party, with the bureaucrats keeping vigilant guard lest anyone should seek to loosen it. When the thought of unity took on concrete form, it was not the Stalinist leadership that concretized it, but on the contrary the reformists, Karl Borders, of the Chicago S. P. who had built up a large unemployed movement of considerable influence. It was this Workers' Committee, together with the Workers' League, that met last fall and began to talk in concrete terms of federation. Of course, Karl Borders had an axe to grind. A federation of unemployed organizations which would exclude the Unemployed Councils would be quite acceptable to Mr. Borders. In a federation of this sort, the S. P. could easily take the leadership and thereby capture the control of additional unemployed organizations. As for the Workers' League—well, that is a small organization which could be easily disposed of. So thought Mr. Borders. But, as the canny Scot would have it, "There is many a slip twixt the cup and the lip." And, in this case, the cup was rudely dashed out of Borders' hands.

The Chicago Conference
The call for the Chicago Conference of Unemployed Organizations was very plain-spoken. The conference was to achieve unity, but the Unemployed Councils were to be left out. No organized voice of protest was heard from the rank and file of Borders' organization against this perfidious arrangement. What made it possible for Borders to proceed in this manner with impunity was the past activity of the Unemployed Councils along the lines of "united front from below" previously commented upon in the Militant.

As the day of the conference approached, the Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition addressed a letter to the C. P. asking for a Left wing bloc to fight for a militant policy in the conference. The only group that came into this conference with a clear-cut program of unity through federation was the Left Opposition and before the conference adjourned our position was adopted in the main.

From the point of view of numerical attendance, the conference was no great success. But it was thoroughly representative, and in that lay its importance. Literally, all shades of political thought were represented through the medium of the delegates from the various unemployed organizations which they had built up. It was, however, very uncertain at the beginning as to which political current would predominate.

Left Wing Scores Victory
The first battle of this conference was around the question of seating the Unemployed Council delegates. After a heated debate, a vote was taken and the Left wing scored its first victory, which indicated the general possibilities. From then on, the conference began slowly but surely to slip from the hands of Mr. Borders, and the Left wing position grew stronger and stronger. The Stalinists, who had come uncertain even of being seated, became arrogant and attempted to hog the entire conference. Only through the utmost exertion of the Left Opposition were the differences between the various Left wing groups bridged and unanimity established on the salient points of policy.

The Left wing emerged victorious from this conference. Out of this conference grew the National

Lessons of the Leninist United Front Tactic

(Continued from last issue)

ANOTHER SO-CALLED UNITED FRONT

In the hey-day of the "united front from below" the Stalinist called many united front conferences, sending calls to all organizations under their ideological and mechanical control and asking all other workers to break with their leadership and join the "united front." The T. U. U. L. and the I. L. D., the W. I. R. and the fraternal organizations, as well as any A. F. L. local where the Left wing was strong enough to send a delegate, received a call.

The delegates at the conference, no matter how many paper organizations or real organizations they represented, represented one political current; Stalinism—with the exception of the Left Opposition which was always kicked out the door, and several stray delegates who ran the gauntlet by accident. Month in and month out the same organizations sent delegates to the "united fronts." Each time the conference ended with the Stalinists capturing themselves, through the "united front from below."

The united front is a tactic of uniting, in temporary agreement, different organizations, and different political tendencies. To call together several organizations under socialist party control is not a united front, any more than the calling together of those organizations under Stalinist control constitutes a united front. United front action must be between organizations, but at the same time must embrace more than one political current. Each political current entering the united front is expected to rally those organizations and forces it has control over.

The Mooney Congress held in

Chicago in May, with about two dozen political tendencies; and the Unemployment Conference held in Chicago in June, with fifteen political tendencies—are first steps toward the Leninist United Front action. However, the number of workers put in motion and not the number of political tendencies is decisive.

THE UNITED FRONT AS A MANEUVER

The reformists say that the communists are insincere and that the call for a united front is a maneuver. If this is so then the reformists have nothing to worry about because if the Communists call a united front upon such a flimsy foundation, the Communists and not the reformists will lose. Of course the united front tactic or rather, the rejection of the united front tactic by Stalinism has played into the hands of the reformists, but in the main this is merely an excuse of the reformists to avoid taking part in the united front.

On the other hand, one must not take the word maneuver in too narrow a sense. If by maneuver one means a trick then we are opposed to a maneuver, but the fact remains that every move of any military or political force is a maneuver. In this latter sense, every united front action, like all other political actions, is a maneuver. The thing for the revolutionist and honest worker to find out is: Is it a correct maneuver, one that benefits the working class—or a false maneuver?

NON-AGGRESSION PACTS

The reformists and opportunists and misleaders will prevent a united front as long as possible, but once more the mass pressure and conditions force them to make a move toward the united front they

immediately attempt to set up certain provisions which will guarantee them from the "evils of exposure." One of their favorite means is to attempt to form a "non-aggression" pact with the others participating in the united front. They demand that while the united front is conducted, the organizations should refrain from criticizing each other. If one agrees to refrain from political criticism, then the misleaders are sure they will be able to retain their control and will not be exposed in action for their traitorous acts. Anyone who agrees to refrain from criticism during united front action forsakes one of the basic conditions of the Leninist united front. The right of minority expression and political criticism must be guaranteed at all times. Only fakery would ask for such a pact and only fools and Stalinists would agree to such pacts. Stalinism, like the social democracy, has its own crimes to cover up.

In the last several years in Germany, while Fascism was marching forward with rapid strides, while Stalinism was in its "third period," the social democratic betrayers were rendered the greatest historical service possible by the Stalinist united front from below. When over the threshold of state power Fascism gained, and was already the social democratic leaders offered the Communists a united front, but with the "non-aggression" clause. The C. I. statement and answer agreed to refrain from criticism. Again, following the "united front from below," the agreement to refrain from criticism rendered social democracy more service. This was repeated at the Mooney Congress in Chicago by the Stalinists. (To be continued)

Hathaway Speaks on United Front in Brownsville

New York, N. Y.—C. A. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, gave another of his famous lectures in Brownsville a week ago. This time the subject was to be the National Industrial Recovery Act. The lecturer was going along at a fine pace for about one hour when suddenly he found himself in the dreadful united front business once more. And here this great apostle of Stalinism could not restrain himself from casting a few slanders at the Left Opposition, and comrade Trotsky. He told the workers that the renegade Trotsky wanted only a united front from above, and that the "Trotskyists" told the workers that they must not attack the leaders of the socialist party. It appears that the Hathaways will stoop to any level in order to fool the workers into believing that Trotsky is a counter-revolutionary. What a shameless lie!

When and where has the Left Opposition ever said that we must unite only from above?—and that we must not attack the leaders? The Trotskyists want us to go to the doors of Hillquit and Thomas and knock, and in this manner they will form a united front.

At a District membership meeting of the Y. C. L. where he attempted to clarify the party united front policy, it was this same Hathaway who got up and in a mass of dramatic gestures boasted so loudly of the fact that "yesterday comrade Stachel, and myself went to visit A. J. Muste and we got him to accept our united front invitation." And did comrade Hathaway forget? "We called up Norman Thomas and he agreed to bring up our invitation to the National Committee of the Socialist Party."

Then there was still the question (and a new policy in the Hathaway lectures) discussion period. And lo and behold the same incident to a greater extent than at the District membership meeting of the Y. C. L. The questions were all of a "Trotskyite" nature, causing comrade Hathaway to get very angry as he remarked, picking up a large bundle of questions, "I think

zation, and only have a paltry two representatives on this national committee. What we want is unity. In order to achieve unity we propose that you agree to elect a committee of five, let the Unemployed Councils elect a committee of five, and the Columbus conference also a committee of five, and this committee of fifteen will arrange a unity conference in Washington at the time that Congress opens and at that time merge all unemployed organizations into one. Then we'll present one common front to the capitalist government." Such open-hearted frankness was so unexpected by the non-Stalinist members of the committee that for a moment they lost their bearings and almost fell into the trap. But fortunately a few more experienced members "came from Missouri" and remained unmoved by Browder's eloquence. So they voted against the proposition and laid down by Browder and, in spite of the outraged protestations of innocence on the part of the Stalinists, decided to poll the entire committee on this question. —NORMAN SATIR.

(To be continued)

Stalinist Slugger Beats Left Oppositionist

Brooklyn, N. Y.—Continuing a policy of using their fists when their heads ceased to supply arguments, leading Y. C. L. members resort to the method of physical violence against Left Oppositionists. On Friday night, July 14, after an open-air meeting held by the Left Opposition in Brownsville had ended and the comrades had left, comrade Joe Elliott was attacked in front of the Parkway cafeteria. The Stalinists previously made attempts to provoke him. Al Dasch, functional of the Brownsville section, notorious as a retired pugilist, "hard guy," and Trotsky-baiter, shouted out: "These Trotskyists must be driven out of Brownsville!" Comrade Elliott replied: "I'll leave when the workers of Brownsville want me to leave," and turned away. Al Dasch swung viciously at Elliott and dealt him several blows, injuring his eye.

Many of the workers present protested against this procedure and loudly voiced their opinions, promising to bring this matter up at the Section headquarters. To some of the others this "educational" work of Dasch, who is a member of the Section "Agit-prop" was considered in line with the "New Turn" though not outlined in the famous Open Letter.

Several Y. C. L. members expressed their indignation by saying that they would go themselves to the Section and bring charges against Dasch. In the meantime the Section has not uttered a word on the matter; by its very silence it is condoning and encouraging gangsterism and strong-arm methods. The system of Stalinism promises advancement and functionaries positions by plenty of use of the fist and nothing of the head.

—J. S.

CHICAGO BEACH PARTY
At Roscoe and the Lake
SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1933, 2 P. M.
(Meet at home of Esther Oller, 631 W. Roscoe Ave.)
—Refreshments Singing, Games—
Come Early and Enjoy Festivities
Auspices: Spartacus Youth Club

All comrades sending in news accounts and articles for publication in the Militant are requested to prepare typed copy, triple spaced.

Ohio State Jobless Confab

Flag Waving Patriots - Muste's Supporters

OHIO CONVENTION EXPOSES REACTION IN MUSTE BUILT LEAGUES

Columbus, Ohio.—We were received at the Columbus Convention on July 1st by a "workers' patrol," marked with arm-bands, armed with clubs and headed by one "Joe Gershner," whom Truax, president of the Ohio Unemployed League, saw fit to publicly characterize on the last day of the national convention as a "stool-pigeon, organizer of strike-breakers and company thugs." It was not until the third day of the convention, after incoming fraternal and out-of-town delegates had protested vigorously against these armed "guards" that the clubs disappeared; and with the exception of a few passing words about a "disguised national guard" not one public word was said in protest, until the last day of the convention, and then only to the Ohio Caucus.

The first session began with the endorsement of slates presented by the state office, etc., and continued with reports from county delegations to local conditions. Karl Paul, S. P. member spoke on the Continental Congress. Truax spoke on the C. P. sponsored Small Home and Land Owners Federation. Arnold Johnson spoke as representative of the C. P. L. A. and organizer of the O. U. L., mentioning united front action with Unemployed Councils through state federation. Clove, chairman of the Franklin County League, in which Columbus is situated, jumps to platform and demands to know whether or not the Councils respect the "Star and Stripes." Preis of Toledo follows, attempting to defend the council and explain the working class attitude towards "the flag." He is interrupted by a threatening riot, cries of "Stop him!", "Call the police!" "Make him take that back!" and a charge on the platform of about one-fourth those present. Numerous members of this "workers' guard" took part in this demonstration. Fortunately there was a fence between the audience and the platform, which stemmed the rush long enough to let the Mustelites Johnson and Baubert smooth the situation over with words.

But the situation was still tense enough when Perkins of Franklin County, introduced the motion: That the following be inserted in the Preamble of the O. U. L.—"The Stars and Stripes forever. When they're right we'll uphold them; when they're wrong we'll fight them." That no one dared to object to this was passed before Ben Smith of Franklin County, urged the crowd to return to their seats saying that the O. U. L. was not organized "under the red flag but as a 100 percent American organization," and pacified them with words about "diplomacy."

With such a start it was hard to expect much from this convention. And it is significant that the leaders of this non-class-conscious (and to be mild) came mostly from Franklin County, in the Columbus office of the O. U. L. is located and where we should normally expect the most progressive elements to be. If the Mustelites leaders of the O. U. L. had really followed a working class organizational and educational policy.

Declaration of L. O. at Columbus Conference

TO ALL DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

Brother delegates:
The passing of the Industrial Recovery Act by the Roosevelt government is the most far-reaching attack on the working class. This Act is a direct attack against the unemployed.

Capitalist charity and unemployment "emergency relief" has proven inadequate and has come to a breakdown. The capitalists realize that they will have to spend hundreds of millions of dollars next winter in order to keep the 18 million unemployed in submission. Hence the Recovery Act.

This Recovery law is an attempt on the part of the capitalists to side-step social insurance. They have passed codes in various industries precisely for the purpose of establishing a universal stagger system in order to absorb some of the unemployed into industry at a starvation wage. The 3 billion dollar program of public and manufacturing works program will be paid in inflated currency, which will not suffice for the bare necessities of life. This is merely another form of forced labor which the capitalists will institute in the place of social insurance.

The Industrial Control Law establishes a form of state capitalism and is calculated to save the rotten and decayed capitalist structure by the elimination of small producers, the organization of cartels, the outlawing of strikes, the establishing of a class collaboration machinery to hamper the development of class struggle organizations and the shifting of the entire burden of the crisis upon the working class. By instituting these measures and reducing the cost of production, the American capitalists hope to be able to better compete on the world market.

A determined struggle must be waged by the entire working class

against the effects of this capitalist offensive in the form of the Recovery Act. The unemployed have a special part in this struggle. Fellow delegates:

The present economic crisis is here to stay. It is a natural development of capitalism. Increasing unemployment and lower relative wages, greater misery and increased pauperization are all natural products of the present decaying system. The capitalists have no solution for the present crisis. Their present scheme of the partnership of industry and government will no more solve the problem than all their previous plans. The only real and permanent solution to all the misery created by this planless system of production is the proletarian revolution. For the working class to rid itself for all time of the present conditions it is necessary to appoint capitalism and replace it by a socialist planned system of production for use.

Toward the achievement of this goal it is necessary first of all to put the working class in motion in a struggle for its immediate needs. This conference must adopt a program of action for the struggle for these immediate demands. In addition to local demands, the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) proposes to the conference the consideration and adoption of the following concrete slogans and organizational steps:

1. For immediate relief and social insurance at the expense of the bosses and their government.
2. For the 6-hour day, 5-day week with an increase in wages.
3. Fight for higher wages and increased relief to combat inflation.
4. For the recognition of and the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union.

To attain the necessary strength to struggle for these demands we propose the following organizational steps:

1. The application of the united front tactic as a means of uniting the various unemployed organizations (Unemployed Leagues, Unemployed Councils, Workers' Leagues, etc., etc.) should be put into effect. In this united front each organization retains its organizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attack against each other, but maintains the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism. Under no circumstance can any united front exclude or bar any unemployed organization from participation. Should the leadership of any unemployed organization attempt to prevent the entry of its organization into the united front, continued efforts must be made to bring them into the united front.
2. The Columbus Conference is the second national conference held this year. The Chicago Conference of June 13-15, called by the Workers' Committee on Unemployed and the Workers' League, has established a National Unemployed Federation of Workers' Leagues, to which are already affiliated the largest unemployed organizations in the country. This Federation stands for the unification of the unemployed movement and is opposed to any discrimination against race, color, creed or political opinion.

Of all the organizations that participated in the conference, endorsed the program and voted for the Federation—such organizations as the Unemployed Leagues, Workers' Committee, Workers' League, and Unemployed Councils—only the Borders leadership of the Workers' Committee has tried to split the Federation.

The most important task of the Columbus Conference is unification with the National Unemployed Federation.

3. This Conference must go on record favoring affiliation to the National Federation. This will be the greatest step in the direction of establishing unity in the unemployed movement on a national scale.

4. Our objective should be the amalgamation of all the unemployed organizations into one. This can be accomplished only after the various unemployed groups learn how to work together in a united front or federation which at first gives each participating organization organizational autonomy. This course must be followed because amalgamation is a far more advanced step than affiliation to the National Unemployed Federation.

5. Finally, efforts must be directed towards the unification of the struggle of the unemployed workers with that of the employed and in cooperation with all working class organizations. July 3rd, 1933.

UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZATION FRACTION, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (LEFT OPPOSITION)

OPEN AIR MEETINGS FOR NEW YORK

Manhattan: 7th St. and 2nd Ave. every Thursday night 6 P. M.
80th Street and Lexington Ave. every Friday night 6 P. M.
Harlem: 125th St. and 5th Avenue, every Saturday night 8 P. M.
Bronx: 163rd Street and Prospect Ave. every Sat. night 8 P. M.
Brooklyn: Pitkin Ave. and Bristol St. (Brownsville) Friday night

The Death of Com. Klara Zetkin

The death of Klara Zetkin removes from the revolutionary labor movement one of that diminishing handful of true founders of the Communist International still left in its ranks. More than half a century of undivided devotion to the cause of working class freedom lay behind the great militant whose last public act was her appearance a few months ago in Berlin to preside, as senior member, over the last session of the Weimar Reichstag before its dissolution by those same snarling brutes in brown shirts whom she compelled to listen to the eloquent defiance of a tongue which proclaimed the inevitable revolution in Germany.

Born more than seventy-five years ago, on July 5, 1857, Klara Zetkin became a socialist at the time the Iron Chancellor launched the notorious Exceptional Laws against the social democratic movement. Her activity in the party not only began with its heroic period, but unlike most of her contemporaries, she carried forward the best of the traditions of those days throughout the rest of her life.

Klara Zetkin—Women's Leader

For more than a quarter of a century, her name was prominently associated throughout the Socialist world with the movement to win the working class woman to the standard of revolution. To her, more than to any other single force, goes the credit for the rich educational and cultural work among proletarian women which was carried on for decades in Germany. Virtually by her own efforts, she founded the socialist women's periodical *Gleichheit* (Equality) and edited it uninterruptedly from 1892 to 1917, when the social patriots summarily removed her from the journal which had become synonymous with her own name. If a socialist woman's movement came into existence in Germany, distinct and separate from the feminist and other bourgeois movements, it was in no small measure due to the unremitting labors of her brain, her pen, her tongue. Little wonder then that the Executive Committee of the Communist International, after its foundation, confided to her the direction of Communist activity among the working women throughout the world.

Her activities, however, were not confined to this specific field. Klara Zetkin was a party woman, above everything. And in the party, she stood unwaveringly on the side of that small band of warriors who constituted the Marxian group from the very outset of the internal struggle. She stood elbow to elbow with the Left wing of Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring in their fight, made in common with Kautsky, up to a certain point, against the revisionist program of Bernstein, David and Co. which finally devoured Bebel's party. And even when Purvus turned gray and munitions agent for the House of Hohenzollern during the war, and Kautsky effected his touching reconciliation with Bernstein, Klara Zetkin remained with the now reduced group of Marxists who defended proletarian internationalism by deeds, while others were drowning it in fratricidal blood or else giving it sufficient formal acknowledgment to enable them all the more easily to continue attacking Spartacus.

Opposed the Social Patriots

The solemn decisions on the question of imperialism adopted by the Congresses of the Socialist International and of the German Party retained their significance for her even after August 4, 1914. Standing at the head of the Wuerstern party organization, together with Crispian and Westmeyer, she vehemently opposed the treacherous action of the Reichstag fraction in voting for war credits, and demanded that it adhere to the decisions of the International. Nor did she rest content with a formal gesture. When Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring issued the first number of *Die Internationale* in April 1915, delivering those crushing blows at chauvinists and Kautskys alike, the name of Klara Zetkin was to be found on this roll of honor together with Karski, Jogiches, Thalheimer and the other internationalists who subsequently founded the Spartakusbund. Like Rosa and countless others, she was thrown into prison during the war, to the great relief of the Kaiser's socialists. An illegally distributed Spartacus leaflet of that time commemorated the contrast between the two camps in the social democracy by showing three pictures: Rosa Luxemburg and Klara Zetkin, each in her prison cell for anti-war activity, and Scheidemann, Noske, David and other social imperialists photographed at a discreet distance behind the front, fraternizing with army officers in front of their quarters; the pictures were eloquent enough without comment—nor did the leaflet supply them with any.

To Klara Zetkin falls the distinction of having initiated the first successful International socialist conference after the outbreak of the war and the collapse of the Second International. Upon her own responsibility, the International socialist women's conference was convened in Bern, Switzerland, in March 1915, with representatives from all the important belligerents on both sides. There were not many in those black days of treach-

A Historical Appreciation of the Great Woman Revolutionist

ery and reaction who were ready to speak and act for internationalism, but among them was to be found the already aging but tireless German revolutionist. At that time, it is true, she did not yet stand on the side of the Bolsheviks. The latter's delegates to the Bern Conference, Inessa Armand and N. K. Krupskaya, were the isolated extreme Left wing, whose resolution, to the Conference, edited by Lenin, was overwhelmingly rejected because it put the question of the break with all patriots and Centrists, in the sharpest and most unmistakable manner. Not even Zetkin was at that time prepared to consummate the rupture. But even though Lenin submitted the Armand and Inessa resolutions to the Conference was nevertheless the first European milestone along that road, marked later on by Zimmerwald and Kienthal, which led directly to the founding of the Communist International in Moscow in April 1919.

The first years of the Russian revolution and the Communist International undoubtedly marked the high water mark of Klara Zetkin's development and activity. The great period of stormy revolution, a flood brought out all that was best and most positive in the Communist leaders of the time. Despite her years, she put at the disposal of the German and international movements those talents which distinguished her. A fervid temperament, a sincerity of devotion, kept alive in her a luminous flame which dimmed only towards the last. An abyss lay between her age and that legion of others, fawning careerists and stock-market revolutionists, who came to the Comintern in its early years like so many tourists and soon left it to write apologies for their momentary aberration.

In taking her position in the constructive internal disputes of the Comintern, Klara Zetkin did not, alas! always distinguish between the revolutionary Left wing and the adventurist or infantile ultra-Left.

Of late there have been numerous reports of the arrests of oppositional Nazis—in Frankfurt a. M. several hundred mutilated and are supposed to have sung the "International" in the course of the fight; in Rautzen 72 Nazis had to be transferred and in Berlin-Charlottenburg 20 men were interned in the barracks on General Pappe Street, etc. The latest report speaks of the arrest of the 4 high Nazi officers in Berlin and of their transfer to a concentration camp.

In the ranks of those who are prophesying the immediate collapse of Fascism in Germany, both in the Comintern and its sections as well as in the social democracy, these incidents of rebellion among the Nazis are interpreted as symptoms of impending disintegration. After all their hopes had fled, after all their organizations had been destroyed, the trade unions—even those under the Christian firm shield—"equalized", the Stahlhelm, the National Front, the Center prebened—all this, all this bureaucracy which still cannot realize what has happened or why, set all their hopes on a rebellion among the mercenary troops of Fascism.

Conflict in S. A. Ranks Expected

That, after the seizure of power, there would be and had to be conflicts between Hitler and the lower layers of his following—this was predicted long in advance and is only to be expected. For certain groups the seizure of power by Hitler was very profitable, namely, to all those who were placed in the state and administrative apparatus and in other functions and posts.

Despite all anti-Jewish and anti-Marxist incitement, despite discharging and "equalization", there are nevertheless strata in the Fascist camp who cannot be satisfied, above all, those lower rank S. A. (Storm Troop) men who in the past number of months lived from purely criminal theft and plunder at house raids and in the course of making arrests. But pillaging cannot be carried on indefinitely and even the anti-Jewish boycott does not suffice to satiate all the hungry peasant sons and petty bourgeois. For a period of time they can be used as auxiliary police or auxiliary border guards, etc., but only for a definite period of time and only in a limited capacity. The rest of the S. A. men, on the other hand, are subjected to daily drill and to the drab life of the barracks court. But they do not fail to see how their upper "party comrades" feed on fat little posts, ride through the streets gloriously in elegant autos—and they want their share of the booty.

Therein lies the elementary explanation for the S. A. mutinies today: they are the wage strikes of employed retainers and could be overcome for a period of time, if the mutinous hordes were once again let loose on expropriation activities against Jews and Marxists. But even in this respect only the least meat remains, the fat has been chewed off long ago, for the most part.

Her gift of oratory, warm with a rich inspiring prose, was not always combined with the quality of profound and original political thinking. In this respect, she had learned very heavily upon the sturdy and surer Rosa Luxemburg throughout the years before and during the world war. The political firmness and strength which she gained from this heavy association did not, unfortunately, grow in the years that followed.

The young Communist Party of Germany was cruelly deprived of its central staff immediately after the war. Left without the gifted brain of Luxemburg, the popular and tireless revolutionary spirit of Liebknecht, the organizing talents of Tychko, the leadership of the party slipped by default into the hands of an inferior stratum of the Spartacists, whose qualities were not exactly enhanced by the accession of the motley Left wing that joined it after the splitting of the Independent Socialists at Halle. She who had once drawn her strength from the wells of a Luxemburg, now turned to Paul Levi, who proved to be more skilled in the collection of rare pottery than in the leadership of a revolutionary party. In the party crisis that followed the luckless "March Action" in 1921, Zetkin marched at Levi's heels together with the group of Daemig, Brass and the others who finally went back with Levi to the social democracy. With Levi, too, she balked at Lenin's struggle against G. Serrati, whose fatal attitude in the Italian Socialist party impeded so markedly the development of a mass Communist party for the sake of unity with a coterie of shrewd opportunists. Still, unlike both Levi and Serrati, she never broke with the International and after each crisis, with her position increasingly compromised, she was to be found in its ranks.

In taking her position in the constructive internal disputes of the Comintern, Klara Zetkin did not, alas! always distinguish between the revolutionary Left wing and the adventurist or infantile ultra-Left.

Other, one S. A. rebellion followed another, so that the C. P. G. and the S. P. G. for years never stopped shouting about the "increasing disintegration of the Nazis." And at that, these rebellions were never really more than scandals and tiffs between "criminals" and "loyalists" who came into the S. A. in bands and were often lured by Hitler on salary bases. This accumulation of anti-social and lumpen-proletarian elements was confronted with the S. A. (Schutz-Staffel, defensive corps) as the socially and politically reliable, picked guard—which did not contribute to raising the morale among the S. A. (Storm Troops, offensive corps). Today the S. A. is a sort of military police and is rigorously utilized against Storm Troops.

Naturally the disillusionment of the Nazis who rebel today is much stronger than heretofore, when it was still possible to find consolation and cause for self-negation in all sorts of promises. But in the meantime the Hitler dictatorship has become more and more entrenched.

All opposition parties and organizations have been liquidated and the rebellions of the dissatisfied Nazis simply have to evaporate into empty space for the time being. Or else—crash down in the face of resistance from the satiated strata in the Fascist camp, in whose hands the means of power are concentrated.

No Faith in S. A. Mutinies

It would be an error, with disastrous consequences to follow, to put great hopes and expectations today upon the S. A. mutinies or even to see in these elements trustworthy allies. The proletariat is faced today with a different question, namely, that of a new gathering of forces and the formation of new revolutionary cadres from the various camps of the working class.

This process of clarification and of regroupment must in no case be hampered by a revival of the old Stalinist legend of the "revolutionary S. A. man" and of the "brotherly hand" (to the "Nazi proletarian"). Even today the C. P. G. is publishing a little sheet, "The Revolutionary S. A. Man", by the distribution of which the safety of active Communist members is endangered in an irresponsible manner, while at the same time the Otto Strasser and "Black Front" people, long, endorsed and nurtured by the C. P. G., today once again repose under Hitler's and Goering's kindly wing. And the well-known "Police Lieutenant Giesecke", who was dragged around from mass meeting to mass meeting and got a good insight into the military apparatus of the party—works today in the emigration centers for the construction of a Fascist stool-pigeon and provocateur apparatus.

In her defense of Levi against Bela Kun, Pepper and Froelich, as in her defense of Serrati against Bordiga, there was a noticeable distinction between her position and the position, let us say, of the Lenin who so demonstratively proclaimed himself a member of the "Right wing" at the Third Congress of the International. As became even more apparent in later years, Zetkin was unable to adjust herself to the requirements of the revolutionary epoch. Her interventions against ultra-Leftism were essentially actuated by a distinct leaning to the Right.

This weakness she revealed most tragically throughout the whole period of the October 1923 struggle in Germany. Trotsky's arguments that it was possible and necessary to set a date for the insurrection and to orient the strategy and tactics of the party towards it—that is, his application of the experiences gained in the Russian October to the German situation—she regarded as a species of Blanquist heresy. The protests of the militant and Left wing sectors of the party against the dilatory and headless policy of the Brandler Central Committee always encountered her ardent resistance. Even after the catastrophe, she came to the defense of Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek, not in the spirit of placing the responsibility on the international leadership, where it belonged, but as an apology for the calamitous course of the Right wing combined with a bitter attack upon the Left.

She was linked with Brandler from the earliest days of the Spartakusbund, and the Left wing socialist movement before it. And those bonds were strengthened by her violent reaction against those whom Zinoviev, Stalin and, Bucharin helped to impose upon the German party as its leadership in place of the discredited Right wing Central Committee. The characterless ultra-Leftists of the type of Ruth Fischer, A. Maslow, Katz, Schwartz and the camarilla around them, aroused her contempt and deepest mistrust. If she reconciled herself somewhat to the post-1923 leadership, it was not due to the change of heart on her side. Rather, the contrary. After the removal of ultra-Leftist leadership in 1925, the party and the International engaged upon that protracted course towards opportunism in which Klara Zetkin felt herself far more at ease than during the period of the dry sectarian ponderosity of Maslow's literary effusions and the wind and fury of Fischer's clamorous oratory. Brandler and Thalheimer, virtually marooned in Moscow up to that time, commenced a bolder factional activity inside the party and for the time it appeared that the pitiful Thaelmann leadership was to be "sanitized" by the rehabilitation in the party of the Right wing exiles. The latter counted on Zetkin's support, nor was it withheld.

It was only when the dawn of the "third period" sealed the fate of the Right wing for a second, and apparently last time, and the expulsion of Brandler, Thalheimer and their supporters was consummated, that all hope was abandoned. The ultra-Leftist wrecking crew, considerably inferior to the group of Maslow and Fischer, which was given the helm of party leadership, practically completed the elimination of Klara Zetkin from all active participation in it. It cannot be said that it was an event entirely distasteful to her. She had after all once worked by the side of a Rosa Luxemburg, a Franz Mehring, a Karl Liebknecht. Even in later years, her party had at least been under the leadership of a Paul Levi who, no matter how much his defects impeded and finally put a stop to his political growth, nevertheless had a head on his shoulders, as Lenin said. How could she now subordinate herself voluntarily to the direction of such shoddy, even if internationally advertised, products (the artificial campaign must have revolted her) as were put at the head of the party, of a Helmut Neumann, whom she never ceased to regard as an irresponsible adventurer and a sinister figure in the party? But by this time the regime in the International had reached a point where she could no longer speak her mind openly. The old militant no longer appeared on the tribune of the party or the International. Her bitter protests against the treatment of Brandler and his friends, against the abominations

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MILITANT

125 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Max Shachtman James P. Cannon

Vol. VI, No. 36 (Whole No. 183)

SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1933

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

Whither the Y.P.S.L. Insurgents?

Several months ago, a few circles of the Young Peoples Socialist League of Chicago, were expelled. The immediate issue which caused the expulsion, was the united front, concretized at the time around the national Mooney Congress and the question of the participation of the Socialist party. The change in line of the Stalinists, driven by the events in Germany, offered the possibilities for a genuine united front and the creation of a mass movement for the freedom of Tom Mooney. But the despotic role of the Socialists and their "Socialist" agents in the labor movement, prevented the enlistment of this movement to a mass character. The plan in which the movement for Mooney's freedom was finally organized, established the treacherous role of the Socialists and enabled the Left wing and "progressive" socialists to wage a struggle within their organization for participation in this movement. Because of this, and their eventual breaking of party discipline by entering the united front conferences prior to and including the national congress, these circles by the Y. P. S. L. were expelled. (The bureaucracy of the S. P. maintain that no expulsions took place—only the charters were taken from these circles.)

It would be wrong to assume that the leftward turn of the expelled elements was a sudden development. This particular group has for some time now, carried on an agitation within the adult and youth organization of a Left character. They issued an internal bulletin, *The Class Struggle*, in which a Left wing and militant point of view was expressed and an effort made to force a change in the reformist line followed by the S. P. leadership. The intent of the group was to assemble all Left included members in the S. P., into a solid faction in order thus to wage such a fight. The tendency was distinctly a movement drifting towards Communism. The Left Opposition of Chicago, tried, in a modest way, to help the growth of this group both ideologically and organization-

On the Expulsion of Wollenberg

Moscow, USSR.—In spite of all the attempts on part of the Comintern bureaucracy to suppress it, the discussion around the expulsions of comrades Wolf and Wollenberg will not cease. It is nothing new for defeated, incapable leaders to turn with redoubled wrath against their critics. In the Wollenberg-Wolf case, their wrath is all the more painful since the majority of the German and Russian middle layer functionaries admit the justification of the criticism against the complete failure of the C. P. G. and the Comintern in personal conversations.

The reasons for the expulsion are, in brief, the following: Both comrades voted against the resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the situation in Germany. They declared that not only the C. P. G. but also the Comintern had collapsed and that the C. P. G. and the Comintern had to be rebuilt on a new basis. The criticism of both comrades did not refer only to the events of the last few months but went even farther back. For comrade Wolf, the Russian questions also played a big role. He linked these up with the behavior of the Comintern bureaucracy in his exposure of the collapse.

Great Indignation over Expulsion

The expulsion of comrade Wollenberg aroused great indignation among the critically inclined functionaries in Germany and especially among former members of the Red Front Fighters League. It will take on even greater amplitude when the comrades find out the reasons for the expulsion. (This much we know from letters coming out of Germany and from comrades who have recently arrived from there.)

Comrade Wollenberg joined the party as an active army officer in Munich in the beginning of 1919. During the existence of the Soviet Republic he was local commander of the Red Army of Bavaria. In charge of the main front at Dachau in the course of the struggle for Munich. He distinguished himself at that time as well as on later occasions by his extraordinary personal bravery. After his capture, he had to spend several years in jail and after his release he became party editor in the Ruhr district and in East Prussia. In 1923 he was put in charge of the military direction of one of the biggest German districts and was one of the few comrades who wanted to strike out in the fall of the year, against the will of the Central Committee. After the defeat of the party in 1923 he had to flee to the Soviet Union, because secret servicemen had been shot down in a police raid on the military direction.

In the Soviet Union Wollenberg entered the Red Army and soon received the rank of captain. He took a prominent part in the erection of the Museum of the Red Army, among other things.

Conflict with Thaelmann

The repeated requests of Wollenberg to be returned to Germany were continually denied up to 1932. In the summer of 1932 he became the editor of the *Rote Fahne* in Berlin. At the same time he was taken into the leadership of the League of Struggle against Fascism

The Expelled Chicago S.P. Youth and the Three Communist Currents

ally. It pointed out the need of an immediate national organization, and a campaign of education, because expulsion was inevitable—the bureaucracy awaiting only an appropriate moment to carry through such an expulsion. In the writer's opinion these elementary steps were not well taken, and because of this the movement remains to a large degree localized and stifled.

Were these the only weaknesses of the expelled ypsels, they could, by intense labor be overcome to a large extent. But more important than these, the indecision and lack of a correct political outlook, or rather, the false political outlook and perspective of the leadership of this group (Larks and Saikina), is responsible for its weaknesses and confusion. What is the tactic of the group? The tactic is, to maintain the expelled group together until the conventions of the S. P. and Y. P. S. L. and wage the struggle in the conventions. And what kind of struggle will this be? Will it be for readmission to the S. P. and the Y. P. S. L.? This can hardly be considered a step forward by a group that is developing distinctly towards Communism. The struggle must be waged in the direction of winning greater numbers away from the reformist Socialist Party and towards Communism. Obviously a discussion of organizational tactics to be pursued in this connection, cannot be taken up in this article. But the broad general political questions as raised above can and must be put squarely so that no confusion can exist. It is in the above question that the real essence of the whole future of this movement lies.

What is the attitude of the expelled comrades to the burning questions of dispute in the Communist movement? Do the members and leaders of this group recognize that the Communist move-

ment is split in at least three definite sections over questions that are far too important and fundamental to be overlooked? Such questions as: Socialism in one Country, Bureaucratic Centrism, the role and significance of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International as the organizer of defeats, the question of the united front, the strategy and tactics of the international revolution (expressed now in the events in Germany), the role of the International Left Opposition—these questions are decisive and in determining one's position in the revolutionary movement, he must needs take a position on each one of these. He must be clarified and know precisely why he takes one position or another.

At independent existence for any group standing between Socialism and Communism is impossible, unless it is extremely temporary and as a tactic for struggle. But even then it cannot carried through unless the entire organization is aware of this and understands what should be its political direction. The history of all similar movements is a proof of this statement. Post-war events have established conclusively the inefficiency and inability of reformism to play a progressive role. It has sunk in the mire of reaction with a record as black as the proverbial darkness. The fundamental questions of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat have been vitiated a thousand times by these very betrayals of international social democracy, and more recently by Stalinism, which rests upon a fundamental revision of Marxism and lives under the cloak of national socialism. Thus the question presents itself: what is the perspective of the expelled ypsels and how do they propose to realize this?

It would not be correct to say that the questions of Stalinism and the Left Opposition have not been discussed by this group. They were discussed but not as a result of a systematic effort of serious revolutionaries attempting to educate themselves in order thereby to be able to decide where they belong. These questions, when they are discussed, as a result of a certain pressure of the members who desire to know what is to be done. In the course of such informal discussions a certain attitude is expressed by the leadership which is indicative of a false tendency.

The leadership puts the question very bluntly and crudely. After all, they say, the Stalinists have a big party and there is the possibility of doing a lot of "mass" work. The Trotskyites are too small! This argument is not new, and it is as false as it is old. It is not numbers that determines the strength or course of the revolutionary movement. Political policy is the determining factor. What greater lesson is needed than the defeat of the German working class at the hands of Fascism. One must admit that insofar as numbers are concerned, both the social democracy and the Stalinists had sufficient not only to defeat Fascism, but also to soothe the dispositions of those who relish in arithmetical quantities and not Marxism. In spite of its numbers the German Communist Party not only could not defeat Fascism but did everything in its power through its false political policies, to help this victory. The consciousness or unconsciousness of this aid is not important. Objectively its policies led in this direction. When the Left Opposition demands an inventory on the situation in Germany, it does not request this of the Stalinists alone, but it is demanded of every revolutionary worker and those who would be revolutionaries.

Coincident with the expulsion of the Larks-Saikina group from the S. P. and Y. P. S. L., because of its struggle on the united front, Albert Goldman, and Lydia Bydel were expelled from the party and five members of the Young Communist League were expelled, for their struggle on the united front question, Germany and related issues. The struggle of the expelled ypsels against bureaucracy finds a similar struggle against a similar bureaucracy in the Communist party. Are not these facts of decisive importance to a Y. P. S. L. group which is slowly wending its way to Communism? Most certainly they are.

We believe that this group must recognize the extremely temporary character of its independent existence. Upon a recognition of this fact, it must begin at once, without delay, to probe the problems confronting the revolutionary movement in general and the Communist movement particularly. It must be prepared to take a clear and decisive position on these fundamental questions. The question of Socialism in one Country, the united front, Social Fascism, the Communist International, are as important for it as for the member of the Communist Party and the Communist sympathizer. The German situation is as significant for the social democratic worker as for the Communist worker. The organization of a systematic campaign of education should be instituted at once. The group should invite representatives of all the currents in the revolutionary movement for joint discussions, debates, etc., as a step in the direction toward a solution of these questions. Unless this is done, unless the group immediately develops a concrete perspective of its tasks and what it is to do, disintegration is inevitable and the splendid beginning will be lost.

—G. M. ALBERT.

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ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

Cleveland Meet to Take Up Fight on 'Recovery'

(Continued from Page 1)

upon how we answer the questions of trade union policy and tactics. The capitalists and their government hope to maintain the status quo among the working class. Where this is not possible they will attempt to guide the pressure of the class into company unions. Where the pressure reaches beyond these channels they will try to guide the force into safe and conservative channels such as the A. F. L.

The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions under Left wing leadership is our main task. The immediate practical task, which cannot be separated from the main task is the organization of a Left wing within the conservative unions. The revolutionists must work in the organizations where the masses are.

The Stalinist-Muscle bloc has not yet answered these questions. We have already lost years because of the Stalinist blunders in this field. The time is short. An answer must be given and should be presented before the Cleveland conference.

The call for the Cleveland Conference is signed by 82 individuals representing about 50 organizations. The representatives of the most important organizations have signed as individuals, which means the organizations are not yet backing the conference. Many paper organizations are officially represented.

Out of the 82 signers 42 are Stalinists and their sympathizers, 15 are Muscovites. They have obtained a few others whom they are using as a window dressing. In other words, the Cleveland call is a united front from above between Stalinists and Muscovites with a sprinkling of others to give it a good appearance. This is a continuation of their united front from above started at the Columbus, Ohio unemployed conference. A united front from above cannot be covered up by a list of 82 signatures. What counts is the political tendencies and numbers actually represented.

The conference is making a bad start and the call has failed to answer the most burning problems of trade union tactics. In spite of these blunders and shortcomings, the conference should be given full support. The class conscious workers and Marxists must fight for a correct trade union policy, in order to put life into our desire to fight the capitalist offensive which has taken on the form of the Industrial Recovery Act.

—HUGO OELLER.

Slavery Provisions Revealed in Steel Code

(Continued from Page 1)

taking from the workers every real means of enforcing their demands, making them completely dependent upon the tender mercies of their employer. And it is this plan that must be preserved and protected from any interference—especially that of any real trade union.

Even the Children Are Protected

As for the ways in which the steelmen will protect these delicate and useful children of theirs from the contamination of real unions—that is not stated in the code. There is no need of that. The past shows that there is no weapon, legal or illegal that the barons have hesitated to use against their workers. The Cossack state troopers, gunmen, the courts, enforced starvation by keeping the strikers away from groceries—all were used in the Great Steel Strike. Now with the national government behind them the arsenal of the steel barons will be even larger. That is what the hypocritical phrases of the code so thinly camouflaged.

And this code is not to be the only one of its type. Already the operators of the bituminous coal industry have announced their intention of following the lead of their fellow brigands in the steel industry.

The proposed steel code is a fair representative of the Industrial Recovery Act in practice. It permits the steel industry, at present the most centralized in America, to form a huge, solid trust, uniting the whole industry against the workers. It gives the barons the direct support of the federal government; now national troops instead of state troops are to be used to butcher striking workers. By the Industrial Recovery Act, a united front of industry and government is created for the task of driving down the standard of living of the workers. Against this only a united front of all workers organizations can fight that is the task of the hour. If the Communist party proves incapable and its leadership unwilling to use a correct united front tactic in bringing about such a united front, it is doomed to have even its small influence among the American masses destroyed.

—PETER MORTON.

"Since Lenin Died"
Comrades who can turn in extra copies of *Since Lenin Died* by Max Eastman, are asked to do so. They will be refunded the original cost

Spartacus Delegates at Anti-Fascist Confab

(Continued from page 1)

were made to organize a united front movement against Fascism and War. In March of this year the United Youth Conference Against Fascism was organized. What was the result? After a successful demonstration before the German Consulate, those in control of the Committee—the leaders of the Young Communist League—dissolved the united front behind the backs of the other participating groups. Similarly with the National Youth Day's Conference, organized by the Young Communist League in May. Not only did the Y. C. L. violate the agreements arrived at in the united front, but they dissolved the permanent committee without giving any reasons to the affiliated groups. Are these the methods to be employed in the movement against war and Fascism?

The New York Conference will have to discuss the reasons for the victory of Fascism in Germany. You will have to understand the criminal policies of the Social Democracy and the policies of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist party which played into the hands of the Social Democracy and of Fascism. A realistic analysis of the present situation in Germany will show that all the organizations of the working class, including the social democratic party and the Communist party, have been smashed.

It is above all necessary for us to speak openly and boldly. The facts must be faced and not invented. To repeat that "the C. P. G. is not only not destroyed, but its influence on the masses is despite its illegality, greater than ever" (Varga-Impeccable—June 21st, 1933) is criminal light-mindedness and serves to cover up the capitulation of the Stalinists in Germany before Fascism without a struggle. The task of the revolutionary workers of Germany is to assemble their

forces for the organization of a new Communist party on a Marxist program, on the basis of the lessons of the recent historical defeat.

The struggle against war and Fascism is the burning question of the moment. In the far east the Chinese people are being attacked and subjected by Japanese imperialism. The Soviet Union is being threatened by a frontal attack from Japan which can easily be converted into an offensive of all the imperialist powers against the workers' fatherland. In America, the government is going ahead with extensive plans for militarization. The London Economic Conference reflects the deep rooted conflicts of the imperialist powers which can be solved only by war.

Above all, the victory of Fascism in Germany, the imminent danger of Fascism in Austria, threatens to unite all the imperialist forces for war on the Soviet Union. With the best defender of the Soviet Union, the militant German proletariat lying prostrate before the Nazis—the defense of the Soviet Union is a thousand times more difficult.

All the more important therefore is the need for utmost clarity within the Communist and revolutionary movement on Fascism and War. A critical review of the past policies and practices of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International should lead to the rejection of its revisionist program of Socialism in one country, social-Fascism, and united front only from below under revolutionary leadership.

The International Left Opposition has for many years clamored for a united front of the German social-democracy, trade unions, and Communist party against the danger of Fascism. This was called counter-revolutionary. Last February, after Hitler came into power, the Labor and Socialist International appealed

in this civil war; that the heavy conditions of civil war would make the Nazis dependent upon their other bourgeois allies and impede their rapid entrenchment, giving Ilgenburg and Co. a certain balance of power.

The working class did not fight. We plead guilty: We assumed that it would. The Lovestonites accused us of this "error". Very well.

We have never read in the *Workers Age*, previous or during the German catastrophe, where they dispensed their wisdom to the effect that the workers of Germany would not fight. But we are quite ready to take their word for it post-humously. It only helps to characterize the Right wing swamp.

If they did not directly predict that the German workers would not fight, they might have just as well, for all the interest and agitation these national opportunists displayed in the German situation in the course of the two years in which the American Left Opposition persisted, through the Militant and in innumerable mass meetings, followed the Hitler danger step by step and warned against it, giving the exact Marxist analysis of each force represented and each step taken and calling for struggle.

But it is unnecessary to really take the Lovestonite fraud seriously, if one knows its purpose. It is only part of its bargaining process with the Stalinist bureaucracy for reinstatement. One of the chief prerequisites for peace with Stalin has ever been a fight against "Trotskyism". The Lovestonites are only doing their share.

As to the broader principle aspects of the question under discussion and the character of the Lovestone group at the present stage, we shall yet return to it on future occasions, for a more extensive examination.

—G.

national (Warski was another, for example) who confounded the Opposition's fight for party democracy with their own desire to "loosen a little" the rigid lines of revolutionary Marxist doctrine. When the gap widened between the Opposition and the party bureaucracy, when the program of the former unfolded to its fullest extent, when the precise nature of its attitude towards the Brandlerites became unmistakable—Klara Zetkin's support became lukewarm and then cold. Helplessly ensconced among the tarnishing frescoes that formed the facade of the bureaucracy, she had become a purely decorative figure in the International, her prestige and her authority, with the heroic revolutionary memories attached to them, serving a cynical bureaucracy to conceal its malpractices.

Here was a revolutionist who had been accustomed to speak out fearlessly, to struggle against authority against the greater odds, to swim against the stream in the company of such proletarian figures as the founders of German Communism. A just cause had always found in her a courageous champion. Even in causes not so just she had never failed to express her convictions. In

1922, at a time when a member of the Comintern could still defend his views even when they were opposed by the most authentic leaders, she protested to Lenin and Trotsky against the death sentence imposed upon the counter-revolutionists of the S. R. party. But half a decade of Stalinist rule had reduced the Comintern and its leading figures to such a state that a Klara Zetkin, who once found words in behalf of those who had effected the death of Uritsky and Volodarsky, who had almost assassinated Lenin and blown up Trotsky's military train—could look on in silence while the artificers of the October revolution, the Rakovskys, the Trotskys and hundreds of others, were sent into prison, exile or banishment. But no, not entirely in silence. For with an eye to the renown still attached to her name, the bureaucracy assigned her the task of writing the scurrilous pamphlet for International consumption, in which she demonstrated that the Bolshevik-Leninists were really counter-revolutionists and that the banishment to Turkey of the organizer of the October insurrection was fully justified.

To resist a Lenin and submit to a Stalin—no, it is not some integrating force in the present regime, making for true homogeneity of revolutionary doctrine, that explains such a phenomenon. Such a humiliating fall was the inexorable result of that moral dismember-

ment to which an oppressive bureaucracy is compelled to resort to its own ranks. What a terrific arraignment of a regime that can preserve itself only at the cost of such unspeakable triumphs!

Silent on Slender of Luxemburg
If she violated her own conscience in a public assault upon the Russian Opposition, she at least maintained silence when others traduced the memory of Rosa Luxemburg. But it was a silence unworthy of one who was fortunate enough to have such a mentor and friend. When Paul Levi was beating a retreat to the social democracy in 1921-1922 by trying to portray Rosa as a Menshevik, Klara Zetkin came to her defense with magnificent vigor, and concluded by pillorying the defamer of the great Eagle. Later, too, even under the Zinovievian dispensation, when a Ruth Fischer was seeking to disseminate the idea that Rosa had been "a syphilis germ in the body of German Communism", Klara Zetkin still found sufficient strength of mind and purpose to exorcise such an abomination. But the triumph of Stalinism has meant not only the physical but the spiritual undermining of the International. In the last two years, the campaign launched against Rosa Luxemburg exceeded all imaginable bounds. It was not an undertaking calculated to analyze the defective parts of her doctrine so that the modern Communist movement might

learn to avoid the errors flowing from them. In the mind of the bureaucracy, this aim occupied a remote and purely casual place. The tenor of the campaign was the commandment of the jealous deity of Israel: Thou shalt have no other gods than Jehovah, paraphrased to read instead: Stalin. A Kuusinen, a Bela Kun, a Kurt Sauerland, Stalin himself—people who never reached up to the hem of Rosa's skirts—left no mud untouched with which to besmirch her. Hundreds of "red professors" were let loose around the grave of the dead like so many desecrating vultures. The last Lenin-Liebknecht Luxemburg week was celebrated throughout the official world by poisonous attacks upon Rosa—more elegant in phrase than Ruth Fischer's, but no less despicable—and hymns of praise to Stalin.

Paralysis of Stalinist Degradation
And Klara Zetkin? In the corridor of the program commission of the Sixth World Congress, another of the old Spartacists, an educated Marxist, Hermann Duncker, almost wept with mortification before his intimates at the idea that the theory of socialism in one country had been inserted in the program of the International. "Must we now vote to include it in the program too?" Yet he voted for it, and did not voice his protest openly. Klara Zetkin must have asked herself a similar question when the detestable campaign was launched

against Rosa. But this time, she on voted an open protest. The peculiar triumph of Stalinism which heralds its own collapse meant for her, as for all revolutionists who failed to choose the alternative of open struggle, a gag in the mouth, a paralyzing of the will, a terrible spiritual degradation.

Klara Zetkin was one of the half-dozen Spartacists left in the International, and with her death the best of the living is gone. She embodied in her finest days the link between the pre-war Left wing movement in the social democracy and the International that was reconstituted under the banner of Bolshevism. She brought with her the great tradition of that resolute group that formed itself under the name of the heroic organizer of the slaves' revolts in antiquity. Is it perhaps symbolic that Klara Zetkin should die just after the ignominious death of the Communist party which she helped to found? The tradition of the Spartacists, however, established in the dark days of the war, is not irrevocable. The new Communist movement in Germany, rising like a phoenix out of the ashes of the dead, will revive all that was glorious in the old tradition and the memory of the old warriors, and enrich it with the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

It is needless to point out that the question: How do the philosophical views of a certain person or a certain group reflect themselves in the field of politics and of the organization?—always has a tremendous significance for the elaboration of a correct control by the party. Thus Lenin fought mercilessly against Gorky in 1917 when above all other considerations stood the necessity of a revolutionary overthrow. On the other hand, it must be considered as the greatest shame that the Stalinist bureaucracy is transforming Barbusse the novelist into a leading political figure in spite of the fact that it is precisely in politics that Barbusse marches arm in arm with Renner, Vandervelde, Monnet and Paul Louis.

I am very much afraid that I have not given you a satisfactory reply to the practical questions put to me. But what has been said explains, I hope, why I could not give such a reply which requires a concrete knowledge of the situation and the personal conditions. Just the same, perhaps these brief considerations will at least partially help in the working out of a correct policy in this complicated and responsible field.

With Communist greetings,
—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 16, 1933.

The Party in the Field of Art and Philosophy

(Continued from page 1)

Dear Comrades:
Your letter poses very important problems which do not, however, admit, in my opinion, of general and categorical solutions suitable in all cases. As an organization we have as the point of departure not only definite political ideas but certain philosophical and scientific methods. We base ourselves on dialectical materialism, from which flow conclusions not only concerning politics and science, but also art. Still, there is a vast difference in our attitude towards these conclusions. We cannot, to any similar degree, exercise the same rigorous control over art, by the very nature of this activity, as over politics. The party is obliged to permit a very extensive liberty in the field of art, eliminating pitilessly only that which is directed against the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat; on the other hand, the party cannot assume an immediate and direct responsibility for the declarations of its various members in the field of art even when it accords them its tribute. The maintenance of these two rules—the preservation of the liberty necessary for individual creation, and the non-transmission of the responsibility for all its roads to the party—is especially obligatory in those cases where it is a question not of theoreticians in the field of art, but of the artists themselves: painters, men of letters, etc. In addition, the party must be able to distinguish clearly the line where generalization in the field of art passes directly into the field of politics. Without making here any concessions in principle, the party must, however, confine itself in the case of artists to rectifications, firm but tactical, of any false political conclusions flowing from their artistic views. Marx expressed this idea in a jocular phrase about Kreilgrath: "Poets are queer fish." (Die Dichter sind wunderbare Fische.) Lenin applied different criteria to Bogdanov the theoretician and professional poli-

tiel and to Gorky the artist, in spite of the fact that for a certain period of time Bogdanov and Gorky were closely associated in politics. Lenin proceeded from the standpoint that by his artistic activity and his popularity, Gorky could endow the cause of the revolution with benefits far exceeding the harm of his erroneous declarations and actions which, moreover, the party could always correct in good time and tactfully.

Viewed from this standpoint, philosophical activity lies between art and politics, closer to politics than to art. In philosophy, the party itself occupies a distinct militant position, which is not the case—at least not to the same extent—in the field of art. Objections to the effect that the "dogmatization" and "canonization" of dialectical materialism, the party prevents the free development of philosophical and scientific thought, do not deserve serious attention. No factory can work without basing itself upon a definite technological doctrine. No hospital can treat its patients if the physicians do not base themselves on the established teachings of Pathology. It would be sheer folly to permit dilettantes to experiment arbitrarily in the factory or in the hospital, on the pretext that they consider themselves "innovators". Innovators must first prove their right to influence practical technology and medicine. The party must be especially vigilant towards those "innovators" who only warm up stale critical dishes, or towards those who are still in the period of investigating, with uncertain results. But least of all does this signify that in the sphere of philosophy the party can act as if all questions have already been resolved for it, and that it has nothing to expect from the further development of scientific thought. It is not an easy matter to find the correct political line in this field. It is acquired only by experience and by a flexible leadership. Just as in artillery fire, the target is usually hit by a series of shots which fall far and then short of the mark.

With Communist greetings,
—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 16, 1933.

Austrian Labor Robbed of Rights

(Continued from Page 1)

tion is very poor among the masses. "What good is a vacation, or the eight hour day?" says the unemployed worker, "what I want is work even if it's a twelve hour day!" But it is precisely because of these sentiments that it was necessary to make it understood with all means at one's disposal that the shattering of the eight hour day strikes at all—the unemployed, who thereby have even less of a chance to get work, and the worker in the factory, whose wage is going to shrink even more miserably.

Where there is a will, there is a way. If the social democracy wanted to conduct a serious and effective resistance against the disfranchisement of the workers and against the unlimited and merciless aggravation of exploitation, then they could find ways of making the masses understand the significance of the new labor regulations of the government. Not even the blue pencil of the censor could prevent them from doing this.

A Sterile Protest
"With the representation of economic interests in Austria," the *Arbeiterzeitung* weeps on June 10, "things stand thus: Before the issuance of a decree which digs deep underneath the living conditions of thousands of people, the working class hears nothing of the new decree. The workers' representatives are not asked for approval, the trade unions are not consulted. Parliament is simply out of the picture... But once the decree is issued, it is not even allowed to be criticized and if criticism is attempted, confiscation follows." Again the facts are stated quite correctly, but the workers are not served merely with a statement of the facts.

There is the argument that Fascism would gain advantage from serious difficulties of the Dollfuss government. Fascism will really reap its fruits from this capitulation policy. Decades of trade union work, the destruction of the monarchy, the example of the Russian revolution were all necessary for the Austrian working class to gain those insignificantly social-political protective measures which were just as tremendously overestimated in their time by the trade union "experts" as they are powerlessly surrendered by them today. The more we allow to be taken from us without a struggle today, the harder it will be and the more sacrifices it will require, to regain what is lost, in the future.

"It seems as if the government only has the bosses' desires in mind" (From an inquiry of the social democrats in the Federal Council).

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1922, at a time when a member of the Comintern could still defend his views even when they were opposed by the most authentic leaders, she protested to Lenin and Trotsky against the death sentence imposed upon the counter-revolutionists of the S. R. party. But half a decade of Stalinist rule had reduced the Comintern and its leading figures to such a state that a Klara Zetkin, who once found words in behalf of those who had effected the death of Uritsky and Volodarsky, who had almost assassinated Lenin and blown up Trotsky's military train—could look on in silence while the artificers of the October revolution, the Rakovskys, the Trotskys and hundreds of others, were sent into prison, exile or banishment. But no, not entirely in silence. For with an eye to the renown still attached to her name, the bureaucracy assigned her the task of writing the scurrilous pamphlet for International consumption, in which she demonstrated that the Bolshevik-Leninists were really counter-revolutionists and that the banishment to Turkey of the organizer of the October insurrection was fully justified.

To resist a Lenin and submit to a Stalin—no, it is not some integrating force in the present regime, making for true homogeneity of revolutionary doctrine, that explains such a phenomenon. Such a humiliating fall was the inexorable result of that moral dismember-

ment to which an oppressive bureaucracy is compelled to resort to its own ranks. What a terrific arraignment of a regime that can preserve itself only at the cost of such unspeakable triumphs!

Silent on Slender of Luxemburg
If she violated her own conscience in a public assault upon the Russian Opposition, she at least maintained silence when others traduced the memory of Rosa Luxemburg. But it was a silence unworthy of one who was fortunate enough to have such a mentor and friend. When Paul Levi was beating a retreat to the social democracy in 1921-1922 by trying to portray Rosa as a Menshevik, Klara Zetkin came to her defense with magnificent vigor, and concluded by pillorying the defamer of the great Eagle. Later, too, even under the Zinovievian dispensation, when a Ruth Fischer was seeking to disseminate the idea that Rosa had been "a syphilis germ in the body of German Communism", Klara Zetkin still found sufficient strength of mind and purpose to exorcise such an abomination. But the triumph of Stalinism has meant not only the physical but the spiritual undermining of the International. In the last two years, the campaign launched against Rosa Luxemburg exceeded all imaginable bounds. It was not an undertaking calculated to analyze the defective parts of her doctrine so that the modern Communist movement might

learn to avoid the errors flowing from them. In the mind of the bureaucracy, this aim occupied a remote and purely casual place. The tenor of the campaign was the commandment of the jealous deity of Israel: Thou shalt have no other gods than Jehovah, paraphrased to read instead: Stalin. A Kuusinen, a Bela Kun, a Kurt Sauerland, Stalin himself—people who never reached up to the hem of Rosa's skirts—left no mud untouched with which to besmirch her. Hundreds of "red professors" were let loose around the grave of the dead like so many desecrating vultures. The last Lenin-Liebknecht Luxemburg week was celebrated throughout the official world by poisonous attacks upon Rosa—more elegant in phrase than Ruth Fischer's, but no less despicable—and hymns of praise to Stalin.

Paralysis of Stalinist Degradation
And Klara Zetkin? In the corridor of the program commission of the Sixth World Congress, another of the old Spartacists, an educated Marxist, Hermann Duncker, almost wept with mortification before his intimates at the idea that the theory of socialism in one country had been inserted in the program of the International. "Must we now vote to include it in the program too?" Yet he voted for it, and did not voice his protest openly. Klara Zetkin must have asked herself a similar question when the detestable campaign was launched

against Rosa. But this time, she on voted an open protest. The peculiar triumph of Stalinism which heralds its own collapse meant for her, as for all revolutionists who failed to choose the alternative of open struggle, a gag in the mouth, a paralyzing of the will, a terrible spiritual degradation.

Klara Zetkin was one of the half-dozen Spartacists left in the International, and with her death the best of the living is gone. She embodied in her finest days the link between the pre-war Left wing movement in the social democracy and the International that was reconstituted under the banner of Bolshevism. She brought with her the great tradition of that resolute group that formed itself under the name of the heroic organizer of the slaves' revolts in antiquity. Is it perhaps symbolic that Klara Zetkin should die just after the ignominious death of the Communist party which she helped to found? The tradition of the Spartacists, however, established in the dark days of the war, is not irrevocable. The new Communist movement in Germany, rising like a phoenix out of the ashes of the dead, will revive all that was glorious in the old tradition and the memory of the old warriors, and enrich it with the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed.

With Communist greetings,
—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 16, 1933.

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WORKERS
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THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 37 [WHOLE NO. 184] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

Around the 'Recovery'

How the Boss Class Receives the N.I.R.A.

The Industrial Recovery Act marks a further step in the Europeanization of American economy, through its close coordination of industries for the purpose of establishing fixed policies as to prices, wages, production, sales methods, etc.; its foundation in class collaboration between industry and labor; and the drawing-in of the state authority into an intimate supervision of the whole process of coordination and collaboration. France of the Third Republic, Germany under the Weimar constitution and even under the Kaiser, afford much closer parallels to the "new deal" than Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy.

Of course, it is a little hard for some of the "rugged individualists" to get used to the idea of exerting their influence over the industry through a trade association, instead of the "free competition" to which they are accustomed, and to solve their labor problems in collaboration with the Greens, the Wobbs and the Lewises. Instead of by the police club. Some of them have not yet understood that according to the presidential edict their highest aim in life is to provide "purchasing power" and to keep factories going—they keep thinking of profits and wondering if the Great White Father at Washington understands what business is all about. Many of them, on the other hand, have been quick to grasp the new idea, and the Standard Oil interests do not hesitate to put the power to fix prices and to allocate production right in the hands of the president. They understand that "purchasing power of labor" as carried out by a president who sets a wage scale of \$1 a day for the reforestation workers, who cuts the veterans' pensions and the salaries of the Federal employees, is something that will not interfere with profits.

The first few weeks of the N.I.R.A. show however that this transition from the old methods of dealing with the workers, with the list, to the new methods, with the outstretched hand, has not yet been fully made. All the codes have to repeat the statements of the act about the right of collective bargaining, the workers' freedom from compulsion to join company unions, and the willingness of the manufacturers to comply with the regulations about hours and wages.

An analysis of the actual codes submitted, particularly by the larger industries, shows that the bosses want to keep their hands free in dealing with labor. The steel industry was the most outspoken, declaring that the form of employee representation which it has had for years, an empty and formal ceremony, does not need to be changed to fit into the "collective bargaining" required by the act. "This is not even a company union, but to take no chances, a number of steel companies have been organizing company unions as well. So have many coal operators, even in Kentucky. In any event, they know that they can 'bargain' with the A. F. L. fakers, who are the only representatives of labor recognized by the government. The A. F. L. is putting on a terrific organization drive, putting hundreds of organizers into the field, and reaching basic industries like steel, automobiles, etc., which have been closed to them up to now.

On the vital question of wages, the first few codes prepared so far show the same effort to seem to be doing something for the worker, while in reality making as few concessions as possible. The minimum wage provisions are in reality meaningless: in the first place, they apply only to one class of labor, the lowest paid, and even here they can be and will be evaded by classifying workers as "learners and apprentices" who can then be paid less than the alleged "minimum" wage. Second, the rates are figured by the week or the hour, while the real living standard of a worker is measured by his wages over the period of a year. Third, contrary to the government's promises, nothing has been put into the codes to prevent still further speeding-up so as to make it possible for employers to fire many workers, get the same volume of production out of those remaining, and thus keep their total wages paid unchanged, even while paying a higher rate per hour or per week. Fourth, if piece-work rates are permitted, what becomes of the minimum wage? Even the president had to recognize that the textile code was too raw in this respect, and to make the deal look plausible to the workers he had a statement inserted that hourly rates were not to be changed to piece-work rates in the effort to defeat the purposes of the code.

The provisions as to hours are also being left open to all kinds of juggling in the codes submitted so far. Not a single one of them guarantees a minimum number of hours or weeks of work in a year, as well as a maximum, which would be a concession in so far as it would set the year's earnings, not the week's or the hour's, as a standard. The provision for forty hours a week introduced by the textile code have been taken as a minimum, and the lumber code even provides for a forty-eight hour week. The Roosevelt enthusiasm for the thirty-hour week was once reflected in the Black Bill and in the provision that work on the new navy ships for which bids will be opened shortly must be on a thirty-hour weekly basis. Now it seems to have vanished.

Instead, there are a number of provisions whereby work can be piled up for a certain period, running as high as six months in some cases, far above the so-called "maximum" hours of the code, on the pretext that the industry is continuous, as claimed by the steel and the rayon employers. The whole question of maximum

New Boss Attacks in Britain Militant Strikes Mark Beginning of Workers' Resistance

Edinburgh, Scotland.—The British capitalist class is in an aggressive mood. Despite the pious protests of the parliamentary Labor Party, a scheme for the reorganization of the police force upon a military basis is now well advanced and middle class youth are being specially trained at Cadet schools for service as police officers. At the same time the number of special constables will be increased and the strength of the force raised to fifty thousand men under the supervision of the reactionary Lord Trenchard, now Commissioner of Police.

Along with this new police organization comes news of a new Unemployment Insurance Act, the outcome of the labors of several government commissions. According to semi-official statements made in the government press, the new act will contain at least one drastic change in the administration of unemployment benefit, namely, a scheme for the conscription of labor. At the present time, the majority of unemployed persons have exhausted their ordinary benefit and are now receiving transitional or temporary payments provided they can satisfy the authorities that they have no other means of maintenance.

Under the new act these persons would only receive benefit provided they are prepared to enroll at special work centers to be organized by the state. The state would then undertake to train the unemployed in handicrafts, trades and physical culture at a cost of 4 million pounds. The two schemes, reorganization of the police and organization of conscript labor, dovetail admirably into each other and is the event of any emergency, such as large-scale strikes or working class demonstrations, the state will have at its disposal a militarized police force and also an army of conscript strike breakers calculated to smash any form of working class resistance.

The British ruling class is looking far ahead and with a duplicity in the art of statism they seek to avert their intentions behind a mock attack upon German Fascism. They have backed up the protest of Lansbury and the Labor party against Hitler with their own protests mounted by the jingo Churchill and Chamberlain. The latter pair suggest that Fascism will never find a place in Britain as a system of government and indeed, at the present time, there seems no need of any great change in the traditional method of parliamentary democracy.

Cowardly Document of Labor Party
But this is only a superficial view of things and only the unwary could imagine that Britain can escape the Fascist tidal wave that is sweeping Europe. No doubt the swiftness of introduction will be peculiarly British, the mailed fist concealed in the velvet glove, but the dreams of a parliamentary majority still being indulged in by the leaders of the Labor party seem to be rudely shattered. At any rate, their recent manifesto denouncing both Communism and Fascism in favor of parliamentary democracy will go down in history as one of the most cowardly and hypocritical documents ever issued by a group of so-called leaders of a highly developed working class. They claim to be preparing for another term of

WAVE OF 'RECOVERY' STRIKES!

Breaking through the class collaboration net of the NIRA workers from California to New York are striking against starvation wages and slave conditions.

Reading Hosiery Workers
In Reading, Pa., the entire working class population rallied to the support of the striking Hosiery Workers in a splendid demonstration of solidarity. Jails, clubbings and gas bombs while exposing the mailed fist behind the "Raw Deal"

Organize Strike Among Mirror Makers

New York, N. Y.—A marvel of organizational effort was achieved recently by a number of young workers in the mirror novelty line, a branch of the pocketbook and ladies handbag industry.

The mirror novelty line is not a large one. Nevertheless it consists of some ten or twelve shops employing 70 or 80 workers, boys and girls, coverers, pasters, tippers, etc. who are the most exploited of the semi-skilled section of the working class. The industry was entirely neglected by the various factions in the labor movement. Although the Trade Union Unity League has at

have not weakened the spirit of the leading strikers.

Hollywood Movie Workers
America's third largest industry—Hollywood Film Industry—is crippled by a strike of 665 sound engineers supported by a sympathetic strike of 5,000 other workers. They demand shorter hours and increased wages.

Meat Packers in Omaha
Meat packers in Omaha, granite workers in California, furniture workers and food workers in New York are engaged in militant strikes.

Uniform Makers in N. Y.
In Red Bank, N. J., workers employed in the making of police and army uniforms have joined the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and are striking against the wages proposed by the NIRA Code.

In isolated shops, towns and trades innumerable other strikes are taking place. Some are led by

Gen'l Strike in Furniture Trade of N.Y.

New York, N. Y.—Four thousand upholsterers were called out last Thursday, July 27th on a general strike of the industry. The call was issued at the Manhattan Lyceum by the Executive Committee of Local 76 of the American Federation of Labor at a strike meeting of over 800 sitting under banners of 42 of the largest shops of greater New York. Demonstrations of enthusiasm and spirit swept the hall at the proposal of the chairman, Brother Albert, for a general strike in the morning for the basic demands of the 30 hour week and the minimum scale of \$1.40 per hour. Irving Plaza, headquarters of the strike, was packed this morning with the first day's response to the call. Committees were organized to cover every shop in the city down to and including the one and two man shops. Preparations are under way for a kitchen to feed the strikers. All indications point towards a militant and determined fight to unionize the trade.

Left Wing Joins Strike
Caught completely unprepared by the general strike call, the party fraction of the Furniture Workers' Industrial Union met hastily last night, and without consulting the membership of the union, also called a "general strike" of the four or five shops over which it has "control". In contrast to the A. F. L., their demands are for the 40 hour week and for the \$1 per hour basic wage. This is the culmination of the weak and confused "united front below" policy against which the left wing group has struggled over a period of months.

Two days ago, at a meeting of five shops called by the Industrial Union, the mask of unity behind which the Party bureaucrats had been hiding, was torn from their faces when they answered the demand for merging the rival unions with a "decision" from above that the Industrial Union will be maintained at all costs. For months the

the A. F. of L.—a scanty few by T. U. L. organizations but generally they are spontaneous struggles without organized leadership.

The splitting tactics of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, and the sectarian course of the Stalinists have together served to throttle the possibility of a real united struggle of all workers capable of smashing the slave NIRA codes and winning the five-day week and the six-hour day with increased pay.

Pocketbook Workers Win Conditions

New York.—At a mass meeting in Webster Hall, the Pocketbook workers heard a report of their manager Stein, that an agreement was reached with the Industrial Council of the Leather Goods Employers Association. After the manager's report a lengthy discussion took place for and against accepting the agreement. The majority of the workers listening to the heated discussion decided to accept the agreement with a majority vote.

It was the Left wing that made the fight to continue the strike until the bosses will grant all the demands.

St. Louis—Hotbed of Strikes Shoe Workers Rebel in Strike Without 'Leaders'

St. Louis, Mo.—Six months ago the majority of St. Louis working class tongues were wig-wagging: "Just wait till the breweries open up." Every other worker tempered his impatience to enjoy a decent standard of living with the rose-colored vision of the "good old days". To-day every worker knows from bitter experience that even 90 percent beer in 2 for 5c steels could not solve our situation—forced by 17,000,000 unemployed starving because of "over-production".

Rising prices have stimulated production, temporarily at least, in certain of the local industries: (Clothing, shoes, boxes, etc.). The increased cost of living has driven the St. Louis workers forward to union organization and to militant strikes for higher wages, shorter hours, etc.

The local AFL organization committee has organized over 3,000 workers into their various craft unions within a relatively short period of time, printers, shoe-workers, metal-trades workers, clothing, etc. The Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union seems to have passed out of existence.

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, within four weeks time, has a rapidly growing membership that will soon have the mass of shops in St. Louis organized. This is an important achievement, even though the ILGWU is a Right wing union, when one considers that the St. Louis needle trades have been notoriously open shop for many years. Already many of the smaller factories are organized 100 percent; and inroads are being made on the larger clothing companies.

The count-on-your-hand membership of the sectarian NTWU has, correctly, individually joined

Roosevelt's Radio Speech Asks for Class «Peace»

The significance of Roosevelt's speech last Monday night cannot be overestimated. It constitutes an historical milestone in the downward development of world capitalism. It foreshadows the whole course of the American bourgeoisie in the coming period, both at home and abroad.

"I have no sympathy," said the head man of capitalist America after four years of crisis, "with the professional economists who insist that things must run their courses and that human agencies can have no influence on economic ills".

And the president went on to affirm the future utilization of "human" agencies by the bourgeoisie. What this means, he makes quite clear. It is the closer and more open merging of the economic interests of the ruling class with their political, state apparatus. In other words, a system of state capital-

tism which is not unlike the benevolent despotism of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth century kings.

The idea of "benevolent" repression of the ruling classes is rebuffed in a new form, with the oppressed classes standing to gain even less than in the past; the part of the "despot" still sharper, that of "benevolence" even more shallow.

What is the particular "human" agency Mr. Roosevelt refers to? It is the so-called blanket code, proposed by the "National Recovery Administration". What are the "economic ills" this agency is to remedy? They constitute the organizational backwardness of American capitalism in relation to its outstandingly predominant position on the world market.

How will the support which the president calls for in regard to the code accomplish the task he sets himself?

It is intended first of all, by giving us the former, reckless "laissez faire" policy, to rally American capitalism to a breathing spell on the internal market which will permit a converted, national attack on the world market.

It is intended, in the second place, to forestall a powerful movement for the workers' way out of the crisis, by throwing a sop to the 17,000,000 desperate proletarians, whose elemental, immediate demand is a job with half-way tolerable pay, through the introduction of the stagger system, pure and simple; and furthermore, by coralling the forces of the working class, ahead of time, in service class collaborationist organizations, through the sponsoring of A. F. of L. activity in such a manner as to entrench the influence of capitalist's lieutenants within labor's ranks.

All in all, a scheme for the Europeanization of industry on the "American" mass scale, with all its benefits for the bourgeoisie and as little as possible of its drawbacks. This is the meaning of the Chief Executive's oration: the mobilization of the capitalist United States for a long range drive toward absolute world domination; a determined and carefully conceived plan to chain the working class to this drive.

It is necessary to realize the thorough running of this scheme, its far-sightedness. The approach towards its fulfillment is in itself comparable. Mr. Roosevelt calls upon "the employees of the nation to sign this covenant with me—in the name of patriotism and humanity".

He calls upon "the workers to go along with us in a spirit of understanding, etc." Patriotism is demanded of the bourgeoisie right off the bat. The whole nationalistic paraphernalia is set into motion. Badges of honor to be handed out to employers who "cooperate". Strong national agitation has already been broadcast, in all the stands the administration has taken on international affairs, in all the speeches. Mr. Roosevelt can already boast of achievements insofar as the bourgeoisie is concerned. Hasn't he reestablished the credit of the country when it lay prostrate? Haven't he put through the Farm Bill to curtail agricultural production and raise farm prices for the benefits of all the farmers' creditors? He feels that he threatens on sure ground here, that he can make demands of the bourgeoisie. He has been their man.

Of the workers he only demands that they "go along with us." In this field he is not so sure. For what achievements can he boast here? The miserable conservation camps, with their forced labor and their \$1 a day wage slavery? This is not very likely to impress the workers. In the meantime, strikes of all sizes and amplitudes sweep the country. It is necessary for the capitalist strategist to go easy with the workers. They are in no mood for fanatics.

He merely pleads with the workers "that no aggression is now necessary to attain these (the workers') rights." He merely assures them that "nobody will be permitted to whittle... away" the rights which they have not got.

He prefers to wait and see how the workers will fair for the bag of the stagger system and the minimum wage—which every capitalist will have no trouble to transform into the maximum wage.

THE N.I.R.A.—SUMMED UP

The decay of world capitalism is the condition that prepared the foundation for the Industrial Recovery Act.

The Industrial Recovery Act can be summed up as follows:

1. It is an attempt to prop up a tottering and decaying capitalist system.
2. It is an attempt to organize production; instead it will enlarge all of the basic contradictions.
3. It is an attempt to regulate competition; instead it will intensify competition.
4. It has the elements of state capitalism.
5. The defeat of the German working class by Fascism has caused a political regrouping in world politics and has accelerated the American imperialists' attempt to reorganize the international economic forces in preparation for more effective international struggles and for war.
6. It reveals to a greater extent the true role of the state as an instrument of suppression for the dominating class. The partnership of government and industry is not new. Only the form of a relationship is changing, from a concealed to a more open form.
7. It will organize cartels through government aid.
8. It will result in a government subsidy to the big capitalists and the "sick" industries and is part of the plan to raise the price level of commodities.
8. It is a method of eliminating

the small producers.

10. The establishment of the codes and the minimum wage for each industry, suitable for the big capitalists with large constant capital, modern methods of production and a high degree of exploitation, will eliminate the small producers who cannot live up to the new form of competition.
11. The right to curtail production through the code agreements is a weapon in the hands of the big capitalists against the small producers.
12. It will result in a lower standard of living for the American workers.
13. Speed up and rationalization will be intensified.
14. The real wages of the working class will be reduced regardless of what the money wage may be.
15. It will establish a low minimum wage which will become the average and then the maximum.
16. The reduction of hours as presented by the code is the stagger plan.
17. The 30 hour week is a denial of and a caricature of the six hour day and five day week.
18. It will establish a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the working class. Arbitration will be established for every industry.
19. It is an attempt to head off the class upheavals in the near future.
19. It is an attempt to prevent strikes. It will outlaw strikes. Strikes will be against the bosses'

government. The capitalists will hide behind the American flag to a far greater degree.

20. The code makes provisions for a money wage increase of from 5 percent to 10 percent to prevent strikes due to the rapid rise in commodity prices.

21. The workers' "rights" under the code only begin after the employees threaten to repudiate the employers' slave codes—then the capitalists and their government will resort to arbitration to prevent strikes.

22. It is an attempt to side-step the dole and social insurance, absorbing some of the unemployed through the stagger plan and by the inauguration of a public works program for the benefits of the contractors' and capitalists' profits, to employ some of the unemployed for the equivalent of relief.

23. It is an attempt to prevent the establishment of class struggle unions and instead to maintain the status quo, or to establish company unions—or safe conservative unions such as the A. F. L.

24. It is an attempt to reorganize the surplus labor power to the high productive forces of American industries.

25. The Industrial Recovery Act is an admission of the bankruptcy of the capitalist mode of production and is an unworkable substitute for the solution—the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers' Government.

—H. O.

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 4)

Lessons of the United Front

POLITICAL FACTIONS WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION

The united front is the tactic that enables us to bring together the combined pressure of various organizations of the working class. But one finds that a conference of many political tendencies or a trade union that has many political tendencies raises another problem within the broad problem of the united front. A conference or organization that has many different political tendencies will, in the main, divide between Right and Left and Centre. Working agreements, of a temporary measure, on one or more issues, within the conference or organization, will to a great degree determine which section of the conference or organization, Right-Centre or Left, will dominate the organization or conference. This united front is conducted on the same basis as any united front. However, the complicated situation causes intensification of contradictions between political tendencies which proceed at a more rapid tempo.

IS IT PROPER TO BREAK A UNITED FRONT?

A united front is only a temporary agreement on immediate demands in action and must be preserved as long as it functions for the CLASS INTEREST. If the development of the struggle and the united front for one reason or another is transformed from the basis of class struggle to that of class collaboration and the Right wing is about ready to betray or sell out—it is the duty of Marxists and revolutionists to point out, and to warn of the danger, and if it cannot be corrected, then the Left wing must break the united front BEFORE THE BETRAYAL. Such action will result in a temporary setback, not due to the break but due to the sell-out. However, if the Left wing has conducted itself correctly, broke away in time, and still retains the confidence of the masses, who could not see their position at the time of the break, the Left wing can lead in the reorganization of the forces, or in checking the retreat and preparing for a come-back.

COMPROMISE

The united front of different working class organizations, in the first place, is an attempt to increase the pressure against the capitalist class, and in the second, a give-and-take proposition between the organizations. In the final analysis it is a victory for that organization and its leadership which knows what to give and what to take. The representatives delegated for the united front conference and those who will do the negotiating must know in advance what the objectives of the united front and the organization are and within what frame-work they must work.

Compromises on secondary questions can and must be made and all the more so when friction is about to split the conference or organization. However, one must know how to distinguish between compromises and compromises. One must never compromise on principle, while one can compromise on other factors. It is up to the representatives and delegates to know the difference between these two words or compromises.

For example, at the June 1933 Unemployed Conference in Chicago the report of the program and policy committee was amended on the question of the united front, to first strike out the clause, "the right of political criticism," and second, to strike out and change the word "force," in the sentence which said "any organization not entering the united front must be forced into it." The committee compromised on the word force and changed it to a milder form, but the committee would not budge one inch or compromise on the question of political criticism. The question of principle but the question of modifying the word force is not.

LEADERS AND LEADERS

After a group of labor leaders have sold out and betrayed the workers it is often the style to condemn all leaders. One must be able to distinguish between different kinds of leaders. It is always in place to call for rank and file CONTROL and no revolutionist or Marxist is opposed to rank and file control. It is out of place and wrong to call for rank and file LEADERSHIP. Rank and file leadership is an empty slogan, yet as harmful as the slogan of the "united front from below." Both are inverted non-Marxist slogans.

(To be continued)

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB ORGANIZED IN BROWNSVILLE

Last Thursday, July 20th, the Spartacus Youth Club of Brownsville was launched. Eight comrades attended and about a half dozen more will soon join. Most of the members are expelled comrades from the Young Communist League, American Youth Club and Student Forum. There is a healthy sentiment for the Spartacus Youth Club in the section which should insure rapid progress.

At its first meeting George Ray was elected as organizer, Joe Elliott, secretary-treasurer and Morris Kent, literature agent. Plans are being made to get headquarters for the Club in the near future.

FROM THE MILITANTS

I.L.D. Expels 3 Workers in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn.—In March 1933, three members of the I. L. D.: Joe Ross, M. B. Dunne and Celia Cazanov. Upon our entry into the organization we found an almost total lack of activity, small membership, (6 or 7 active people) and no definite plan for immediate work. We soon became active, proposed work and helped to carry it out. Comrade Cazanov was sent to Chicago to represent the McDuffy branch of the I. L. D. at the Chicago Free Tom Mooney Congress. We also served as delegates at the May Day Conference. And in short conducted ourselves in such a manner as to gain the respect and approval of the I. L. D. member. New elements joined and old members, who had dropped out, did not escape the attention of the returned.

Our growing influence angered the Party bureaucrats, and a systematic campaign to isolate us was under way. Over the protest of honest members whom we had won to our support we were gradually removed from all activity. The real issue, which of course was Trotskyism, did not come into the open until the meeting of June 23rd. At that time it was brought into an educational meeting by Sam Bernstein, a Party bureaucrat. The charge was made that there were disrupters in the I. L. D., that the disrupting elements were the Trotskyites and he proposed a house cleaning.

A party worker took the floor and stated that if there are any disrupting elements they will be pushed out from activities and also from the organization by the members themselves. Fearing that the L. O. members might get a big support (yes, from Party members and sympathizers) if they were to continue the way they started, Bernstein then made a motion that the branch arrange another educational meeting for next Friday where any kind of a question can be discussed, "yes, even Trotskyism, if you please," pointing at comrade Cazanov. The motion also included a house cleaning at that same meeting. Comrade Ross then suggested that it should be an open meeting and this was accepted even by the bureaucrats Davis and Bernstein, and of course without any opposition on the part of the members.

All threats of exposing the L. O. all talks of expelling disrupters, came to an anti-climax Friday night. Comrades Cazanov and Dunne were met in the porch of the Workers Cultural Center by S. K. Davis. He stopped us at the door and stated that we were not to be allowed in the meeting. When asked for a reason, he said that it was a decision. We asked whose decision. He refused to answer. We started our intentions of going in and appealing to the membership. He responded by closing the door.

The Columbus Conference

2. The Stalinist-Muste Bloc at the Unemployed Gathering

(Continued from last issue)

II. The Stalinist-Muste Bloc

The main thing, therefore, to bear in mind, in seeking to understand the Columbus conference is the fact that the Stalinists in utter dependence over their inability to control the Federation mechanically, rushed into the arms of Muste and the horse-trading began. An agreement was reached between Muste and the Unemployed Councils that, since neither was satisfied with the Federation, for his own good reasons, they would both sabotage it. Muste therefore agreed not to affiliate with the Federation and to favor the committee of five-live, providing the Unemployed Councils would keep out of Muste's conference and let him establish his national organization un molested. The bargain was struck and each rejoiced in his own wisdom, confident that the five-live proposition as outlined by Browder before the Federation would work out to their own advantage. It would. A committee of fifteen, on which the Muste-Stalin bloc would have a mechanical majority from the start was sure to capture the hegemony at the January conference. As to the question which one of the two would get the best of the bargain after the conference, that question could wait. Both the Stalinists and the Mustelites know a trick or two about the fine art of packing conventions and capturing mechanical control.

Now, it must be remembered, that the original call for the Columbus Conference was addressed to all unemployed organizations, inviting them all to participate. But the Federation had been founded in the meantime and following that, the horse-trading bargain between the Stalinists and Mustelites struck. Muste therefore betwined himself the better and dedicated the Columbus conference to the founding of a national organization of the Unemployed Leagues.

Having arrived a day ahead of time, the writer was able to witness the proceedings of the last day of the state conference of the Ohio Unemployed Leagues. From the comments of the observers of the first two days of this conference it appeared that the central pro-

blem of the conference was the American flag. This surprising bit of information was entirely confirmed by the last day's proceedings, in which the greatest part was indeed spent in heated discussion of the place of the Stars and Stripes in the constitution of the organization. After wide inquiry the reason for this became apparent. In discussion with various delegates this illuminating fact was revealed: the Muste group, in its great haste to carve itself a place in the American labor movement, had gone into the field and built up mushroom unemployed organizations by catering to all of the prejudices of the backward small-town workers. It was not an uncommon sight during the recess periods, to see some excited delegates rush up to Mr. Budenz and demand of him "didn't you promise to organize us into a patriotic organization under the stars and stripes?" And Mr. Budenz would sheepishly have to admit that he had. This catering to the prejudices of the more benighted workers made it possible for the bourgeoisie's hirelings within the convention to shift the discussion from class struggle to patriotism and the American flag.

The following was the first resolution passed by the conference without a dissenting vote: "The Stars and Stripes forever. When right we uphold them; when wrong, we seek to right them." No comment is necessary. One felt very much like going over to the Party "General Staff" in the adjoining box and asking them if that did not somehow upset their theory of the "revolutionary upsurge." But then one could also save one's breath to cool one's porridge. Yet it was this reactionary mass that was to constitute the majority of the National Conference.

The National Conference

A heated debate followed the opening of the national conference. The point of dispute was the question of the status of the delegates who had come from the organizations that are not controlled by Muste. True to their bargain, the Unemployed Council delegation sought to be seated only as fraternal delegates. Other delegates, however, who had come from various states in response to the first-

that a constant, daily stream of donations are received. Furthermore, I can safely say, as far as Glasgow is concerned, practically the sole party activity is the sale of the Daily Worker.

The "Red Clydeside" as we once knew it seems no longer to exist. The scenes witnessed such as May Day, 1918, when despite all threats 100,000 workers took the day off, marched in procession with bands, banners, red flags and revolutionary songs were the order of the day, are only memories. The sidewalk, on route, was at that time lined with sympathizers who raised approving cries. At the Glasgow Green every one of the 22 platforms commanded a crowd. Solidarity and struggle were the orders of the day, sectarianism was relegated to obscurity notwithstanding criticism and counter-criticism. Then again "Bloody Friday" (Jan. 1919) was a spontaneous expression of working class solidarity. These things happened when the patriotic war fever was still in the air and before the inauguration of the C. P. G. B. These items prove conclusively that the party has really failed in its approach to the masses. After being excluded from the Party for "Trotskyism" (before I knew the platform of the L. O.), naturally I felt despondent, for some considerable time, at my isolation, but now that one senses the definite growth of the L. O. in this country the mood has passed and once more we enter the fight.

I have never been a platform man but nevertheless I travel around the Labour Exchanges, streets and spots where "Reds" congregate and I take part in discussions and informal debates. At first the current against the L. O. position was strong and I used to have people on all sides "yapping" at me, but now the situation is gradually changing and I am definitely winning the support of many party members and sympathizers. So far we have not started on L. O. group, but that can be explained by the widespread poverty as many potential members are quite unable to buy literature, let alone pay subs to a party.

I am going through the back numbers of the Militant you sent and am collating material for reprinting. Previously I was able to get a comrade to cyclostyle material from the "Permanent Revolution" a copy of which I possess, but at present it is going the rounds of the comrades. Furthermore, I drafted material from the "Real Situation in Russia," a copy of which is in the library. The only other work of comrade Trotsky, in addition to the above mentioned, in the Glasgow libraries, is the History of the Russian Revolution, just recently added. The L. P. put into circulation a copy of comrade Trotsky's speech at Copenhagen (Nov. 1932), but the price charged was six pence and I am now endeavoring to arrange the print of this speech for sale at one penny.

I am pleased to see the points raised in the current (July 1st) issue of the Militant about the absence of any U. S. S. R. delegation (at the Paris anti-Fascist Conference). For some time past I have demanded to be seated as the regular delegates. After a struggle the Mustelites gave in and, with the exception of the Unemployed Council delegates, were declared regulars.

The Left Opposition was the only political group besides the C. P. L. A. that made its appearance as such at this conference, being represented by a fraternal delegate who distributed a statement stressing the significance of the Recovery Act and urging the Convention to affiliate to the National Federation. It seems to have become an established tradition that the first day and a half or two days of a three day working class conference should be wasted in windmilling oratory. The Columbus conference was no exception. The only important accomplishment on the afternoon of the second day was the adoption of a constitution and some minor resolutions which were neither here nor there since they did not affect the policy of the organization. True, on that same day amid much trumpeting and flag waving a Declaration of Independence couched adopted in a decidedly radical verbiage. It is also true that the whole assemblage stood up and sang "America" and waved more flags after the adoption of this windy Declaration.

Be it also said, that the Stalinist "General Staff" under Hathaway's personal command, to its shame, did not find it necessary to intervene and at least attempt to shift the discussion to proper channels. An agreement is an agreement—at least for the time being. The reciprocal double-crossing would come later in the haggling over the spoils.

The real question as to the course to be followed by the new organization in the direction of unifying the unemployed movement was still to be decided on. Resolutions on that point had been submitted by Oppositionist delegates. The aim of the Oppositionist faction was to have the conference go on record instructing the incoming National Committee to affiliate to the NATIONAL FEDERATION. The Mustelites also entered resolutions calling for the above described 5-5-5 proposition. This was the real heart of the argument, and the resolution committee was still divided on it at the end of the second day. Meanwhile, another resolution submitted by an Oppositionist which read to the effect that if a unification conference was to be called, all unemployed organiza-

tions have representatives on the provisional committee, and not merely the U. C., U. L. and the Federation as proposed by the Mustelites, was tampered with and an insertion made which changed the entire meaning of the resolution. That night the real struggle broke out in the meeting of the presiding committee in which the writer represented the Illinois delegation. The representatives of the Unemployed Council and those of the Federation had been invited to make a statement to this committee. Amter spoke for the U. C. and after a good bit of hypocritical demagoguery finally broached the 5-5-5 proposition. He spoke with great warmth about unity and the necessity of federating the various unemployed organizations on a state-wide scale. But his remarks on the National Federation were rather ambiguous. He poured out his tale of woe of how the Unemployed Council which is the biggest organization nationally with a membership of 200,000 (he didn't think when he said that) only has a measly two representatives on the national committee of the Federation, and generally characterized the Federation in very unflattering terms. Asked bluntly by the writer whether he, on behalf of the U. C., was proposing that the National Unemployed Leagues affiliate to the Federation or not, Amter evaded the question. Later, however, one of Amter's satellites, a certain notorious Frankfield, blurted out that affiliation to the Federation was unnecessary.

True to their compact, the Stalinist and Mustelite members of the National Committee of the Federation had acted to prevent a unanimous statement from being brought in by the Federation. Tom Dixon and George Leech—chairman and secretary of the Federation did however state that the majority of the national committee urged this conference to go on record for affiliation. But the Stalinists even contested this statement. It must have been a perplexing problem indeed for the members of the presiding committee who were unaware of the gentlemen's agreement existing between the Stalinists and Mustelites, to see the representatives of the U. C. which organization was a member of the Federation and has two members on the national committee, nevertheless appear and argue violently against affiliation to this same Federation.

A bitter struggle followed the dismissal of the representatives of

OHIO JOBLESS UNITED

Youngstown, Ohio.—Twenty-seven delegates from 13 unemployed organizations (4 Leagues and 9 Councils) met in Youngstown on July 23 and formed the Federation of Unemployed Organizations of Mahoning and Trumbull Counties. The present basis of representation is one delegate from each unit or organization, but it is likely that after other organizations have been brought into the Federation that the representation will be on a proportional basis.

J. S. Neff was elected chairman of the Federation. C. Walker—Vice Chairman, Henry Mack—Secretary, and Harold Newby—Treasurer. The Federation Committee, which includes 13 members now and will be enlarged as other organizations affiliate, was instructed to work out a constitution for the Federation in complete harmony with the policy and structure of the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America at Chicago. It was also instructed to work out a program for the Federation which will include the following points proposed at the conference: Immediate relief and employment insurance at the expense of the bosses and their government, the 6-hour day and 5-day work week with an increase in pay, an increase in wages and relief to meet the increase in prices, against forced labor, the money for unemployed relief and insurance to be raised by taxing incomes in higher brackets, against evictions and foreclosures. The Committee will probably find it necessary to recommend from time to time that other points be included in the program.

The first work of the Federation will be the participation of its various organizations in centralized August First demonstrations under the leadership of the Federation Committee and with unemployed slogans and demands. The second task is the immediate preparation for a strike against forced labor in the two counties. The Columbus Convention passed a resolution to go on strike August First but the National Committee of the National Unemployed League, according to one of its members Mrs. Mettee, has wisely postponed this action until the necessary preparation has been made. The Mahoning and Trumbull Federation will prepare put forward this point and drawn attention to the fact that no Soviet delegation was included in the Congress and that no statement had been issued to the Congress by the C. P. U. S. Despite the fact that several delegates went from Glasgow no public report has been given; needless to say the delegation was composed of paid party officials.

Nevertheless, we will yet tear down this barrier of reaction and hypocrisy with the hope that once more the L. O. will take its rightful place in the party and that the Comintern, inspired by new blood, will again be used as a guiding force towards world revolution.

Both organizations. The fight centered between the two Left Oppositionists who introduced a motion for affiliation and Muste who presented a counter motion for the committee of 15. The small hours of the morning came and found the committee divided over this question. The meeting finally adjourned to reconvene next morning and hear another statement from the Federation.

In the meeting of the national committee of the Federation which went into session after being dismissed by the presidium, the Stalinist-Muste combination again blocked off the possibility of a unanimous statement for affiliation. When the presidium convened the next morning Dixon again had to report on a division of opinion within the national committee. At this point Dennis Batt, a notorious renegade from Communism—a deserter to the Republican party, came to Muste's rescue by moving that the presiding committee shall not urge the convention to instruct the incoming National Committee on any certain policy of unification but that the entire matter be left to the discretion of the National Committee. After some wrangling the motion was passed by a vote of 20-5 and Muste's face lit up in a triumphant smile.

Since the strategy of the Mustelites was such, they naturally were very much interested in hearing no report from the resolution committee. A report on policy would certainly be embarrassing since that would bring the disputed question to the convention floor.

Accordingly, the chairman reported on the proceedings of the presidium and put Dennis Batt's motion to a vote. Were the convention to endorse that motion it meant that it would automatically invalidate any resolution that might be reported on later. The delegates of the Workers League and the Oppositionists put up a bitter fight against such procedure, and for affiliation. But just as the struggle grew the hottest, the Stalinists stepped in and in true Judas fashion saved the situation for Muste by playing on the backwardness of the delegates and urging them to vote against affiliation and for the motion. Reaction prevailed—the motion carried.

The final report of the majority of the members of the resolutions committee, which had somehow gotten together, recommended affiliation. But this was quickly steam-rollered out of order and the

for this strike by means of Federation mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the two counties.

It was announced at the conference that a Federation had also been formed in the Lucas County (Toledo) District, and that the Councils and Leagues in that area were cooperating very effectively at the present time in a strike against forced labor. It will be necessary in the near future, when various sections of the state begin to take similar action, that a State Federation be formed in order to direct this work properly. The fact that these local federations have invariably affiliated with the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America will help enormously to strengthen the National Federation which is the real basis for complete future amalgamation of all unemployed movements.

At the meeting of the Call Committee when the agenda for the Federation met was drawn up not one single word was mentioned regarding the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill but the demand that has been the central point in the local united front appeals was reinforced for the agenda—Immediate Relief and Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the Bosses and Their Government. Nevertheless, Mack, who was entrusted with job of working out agenda details, inserted under immediate action" the endorsement of the insurance BILL without consulting other members of the Call Committee. When this point came up, Newby pointed out that there was a great danger that centering the fight for Unemployment Insurance around this Bill would guide the movement into futile parliamentary channels; that details such as the \$10 maximum relief might be used against the workers in the future and that such details should not be decided upon until the workers are strong enough to force such a measure through so that such details can be worked out to meet the needs of that time with real inflation, etc.; and that the provisions of the Bill providing for "the average wages in the respective industries and territories" was not something radical workers should fight for, that it was had enough to have class divisions based on wage differences which the bosses make, and that the workers should demand the same adequate relief for each adult and dependent regardless of whether he is a laborer, semi-skilled, skilled, office or professional worker. Mack put forth some explanations but a motion to refer the Bill to the Federation Committee for consideration was passed without objection.

—N.

FOR NEW YORK OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Manhattan: 7th St. and 2nd Ave. every Thursday night 6 P. M. 86th Street and Lexington Ave. every Friday night 6 P. M. Harlem: 125th St. and 5th Avenue, every Saturday night 8 P. M. Bronx: 163rd Street and Prospect Ave. every Sat. night 8 P. M.

rest of the day spent in making bombastic nomination speeches for the various members of the National Committee.

Here it is necessary to say a word about the conduct of the Lovestonites at this conference. Their role was truly characteristic of an opportunist group. The fact that two Lovestonites are members of the national committee of the Federation did not prevent them from drawing up a document called "Draft Program for National Federation of Unemployed organizations." From all indications the Lovestonites are also dissatisfied with having only two members on the National Committee of the Federation, and came to this conference ready to build a new federation. The only difference between them and the Stalinists lay in the fact that the former openly spoke against the existing National Federation on the convention floor and the Lovestonites did so in personal conversation only. Not once during the Conference did a Lovestonite take the floor and speak for affiliation.

At this time when the Roosevelt government is introducing elements of state capitalism with all its terrible consequences for the working class, at this time when a clear line of action must be worked out to enable the American proletariat to fight back, the blind empirical Stalinists can only think one thought—how to capture mechanical control of the unemployed organizations. This in the name of Unity. Yes the Stalinists are for unity—providing they have a stranglehold on the given organization. Let but a voice of dissent challenge their rule, and they will not hesitate to split that organization into smithereens.

The Left Opposition must learn from these experiences. We must seek to entrench ourselves in the unemployed organization. We must strive to raise the unemployed movement from its present level of "soup consciousness" to the level of class consciousness. We need have no fear of working as a small minority. Armed with the weapons of Marxism we shall in due time win the majority just as surely as did the Russian Bolsheviks who had for years constituted a minority.

Between Stalinism and Communism there can be no peace. The advances of Communism can only result out of the defeat of Stalinism. To this end let us bend our efforts.

L.O. Members in Eviction Protest

The New York branch held its regular Brownsville open air meeting last Friday with several hundred workers attending. George Ray acted as chairman, the speakers were Bill Matthews on Roosevelt's New Deal and Joe Carter on the lessons of the German events for the American working class. On previous occasions the Communist party members attempted to break up the meeting either by demanding the platform or starting a revival meeting across the street.

After a number of question from the audience, a Duesch, the party fellow who beat up one of our comrades the week before, asked the speaker to adjourn the meeting and call on the crowd to help the Unemployed Council stop the eviction of a jobless Negro worker, Bryan, several blocks away. The speaker replied by stating that such a request had been used on previous occasions to disrupt open air meetings but that we would have two more questions and then go as a group to cooperate with the Unemployed Council. The two questions were asked and answered. One of the party members "demanded" the platform to reply to the speaker. His demand was met with a reiteration of a call for a debate between the Left Opposition and the Communist party. The party members were advised to discuss with us not with their fists—this remark was particularly aimed at Duesch—but by arguments. The meeting then adjourned and the entire audience proceeded to the home of the evicted Negro worker.

The Unemployed Council opened a meeting in front of the house. We volunteered speakers but were told that the secretary of the Unemployed Council would have to consent—he was not to be found. Soon the emergency police squad yanked the speaker from the platform and waded into the crowd with clubs. A number of workers were hurt and had to receive medical treatment. Among those hurt were two members of the Spartacus Youth Club, Herman Gladstone, and Sam Shabel.

The branch will hold another open-air meeting at Bristol and Pitkin next Friday evening.

JULY ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS READY

The July issue of Young Spartacus is ready for sale and distribution. It contains articles on the American revolution of 1776, reconstruction, anti-war day, August 1st, National Industrial Recovery Act, antiwar youth congress, youth strikes and activities of the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

Branches of the Communist League and individuals who have been receiving bundles of Y. S. will have to pay for them at three cents a copy or communicate with us as to what they do with the bundles. Those branches who do not respond will be cut from the list beginning with the August number.

rest of the day spent in making bombastic nomination speeches for the various members of the National Committee.

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Between Stalinism and Communism there can be no peace. The advances of Communism can only result out of the defeat of Stalinism. To this end let us bend our efforts.

—NORMAN SATIR.

Moissaye Olgin as a «Historian»

"Lenin lives in an imaginary world in which he mistakes the creations of his mind for realities."

"It would seem that Lenin's 'radicalism' only blocks the road of the Russian Revolution by calling forth a reaction by adding to the disorganization of a country shaken to its foundations. Here, as ever, Lenin's tactics, seemingly extreme, are in reality weakening the strength of democratic Russia."

The Menshevik who penned the above lines (in Asia—Dec. 1917) is none other than the present Stalinist knight in the struggle against "Trotskyism", Moissaye Olgin.

His latest miserable attempt to carry out the teachings and dictates of Stalin takes the shape of a review of the collection of Lenin's writings from the July Days 1917 to the October revolution recently put out in two volumes, "Towards the Seizure of Power", by International Publishers in the theoretical organ of the American Communist Party, the Communist (May and June 1933). The occasion is utilized for an attack on the views of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution".

In typical Stalinist fashion Olgin confuses the relation between the democratic and the socialist revolution and the theory of the permanent revolution.

To appear objective, Olgin quotes a lengthy—and we may add, representative—section from Trotsky's "History" and comments: "Every sentence of this declaration is just the opposite of historical truth and only reveals Trotsky as what he is—a falsifier of history." No less! Let us quote the section.

"From the year 1905 the Bolshevik party had waged a struggle against the authority under the slogan 'Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry'."

This slogan as well as its theoretician, Plekhanov, stubbornly opposed the 'mistaken idea of the possibility of accomplishing a bourgeois revolution without the bourgeoisie.' Lenin considered that the Russian bourgeoisie was already incapable of leading its own revolution. Only the proletariat and peasantry in close union could carry through a democratic revolution against the monarchy and the landlords. The victory of this union, according to Lenin, should inaugurate the democratic dictatorship, which was not only not identical with the dictatorship of the proletariat, but was in sharp contrast with it, for its problem was not the creation of a socialist society, nor even the creation of forms of transition to such a society, but merely a ruthless cleansing of the Augean stables of medievalism. The goal of the revolutionary struggle was fully described in three militant slogans: Democratic Republic, Confiscation of the Landed Estates, Eight-Hour Working Day—collectively called the three whistles of Bolshevism."

Leon Trotsky—History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. 1, page 314.

"Every sentence" a historical untruth? Olgin raised the question of Lenin's view of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution in order to prove that the latter saw in this the transition of the democratic into the Socialist revolution. He quotes a number of writings from Lenin to prove this contention. But the basic questions still remain: Is it true that Lenin before 1917 considered the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as the culmination of the bourgeois democratic revolution?

Did he understand—as Trotsky in his theory of the permanent revolution did—that the solution of the democratic tasks would be solved by the proletarian revolution, through the institution of a proletarian dictatorship? And lastly—how did he itself solve this dispute—in the form of the "democratic dictatorship" or the "proletarian dictatorship"?

Olgin in his polemic against Trotsky quotes Lenin's "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in a Democratic Revolution" written in 1905 to prove his contentions. But it is precisely this source that the same Olgin used to prove the exact opposite in 1917. We read:

"In his Two Tactics he (Lenin) said, 'The stage of Russia's economic development (forming an objective condition) and the stage of consciousness and progress of organization among the masses of the proletariat (forming a subjective condition) intrinsically connected with the objective) makes an immediate complete emancipation of the working class (introduction of socialism) impossible.' Even Lenin would have to admit that both objective and subjective conditions have not changed substantially since 1905. (Obvious Nonsense—J. C.). Yet here he is, preaching the establishment of socialism in a backward impoverished Russia." (Asia—Dec. 1917—page 788.)

The quotation from Lenin proves the converse of what Olgin now attempts! We may add that his comment is not above level of his present writings!

When a group of Red Professors edited a "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" under the guidance of the Trotsky killer, Yaroslavsky several years later recorded Lenin's change of strategic line between 1905 and 1917 only to bring on their heads the charges of "Trotskyism"! Yaroslavsky was forced to indulge in "self criticism". This "Leninist" now formulates the question in a new way: "The completion of

On Some of His Recent «Criticism» on Trotsky's History

the bourgeois democratic revolution was a by-product of the socialist proletarian revolution of 1917." (Communist—Feb. 1932—his emphasis). This formulation is in direct contradiction to the official Stalinist position on the colonial question.

To get back to Olgin. Many years ago, this gentleman translated a number of Trotsky's writings from 1905 to 1917 particularly treating with the theory of the permanent revolution. In his preface to "Prospects of a Labor Dictatorship" in "Our Revolution" Olgin wrote: "Whatever our attitude towards the course of events in the 1917 revolution may be, (his are revealed in the quotations from Asia—J. C.) we must admit that in the main, this course has taken the direction predicted in Trotsky's essays. There is a labor dictatorship now in Russia. It is a labor dictatorship not a 'dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'.... All this had been outlined by Trotsky twelve years ago. When one reads this series of essays, one has the feeling that they were written not in the course of the first Russian upheaval (The essays appeared in 1906 as part of a book by Trotsky, entitled, *Our Revolution*, Petersburg, W. Glagolev, publisher) but as if they were discussing problems of the present situation. This more than anything else shows the continuity of the revolution.... Twelve years ago those essays seemed to picture an imaginary world. Today they seem to tell the history of the Russian revolution. We may agree or disagree with Trotsky, the leader, nobody can deny the power and

clarity of his political vision." The present day fulminations against the theory of the permanent revolution cannot change the essential accuracy of the comments made above!

Olgin however does not reach his real heights until he treats the question of the origin of the November insurrection. Here the gentleman finds Trotsky once again guilty of falsifying history. He quotes Trotsky as saying that the idea of an insurrection took form from the moment the order was given for the removal of the troops from Petrograd and the Petrograd Soviet decided to organize a military revolutionary committee. The meeting Trotsky refers to was held on October 22. "The idea did not take form before, because it was not advanced by Trotsky. The father of the idea was, most naturally, Trotsky". With this attempt at sarcasm, Olgin continues to cite quotations from Lenin where the latter called for insurrection before October 22nd.

Is it possible that Trotsky was unaware of this or tried to hide it? Is it true that even Trotsky first conceived of insurrection on October 22nd? One need but turn to volume III of the "History" and find a complete chapter on Lenin's continual proposals for insurrection from July upward! Olgin read this chapter. But he assumes that the readers of the Communist have not and will not do so! Even Olgin can easily understand that what Trotsky means in the quoted paragraph is that the idea of insurrection first took form at that moment among the masses in the Soviet Union and Trotsky. Further that the idea was then concretized that the Soviet rather than the Bolshevik party directly or a new organ, would be the official instrument of the insurrection—a question not definitely decided up to then. Olgin's

ing of the dictatorial government by the general strike of the masses and the installation of a social-democratic government which will be the product of the extra-parliamentary struggle. It is possible, with the aid of this struggle, to rally great masses discontented with the governmental policy in the struggle against the present government.

I know that there will be objection that a social democratic government will merely change the mannerism but the policy will remain the same. This is not exactly correct.

A social democratic government coming to power by the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie coalition would be obligated under the danger of complete discredit, to carry out a policy of defense of the interests of the workers.

As timid as this policy will be it will come into violent collision with the brutal reaction of the bourgeoisie.

The class antagonisms will only sharpen, the class struggle will develop and the workers will themselves become convinced by the political experience which has been lacking up till now in Belgium, of the necessity of the use of revolutionary struggle to fight back the attacks of reaction and Fascism.

Let those who are not in agreement with this slogan reflect a little before saying that we are playing the game of the socialist leaders. What the latter fear most is to be carried to power on the wave of the direct struggle of the masses.

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A social democratic government coming to power by the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie coalition would be obligated under the danger of complete discredit, to carry out a policy of defense of the interests of the workers.

As timid as this policy will be it will come into violent collision with the brutal reaction of the bourgeoisie.

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For a Social Democratic Gov't in Belgium - Why?

Brussels, Belgium.—The general discontent of the toiling masses who have been severely hit by the application of the hunger decrees of the dictatorial government, the anger growing in the workers ranks and the desire they manifest for struggle, the fear of being taken by surprise, as they were in July 1932, by the series of strikes which could rapidly spread over the whole country has forced the socialist and Democratic-Christian leaders to perform a maneuver on the political and trade union field which is designed to prevent a direct and immediate struggle against the hunger government.

The pact consummated between the socialists and Democratic-Christians at Charleroi which commits them before the workers to struggle jointly against the dictatorial government, to call for the immediate convocation of parliament in order to revise the financial measures of the government in a "democratic way" is the beginning of this maneuver. Politically, this agreement means the following: "Patience, workers, do not strike in any case against the application of the hunger decrees, we are going to struggle in parliament for a democratic majority and thus to revoke the measures which effect you so severely."

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G. Zinoviev on the Party Regime

purpose is not the review of history. It is rather that of discrediting and slandering the present day Marxists.

Finally Olgin disputes Trotsky's statement that the official Stalinist historians present the question of the voting of the Bolshevik Central Committee (on October 23) for insurrection as though the entire party leadership except Zinoviev and Kamenev stood for insurrection. The constant re-writings of the history of the Bolshevik party for the factional purposes of the Stalinists are notorious. Olgin however finds a quotation to serve his purpose. We assume that he picked the strongest available.

"The course on insurrection taken by Lenin, however, met with resistance on the part of some members of the Central Committee. In the first place on the part of Kamenev and Zinoviev. This reads a history of the Russian party by Bukharin, present Commissar of Education. Who are these others? Not a word. They are revealed when the individuals fall in the bad graces of the present ruling regime, as Kamenev and Zinoviev have on a number of occasions!"

For the Stalinist historians to literally confine the disputes (on insurrection and other questions) to Zinoviev and Kamenev alone would require the suppression of about nine-tenths of Lenin's writings between July and November 1917. This has been found impossible even by the expert Stalinist censors. So they resort to anonymity with regard to the other personalities.

The world revolutionary movement will have to purge itself of the falsifiers and revisionists of Marxism, the extensive staff of official "historians" and "theoreticians" exemplified by Moissaye Olgin.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

STATEMENT ON FUNDS COLLECTED FOR GERMAN L. O.

Following is a statement of the fund collected for the press of the German section of the International Left Opposition. As will be seen from the statement a little more than \$100 has been collected and forwarded up to date.

The American League has been assigned a quota of \$200. All readers of the Militant are again requested to support this fund and again enable us to fill our quota. Send contributions to the Militant, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

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THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

Every Day Conditions in the Life of a Russian Worker

Moscow, U. S. S. R.—I take this opportunity to write you a detailed letter. Just recently I returned from a trip to Ukraine and observed a good deal there. In Moscow, that is, in a city more privileged and better supplied, one cannot see in the course of many months that which astonishes one within a few days in the provinces. In the province one is immediately seized with a feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty.

Kharkov has grown excessively—many new enterprises, housing constructions, etc., and at the same time, tens of thousands of people sit in the dark at night (they sat through the whole winter in this fashion in flats which were barely heated, or altogether unheated). Entire sections of the city are not supplied with electricity. The flats are dark, the cinemas and clubs are closed. And this lasts for long stretches of weeks. There is no kerosene, no candles, so that the darkness is unbroken. Only fortunate from among the bureaucracy have poor kerosene lamps. No kerosene—although the output of oil in Baku has been increased so electricity—although the Dneprostroy has been built.... This absence of light has an oppressive effect, especially in winter. And what happens to be the case in Kharkov is also the case in many other places. The electricity is shut off suddenly and unexpectedly, and there is none for weeks. And the people live in some semi-barbarous condi-

tion, not knowing what to do with themselves and how to kill time which is so precious. Generally the ferocious disproportions between production and consumption are simply crushing. Despite a large number of machines, people live not better, but worse. Gradually one is seized by terror under the realization of the fact that is being created—are nothing but a slave of some tremendous blind force, the machine, because, while under capitalism, the machine was transformed into a monstrously directed against people, under socialism it should serve as an aid to people; the more machines, the better should be the living conditions of the worker, but it is otherwise with us....

I was at the Dneprostroy also. Needless to repeat—a gradiose creation of human thought and power. It looks like a plaything, everything radiates cleanliness. But out of the four power aggregates, three are not operating because the plants they are to supply have not been built as yet. There is "planned" economy for you! And while at the electric plant there rules cleanliness and everywhere there is felt attentive care, it is otherwise with the workers. The papers carried a great deal to the effect that Dneprostroy from a tiny village would turn into a city with a population of 70,000; there was such description of clubs, and workers' dining rooms; and photographs were printed of new houses. Is

that a lie? No, all this exists. Only there is no mention made that the tiniest part of the workers is housed in these new constructions and lives in unbearable, humane conditions. The rest live in barracks. Filth, semi-darkness, in winter cold; the food—bad. Faces are surly, one senses not only dissatisfaction but despair. It is impossible to exist long in this manner....

Enroute, everywhere, unbroken pictures of terrifying poverty. Everything recalls the period of civil war. Lice, against which Lenin once declared merciless war, are thriving again. For days at a stretch people sprawl in railroad stations; men, women, children, all together, lying side by side. They are pushed, chased from place to place. Nobody to give them information about the departing trains. They climb into the first train that comes and depart often in the wrong direction. They are put off, and they are left on the road without a train ticket and without money. There is interminable waiting in queues; first at the ticket window ("The sale of tickets has not yet begun"); later at the entrance to the station ("The passengers cannot get in as yet"). But one attempts to rush the trains. At the entrance stands a lone militia man. All wait in silence. Where are they going? Why? Somewhere potatoes and bread may be bought, somewhere there are new constructions, somewhere there is a factory

(Continued on page 4)

A Letter That Doesn't Jibe With His Latest Recantation

authority for an extra year, that is, of doubling the authority received from the Congress. And all this—despite the fact that the atmosphere of a rigorous civil war made the convocation of congresses much more difficult than now.

Secondly, under Lenin, prior to the Congress all members of the party were given the possibility to print in the party press their suggestions, theses, platforms, pamphlets and books and to appear before any party meeting.

Thirdly, all this was done so that all members of the party might really participate in the discussion and so that the elections to the Congress would really express the will of the party. There was never, under Lenin, a case of ward conferences, which really decide everything, being called first, and the "discussion" starting only after the convocation of state conferences. Under Lenin such a procedure would be laughed at and rejected as a wretched and disgraceful comedy.

Fourthly, under Lenin, in the pre-Congress period the shifting of comrades, in disagreement with the line of the CC, from workers' centers to distant corners not only never took place (under Lenin, exile in general was not heard of), but on the contrary, precisely those comrades, or groups of comrades who had disagreements with the majority of the CC were accorded fullest guarantee, of remaining in the large centers so that they might come forward with their criticism of the line of the Central Committee in the pre-Congress days as well as to the Congress itself.

There is no such thing now. Just the opposite is being done. The CC itself has prolonged its authority

exactly on time. A postponement of even one month was considered, under Lenin, inadmissible. Under Lenin there was never a case of the Central Committee extending its

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Roosevelt Asks for Class «Peace»

(Continued from Page 1)

while remaining perfectly within the law.

He prefers to see how well his labor lieutenants Green, Hillman, Dubinsky and Co. will be able to fasten their stranglehold on the working masses. The patriotic paraphernalia—"for working class consumption"—will come later. He can bide his time. Capitalism is experimenting and its perspective is a long one.

What the worker can expect from the blanket code is evident from what he received from the grandiose public works scheme. Roosevelt is the sponsor of both. From the public works—the conservation camps—the workers had several hundred thousands of their own employed; at the meagerly wage of \$1 a day.

The blanket code promises minimums of \$14 and \$11. That is to be the law for employers and workers alike, says the president. What is to prevent the trusts, the syndicates and corporations to mobilize their armies of flunkies lawyers to circumvent the law, as Morgan did with the bank laws? Nothing. The bosses make the laws, they have the "right"—their means, their resources—to break them just as well.

A French wit once said: "The state forbids both rich and poor to steal bread; the state forbids both rich and poor to sleep under bridges." . . .

The state: Roosevelt—that is the bosses' state. Its laws are the laws and the codes of the employers. Workers' rights must be fought for. They are not granted, they must be snatched from the boss class. The same holds true for the blanket code and the whole Roosevelt rignarole.

Those labor fakery who speak of the Roosevelt administration as "above the classes", who speak of the fairness of the codes, are preparing the workers for further and greater oppression and misery. They must be exposed. Every step of their must be watched, mistrusted. Every proposal carefully examined. The working class counter-proposals, the proletarian counter-strategy to the Roosevelt offensive must be prepared.

The need of the moment is the concentration of all Left wing and genuine progressive forces in the American labor movement for the elaboration of such a policy. The official Communist party under Stalinist leaderships and the Muscovite Conference for Progressive Labor Action have called a conference on the National Industrial Recovery Act in Cleveland for August. Whether this conference will accomplish this laudable task is questionable and yet to be seen. What is needed to accomplish this task is a well worked out Communist program, one that is based on principle and confirmed by experience, one that will stand the test. Not the least factor in such a program is a correct international orientation. The Left Opposition will be on hand with such a program, it will work with all its might to unite a solid Left wing movement, to make it the driving force within all labor organizations, in the A. F. of L. and among the unemployed. —SAM GORDON.

How the Bosses Receive N.I.R.A.

(Continued from page 1)

hours, in fact, is treated in the codes as only another form of spreading the work, the "stagger" system introduced during the present crisis on an unprecedented scale. By spreading out the jobs over a greater number of workers, the bosses benefit not only by keeping many of them from the miserly unemployment benefits which they might get but also by establishing the habit of an unprecedentedly low scale of living based on one, two or three days' work a week.

But the greatest immediate benefit of all, which the capitalists will obtain from the act, is its effect in shoving the question of organization into the background, among the masses of underemployed workers. "Roosevelt and the Recovery Act will take care of wages and hours—why do we need to take out union cards?" is the crudest form of this reaction. Another form is the acceptance even of company unions, as well as of reformist trade union leadership, by hitherto unorganized workers as a great victory achieved without a struggle. This will tend to lead off into "safe" channels the discontent of the workers which would otherwise flow toward the strengthening of the Left wing in reformist unions or the organization of new militant class-struggle unions. Hundreds of thousands of new workers are coming into the AFL from basic industry especially. These workers new to organization unfamiliar with the traditions of reformist bureaucracy, will form a broad basis for the future growth of the Left wing.

The revolutionary leadership of the workers cannot remain content with letting the workers find out for themselves how hollow are the illusions with which they are being fed. They must take the initiative in showing the workers that they are getting nothing from the Industrial Recovery Act, that the first codes presented already clearly show the intention of the bosses to give them nothing and of the government to back up the bosses, that the reformist union leaders are simply harnessing the workers

WAVE OF STRIKES . LABOR'S ANSWER

Furniture Workers in General Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

rank and file of the trade, led by the Left wing, demanded the reintegration of the Left wing union into the American Federation of Labor and for a united general strike under one banner. We believe that the militancy resulting from a victorious strike would inevitably lead to the growth of Left wing strength in the merged union, towards the reestablishment of the Left wing in the leading positions of influence and control which they held prior to 1929.

C. P. Versus the Union

"The upholsterers are going back to Local 76 (A. F. of L.). They are not going; they are running. They are not running; they are already there." This is the private opinion of the majority of the Party fraction in the Furniture Workers Industrial Union. The overwhelming response of the workers to the A. F. of L. strike call sustains that opinion. One party member after another, in a meeting with the representatives of the Trade Union Unity Council, Overgaard and Worris, thus declared that unless union was achieved with the A. F. of L. in the coming general strike, we would find ourselves six months from now without a rank and file.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming sentiment in the Party fraction, the T.U.U.C. representatives put their foot down heavily against any further unity negotiations with the A. F. of L. "betrayers of labor" and ordered that the Industrial Union be maintained at all costs. The false face of unity behind which the T.U.U.C. masqueraded was finally ripped aside at a meeting of five shops held Tuesday July 25th to discuss the question of unity between the two unions. The Stalinists refused to give the floor to the representatives of the Left wing group, this time on the pretext that they were not members of those particular shops called to attend that meeting.

Why was this meeting called? Was it because the Stalinists wanted to hear the opinion of the upholsterers as to whether we should unite with Local 76 or not? No. It was because the workers, tired of being fed on empty and worn-out phrases, began to say that, if the Industrial Union does not join 76 as a body, they themselves, as individuals, would join Local 76. When the organizer of the Industrial Union, it appears, came to the shops to collect a three dollar strike tax, the workers, who naively thought that they were in the midst of unity negotiations, turned on him suspiciously, and said: "Let us wait until the unity negotiations are over. Perhaps we will have one union, perhaps other arrangements will be made, etc." Frightened by the fact that the Industrial Union was losing the little influence it had up till now, the organizer asked them to come to a special shop meeting that night to discuss the question.

The sentiment of the workers at the beginning of the meeting was to go into 76 as a body. The Stalinists were frantic. Demagogic speeches rolled off their tongues that would have shamed Tammany politicians and rabid socialist. Remarks such as: "Are you going to desert us now?", "I was in jail 25 days for you!", "I shed blood for you!", "I was always on the picket line", etc., etc., filled the air. Left Wing "Defeated".

The terrified "leaders" again "defeated" the Left wing by denying them the floor, thus preventing an open comparison of policies which they knew could swing the bulk of the membership in favor of unity. By tying the rank and file with speeches and appeals, in which only the Stalinist point of view was expressed, they finally put through a vote to "strike under the banner of the Industrial Union" in the coming strike.

Do the party leaders think this is an endorsement of their policy of obstructing unity? It was nothing but a vote of sympathy and confidence in those individuals who made the appeals, but in no sense can it be construed as approval for the policy of the party in the furniture industry. Let them not deceive themselves about their following. The workers in the shops want unity today, in the heat of the strike, even more than before the strike was called. It must be stated here that the Stalinists, by the calling of the general strike, have already lost the golden opportunity to unite the two streams in the movement, the Left and the Right. They will stand convicted, in the eyes of the entire movement, of complicity if not collusion with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. in preventing the achievement of what lies nearest and dearest in the heart of every furniture worker in the industry: one strong union.

to the losses' wagon by their policy of class collaboration, and that the workers will get nothing unless they fight for it. This means the unifying and strengthening of the Left wing in the reformist unions, taking advantage of the new changes in the position of the AFL; as well as the organization of broad class struggle industrial unions in those industries characterized by great concentration of capital and wide use of unskilled labor, which the A. F. of L. has up to now been afraid to organize and is now entering, thanks to NIRA.

—B. J. FIELD.

All Out on the Picket Line!

Every shop in the trade, large or small, join the strike. The Left wing calls upon you to support the general strike and the following demands:

1. The 30 hour—5 day week in place of the 44 hour week now prevailing.
2. Minimum scale of \$140 per hour in place of the 60c average now prevailing.
3. Abolition of the Piece Work System.
4. Provisions in contract for higher wages when cost of living rises—the union to determine when and how much.
5. Protect allied trades by AMALGAMATING them into one strong industrial union.
6. No collaboration with the bosses under the National Recovery Act.
7. A militant general strike, and a class-struggle union, for better conditions in the trade.

For the Left wing group,
—CARL COWLE,
—SOIL LANKIN.

Pocketbook Workers Win Conditions

(Continued from Page 1)

mands of the workers. The Left wing however, must be criticized for not asking for a referendum vote on such an important matter as a settlement of a strike. The workers of the Association shops were out on strike for three and a half weeks.

Through the militant struggle of the workers, the bosses had to yield to some of the workers' demands. If the strike would have been led by a militant leadership, and not by the "Praternal Club" administration, the other clauses, the workers would have won all their just demands.

Now let us analyze the partial demands the workers gained from the employers.

- (1) 40 hour week beginning September 1st.
- (2) Reorganization — readjustments under which the workers suffered for the last two years—has been abolished in the new agreement.
- (3) Manufacturers will not be allowed to send work out to contracting shops or buy merchandise while their workers are not employed in their shops full time.

For these concessions, the "Praternal Club" administration gave up one of the important demands: the unemployment insurance fund. Although the unemployed workers got very little out of the fund because the S. P. fakery, Dr. Heidlin, with the "Club" boys missed the fund for themselves, nevertheless, the employers had to pay over \$600,000 a year to the fund. This money was given back to the employers as a present for the demands they were forced to give to the workers. Another important demand our officers in the conference committee gave up was a scale of wages for general helpers, and packers.

The strike in the Association shops is over, the strike in the independent shops is going on with more vigor until the employers will be forced to grant the demands, and to sign an agreement with the Union. The workers who will go back to the shops in the next few days must remember and see to it that the agreement is carried out to a hundred percent. For this it is necessary to elect the proper Chairman and committee men in the shops. The workers cannot rely on the present administration to carry through that agreement for them in the shops. The workers must organize and stick together in the shops as a unit as they did in time of strike.

G. Zinoviev on the Party Regime

(Continued from Page 3)

No one in the party believes or will believe that all these inadmissible, criminal anti-party methods are applied only by accident. Were this the case, they would not have been so systematic, they would not be extended and, above all, they would not remain unpunished. A whole system is involved and this system of preparing the Congress, that is, the system of not permitting any normal preparation for the Congress, has, in the conviction of all, its centre: the Secretariat of the C.C., that is, the real concentration point of the "management" of the party. In reality the Secretariat stands above the C.C. and tries beforehand to impose its will upon the Congress, that is upon the party. Precisely herein lies the essence of the anti-constitutional, anti-party mechanism which has already been set into full swing for the "preparation" of the Congress.

—G. ZINOVIEV.
Sept. 6, 1927.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
VI. No. 37 (Whole No. 184)
SATURDAY JULY 29, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

St. Louis Shaken by Strike Movement

(Continued from Page 1)

cesses of not less than 20 percent. Mayor Dickman will undoubtedly do his damndest to settle the strike, in his customarily picturesque manner, of appointing an "arbitration" committee and then soap-boxing to the strikers, telling them to accept the offer like good little children and "sit in no more".

Several hundred workers have been striking at Jackson-Heins Mfg. Company for almost a month. They are demanding recognition of their union, the United Metal Stampers and Assemblers Union, in addition to wage increases. This strike has the support of the Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League, who are now having a rebirth in St. Louis. So far the manufacturer's attempts to use strike-breakers has not succeeded in crushing the strike.

The Shoe Strike

The strike situation that is the most important at the present time is a "wild-cat" spontaneous rebellion of boot and shoe workers. St. Louis is a shoe town. The organized shoe workers have taken wage cut after wage cut (50-75%) since the beginning of the depression. The Boot and Shoe Union officials are such perfect agents of the bosses that they endorsed the wage cuts, every time. Indignant, the shoe workers would vote en-masse against accepting the cut and spontaneously walk out of the meeting. The union officials would then "over-rule" the voting and would call another meeting and another and still another until finally the rank and file rebellion would change to a sickening disgust. No leaders, no program, everything looked hopeless. So the shoe-workers throughout St. Louis periodically drew in their belts a little tighter, retaining the bosses' sugary words of "as soon as business picks up, you'll get back the same scale".

Inflation—increased production of shoes—and the over-worked, under-paid shoeworkers began to demand the former scale. The workers just had to get higher wages, the cost of living was rising terribly. The shoe companies accordingly offered wage increases—but not large enough to offset their previous reductions. This rousing of the bosses' promise was the match that made the shoe workers see fire.

A Rebellion in the Union

750 Milbus Shoe Company employees met last Monday (July 17th) to consider the wage increases. The union officials, Mc Morrow, International Boot and

Not only must the agreement be carried out but an increase in wages must be prepared for, to be given during the season, to each and every worker.

Another thing the pocketbook workers must remember, is that they must build a strong organization in and out of town. In order that the bosses do not get a chance to use the workers out of town to undermine the conditions of the workers in N. Y., it is necessary to launch an organization campaign in the city and out of town. This job requires a leadership that is determined and willing to sacrifice. One present administration has none of these qualifications. It is up to the Left wing to start an educational and agitational campaign among the workers and to prepare the ground for onsting the "Praternal Club" administration. Otherwise the present agreement will remain a scrap of paper. The "Praternal Club" administration did not carry through 10 percent of last year's agreement. What assurances do we have that they will carry through the present agreement?

—N. D. F.

Shoe representative, and Phillips, business agent, urged acceptance of the company's "liberal" offer. The workers militantly denounced both the company and the union officials. They demanded, and insisted they were going to get, 33 1-3 percent increase on grade B shoes, 12 1-2 percent increase on fancy shoes, a forty hour work, and no overtime. The chairman fingered the speaker: "You strike and you get fired \$25.00." The workers assented the chairman, walked out of the union hall, and went out on strike. They rented a separate hall and announced their intentions of striking for their demands till hell froze over.

McMorrow, the union representative, immediately telegraphed the National Industrial Recovery Administration that the union officials regarded the strike as a "violation of the arbitration agreement and against the spirit of Roosevelt's administration recovery plans."

While this was happening, 1000 shoe workers employed at Wolfe-Tober Shoe Mfg. Co. voted down the offer of a 10 percent wage increase and came forward with their own demands: 20 percent increase on B shoes, 12 1-2 percent increase on fancy, 40 hour week, no overtime. The shoe workers ran the union fakers out of the hall and conducted their own meeting. They decided to strike with the Milbus workers. Wolfe, the owner of the shoe company, however immediately got in touch with them and asked them to give him a week to reconsider. The shoe-workers decided to wait the seven days.

The week ends July 24th, when the Wolfe employees are holding a "secret" meeting to consider their action. The indications are that Wolfe will accede to their demands without a strike struggle. The Milbus strikers have, in the meantime, gained everyone of their demands, over the heads of the Boot and Shoe labor fakery.

Now Brian Bros. workers are considering "wild-catting" for their demands. The re-statement against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union officials is so great that both Milbus and Wolfe-Tober shoe workers, en-masse, all agree to rent a separate hall for the purpose of holding "committee" meetings, separate from the Boot and Shoe. What will happen within the next few weeks is hard to foretell. —RALPH MARTIN

Mirror Workers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

one time tried to affiliate it with the Metal Workers Industrial Union, for one reason or another nothing came of this attempt.

The young workers of this trade, driven to desperation by the continuous slashing of their wages, the intolerably long hours, the filthy sweat shops without any of the improvements gained by workers in other trades, decided to take matters in their own hands.

A number of workers more energetic than the rest (notably among them Charles Aloia, aided by anyone) distributed a circular calling upon the workers of this trade to attend a meeting. The circular met with an unusually enthusiastic response. The meeting was attended by a majority of the workers in the trade. After some preliminary remarks by the author of the circular a strike was immediately decided upon. A list of demands was drawn up listing among other things, an 8 hour day—five day work week, a raise in wages and piece work rates. At the same time the union began to crystallize and take shape finally, evolving into the Novelty Mirror Workers Union.

As can be seen by the account thus far, the whole thing was done hastily, in the most haphazard fashion, unaided by any experienced trade unionists. Consequently a number of mistakes were made, namely, the demand for piece work and the failure to consider the workers in the other crafts in the same trade.

A member of the Left Opposition in the trade (whose craft was not considered) met with the strikers several times (after the strike was declared) and pointed out the absurdity of such a step—piece work—and that unless the union was organized on an industrial basis the chances of winning the strike would be greatly lessened. However the list of demands had already been handed in to the various bosses. Encouraging replies were returned which partially raised the price of mirrors although not the price of the mirrors themselves. The demands had evidently fired them with so much enthusiasm that it was impossible to sway them from their original plans.

However it was determined to organize and call out the whole industry in the event that the bosses remained adamant in their stand. The workers overwhelmingly voted to continue striking and immediately a strike committee was elected and picketing ordered in front of all shops.

Simultaneously with the organization of the union the bosses had quickly gotten together and formed an association. Negotiations went on directly with the association. To date a number of shops have already signed up, though no final settlements have been arrived at. All shops must be signed up before the workers will return to work. With all the inexperience and errors made at the start, it is reasonable to believe that the battle will not have been in vain.

On Some Misconceptions of Fascism and State Capitalism

In addition to the Stalinist practice of tagging everything and everybody not a member of the official Communist party (or close sympathizer) with the contradictory label of social-Fascist and Scott Nearing's amusing view of Fascism as a movement based on a retreat from the technological mass production economy of today to the village economy of the past, a new conception of Fascism has come into being. This conception has for its basic premise the belief that "State Capitalism" is a distinguishing characteristic of Fascist dictatorship. It sees in the growth of state control over industry and state monopolies a move toward Fascism when in reality such a process is a part of the evolutionary tendency of capitalism and has been developing for a good many years.

Increasing state capitalism is not a characteristic peculiar to Fascism but is a phenomenon present during the state of economic and political development which makes the rise of Fascism historically possible. It is an instrument of imperialism, being an advanced form of the mechanism by which competition between capitalist countries is carried on—a sort of a growing integration of the economic activity of a national or international unit as a whole.

By means of concentration and centralization, the credit system, issue of securities, financial pressure, directorships, ownership of stock, etc., a handful of finance capitalists have organized the economic life of the various nations into virtual monopolies. The parts of this system are ever in the process of drawing closer together, due to a certain interrelation of interests, thereby exhibiting a tendency to transform the entire economic activity of each of the leading countries into a single national enterprise under the control of the state which acts as an "executive committee of the ruling classes" regulating prices, production, distribution, etc. At the same time there is occurring the formation of actual state monopolies financed by large banks, as well as monopolies jointly controlled by the state and private trusts.

Between 1914 and 1919, under pressure of the demands of the world war, the move toward state capitalism went forward at a rapid pace. In Germany, for instance, in addition to state control of private enterprises and jointly controlled, "mixed" enterprises, state monopolies for the production of bread, potatoes, nitrates, etc. were formed. The financial system was centralized under control of the Reichsbank. In short, the entire economic life of the nation was consolidated, temporarily into a single unit, the same process being discarded in other belligerent nations and, to a lesser degree, in some of the non-belligerent ones.

Since then, although state capitalism subsided for a time, its growth has reached a point where emphasis must be placed upon the competition and antagonisms occurring between nations as national

units rather than upon those occurring within the territorial confines of the various capitalist powers.

State control of industry or state capitalism, during the present period of capitalist decay, with its narrowing markets, is the mechanism by which individual national economies or countries are preparing to attempt to wrest from other national economies a larger share of the existing trade and world control. It is the mechanism by which the living standards of the workers will be driven further downward.

Nor is its development confined to Europe. On the contrary state capitalism is almost as evident in "democratic" United States as it is in Fascist Germany and to view the process as a move toward Fascist dictatorship is to create confusion.

The fundamental role of Fascism is not to form a so-called "corporatist state" but to prevent the workers from moving toward social revolution. Fascism will gain strength precisely at the moment when the workers begin to threaten—when the revolutionary movement begins to assume menacing proportions—and once it comes to power it will seek to destroy not only the vanguard but also all working class organizations and to sweep out of existence all elements of working class democracy.

To believe that it will "convert big business into an adjunct of the state", as is claimed in an article in the July issue of the *Modern Monthly*, is to reveal a failure to understand its real character. To see in the growth of state control a move toward Fascism is to create the illusion that the present administration of the United States is Fascist and tends to resurrect the theory of social-Fascism in another form.

In reality, Fascism is an instrument created and maintained by the big bourgeoisie to protect themselves against the march of the workers. As comrade Trotsky pointed out in *What Next?*:

"After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: The entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the cooperatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the pattern set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to fasten the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism."

—SIMMONS.

Letter from Moscow U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 3)

better supplied. In any case everything revolves about a piece of daily bread. Because of it people submit to the monstrous sufferings of these journeys. "Leaders" and bureaucrats call them contemptuously "fly-by-nights", "kulaks", "speculators" sometimes simply "peasants" which should signify that their hunger is not real because they are not as yet real proletarians, but instead these people should be... fed... These "speculators"—are speculating only to get a piece of bread. These "fly-by-nights" fly from one factory to the next for the same piece of bread.

You know to what extent thievery has grown. The theft of collective property, even if it is potatoes or bread, is a capital crime. It has been completely forgotten that thievery is the product of conditions and not of evil character. Instead of destroying the causes and instead of education we have brutal laws. We are going backwards... All are tired, filled with despair. Only a small part of those who are absolutely well fed still believes in the leadership. The leadership demands courage and optimism. "We have not only lived through worse difficulties, but conquered! That is the ultimate wisdom of a bureaucracy that is entirely confused. But why pick on them, they are enmeshed in their own chains. One can say with assurance that out of ten party members eight are eaten with doubts. In private conversation they relate that in the nuclei and in the conferences all the decisions are accepted unanimously. Why? What's the use? If I rot in Siberia, I won't help matters any by it."

I have heard that Blumont had no group whatever, it was simply a case of four people a little intoxicated, sighing how good it would be if Stalin were removed. Outside of this insipid sigh there was nothing at all.

Wholesale arrests among those who had left the Opposition (in Moscow alone more than 150 were arrested and exiled) were explained as a prophylactic measure. Although many of the capitalists were passive, no confidence was had in them. Stalin evidently considers that it is necessary to exile a man before he succeeds to begin think-

ing. Better exile a thousand than leave a single oppositionist. That same goal was aimed at by the passivization; the fear was lest any oppositionist be left in factories who are capable of leading the movement, which could easily start up, on account of the general situation. Prophylaxis. And now the chinks have begun, they are getting scared more and more.

The wife of one of those arrested said to the prosecutor, "Why did you arrest him? He has completely lost his mind, he is absorbed in his work, etc., etc." But the prosecutor demanded of her that she divorce her husband.

They say that in the Soviet Union there is no inequality, that the highest "leaders" receive so much and so much. In my opinion there is no more distinct form of inequality than the inequality between the one who is simply well fed and the one who is simply hungry. Our bureaucracy is well fed, clothed, and lives in heated and well-lit apartments. But millions of workers live in barracks, in simply bestial conditions, and this has been going on for years on end. To the worker's need, to his complaint of hunger, and to this complaint of hunger, and to this dissatisfaction, the bureaucracy replies that this is no class-conscious worker, but the peasant of yesterday.

Not long before Hitler's assumption of power I happened to be present during the following conversation (in a train). A bureaucrat was talking about the approaching German revolution and the hard lot of the German unemployed. The first part was listened to with distrust, but the second part was rapidly interrupted: That's a lie. Why, then, do the German workers run away from us, one female worker said bitterly. Ironic remarks flew from all sides. The orator tried to defend himself, "It's all lies, there is nothing worse than the Soviet rule; our kids always throw it up to us that we chose such a government ourselves", the same woman retorted with extreme sharpness. Of course, that is only an isolated incident but it shows that in the backward layers of the proletariat the dissatisfaction at times goes a long way.

NEW ONE.

End of May 1933.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 120 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 33 [WHOLE NO. 185] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

Foreign Developments

After the Collapse of the London Confab

The London Economic Conference, which opened less than two months ago to the accompaniment of a tremendous blast of publicity, hopes, promises and fears, has slipped quietly to an early grave. International cooperation among the competitive national organizations of monopoly capitalism has once again proved to be a utopian illusion, under which bankrupt democracy and aggressive imperialism can conceal their nakedness.

The keynote of the conference was the antagonism between American and British imperialism. France utilized the conference as a mobilization ground for its political and financial allies. Germany, which was in the position of merely asking for concessions without even the bluff of having anything to offer, was completely shoved into the background.

With the illusory hopes of common action thus shattered, national policies must again pull in different directions in accordance with the special situations and needs of monopoly capitalism in the different countries. All the major problems have been left unsolved—increasing production, dealing with unemployment, markets, currency stability. The efforts to solve them by reestablishing the unity of the world market having failed, the immediate next steps will undoubtedly further increase the dislocations and contradictions of the various sections of the world market, and the political expression of these contradictions in preparation for war.

Economic Trends in U. S.

The general background against which these efforts are taking place is one of mild improvement in the crisis on its way into depression, although nowhere is the improvement taking place at such hysterical speed as in the United States. The upturn here would have had to take on a violent character at some point, if only because of the extremely low points which had been reached on the downward swing of the crisis. A further stimulating factor was the zig-zagging character of the course toward inflation, which allowed both wild speculative upsurges and also severe speculative setbacks, depending upon the manner in which day-to-day events allowed the government's policy to be interpreted. Twice during the past two months the president had to intervene in a falling speculative market with the assurance that he had not given up the idea of inflation.

On this policy, of course, America was unable to swing Europe behind it; the post-war experience of most European countries was recent enough to remind them what a drastic surgical operation it constitutes. With all the more enthusiasm, then, repulsed on the field of international agreement, the Roosevelt government jumped into the activities of the National Recovery Administration, centralizing and coordinating American capitalism on its national territory before the next decisive leap at foreign markets.

The British policy has been one of aggressive competition for foreign trade on the basis of stabilized currency and slow, definite increases in price levels, production and financial basis in gold reserve and note circulation. The unexpected coup of the Argentine trade agreement, the removal of the embargo on Soviet trade, the steady increases in tariffs, all point in this direction. The repatriation of British money held abroad, and to some extent an influx of foreign short-term credits, have broadened the financial basis of these operations and have reflected the willingness of large sections of European capital to support England in the duel with America.

France and the Crisis

In France, the situation is complicated by the fact that the work of liquidation and deflation, accomplished by the crisis in most advanced countries, has not been fully achieved owing to a variety of causes: the delay of monetary aid, the prompt adoption of governmental measures to shut off France from the world crisis by trade restrictions and the maintenance of domestic markets, the special favors given to certain industries whereby they suffered less from the crisis but the government was burdened more, etc. The appearance of relative immunity from the crisis brought in large amounts of foreign capital for short-term investment in France during 1931 and 1932, thus still further adding to its apparent strength, but in reality contributing a potential element of great weakness. In international capital loses its confidence in the financial stability of France, the French financial situa-

tion will prove to be very vulnerable. In the meantime, the price level within France remains high, while wage-costs in general have not gone as deep as in the United States or Germany. This however puts increasing pressure on French capitalism, which will inevitably attempt to force its burdens on to the French proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie. The budget has become unbalanced to a frightening degree.

(Continued on Page 4)

Hitler Executes Four Altona Communists

The Nazi beast has struck again. This time he has brought down four heroic workers who took part in the defense of the working-class quarter of Altona, near Hamburg, when the brown shirts invaded them in a provocative parade last year. The Hamburg workers, steeling in the traditions of the fights of 1919 and 1921, bitterly resented the invasion and drove the uniformed gangsters out.

The authors of the Nazi massacre were at that time condemned to death the better to feed the then democratic illusions of the masses and conceal the preparations for Fascism that were going on throughout the apparatus of the German government. Now the hypocritical mask of democratic measures can be cast aside. The Nazi terrorists have been freed, pardoned and treated as heroes. The Communist workers who acted in self-defense have been beheaded. The last words of one of the four beheaded comrades were: "The death penalty is the largest honor for a revolutionary."

Dissension in French S. P. Right Wing Actual Victors -- "Left" Compromises

The congress of the S. P. I. O. (French Socialist Party) concluded after giving the Left wing an absolute majority (2,197 votes) over the Centrists (981 votes) and the Right wing (753 votes) and also over the 104 votes received for the resolution of the Socialist Action.

1. The congress was opened with a speech by Vandervelde, president of the Labor and Socialist International who begged the delegates not to disrupt the unity of their organization. The ex-minister of the Belgian king epitomized the confusion reigning in the leading circles of the 2nd International. This organization suffered a terrible blow by the victory of Fascism in Germany. All the organizations, in which the reformist leaders placed so much trust, collapsed without resistance like houses of cards. It is worthless to hope that the Vanderveldes and the Adlers will condemn their own policies; after having dispensed with several German social democrats who vainly tried to lick Hitler's boots, they recommended the Comintern to their organizations: Have the determination to remain united. But events are stronger than Vandervelde's tirades.

2. Split, more than ever before, is first on the order of the day. From the time of the black-white motions up till the declaration of war by the Right wing after the vote of censure hardly a month has passed. The Right wing not only exposed the conflict between the socialist and international party masses but also before "republican and socialist public opinion of this country." In other words, the unity of the Socialist party retains only a formal aspect; each tendency is opening the battle for influence over the masses of the country. Under these circumstances, the maneuvers of each of the tendencies to shift responsibility for the split are relatively secondary.

3. The Left wing won out in the voting; but the political advantage of the congress was inconceivably gained by the Right wing. And it is no wonder. Only the Right wing was decisive. The Left wing, on the contrary, in the process of evolution, was split into numerous tendencies and groupings. Also, the Right wing stated its program clearly and frankly at the Congress. It did nothing, it spoke to the whole country. We are not politicians they said, but statesmen. We are ready to give France an authoritative government which will assure internal order and the security of the frontiers. The fact that that pronouncement was not made in the old traditional verbiage caused a stir of "surprise" in Blum's camp. In order to retain their majority, the leaders of the Left wing avoided all votes on the

USSR Accorded Recognition by Spanish Gov't.

Recognition of the U.S.S.R., by Spain as cabled to the New York Times is hailed by the Izvestia as a step taken when "the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union had been decided finally and without argument." "The extension of the international connections of the U. S. S. R. is direct evidence of the force of socialism. Capitalist governments are forced to reckon with the U. S. S. R. as a factor with which for their own interest it is better to live at peace."

To speak of the "victory of socialism" as "decided finally," and "it is better," for the capitalist, "to live at peace," with the Soviet Union is to confuse the real state of affairs and the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. Recognition does not flow from the capitalist desire "to live at peace" with the Soviet Union, not because of the "victory of socialism". The opposite is true.

The pressure of world conditions in the decay stage of capitalism and the quest for profits forces capitalist nations to trade with anyone, even with the Soviet Union. The Izvestia does not fool the capitalists with this kind of phrases. This helps disarm the workers to dangers to their own class and helps the capitalists cover up their war plans. The victory of Fascism in Germany and the victory of Japan in the East against China and the Soviet Union places the Soviet Union in the most dangerous position it has been in since the days of open intervention and civil war.

The realignment of imperialist forces since Hitler took power forces the Soviet Union to make amends with Poland, France, etc. and now Spain. To cloak these forced concessions as victories to prepare the way for greater mistakes and concessions.

Japan Provokes the Soviets Criminal Stalinist Policies Weaken Soviet Resistance

Shanghai.—There is a lull in military activities in North China following upon the conclusion of the Tangku truce which leaves Japan in virtual occupation of a huge "demilitarized zone" flanking the Great Wall. Japanese imperialism is now drawing back preparatory to a fresh leap forward, and it is commonly believed that their next objective is Outer Mongolia, possession of which would add to their strategic advantages in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

Out here, the view is widely held that the Soviet position vis-a-vis Japan and the entire imperialism world has been greatly weakened as a result of the capitulationist policy pursued by Moscow, notably in regard to the agreement to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway. The first shaken menacingly in the face of imperialism by Voroshilov is no longer taken seriously, since these gestures are not borne out in practice. "Not an inch of our territory," yell Stalin and Voroshilov in unison. But in the interests of their "peace-loving policy" they have adopted such a weak-kneed attitude before the political and military minions of the Mikado that they have virtually lost the entire Chinese Eastern Railway. If the line were not sold now, it would be seized. The negotiations going on in Tokyo are simply a face-saver for Soviet diplomacy, giving a formal character to a fait accompli. Both Moscow and Tokyo

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BACKGROUND OF THE NEW DEAL

By the developments toward the much heralded national industrial recovery, which have taken place so far, it appears that the New Deal is getting on the way. Maybe this should give us an opportunity to determine just what this New Deal is. Undoubtedly the general idea behind it, the system of policies represented by that name, are quite clear. But the New Deal itself will be fully estimated only when it is put over and has become a reality. Today the first steps are being taken, it is set into motion, and we must view it in motion to forecast its final results. It is possible to say at the outset, however, that when finally put over, the New Deal will loom up to the working masses as something entirely different from what it appears to be today.

To the same extent the working class judgment will differ. Today there seems to be an attitude, and quite understandably so, that any change is sure to be for the better; that at least cannot become any worse. Many workers are even captivated by illusions of special benefits from the industrial recovery act and its industrial codes. Tomorrow when its scope is known we will find that the New Deal lends itself well to other more choice and more harsh names.

Crisis Creates New Conditions

One thing is certain; the system of policies centered around the industrial recovery efforts represents something new, at least to the extent that new conditions press for new methods. The new conditions are at hand. The crisis in its course of development laid the basis for them. It offered the possibility of the whole national economic structure in preparation for the next stage of the business cycle. Now the problem is to step into that stage and secure an upward economic conjuncture. And it was precisely at this point that many of the old concepts and formulae of capitalist business were found not to fit the new conditions or the new requirements. They were discarded. At the same time new ideas were sweeping the world, catchy ideas, ideas of planned economy. Why not try to apply some

of them on a capitalist basis? And so, it came about that the ideas now identified with the New Deal are combined into a sort of a plan aiming at the "organization" of capitalism. A greater concentration and centralization of capital, a more gigantic monopoly. It is the proponents of "organized capitalism," appearing under the collective name of the brain trust, who are the moving forces behind these ideas.

Capitalist Economy Reorganized

But before we look further into the question of the industrial recovery policies of the Roosevelt administration and in order to gain a better understanding of them, it is necessary to first examine their background. As already mentioned, a crisis becomes also a period of capitalist readjustments. An immense reorganization of the whole structure of American national economy took place during the crisis. With a view to the future, this reorganization followed strictly along the lines of the motive

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N.Y. Upholsterers Strike Spreads to New Shops

A spirit of militancy pervades the upholsterers who are in their second week of strike. Over fifty shops, large and small, have already responded to the call issued a week ago, Thursday by local 76 of the American Federation of Labor. The demands are for the 30 hour week and the basic minimum wage of \$1.40 per hour. The manufacturers association have failed to bring the strikers back into the shops with promises to live up to the code, especially after the proposed conditions of the code were made public (44 hour week and \$1.40 per hour). A roar of laughter went up from the men when this was read off by Brother Moskowitz, chairman of the strike committee. Code or no code, the men are in no mood to be tricked into any conditions below those demanded by the strike. Every day new shops are pulled. The notoriously scabby Trade shop on Long Island, the backbone of the open shoppers, came down 100%. With the determination the men are now showing the strike is bound to win.

In the midst of the solid spirit of the men, however, is to be found that apathy which is characteristic of men who are coming into the union and into the strike for the first time. It is easier to rely upon leaders than to take active responsibility yourself. Too much work and responsibility is being shoved upon a few individual at the top. As a result, the strike shops do not meet to consider the particular plans of their shop. The daily general strike meeting is not sufficient. The particular problems of the individual shops cannot be taken up there. For example—the "farming out" of work by Lewittes shop to a two by four dump, which threatens to demoralize the men of that shop, could have been avoided if handled by the shop committee. Also a closer tab should be kept by the shop committees on the location and activity of the men, so that at any time the union could put its finger on any sore spot.

We consider it our duty to express our opinion on the question of pulling signed shops during a general strike. The general strike takes precedence over all such agreements. Strikers do not understand why those union men who called them on strike, themselves go back to work on the basis of the old agreement, and not on the basis of the strike demands. The bosses always break agreements when it is to their advantage to do so. Union Art, for example, introduced piece work into their shop in direct violation of the agreement signed last September with the union. Greengrout and others all violated the agreement by paying single time instead of time and a half for overtime. A general strike of the trade in all cases takes precedence over extant contracts. No work should be produced in these shops. What About the Industrial Union?

The Industrial Union, with the calling of the general strike, has adopted an entirely new set of tactics. Knowing that the overwhelming sentiment of the men is for going into the A. F. of L., they have adopted the policy of "helping" the strike, under the slogan of "unity with the rank and file." In view of the cool reception that their strike demands got from the strikers, they changed them from \$1 an hour and the 40 hour week to \$1.15 an hour and the 35 hour week. In this respect they are still lagging behind the A. F. of L. The excuse of not knowing what

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35,000 Pa. Mine Workers Strike For Right of Union Organization

Western Pennsylvania is again aflame with a miner's revolt growing daily in sweep and scope. The miners' wives from the outset joined directly in the battle taking the blows with their husbands and giving blows as the powerful picket line extended over a far flung territory. Death has taken its toll. One miner is reported killed in typical Pennsylvania steel trust fashion; shot down in cold blood by company plug uglies while carrying the American flag at the head of a picket line. Several other miners are expected to die from wounds received and many are suffering from lighter injuries.

Leon Trotsky Moves From Turkey to France

Comrade Leon Trotsky has finally obtained permission from the French Government to make a trip for his health to Corsica and Southern France where, he will stay, for an indefinite period. Around these simple facts a number of wild legends and conjectures have been built, both by the bourgeois and the Stalinist press. It has been stated for instance that comrade Trotsky will be sent to the United States, as first Soviet Ambassador, that he has made peace with Stalin and Litvinoff that the French government is willing to have him because he will help them against Hitler, etc.

It is not necessary to make any special answer to all these rumors except to point out that they are completely devoid of a basis in fact. When the Stalinists insinuate, however, as in a recent issue of the Daily Worker, that this is the reward of the bourgeoisie for comrade Trotsky's services to them against the Soviet Union on his trip to Copenhagen last year, we

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line extended over a far flung territory. Death has taken its toll. One miner is reported killed in typical Pennsylvania steel trust fashion; shot down in cold blood by company plug uglies while carrying the American flag at the head of a picket line. Several other miners are expected to die from wounds received and many are suffering from lighter injuries.

The strike started in Fayette Co., Pennsylvania's darkest corner and the scene of many labor battles. It started as a direct challenge to the H. C. Frick Coke Company for the right of union organization. This company is the largest producer in the county and a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. In its further sweep the strike has embraced the adjacent counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Armstrong. The latest reports estimate a total of 35,000 miners involved. As it spread the issue became more than the one of right to union organization. It assumed the character, even though there is no set of specific demands formulated, of a general revolt against the intolerable open shop and semi-open shop conditions imposed by the Pennsylvania steel and coal barons.

It is significant that the strike has also embraced the mines of the Pittsburgh Terminal company which now has a contract with the United Mine Workers. This company was the very backbone of the onslaught which smashed the U. M. W. in the lost strikes of 1927-28. Later when the National Miners Union made headway and led the Western Pennsylvania strike in

Conditions in Fayette Coke Region

Between the black hills of Fayette county lie dotted numerous of the old type bee-hive coke ovens, stretching their low built structure for blocks with the rows of open fires resembling miniature open-hearth steel furnaces. Daily these ovens belch out smoke blackening everything in sight. A heavy pall hangs over the little mining communities. But that accounts for nothing compared to the heavy hand of the steel trust in evidence everywhere. Everything is company owned, the soil, the miners homes, the city and village administrations, the stores in which the miners make their purchases often in company scrip as the only reward received for their labor. The laws laid down by the steel trust are enforced by their own "yellow dog" deputies. For years the Fayette county miners have been compelled to work under these most revolting conditions. It is these conditions that the steel trust fights tooth and nail to maintain.

Many attempts have been made by these miners to organize a union as the only protection for their rights. Often they were sold out by the U. M. W. officials. We still remember the dastardly sell-out of the 1922 strike when John L. Lewis signed the Cleveland agreement leaving out 60,000 miners of Fayette and adjacent counties and sacrificing their budding organization. The miners were caught in a death trap; but they have been fighting on ever since. Now again they are joining the U. M. W.

What Does This Strike Indicate?

There is much to be learned from this present Pennsylvania miners' strike. It is offensive in its character. Perhaps that is its greatest significance. In that sense it is very indicative for the future, particularly when viewed in connection with many other strikes throughout the country, smaller but similar in character. Does it not bring eloquent testimony to the conclusion which we have drawn long ago that in the stage of recovery efforts the class struggle is bound to increase in intensity? In its further development these struggles are just as sure to immensely sharpen the class distinctions in the United States and serve to lead the workers toward political consciousness as a class.

The strike also indicates that during the recovery period there will be a decisive trend of the working masses toward union organization. The stream will head toward the conservative unions despite all their failures and betrayals. Perhaps one can say that in the Pennsylvania mine fields there is today no other union in existence anyway. That is true. The National Miners Union by its utterly false policies and methods long ago forfeited its right to existence and passed out of oblivion. But that only so much more proves the point and indicates the future trend. To keep abreast with that trend the Left wing must now take up in earnest the problem of lodging itself within the mass unions.

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1930 the Pittsburgh Terminal Company again recognized the U. M. W. and signed a sort of a contract, though not one agreeable to the men.

Test of Recovery Act

This strike is one of the many expressions of working class attitude under the national industrial recovery efforts. It is a test indicating that the working class is ready to resume the offensive, not relying upon the clauses of the recovery act but upon its own mass power to enforce its right to union organization and to gain better conditions. While in progress, the spokesmen for the steel trust at Washington hypocritically eliminated from their industrial code the demand for company unions. Obviously their intention was to rely upon the police club and soldier bayonets to maintain this demand in practice. They have struck a snag. The miners gave the answer: Up to this point, but no further.

On July 29 the Pennsylvania governor dispatched National Guard troops to Fayette County—to "maintain order." How did the troops discharge that duty? It became the immediate signal for the H. C. Frick Company to declare its mines reopened, calling for scab labor and pledged governmental protection. A new bloody onslaught was launched upon the miners led by the company's privately armed deputies, of which the H. C. Frick Company is said to have—only 275. But despite these heavy odds against the workers they have stood their ground. The mines remained idle, the strike spread.

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Lessons of the United Front

(Continued from last issue)

THE FRAME WORK OF THE UNITED FRONT

In the consideration of the united front, one must not only know the Leninist concept. One must, above all, apply this to objective conditions, and the frame work of the working class and its organizations.

Local, sectional, national and international united front action are complicated in their application. Defensive and offensive struggles call for different modes of working class action, just as periods of reaction, reform and revolution do. The immediate objective must at no time be isolated and separated from the direction of the objective. The Marxist is heading for.

THE REFORMIST REFUSAL OR ACCEPTANCE OF THE UNITED FRONT

The proper application of the united front tactic is a winning one for the revolutionist regardless of the acceptance or refusal of the reformist leaders. The degree of gain will be altered by the position taken by the misleaders. However, in turn, the position of the misleaders in refusing or accepting does not rest within their own hands. Their refusal or acceptance in the last analysis rests in the hands of the pressure of their rank and file. Insufficient pressure will enable the fakers to refuse and strong pressure will compel the misleaders to accept or stand exposed. This does not mean we revert to united front from below. We increase the PRESSURE from below, upon the organization to force them into the united front.

If the leadership is able to prevent the organization from joining the united front we expose such a leadership, not through slander but through political criticism. If the pressure is sufficient to force the leaders into the united front and "if" their program is not to the interest of the working class and their action opposed to working class interest than we EXPOSE THEM IN ACTION as part of the united front. A Marxist can expose an opportunist and reformist if they refuse action. It is far better and a more thorough job of exposure if it is done in action.

Workers do not have illusions only about certain misleaders in whom they still have faith. They also have many illusions about capitalism. In action, around the united front, the twofold process of disillusionment in misleaders and in the capitalist system can be developed. Only Marxist revolutionists can stand this acid test.

CALLING THE UNITED FRONT

The calling of the united front is not the simple task of sending a letter to all working class organizations. Many Right wing secretaries will throw the communication in the basket and the organization will in no way have knowledge of the projected united front. After it is decided to call a united front and before the provisional committee (whatever may be its composition) sends out the call these taking the initiative should organize their own forces to bring pressure from below on all other organizations and especially in the organizations that have labor fakers at the head. The rank and file of those taking the initiative must know about the call and its objective. They must set to work preparing the ground work for the call so when it is sent to all the working class organizations there is sufficient pressure from below to force as many organizations as possible into united working class action. Continued effort must be made to bring those organizations in the united front that at first refuse. Political exposure of those organizations must be carried on.

UNITED FRONTS THAT EXCLUDE COMMUNISTS OR HAVE WRONG PROGRAMS

There are many types of reformers who endeavor to carry on united front action between reformist organizations and exclude the Communists in order to keep the conference and action respectable. The relation of the Communist to this policy of exclusion should be that of breaking into the conference. This refers to united front action on immediate demands. We will consider all factors involved more than once before breaking into a parliamentary united front action of reformists.

The second question of importance in such a united front called by reformists is the question of what kind of a draft program they have presented. We must enter to oppose their class collaboration policy with a policy of class struggle. If we pass the first line trench and are seated but do not succeed in shaping the immediate demands into a program of action and class struggle we should not serve on the Executive Committee elected to carry out the reformist, abstract anti-working class, opportunist program of the united front.

The third important relationship to consider is the relationship of our entrance into a united front that is dominated by forces that adopt a fundamentally wrong program of action such as the Amsterdam Congress of the Stalinists or the Washington Continental Congress of the reformists. Under such a circumstance we expose

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

A Report from the Middle West

Davenport, Iowa.—The following is a report on activities in the tri-city (Davenport, Muscatine and Rock Island) and throughout the state of Iowa:

No doubt you are aware that the Unemployed Union which was organized on our initiative was taken away from us and we were expelled as the result of a combination of two party leaders and some unscrupulous leaders formed in a faction against us. The Unemployed Union then changed its name to the Cooperative League and became affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Unemployed Council was completely liquidated. And today a fight has broken out between the A. F. of L. leadership and the party. It is doubtful as to the outcome.

Now as to the activities of the party. In Davenport they are doing very little. In East Moline or Moline the Unemployed Council has been more or less captured by a reactionary element, according to our information. The party has organized a Workers School which is not making very much progress. The united front which they organized last spring blew up. No direct benefits were reaped as a result of the "change" of policy of the national leadership of the party on the united front. Now as to the A. F. of L.—As a result of the industrial recovery Act they are sweeping the three cities and organizing local union after local union.

Muscatine In Muscatine the party is practically non-existent although they have about nine members who do nothing. The party makes no efforts to educate such good elements as are in its ranks. The Unemployed Council exists only on paper. The Citizens Employed and Unemployed League has stopped functioning. We have some contacts in this city. Through them we will organize some open air meetings and try, in the very near future, to round up some of the elements that have ceased functioning in the party to form some sort of an educational group which will expound our ideas.

There is very little unemployment in Muscatine at this time due to the pick-up in the button industry which is working full blast. It would be very easy to organize a button workers union but the party has made no effort to do so. I am sure that the A. F. of L. will do it in the near future.

Des Moines The party got a very good start in this region but has isolated itself due to incorrect policies. There are about six Unemployed Leagues in the city. The party's Unemployed Council is non-existent. The I. L. D. never meets though they have some thirty or forty members on paper. While I was there a petition was circulated demanding that the branch meet and that the organizer be forced to call the meeting. The party had a chance to organize the cement workers but due to their astute methods they all went over to the A. F. of L.

The workers in Des Moines are

more interested in meetings and lectures than I have seen anywhere in the state. Hundreds gather on the river front in front of the library and hear all kinds of speeches. The party is unable to make any impression on them. I was there for two weeks and held six open air meetings arranged by our sympathizers. It was claimed by everyone that they were the biggest and most interesting meetings held. I had a debate with an I. W. W. on tactics and policies. It was very well received. I had a debate with a socialist on the Industrial Recovery Act where the biggest crowd attended this summer. In both of these debates our group made a very good impression and was congratulated by the workers.

The different industries in the city of Des Moines seem to be picking up. If we can keep up our open air meetings and agitation in Des Moines there is no doubt that we can organize a group. We have spoken to many party members who are very friendly and we have met many times till late at night. The Wobblies are trying to make headway in Des Moines. The A. F. of L. has chartered several locals through the use of the N. I. R. A.

The following is the situation in the mining regions of Iowa: The U. M. W. A. officials got the miners a 22 1-2 wage cut. This was done without a vote of the membership. The miners are very much dissatisfied. Fourteen or fifteen local unions have already endorsed a call for a special district convention. Only sixteen locals are needed for this purpose. Meetings of miners are being held all over the district by opposition forces who are more or less corrupted by the influence of one time office holders within their ranks. Many old party members, especially south Slavs, are in the mines around Iowa. The party thus far has done nothing to crystallize a Left wing within the miners union.

Council Bluffs Here where a year and a half ago we had a splendid movement nothing exists now of the party or the Unemployed Council of the party except a few former disgraced party members. The party organizer does not even bother to do anything at all. The A. F. of L. has organized a Worker's Protective Association for the Unemployed which they claim has 2,500 members. We have plenty of contacts in Council Bluffs which could be worked up if someone were permanently located in this territory.

Omaha The party has moved the office of District 10 to this city. Many comrades are out of the movement who used to be the most active. We have many contacts with the old party comrades but they all seem to be demoralized and disgusted. The socialist party and the Y. P. S. L. are making big headway in Omaha.

Lincoln, Nebraska and Sioux City Lincoln, Nebraska and Sioux City are the most promising bright spots of the party. After considerable time in which nothing was done the party has been able to organize a big unemployed movement. This was mainly due to the activities of the local comrades who worked on their own initiative. The whole branch in Lincoln is very friendly to the Left Opposition.

Sioux City except that many comrades have been expelled from the party.

General Conditions The noticeable thing about general conditions existing around this region is that there seems to be a general revival of industry as to the number of workers being employed. And secondly that the A. F. of L. appears to be making considerable gains. On the other hand, the party is absolutely floundering about not knowing what to do. Many bright opportunities exist for the Left Opposition in this territory. —GEO. J. PARCUN.

Opportunism in N.Y. Food Union

The whole recent policy of the Stalinist leadership in the Food Workers Industrial Union constitutes a sharp zigzag to the right, which has resulted in great demoralization among the workers. It is hard to say whether this is a Left-wing or a Right-wing union, in the FWIU the 60-hour week with practice. In some shops organized wages as low as \$12 prevail.

Still more outstanding is the recent action in the strike at the Savarin Cafeteria at 7th Avenue and 39th Street, in the heart of the garment center, a Left-wing stamping ground. When the strike was called, the Daily Worker announced that all workers would join to smash the injunction, which had been the main weapon of the bosses. The strike lasted two weeks—nothing was accomplished.

At the last membership meeting of the FWIU comrade Kramberg, organizer, gave a lengthy report on the achievements of the union in recent weeks. He told about the gains in membership, and the settlements with various shops. He criticized the past "extreme revolutionary" policy of the union and quoted, with approval, what the bosses were saying, "You are good fighters but bad settlers." "They are right," he added, "we do not know how to accept a good opportunity for a settlement when we have one!" He pointed out that one must take account of the crisis in making settlements, that of course one could not get as good terms as during the prosperity period. This is how he justified accepting terms that were no better than those of the open shops.

A worker brought up on the floor the question of the Savarin settlement, and workers of that shop expressed their objections to the terms. These were: wages raised from 12-12 to 25 cents an hour, and only three hours daily, in other words, 75 cents a day. This is less than the reforestation camp wage scale! Three workers were to be taken on as extras under this scale, another was to be raised \$2 a week. Nothing whatever was done for the other workers who were left outside of the union, as there was no recognition of the shop committee or of the union. Nothing was said about the injunction of 1929 which still prevails, and can be used again should the FWIU attempt to reorganize the shop. On the basis of this injunction 18 workers were arrested during the strike, which lasted two weeks.

The following fact alone shows

The Savarin boss, taking advantage of the opportunity, has put up a sign in the window which is very tricky worded and reads, "The Strike Has Been Settled (With the Union)". This alone gives a black eye to the whole policy of the Stalinist leadership with its slogan of a "flexible policy," which is nothing but a tight-wing policy.

The only thing that made it possible for the leadership to act in this way was the fact that many militant workers have been discouraged, and have left or joined the A. F. of L. union. Those who remained have been terrorized by the threat of being thrown out of their jobs and discriminated against. There are actual cases where this has happened.

This membership meeting, called to celebrate the "victories" recently gained, attracted an attendance of only 50 or 60 workers, which sufficiently proves the emptiness of the boasts of victory. The members are not even interested enough to show up.

The Right-wing poison has crept through the whole life of the union. At the cooperative camps, only the kitchen men are members of the FWIU, and get \$15 a week. The others are so-called "voluntary" workers, not members of any union, and get only \$5 a week.

The situation in this union must be thoroughly exposed and cleared up in order to stop this degeneration.

—A FOOD WORKER.

Banks in 'Support' of N.I.R.A.

In the name of patriotism with the flag wrapped around themselves eleven large New York banks have issued a statement pledging help to the NRA by financing the production of goods. The statement says in part: "One of the principle functions of the banks is to finance the production and distribution of raw materials, food products and goods. Commercial loans made for these purposes are among the most desirable loans which a bank can make. Such loans should be granted, of course, only where the credit of the borrowers justifies it, and each loan must be considered on its own merits. We believe that in this manner the banks can and will be of the greatest help in assisting a successful recovery plan."

In other words, where safe and sound loans can be made on the financing of production, the bankers will give their undying support. The bankers, like the other sections of the large capitalists are in a mad scramble to pile up profits. The logical outcome of the NRA will be the accumulation of capital in fewer hands; with a lower standard of living and more misery for the working class. The patriotic action of the bankers to help themselves is no different from the patriotic action of any band of robbers in any period of the history of class society.

CHICAGO PICNIC
FRIENDS OF THE MILITANT CLUB
Sunday, August 6, 1933
FOREST PRESERVES
Western and 87th Street
South East Side
Come and bring your friends along!

Latest Developments in the Textile Industry

Uncle Sam is vitally concerned with the sick textile industry and has shown this concern by first approving the textile code. Now the other sections of the industry are submitting codes. In the meantime wide discontent and strike struggles are taking place throughout the industry. At the same time thousands of Unemployed workers are joining the A. F. of L., controlled by Associated and the United Textile Workers. These workers are promised almost anything under the Industrial Recovery Act. An equal number of seasoned strikers will have nothing to do with the U. T. M., that is discredited from one end of the industry to the other.

On the other hand, the National Textile Workers Union is facing the new situation in the midst of the T. U. W. L. confusion, which reflects itself in the hopeless policy of the N. T. W. U. Many workers refuse to join the N. T. W. U. This is the reward of the third period blunders in particular and the Stalinist revisionism in general.

In Salem, Mass., the N. T. W. U. organizers were forced to organize an independent union. In Paterson the N. T. W. U. are forced to organize the warpers they have influence over, into an independent

merger of different organizations and political tendencies into one political organization. One does form a united front on concrete issues relating to war and the overthrow of capitalism as temporary agreements in action.

On the other hand, the Marxists does not enter the united front forgetting the ultimate demands. The revolutionists always has in mind the relation of the immediate demand to the ultimate demand. The proper connection of the two, distinguishes the revolutionist from the reformist.

(To be continued)

—HUGO OEHLER.

IN THE PARTY

Lydia Beidel Expelled from Chicago Dist.

The expulsion campaign of the Party in Chicago continues unabated. Starting with the recent expulsion of a half dozen Y. C. L.ers there soon followed the expulsion of Albert Goldman. Now the latest expulsion is that of a comrade with years behind her in the Party.

(Note: All quotations used are accurate, being taken from a stenographic record of events at the meeting on July 6, 1933.)

All the members in Section Seven Chicago were called together—to discuss. Beforehand nobody was told what should be discussed but the bureaucracy evidently had something new to blame on the membership.

A certain unfortunate party member, who had been a member even in the ancient and forgotten days when Lenin was alive, had begun to think on things in general, and on Germany and Chicago in particular and had begun to doubt and had expressed these thoughts and doubts to some youths who had been thereby inoculated with the virus of criticism. And so, this unfortunate party member had been told—devotionally and also directly by all those who had power—that her days within the party were definitely numbered (to seven at the most).

The situation in this union must be thoroughly exposed and cleared up in order to stop this degeneration.

Now this unfortunate comrade had once heard—but that was also in the ancient days, when Lenin was still alive—about various mysterious concepts called democratic centralism, party democracy, Bolshevik self-criticism and freedom of discussion; and in her foolishness she hoped to invoke those now in her hour of need, forgetting that all others who had also heard of these concepts and spoken in their name had been driven into exile. And so she thought of a plan.

Many times had their comrade seen what happened when those who thought tried to speak. So she put her thoughts on three long sheets of paper and made fifty copies of each sheet and put them into a briefcase and went to the meeting which was called to discuss.

All evening the bureaucracy flayed the membership, abusing them for everything done and undone, and being self-critical according to their lights. The Communist party was not functioning well; there was a four-year old crisis at hand and the party had not yet been able to make anything of it. By eleven o'clock it was clear to everyone that something was wrong; but, despite the loudness of the loud voices and the plainness of the denunciation of the membership by the bureaucracy, nobody knew exactly what was wrong.

Then the unfortunate comrade stood up with her briefcase before the membership of her section (of which she had once been organizer, and where she was well known as an active and competent agitator and organizer), she began to avail herself of the three minutes allotted to her to explain her differences with the bureaucracy, and to defend herself against her imminent expulsion. She very meekly suggested that maybe abuse of the membership would not help so much as an analysis of policies and tactics, and then made so bold as to mention Germany. From then on things happened fast.

"Germany is not under discussion. I move this comrade be forbidden to continue." This like machine-gun fire from one Ferguson, who for years had sat at the feet of Knusinnen and knows about many things including the invincibility of the party line. And in a grand reflex came the seconds from her henchmen.

"Very well," said the unfortunate comrade, "I expected this. So I wrote my speech and here it is." And she proceeded to pass out the three long sheets in fifty copies each. And it is amazing to record that the great political maneuverers there present lost fully three minutes before they could react and grasp the matter at hand.

At this point the atmosphere was rent by the piercing shriek of District Agitprop Director Shields. "What is this? Stop her, stop her! She's passing out a document!" And her valiant lieutenant Ferguson opened up and emitted, "Comrades, we forbid you to read this statement. It's a counter-revolutionary document. It is a platform against the party. Hand every copy up here to me. You are forbidden to read it." And the copies began forthwith to disappear from circulation although only three found their way to the desk of the bureaucracy.

Then stood up Agitprop Shields: "This comrade," she shrieked, "is expelled from the Communist party, and her statement is counter-revolutionary."

"But," said the unfortunate comrade from the back of the room, "You can't expel me and I was never told that anyone else had done it."

"Shut up!" said this leader of the revolutionary proletariat, "if you want to talk, go before the Control Committee and talk your head off, but the membership will not listen to your counter-revolutionary speeches."

Then stood up a new comrade, who seemed to be distressed, since he always had a very high opinion of the unfortunate comrade. "But I'd like to ask," he said, "why isn't the comrade allowed to express her opinion, even if it's wrong? I don't

seem to understand this, but maybe that's because I'm new in the party."

"This comrade cannot speak here. She has counter-revolutionary intentions. She is looking for an audience. Let her talk to the Secretariat; they'll settle her." It was the High Priesthood of democratic centrism and freedom of discussion, Agitprop Shields.

Another bewildered comrade spoke up: "If this comrade has been expelled from the party, why is she here? Why was she allowed into the meeting?" But the bureaucracy has never yet missed an answer. "Her unit organizer was not notified of her expulsion, and he invited her." Ferguson rose to the occasion this time but she failed to explain why the omniscient secretariat itself was so lax about admitting expelled members. (It might be said, parenthetically, for the benefit of others who were party members while Lenin was still alive, that on other occasions, Section Organizer Ferguson, aided and abetted by District Agitprop Shields, summarily expelled members of the section at membership meetings.)

Came then some long-winded and highly intricate "enlightenment" on the German Situation and the United Front, which looked a great deal to the unfortunate comrade like an ideological hypodermic, especially when...

"Hurrah! Hurrah!" burst out the victimized membership. "The German party was not defeated."

And hurrah, hurrah, the ugly head of counter-revolution had been crushed in Section seven.

This ended the meeting that was called to discuss things.

Bosses Propose Starving Schools

The April 1933 issue of the American Teacher, official organ of the American Federation of Teachers in the A. F. of L., lists twenty recommendations for economy in education sent out by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce to all chambers of Commerce in the United States.

(4) Postponement of new capital outlay for buildings and replacements; (8) Shorten school day one hour; (9) Increase size of classes; (10) Increase teaching hours; (12) Suspend automatic increase of salaries; (13) Reduction in teachers salaries not to exceed 10 percent; (14) Shorten school year to not exceed 12 per cent; (15) Discontinue evening classes; (16) Discontinue kindergarten; (17) Reduce elementary school curriculums by consideration from eight to seven years; (18) Reduce high school curriculums by consolidation from four to three years; (19) Transfer one-third of cost of instruction above high school levels from taxpayer to pupil; (20) Impose a fee on high school students.

This program is already being carried out. In Ohio, California and other states the school year has been cut; in some states drastically. In New York City and elsewhere salaries have been cut; in some places more than once and more than ten per cent. New buildings are virtually at a standstill. Classes have been increased in size all over. Similarly with the other items in this bill of particulars.

It is clear at a glance that the burden of this economy will fall on the teachers and pupils. The teachers have already begun to struggle against it. The militant demonstrations in Chicago and the protests and activities of the Left wing in the Teachers Union in New York are laying the foundations for a teachers movement in the United States.

But the scope of the Chamber of Commerce economy proposals transcends the interests of the teachers as teachers. It is an integral part of the attack of the capitalist class on the working class. In New York City the backbone of the organized labor movement are the Building Trades. They have a direct and immediate interest in new school construction. Imposing fees on high school students increases the cost of living for the workers. Increase in the size of classes places hardships on the children.

Under capitalism labor struggles to assimilate the culture which science and the arts place at the disposal of society. The labor movement has to fight the poisonous ideology which the capitalists inculcate in working class children in the schools. In the United States labor has a stake in the preservation and extension of the free school system.

This economy move on the part of the capitalist class is a reactionary one. The teachers by themselves will not, cannot be successful in defeating it. The experience of the Chicago teachers proves this. They must ally themselves with the working class movement. The teachers movement must steer in this direction.

—T. STAMM.

All comrades sending in news reports and articles for publication in the Militant are requested to type their copy on one side of the page, triple spaced. Clean copy in the original saves much valuable time. Help the Militant staff! The Militant is your paper!

The Left Socialists and Our Tasks

At the present time the social democracy is everywhere passing through an acute crisis. In a number of countries more or less important Left wings have already separated themselves from the social democratic parties. This process flows from the whole situation. That it has not yet taken on a more developed character is due to the mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It puts a brake on the internal differentiation in the ranks of reformism and closes the door of Communism to the revolutionary wing. The appearance of independent socialist parties as well as autonomous organizations, is a vote of direct and deserving defiance to the address of the C. I.

The Stalinist bureaucracy calls the independent socialist organizations "Left social fascists," the most dangerous of all. That was especially its attitude towards the S. A. P. unexpectedly, after the 5th of March, and with extraordinary attention the C. I. met with the British "Left social fascists" as represented by the Independent Labor Party (the I. L. P.), once more revealing how great its confusion is in face of the decomposition of the social democracy, which unfortunately coincides with its own decomposition.

The International Left Opposition faces a new task: to accelerate the evolution of the Left Socialist organizations toward Communism, by injecting its ideas and its experience into this process. There is no time to lose: if the independent socialist organizations remain in their present amorphous state for a long period of time they will disintegrate; the political tasks of our epoch are so acute, the pressure of hostile classes so powerful—to this it is necessary to add the intrigues of the reformist bureaucracy on the one hand, and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the other—that only a powerful ideological bond on the unshakable basis of Marxism can assure the revolutionary organization the ability to maintain itself against the hostile currents and to lead the proletarian vanguard to a new revolutionary epoch.

The new situation facing the Left Opposition, unfolding new opportunities, poses new tasks to it. Up till now we have recruited members chiefly on the basis of individual selection. This was an absolutely inevitable stage, to that degree where the conservative centrist bureaucracy made impossible the direct and immediate influence of our ideas on the Communist parties in their entirety. It would evidently be a very big mistake to think that we have drawn from the official parties all that can be drawn from them. On the contrary, the passage of entire units and local organizations to the Left Opposition, etc., is still ahead of us. But our influence on the mass workers organizations cannot be achieved according to an order dictated beforehand. With a vigilant eye we must follow the live processes in all the workers organizations, so as to be able at the opportune moment to concentrate our attention in that field which promises of the most success.

The independent socialist organizations or the Left Oppositionist factions within the social democracy are either avowedly centrist organizations or they contain within their ranks strong centrist tendencies or survivals. Their positive sides lie in that under the influence of historic blows received by them they develop in a revolutionary direction. For us to seriously approach these organizations on a clear principled basis will signify a new chapter in the development of the Left Opposition and thereby of the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in the world workers movement. A great international revolutionary organization inspired by the ideas of the Left Opposition would become a center of attraction for the proletarian elements of the official Communist parties.

It must not be overlooked that this path taken in its whole can open up the possibility for the creation of new Communist parties. The question is already resolved, so far as Germany is concerned—not by us but by the march of events—in a complete and final manner. The differences that existed on this subject in our ranks, particularly with the German comrades, have either disappeared completely or are reduced to secondary nuances. Everything that has been produced by the bureaucracy after March 5th—articles in the Stalinist press, the resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on April 1st, the course of the C. P. G. as characterized in the anti-Fascist Congress at Paris—fully confirm the prognosis of the definitive and inevitable disintegration.

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Our Attitude Towards the Independent Left Socialist Tendencies

tion of the C. P. G. What has just been said can evidently be extended to Austria where the C. P. on a police order, disappeared without the sign of resistance from the face of the earth. "The oldest party of the C. I.", which so ingloriously disappeared from the scene, will not revive again! The threatening perspective of complete elimination of the old Communist parties. But at the same time the sections of the Left Opposition should manifest a much greater initiative than up till now, outside of the official parties, in the whole extent of the workers movement.

The transition from one stage of struggle to another and higher one has never been effected without internal friction. Some comrades, homesick for the mass organizations, evince a desire to gather fruits that are still unripe. Others, fearing for the purity of the principles of the Left Opposition receive all attempts to approach the larger mass organizations with distrust. "What good can be expected from Nazareth?" How can one approach organizations at the head of which are centrists? We are quite ready, they say, to unite with the rank and file workers, but we do not see any sense in approaching the Centrist leaders, etc., etc. Such a purely formal manner of posing the question is erroneous. They are greatly affected by propagandist sectarianism.

The 3rd International was itself recruited from 9-10ths of centrist elements who evolved to the Left. Not only individuals and groups but also entire organizations and even parties with their old leaders or a part of their old leadership placed themselves under the banner of Bolshevism. This was absolutely inevitable. The further march of developments depended on the policy of the C. I. of its internal regime, etc. In the camp of the workers movement today, if the Fascist, nationalist and religious organizations are deducted, one can observe the predominance of the reformist and the centrist; in this latter category we include official C. I. for good cause. It is clear that the rebirth of the revolutionary workers movement will take place at the expense of Centristism. Moreover, not only individuals and groups but entire organizations will place themselves anew under the Communist banner. The further development of re-education will depend on the general direction of politics, of the regime and finally on the march of historic events.

We have many times repeated in our literature how heterogeneous Centristism is: Centristism comprises all the transitory degrees between reformism and Marxism or—which is not the same thing—between Marxism and reformism. It is impossible to understand the centrist movement solely through its declarations and documents of today; we must keep before us the history of its development and the direction of its movement.

The Centristism of the Stalinist faction is characterized by a policy of convulsions and zig-zags or by a standstill and it is the most conservative of all the Centrist formations that have ever existed in the workers movement. This is explained by the fact that this time Centristism has found a powerful social support in the Soviet bureaucracy; the apparatus of the western parties are mere appendages. While the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R. is forced to defend the workers state against the bourgeoisie for the sake of its special in-

terest, in the West it has become the instrument for the disorganization and the weakening of the proletarian vanguard. Without the slavish dependence on the Soviet bureaucracy the official parties of the West would have long since found a way to the correct road or they would have crumbled like dust, ceding their place to healthier organizations.

The personnel of the official parties maintain themselves today exclusively by faith in the U. S. S. R. and its leadership. Many honest Communists have a religious fear of criticism and new arguments to keep them from losing "faith" in the leadership of the U. S. S. R. It is that and only that which can explain the fact that grown-up people, often sincere revolutionaries, throughout years supported such monstrous things, which are a mockery of Marxism, of the advanced workers and of human thought. Those who free themselves from the fetishism of the Soviet bureaucracy usually sink into a state of indifference. As is known, the Communist parties have lost, in the last years, an incomparably greater number of members than the Left Opposition has won over.

The Centristism of social democracy is characterized by a movement from Right to Left—in a political situation which renders difficult all temporizing positions. The members of the independent socialist organizations are deprived, in their majority, of that revolutionary guide, that has more or less succeeded in gaining members for the Communist parties. But on the other hand, the independent socialist, not corrupted by fetishism to the Soviet bureaucracy, are free from conservatism are passing through an internal crisis, are honestly seeking for answers to questions posed by our epoch, are evolving to the side of Communism. At this time they are much more amenable to the ideas of authentic Bolshevism, according to all indications, than the members of the Stalinist faction.

Such is the odd combination of historic conditions, in a certain sense "unforeseen", which opens up new opportunities of activity and progress to the Bolshevik-Leninists. We must utilize it to the end.

—G. GOUROV.

Stalinist Policies Weaken S. U. In Face of Japanese Aggression

(Continued from Page 1)

the C. E. R. without payment) has weakened the Soviet Union by encouraging Japan in the belief that whatever she does to Soviet interests, on a more or less minor scale, will meet with no resistance. One provocation has followed another. With a firm policy, steadfastly pursued from the very beginning, the Soviet Union would be immeasurably stronger in the Far East now and the Japanese imperialists would be much more guarded in their actions.

The Anti-War Committee set up by the Amsterdam Congress last year is sending out a commission to China, which is to organize a "Far Eastern Anti-War Congress". The best traditions of the Lytton Commission are being followed. This commission, hearing the stamp of Stalinist approval, is headed by the labor peer, Lord Marley, and otherwise consists of several pacifists, besides including the Communist renegade, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the former Labor M. P. While the Communists in Shanghai are all agog over the forthcoming visit, it has remained for a petty-bourgeois radical like Mrs. Suo Yat-Sen, one of the presidium of the League against Imperialism, to express the view that the "commission" and the congress of liberals and pacifists which it will assemble in Shanghai (if permitted by the police to do so) to pass resolutions against the maraudings of Japanese imperialism, is a futile and nonsensical affair.

Strike Wave in China

The past two to three months have witnessed a general tendency toward revival of activity among the workers of China after a fairly lengthy period of dormancy. This tendency, manifested in strikes and other actions, is more or less general throughout the country, but is mainly observable in the larger centers, especially Shanghai.

It would be incorrect, however, to describe the renewed activity as due to a growth of militancy among the workers in the sense of that inevitable recovery which takes place as the accompaniment of a partial or temporary, economic recovery. Such action as has taken place is rather in the nature of a desperate rearward action in the face of ever-continuing capitalist onslaughts. Wages are constantly being lowered, the working week is being steadily cut, especially in the larger industries (sometimes as little as three days), and industrial enterprises are closing down one after another, throwing tens of thousands into unemployment.

But even the desperate rearward action that the workers are fighting amid steadily worsening economic conditions are beginning to engender a real fighting spirit—so much so, in fact, that the Kuo Min Tang is beginning to sit up and take notice.

The Trade Union Act of the Nanking Government, which became operative on November 1, 1929, aimed at the Fascistization of the trade unions, the strangling of their independent activity. The trade unions were converted into "safety valves", under more or less con-

plete governmental control and supervision. During the three years 1929-32, when the workers lay almost completely prostrate under the heavy defeats of 1927, this process of Fascistization was carried to considerable lengths, and the workers were largely deprived of any independent trade union organizations.

Due, however, to the disintegration of Nanking authority under the blows of external aggression, and the accumulated domestic difficulties of the government, control of the unions was latterly, to a certain extent, allowed to slip. The Trade Union Act suffered the same laxity of application as most of the legislative enactments of the Nanking government. Hence, some unions developed an independent leadership, free of Kuo Min Tang influence or control.

No move toward a tightening-up was required so long as the workers suffered without opposition the tyranny and intense exploitation to which they have so long been subjected. But lately, with the employing class frantically endeavoring to solve the economic crisis at the expense of the workers, the latter have once more begun to stir.

The obvious fact of this renewed activity has had a corresponding effect on the Kuo Min Tang organs, which, beginning with the Shanghai Seamen's Union, have commenced reasserting their control over the trade unions. This has led in many instances to sharp conflicts between the workers and the Kuo Min Tang, and if the present upward curve of workers' activity continues it might be expected that these conflicts will grow more numerous and more severe.

The Economic Situation in China Today

A few facts concerning the present economic situation in China, and the activity of the workers, will no doubt be of interest. During a period of approximately five weeks from mid-May, according to press reports, no fewer than 11 industrial concerns in Shanghai suspended operations completely, while many others went on short-time. Five of the eleven were silk-weaving and silk goods factories, 5 were rubber shoe factories and 1 a cotton mill. The eleven concerns employed between them roughly 4,000 workers; the cotton mill alone employed 1,400. In addition, 2,700 workers were discharged from a Japanese cotton mill in May, while some 400 seamen lost their jobs when their vessels were laid up.

At Tientsin, a cotton mill employing 2,700 closed down, and at Canton a rubber factory employing 700. At Tsinan, 1,000 workers at the arsenal were given notice of dismissal because of the projected removal of the arsenal to Hanyang, on the Yangtze.

On June 19, two large cotton mills in Hankow, employing between them approximately 10,000 workers, closed down, and the following day a third, employing approximately 7,000 followed suit. The unemployment situation in Shanghai, which may be taken as a pattern for the rest of the country, has assumed extraordinary

no official records are kept, but it has been computed at anything between 100,000 and 200,000. There are approximately 50,000 silk fabric workers unemployed in the city, 98 of the 113 establishments being closed. So meager are the earnings of the workers that they face dire distress immediately they become unemployed, a distress only slightly mitigated by the existence in China of a closely-knit family system whereby there is a moral obligation for members of a family to assist one another.

Starvation Kamp

There is no doubt that starvation and semi-starvation are rampant on a scale unprecedented. So serious is the situation that the Shanghai General Labor Union has addressed a petition to the Nanking government urging that express orders be issued prohibiting the various Chinese factories from either suspending or reducing work. In this petition it is stated: "While it is true that some factories have been compelled to have recourse to such measures on account of the general economic depression, not a few of them have done so intentionally with the malicious purpose of breaking up certain labor organizations."

At the same time, the yellow Kuo Min Tang-controlled officials who drafted this petition issued a circular order to the workers which at once epitomizes their own degeneracy and reveals the vast gulf which separates them from the revolutionary fighting traditions of the Shanghai General Labor Union. In 1925-27. In the circular order, the workers are called upon to "work in whole-hearted cooperation with their employers and to devote their best efforts to their work in order to avert a total collapse of the native industries," and it is emphasized that "the interests of labor and capital are really identical and interwoven and that all workers must adopt an attitude of sympathy and cooperation towards their employers."

In May, in the International Settlement and Chinese-controlled territory of Shanghai combined, there occurred 16 strikes involving 13,372 workers and the loss of 106,806 working days. The corresponding figures for the preceding month of April were 9 strikes involving 1,939 workers and the loss of 3,349 working days. In May, 1932 there were 36 strikes involving 8,809 workers and the loss of 21,082 working days. These statistics are extracted from the monthly reports of the commissioner of police of the International Settlement.

As will be observed, ten times more workers were involved in strikes in May than in the preceding month of April and almost three times more than in May last year. The fact that while the number of strikes in May this year was the same as in May, 1932, the number of strikers was nearly three times greater, indicates a tendency for the larger industries to be drawn into labor conflicts. From the comparative figures of working days lost, the tendency for strikes to be of longer duration will be noticed, which may be taken as an indication that the workers are becoming more stubborn in their struggles.

Hitler Orders: 'Butter for People'

The speeches of the Fascist leaders, dripping with social sympathy, which are launched at every opportunity with great expenditure of lung power and thundered into the ears of the god—and hero-worshipping petty-bourgeois shopkeepers, stand in honorable contradiction to the practical deeds with which the "social service" bourgeoisie out of the crisis. The frightful, profound, crushing misery, which has been bearing down on the shoulders of the many millions of unemployed for years, which drives thousands each year to take their lives, and brings further thousands slowly closer to physical death by starvation, this misery in the ranks of the German proletariat is being intolerably sharpened by the government's large-scale campaign of robbery of the pockets of the broad masses in order to fill the purses of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners. And the disgusting accompaniment to which the Aryan scoundrels are staging the show, consists of infatigable tirades about the German "working class of brain and hand", with which they hope to stuff the mouths of those whose bread they are snatching away.

Margarine or Butter—Question of Taste or Question of Wages?

Unemployment and the pressure on wages since the beginning of the crisis has brought the standard of living of the German proletariat to an ever lower level, has taken away from the worker's table one by one all the "luxuries" which today include milk and butter as well as meat and vegetables. The forcible worsening of the living conditions of the proletariat, which has also embraced fairly broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the white-collar class, has resulted in a special boom for those sections of industry which have arranged their production especially for the

How the Economic Side of the Fascist Regime Works Out in Practice

beggarly pennies of the pauperized people. The 25-pennig shops of Woolworth and Wohlwert of the Sera and the Epa, have been the beneficiaries of this development, which have also resulted in a few fat morsels for the margarine industry.

What was a benefit for the margarine producer was an evil for the peasant. The consumption of butter shrank rapidly as many consumers turned to the much cheaper margarine. The price of butter sank considerably, while on the other hand foodstuffs became dearer on account of tariffs, so that the German peasant production was injured in this direction too, especially by the foreign competition which is supplied with much cheaper foodstuffs. One evil resulted in another. The attempt was made to keep foreign competition out of the German market by ever higher tariffs. At the same time, the peasants turned in increasing degree to the use of oil-cakes as feed, in order not to have to use foodstuffs which had been made expensive by tariffs.

The New Measures

In order to help the big landowners out still more energetically than before, tariffs and subsidies are not enough; it is urgently necessary to secure the market for wheat production in Germany itself, on the one hand in order to prevent the excessive internal prices from attracting foreign competition which would skim off the cream, on the other hand, to prevent the German peasant from getting around the excessive price of foodstuffs by going over to the use of the cheaper oil-cakes. This is the kernel of all

the well-played-up rescue measures of the German peasantry, whose purchasing power must be raised, according to Hitler. This gentleman has made many promises, and still certainly find it hard to satisfy behind him on a string. He will lead all kinds of human vermin everywhere, and at the same time take care of the interests of the bourgeoisie with the necessary energy.

To "reconcile" the contradictory interests of the little throat-cutters with those of the bigger profit-swallowers, requires, outside of Fascist terror, which will have to carry out its historical tasks here too, a large portion of demagogic and diplomatic trickery and maneuvering, for which Fascism has an almost inexhaustible gift.

Hitler promised to put the screws on the big trusts. And he is doing so in his own way—with the necessary respect. To allay the misery of the German peasantry, which according to the greatest pudding-head of our century is the cornerstone of the solution of the economic crisis, the most effective step would be to pick the pockets of the workers and white-collar class. The means are simple enough. One has only to increase the price of butter; limit the production of margarine, which currently must not exceed 60% of the production in 1932; and levy a tax on the consumption of these "artificial food fats".

The consequences of these "measures" to cheapen the cost of food fats", as this action of the government is modestly called on account of the issue of fat cards, have been no secret to anybody in Germany. The cheapest margarine has risen in price from 25 to 75 pennings a pound, and may be bought by those who are favored with fat cards at 50 pennings a pound—unless it just happens to be sold out. This 100% increase in the price of the cheapest kind, for those who receive relief or pensions and are entitled to buy "cheapened" margarine on their fat cards, is the clearest characterization of those honey-sweet words with which Hitler on "Labor Day" sought to win the favor of the toiling masses for his national-socialism.

Along with margarine, butter also rose in price substantially, the increase amounting to 35 marks per hundredweight against the lowest quotation in February of this year. Undoubtedly the milk-producing peasants are still rubbing their hands with pleasure, for the time being. But their joy will be short-lived.

The Government Needs Scape-Goats

The shortage and dearness of margarine and the price advance in butter have resulted in unpleasant surprises. The deep bitterness which took hold of even many adherents of Hitler, caused the government to look immediately for a scapegoat on whom the blame for these developments could be placed, to divert indignation against others, and at the same time to show the petty-bourgeois shopkeepers emphatically that they are mistaken, if they hope to chip off a little piece of this profitable business for their own pockets.

The government is by no means a stranger to this game with false cards. It had the announcement made over the radio that first-quality butter costs 1.20 marks a pound, while at the same time this grade was being priced at 1.60 marks in the shops. At the same time, in Munich and in port elsewhere in the country, several hundred little shops were closed for profiteering, the shopkeepers were arrested and brought to concentration camps, where presumably they have been cured for some time of their hopes in Hitler.

It is readily understandable that the difference between the price named officially by the government and the much higher one demanded in the shops caused anger and bitterness among the consumers, which was directed against the retailers. This anger and bitterness was further intensified when the government, in its "straightforward and honorable" manner, openly exposed and punished before the eyes of the world the profiteering maneuvers of a number of dealers. And precisely this was the object of the government's action. The radio, with its announcement of cheap prices for butter, thereby dropped a little poison into the ears of the masses, insinuating that the retailers were profiteering "to the extent of 40 pennings a pound and thus egging them on against the dealers."

It is a question of the strips which can still be cut out of the hide of the suppressed proletariat. Everybody wants their part. The big bourgeoisie will receive it, the petty bourgeoisie and the small farmers will be fed illusions which Fascism attempts to give a certain material basis. "It is the intention of the government that the workers should entirely dispense with the use of margarine, even if that means an increase of the budget of every individual household." Who will still doubt the social nature of Fascism? It demands: Butter for the People! It does not even give them cheap margarine.

—From (Unser Wort)

National Recovery Act to Throw New Burdens on U.S. Proletariat

The good ship, American Capitalism, its hull battered and leaking, loaded with its heavy disarranged national economy is making its way into uncharted seas. Compelled by the necessity of attempting a solution of an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude, the Roosevelt administration has adopted methods entirely new to the American scene.

The National Industrial Recovery Act, promulgated as an emergency measure, is the most important of the unusual steps taken since the present administration came into power. Its avowed purpose as stated by the President is "the reemployment of men and dollars." The Act provides for control of industry, the regulation of hours and wages of labor, the establishment of codes for "fair competition", as well as the putting into effect a public works program involving the expenditure of 3 billion, 3 hundred million dollars.

At the head of the administration of the Recovery Act was placed Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, a close associate of Bernard Baruch, the financier. The law provides the administration with sweeping powers and great freedom of action; all of its decisions are contingent on final approval of the President.

The Recovery Act, as we have said, provides for the establishment of codes for the regulation of hours and wages and "fair competition" in all industries. These codes are to be submitted by the industries themselves and when once accepted by the Recovery administration with approval of the President have all the force of law, violations of which are penalized. The objective is the organization of the entire industrial output of the country—in other words a capitalist "planned economy."

Quite a change from the traditional laissez-faire rugged individualism extolled by many ideologists of American capitalism. Nevertheless, although more than a month has gone by, only the textile industry has submitted a code which was accepted by Johnson and the President. Steel, coal, electrical manufacturing, transportation, lumber, utilities and other important industries have been rather shy about submitting their codes. So much so, in fact, that Johnson has threatened to write a code over their heads, and what is more to establish a general minimum wage ruling for all of industry, referred to as a "blanket code."

How have these innovations affected working class opinion? In various ways. There are some among the Stalinists who claim that this, like the Hoover administration and other events of the past, is Fascism. Again, the essence of Fascism is subtly ignored, proving that the recent German catastrophe does not necessarily teach any lesson to certain people. Then there are those, especially among socialists, who see a form of socialism being introduced in the U. S.

To dispose of this last view first it is sufficient to point out that the concentration of wealth and the means of production into fewer hands is not only facilitated but also accelerated by the Recovery

Act. The government is taking these steps purely in the interest of the capitalist system, trying to "organize" it so that it may survive the social cataclysm that awaits it.

However, to merely state that this is not Fascism without analyzing the social and political implications and the possible developments, would be incorrect. Of course, it is obvious that this is not Fascism. Fascism could not be imposed in this country or in any other without an immediate threat from a class-conscious, organized working-class. The capitalists themselves do not want Fascism because while this form preserves capitalism as a system a little longer, it restricts the individual capitalist enterprises within the rigid framework of a state organization. Fascism comes about, then, as a last resort and when all other means of holding power have been exhausted. The conditions prerequisite for Fascism in this country will not materialize in the immediate future, unless something unforeseen should occur. This does not mean that the workers should not look to all organizations of a Fascist nature without any apprehension.

But the economic organization of Fascism is state capitalism. State Capitalism is the final form of capitalist economy. Engels foresaw this development with remarkable accuracy in his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." Under this form, all industries become part of the State apparatus—the Corporative State, as in Italy. The enactment of any measure in any particular branch of industry by the "corporation" involved has all the force of law as this organization is a branch of the government itself.

Viewed from this standpoint, the striking similarity between the economic structure of Fascism and the set-up of the Recovery Act is apparent. The steps taken by the Recovery Act are to the tune of Fascist music. Let us not overlook this important aspect of the question.

What has happened in the meantime to the Sherman Anti-Trust laws? Without actual annulment by Congress, the Roosevelt administration has waved them aside. These laws had been enacted under the mass pressure of the petty bourgeoisie fighting against the inexorable growth and encroachment of monopoly industry, which has yearly wiped out increasing numbers of small establishments. All

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THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 8, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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VI, No. 38 (Whole No. 185)

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1933

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

Do you remember THE MILITANT CLUB PLAN? It gives you the advantage of a reduced price for new subscribers. A six months sub for 50c provided they are sent into the office in clubs of four. Why not try it?

Toronto Workers in Anti-Fascist Strike

Toronto, Canada.—No action on the part of workers in Canada since the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 carries such tremendous significance as the mass parade and demonstration against Fascism which took place in Toronto on July 11th. For the first time in fifteen years working class solidarity found expression in a monster parade involving about 10,000 workers belonging to trade unions and political organizations. The United Front Committee had issued a call for the 2-hour strike and demonstration to begin at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of July 11th. An hour before that time large numbers of workers had already begun to assemble in Wellington Park in the heart of the clothing trades district. When 3 o'clock came, workers were pouring into the park by the hundreds, whole factories marching down together or hurrying to the assembly point by street-car, were seen everywhere. A spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the scene as the workers, freed from the drudgery of the factories, cheered each newly-arrived group, cheered their class brothers and sisters who this afternoon were joining hands in a mass protest against the bloody rule of Hitler in Germany and capitalist reaction all over the world. By 3:45 P. M. when the first section of the parade moved off, the park was a sea of humanity—more than that—a host of workers taking up battle against a common enemy. Ten thousand workers, three hundred banners, all raising the voice of proletarian struggle against the murderous regime of Fascism.

The parade moved off from Wellington Park through the clothing district on to University Ave., and past the parliamentary buildings to assemble en masse in Queens Park. In the front ranks were the workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, some 1400, followed by the ILGWU, the Industrial unions and other unions affiliated. Then came other mass organizations, the auxiliaries of the party, the Y. C. I. and finally the International Left Opposition, under whose banner marched the Toronto branch of the Left Opposition, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Unser Kampf Club—as well as a body of about 60 unorganized workers brought out on strike by the Left Opposition. The last banner in the parade, the parting shot, was "Forward to Victory Under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky!"

As the revolutionary organizations left Wellington Park, the strains of the Internationale rose above the throng—sung with a spirit that is characteristic only of proletarians on parade.

In Queens Park, the throng created a scene unique in the history of the Toronto working class. Here the 10,000 paraders were greeted by a crowd of about 15,000, many of whom were workers anxious to participate in the demonstration while hundreds came only to see what was going to happen. It was a glorious spectacle. A closely packed crowd with banners waving overhead, mirroring all the phases of the class struggle. It was the class struggle and not a Jewish nationalist protest such as the elite of Toronto's Jewry had staged in Massey Hall in collaboration with the city bourgeoisie. The united front of workers aroused proletarians and bourgeois alike to a realization of the strength of a working class protest based on working class unity. The demonstration aroused the hopes and admiration of multitudes of workers and aroused the fury of the bourgeoisie—to which the latest police campaign against the marchers testified.

Taking up their stand at the base of the 48th Highlanders Monument a speaker from each organization addressed the crowd. When the L. O. contingent arrived, Charles Green of the Left Poole Zion, chairman of the Jewish Workers United Front Committee, was speaking. In the tumult it was impossible to hear him unless you were close at hand. When he finished, our comrade, Maurice Spector, took the stand. Comrade Spector flanked on either side by a trio of cops, opened with an attribute to the united front of the marchers for breaking through the police ban on meetings and raising the strong arm of the proletariat against the Canadian bourgeoisie. He urged the marchers to continue the struggle for free speech and assembly, for the repeal Section 98 and for the release of the eight leaders of the Communist Party of Canada who were now serving long terms in Kingston penitentiary. He went on to discuss the victory of Fascism in Germany, what a catastrophe it was for the German working class and the international revolutionary movement. Warning the workers that the Fascist victory in Germany presented the greatest danger to the continued existence of proletarian rule in the Soviet Union, comrade Spector urged them to maintain a solid fighting front against Fascism, to defeat Fascism and save the Soviet Union by the method of class struggle. He concluded with the ringing slogan: "Down with Hitler! Long Live the Soviet Union!" etc. A rousing cheer was the answer of the workers to comrade Spector's remarks as he stepped the monument. The cheering was echoed as our comrades shouted: Forward to Victory Under

the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky. By this time several other speakers were being heard in various parts of the park. It was not long before comrade Jack McDonald, also of the Left Opposition, took the stand. He warned the workers not to be led into believing that this demonstration alone would mark the victory of the struggle for free speech in Toronto; time and again he stressed the necessity for continuing militantly the struggle for free speech and assembly and against the pernicious section 98. He continued with an analysis of the German events, speaking in greater detail than had comrade Spector.

Subotage of A. C. W. Leaders
No account of this demonstration would be complete without a few remarks concerning the activities of the affiliated organizations of the united front. From the beginning of the conference we had to contend with the efforts of the right wing reformist leaders to delay action and to give the conference a Jewish nationalist character. Especially anxious to get around the idea of a strike and a parade was Nesbitt, the spokesman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. He raised all manner of objections, ranging from the demand that the Industrial Union be shut out of the conference to a request for postponement of the strike on the ground that the locals had not yet discussed the question. All sections of the conference opposed Nesbitt on the first point with the result that in the actual working out of the demonstration the Amalgamated was not a formal member of the conference. Instead a committee of the united front conference worked out the mechanics of the united front demonstration with a committee from the Amalgamated for a two week postponement, from June 27 to July 11 was granted to take away from the union leaders any excuse for non-participation.

Stalinist Stupidity
The sabotaging tactics of the Amalgamated Union leaders produced a counter obstacle in the ultimate attitude assumed by the Stalinists. Promptly transgressing the boundaries of the united front by indulging in fierce attacks upon all and sundry, the Stalinists at first demanded as a first prerequisite for affiliation to the conference that all social democratic organizations admit their responsibility for the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Only that! Our comrades opposed this as did almost every other organization in the conference. The Left Opposition stated that while it was true that the social democrats, Noske and company, were responsible for the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, a confession of guilt could not be demanded as a condition for affiliation to the conference. The Stalinists were swamped on this issue.

Again when the Amalgamated asked for the postponement of the strike, the Stalinists wanted to refuse the request and to call the strike without the Amalgamated. This was a criminal position, for it would have played right into the hands of the Amalgamated leaders and shut out of the conference the largest union in the Jewish section of the united front. When the request for postponement was carried against the Stalinists they went so far as to issue a special addition of the Kampf in which they naturally went out of their way to slander the Amalgamated but also made the Poole Zion and the Left Opposition targets for their lies and mud slinging. This editor of the Kampf might have split the united front. The Amalgamated leaders at first attempted to seize upon it as a pretext for non-participation. It was only the skillful tactics of the Left Opposition and the Left Poole Zion that overcame the damage done by the Stalinists.

It is no exaggeration to say that had the conference followed the policies of the Stalinists there would have been no strike and demonstration. The two hour strike and demonstration also dealt a crushing blow to the confused Stalinist theory of the "united front from below". The success of the genuine united front was apparent to all.

Results of Strike
What are the results and what conclusions can be drawn from the united front of the Toronto workers? The strike and demonstration is unique as the only working class protest, of a mass nature that has taken place in Canada, and possibly in North America. The workers of this city have learned that Fascism is not a regime that is distinguished by its pogroms against the Jews, but a regime that signifies the last efforts of decay capitalism to save itself from the exploited masses. They have learned that Fascism means destruction for the proletariat and that Fascism can only be fought by proletarian struggle.

Besides arousing the political consciousness of thousands of workers in a united front against Fascism the demonstration has been a vindication of the policies and tactics of the Left Opposition.

—B. B.

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Los Angeles Unemployed Movement

The unemployment movement in Los Angeles is in many respects the most interesting in the country, from the standpoint of the number of workers included, the powers which the organization has won for itself, and the size and cohesiveness of the Left wing within the movement. The movement dates back over a year and a half, in an organized form, and sufficient experience with it has been accumulated to allow certain political lessons to be drawn. The Left Opposition has participated in a leading and initiating capacity in this movement from the beginning, and has clearly shown what possibilities of objective work are open to us in the elementary working-class movement, and what can be achieved by correct Communist policies carried out with energy and persistence.

The unemployment movement in Los Angeles got under way about January 1932. A committee composed of Left wing elements of extremely diverse character—anarchists, Communists, anarchists, syndicalists, Minstrelites, and others—was organized. After much discussion as to the basic approach to the question of unemployment, an agreement was reached as to the necessity of accepting as a fact the backwardness of the workers in this region, and a minimum program was worked out.

The objective situation in which we were working may be characterized by the following facts: Los Angeles is probably the most notorious open-shop town in the United States. Trade unions are exceedingly weak there, while the

N.Y. Upholsterers Strike Grows

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The general strike demands would be no longer available. Their is no reason, except Stalinist disregard for the interests of the strike, to explain why they did not immediately adopt the strike demands of the majority. Workers are indignant and enraged at what appears to them to be an open bid to the bosses on the part of the Industrial Union for settlement on the basis of scab conditions.

And in this connection, we must note the ominous significance of the complete boycott of this strike in the Communist party press. Can this mean that the Party and the TULU intends to ignore a mass strike simply because it is not under their control? Possibly, since this is not the first strike that has been ignored by the Daily Worker, and major ones at that. But more probably the reason can be found in that they have not yet recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown by the striking upholsterers who voted with their feet to support the A. F. of L.

Now, the members of the Industrial Union, who in some respects represent the cream of the industry, have it as their duty to be among the masses of the trade, who are now moving into the ranks of local 76. Just as before the split in 1930, the Left wing can now carry on a much more effective fight for their point of view within the mass union, where they should constitute themselves as the Left wing, the nourishing leaven to the entire movement, leading it in the direction of class struggle and militancy. Especially now, after the mass of strikers have spoken, it is your duty to come back en masse—reintegrate yourselves into the main body of the upholsterers, local 76, in New York and similarly in other cities. Demand of your leaders to do likewise.

Win the Strike, Beat the Bosses!
We call on you men in the strike to close your ranks and fight for the realization of the full demands of the strike. You have every opportunity now, if you put your hearts into it, to deal the bosses' association a crushing blow, and to raise your conditions with one mighty sweep from the miserable status it is now into one of decency, with more leisure to develop yourselves towards a greater measure of control over the conditions of your lives. Fight in solidarity and you will win!

For the Left wing group,
—CARL COWLEY
—SOL LANKIN.

Trotsky Moves to France

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can only say that they are covering up an infamy with a calumny. Now they are using the concessions made by the bourgeoisie French government to a revolutionary fighter to distort the truth again, and prevent the workers from realizing what effective work for the revolution comrade Trotsky is doing, in the fields of propaganda and organization, in spite of the handicaps of physical isolation, Stalinist slander, and separation from the official representative of the October Revolution, the Communist International.

Every revolutionary worker and party member should demand that the necessary steps be taken for the reinstatement of comrade Trotsky and the International Left Opposition into the Communist International.

—B. B.

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Chamber of Commerce, on the other hand, is intimately linked up with the local administrative apparatus, sending its representatives to meetings of local governmental bodies and maintaining a private anti-radical armed force, the "Red" Hynes squad. Second, the city of Los Angeles is included within an agricultural area, specializing in fruit and vegetables, and constituting together with it the county of Los Angeles. Because of the predominance of farmer elements in this region, the county as a whole is even more backward than the city. A further complication is the special exploitation of the Mexican workers, who constitute an important element in this region and have been separated from the native American workers by barriers of language, customs, and lower living standards. They have been used as strikebreakers on many occasions in the past.

The beginning of the unemployment activities were made in the working-class neighborhoods on the basis of the lack of attempts by state and welfare agencies to afford any relief. The first step was the organization of neighborhood welfare committees, which in turn organized committees to visit welfare and relief institutions to ask for relief action.

First Steps in Organization
The first attempts at organization were made by five people: Halstead, Pirth (a syndicalist), Meyers (of the Opposition of the Proletarian Party), Downing (of the anarchist wing of the I. W. W.), and Jane Rose. With the help of a sympathetic socialist, an assistant, principal, the use of a school for meetings was obtained. Leaflets were printed, distributed from house to house, posted up in the neighborhood stores, and after a week of these preparations a meeting was held. The first response was about forty workers, a number of whom had been in the trade union movement in the past, and one or two had formerly been socialists. The most developed of them were formed into neighborhood committees. More meetings were held, in the same district and in new districts, the attendance increased from 40 to 300-400. After about two months, six districts had been organized into units. Their first functions were to take up the cases of destitute workers who had been thrown off the relief, or had their relief cut, etc.

This phase in a few months assumed very large proportions, and posed before us the question of organizing mass pressure through a centralized and city-wide mass organization. With the first showing of growth, class-collaborationist elements, particularly former cooperative socialists, who are numerous in this region, and former trade union leaders, made their appearance. They proposed to solve the immediate problems of the unemployed through the methods of mutual self-help, offering labor to be furnished by the organized unemployed to the neighboring farmers, who had piled up an enormous surplus to be made in part of the produce. Similar arrangements were to be made with the working of this law. This constitutes one of these contradictions peculiar to American politics.

That the Roosevelt administration may be over-reaching itself in its Recovery program is the opinion of not a few industrialists. The frank skepticism expressed in the frank circles is reflected by Wm. Kiplinger, writing in the July issue of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's organ. He says:

"We are building up a great system of government-directed artificialities, including inflation, government credits, government competition, government control. Every intelligent person wonders whether and when the system will fall down. There is no factual answer. There are merely sour theories of failure and sentimental hopes of success."

"A majority of well-informed thinkers think this: For the next year or perhaps a year and a half the new schemes will give an impetus to business so that there will be something resembling moderate prosperity. Meanwhile there will be great blunders, great new false relationships, and the cumulative effect of these errors will bring a new set of critical problems a year or more hence."

There need be no doubt that the critical problems that will arise shall constitute added burdens to the shoulders of the working class. Whatever increases in wages will be more than offset by the real wage losses through currency devaluation. Furthermore, there is no doubt that only a relatively small portion of the vast unemployed army can be reabsorbed into any of the occupations created by the application of the Roosevelt program. The unemployed problem will continue to exist as one of the most vexing and unsolvable problems of capitalism.

The American working-class is faced with the maturing of mighty historical contradictions in the capitalist system. The new turn in the policy of capitalism is a keen reflection of this. The new turn must be recognized by the workers and a Marxist estimate of present day conditions made. From the standpoint of class relations, the workers have much to fear from the new economic organization. The reorganization of the state productive and administrative apparatus signifies further weakening of the already weak class position of the workers. The big political and economic struggles are ahead.

—JOSEPH S. GIGANTI.

—(From La Verite)

of securing state aid. The progressive elements saw in this an opportunity to change the whole trend of the movement away from a semi-legalistic class-collaboration approach toward one of class pressure on the state and local authorities.

Class Collaboration vs. Mass Pressure

A central body, the County Council of the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association, was organized, and offered affiliation to all the units. Units which at the beginning had attempted to solve their own immediate problems of food, housing, gas, light, water, etc., now began to bring them to the general body. In discussions held once a week, each unit electing a voting delegate and these delegates in turn electing the Executive Board and the officers of the County Council. At that time the class-collaborationist elements dominated the Council and succeeded in keeping the mass of the workers to a policy of dependence on formal legal methods, particularly stressing the preparation of a bill to be submitted to the State legislature. To illustrate the state of mind of the mass of workers at that time, meetings were usually opened with the singing of prayers and of the national anthem. The progressive elements not only joined in this, but by singing louder than any other group were successful in casting ridicule on the ceremony and eventually in getting rid of it.

—M. ROSE.
(To be continued)

New Burdens for Workers in NIRA

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though big industry has always of factually ignored these laws, except when they have been invoked against labor, now it will be provided with legal instrumentalities for the acceleration of trustification and monopoly at the expense of the small capitalist.

Despite the obvious fact that the Recovery Act favors the concentration of capital, the big industrialists have shown, as we have indicated, a certain reluctance in submitting to the provisions of this law. It concealed grumbling goes on in high places. In many of the large industries, production has been stepped up in order to build a large stock to meet the eventual price rise with a possibly reduced working force when the codes finally go into effect. The anarchic character of capitalist production is shown by the fact that the individual industries are looking out for their own particular interests even though they may be at the expense of the system.

The anomaly in the situation is demonstrated by the petty bourgeoisie which has been throwing its entire support to the Roosevelt program, although it will be driven closer to the edge of the abyss by the working of this law. This constitutes one of these contradictions peculiar to American politics.

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The Background of the New Deal Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

force of all capitalist production—the realization of surplus values, the realization of profits. To check the heavy tendency of the falling rate of profit by preparing for an increase of the mass of profit and an increase in the aggregate capital was the problem. It was tackled first by raising the intensity of exploitation of the workers. A higher degree of rationalization and standardization within industry, new efficiency methods to increase the output per man, together with direct speed-up and even longer working hours, were the measures applied. In a recovery, industry will thus start from a high level of intensity of exploitation. Secondly, an enormous depression of the wage level below the value of labor power was forced through ruthlessly. In this the drop in commodity prices naturally served as a means of facilitation, the heavy unemployment and its competition for jobs did the rest. The result is that on a whole the disproportion between value added by applied labor power and the actual wage paid is constantly on the increase. But what is especially to be borne in mind is the fact that industry starts today from an extremely low wage level.

These were the measures affecting the working class most directly. But there were others worthy of attention from the point of view of studying the background of the present situation. For example, the problem of expansion of credits. Undoubtedly the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its billions made available for the bankers and big industrial corporations served this purpose admirably. In the main, however, the huge sums expended went to hush the large metropolitan banking institutions to help them in paying in settlement of previously contracted obligations. The funds expended did not become transformed into productive capital; for during the course of the crisis there was a generally constant drop in new capital emissions, in new financing. Nevertheless, financial capital faces the recovery stage with a greater fluidity of credits. Simultaneously there has been a cheapening of the elements of constant capital by the price fall of commodities and raw materials.

Concentration of Capital
Aside from these points mentioned there is also to be taken into consideration the reorganization of industry and banking already accomplished. With hurricane speed the crisis eliminated the weaker and more antiquated sections of the capitalist structure, countless of small independent producers whom they supported. Industrial mergers, rationalization and standardization were given more favorable conditions, subsidies were made ready for the monopoly enterprises, efforts were initiated to adjust the various sections of industry to better correspond with the whole and branch banking by the big metropolitan institutions began to make real headway. All in all these were important steps as a result of which the organic composition of American capital is becoming higher. But it still remains for the Roosevelt administration recovery policies to cap the climax.

Some pressing steps are yet to be taken by American capitalism to complete the adjustments of its structure of national economy. These are now in the making and those workers who may credulously believe that the departure of methods of the Roosevelt administration, from that of its predecessor, will in any way at all mean a departure from the capitalist imperialist and monopoly basis, will experience some rude awakening. To the extent that these methods are new, precisely to that extent do they also serve much more effectively to reinforce the imperialist monopoly basis of American capitalism.

Higher Living Standard an Illusion
What do these methods imply? First of all the completion and further rounding out of the reorganization program already initiated during the crisis. In this, two measures now on the way lend themselves particularly well, and are being utilized to the hilt, for demagogic propaganda fostering illusions of capitalist liberal generosity. We have in mind the question of a return and a stabilization of the purchasing power of the masses and the reorganization of labor power to the productive forces by reduction of working hours. In regard to the first question what is to be expected? Is it a matter of securing what is abstractly called a decent standard of living for the masses? Not at all as far as the capitalist rulers are concerned. It is simply a matter of securing conditions under which surplus values can be realized, and to that extent to stabilize the purchasing power; but on a level distinctly lower than used to be known as the celebrated American standard.

In regard to the second question, that of working hours, it should be noted that during the crisis with industry running at partial capacity, overproduction still resulted in short order. The relative decrease of employed living labor, compared to the amount of crystallized labor and compared to the amount of capital which it set into motion, became transformed into an absolute decrease of necessary labor power.

ing degree, and the bourgeoisie will fight and is fighting against higher taxes. The French government is being forced to the wall by a choice between reducing expenses, which means an open attack on the civil service employees, and inflation as the short and easy way out of debt. At the same time French capitalism is being forced to a sharper open offensive against wages in the effort to lower costs and prices, while in the other imperialist countries the effort is to raise prices. France may quite conceivably be later than other countries in turning upward from crisis to depression, as it was in entering the crisis.

The crisis in Germany shows little improvement, primarily because foreign trade continues to decline in spite of the most vicious attacks by German capitalism on the proletariat in order to reduce wages to a point where it can compete more effectively in the world market. The financial weakness of Germany is expressed by the fact that gold reserves are 9.2% of note circulation; this means high interest rates as a burden on profits, and increasing difficulty in offering liberal financial terms as a stimulus to exports, which was formerly one of the greatest supports for German trade expansion. Production figures and unemployment statistics (the latter being particularly reliable) show that a little, but very little, progress is being made, in spite of the enormous sacrifices which are being extorted from the workers, in meeting the actual crisis, Italy, in spite of the concentration of control of industry and labor in the "total State", has shown no more ability to deal with the crisis than bourgeois-democratic States; the only difference is that the working class has been ground down further and its resistance broken. Gold continues to leave the country, reflecting the inmost thoughts of capital as to the prospects of the regime. Budgetary difficulties are nearly as much of a problem as in France, and are further increased by the grandiose bluff of the "public works construction program".

—B. J. FIELD.

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for the productive forces. With a huge unemployed army this embodied prospects of the class struggle to develop at a rapid pace against the owners of private property. From this there need be no misunderstanding. It is not the welfare of the working class as expressed in shorter working hours which is the concern of the recovery policies. On the contrary; it is the aim to neutralize the unemployed army by taking off a part of the overcapacity and obtain a better working basis in the interests of capitalism.

The third measure in the way, and a keystone in the industrial recovery policies, is the increase of commodity prices. That is so essential for capitalism for its realization of the profits contemplated for the future. What it will mean to the working class, however, is an entirely different matter. It will form part of the bitter experiences which will be their lot under the New Deal. The rise in commodity prices proceeds both by the way of inflation as well as by setting arbitrary monopoly prices.

In this general program there remains still the one most essential step to be accomplished; that is to increase the ration of American capitalism in world economy. It is not at all out of sight in the New Deal. Granted the re-establishment of confidence, within capitalism, in the process of reproduction, which is now so valiantly aimed at, the conditions will be fully prepared for a gigantic offensive upon the world market. A dress rehearsal has already taken place in the London economic conference.

After the Collapse of London Confab

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The period of increasing strains throughout international capitalism is preparing for a period of violent shocks and disturbance, social, political and military. As the Left Opposition has predicted, the cyclical upturn within the framework of capitalism is intimately connected with rising militancy and aggressiveness on the part of the workers. The huge wave of strikes in the United States in the most varied industries and localities, in spite of the illusions offered by the National Recovery Act; the mounting discontent in other countries (in England even the backward farmers are striking against the payment of tithes to the clergy, which have been going on for four hundred years), the growing shadow of approaching war, pile ever-increasing tasks on the shoulders of the Communists, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. Now less than ever can sectarianism, futile gestures which waste energy, and splitting of the revolutionary forces be tolerated without crushing penalties in the future. Clarity of policy and unity in action are imperatively called for by the immediate needs of the world situation.

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Civil War Shakes Cuba; U. S. Ready to Intervene

The political crisis in Cuba appears at last to have reached a definite climax. The pressure of the working class and the petty bourgeois masses aimed at the overthrow of "Butcher" Machado, has thrown a monkey wrench into the impasse by arbitration. Strikes initiated by the revolutionary workers in Havana as a protest against the intervention of Wall Street's viceroy as mediator in the island's politics, spread throughout the island affecting all industries and partaking of the nature of a general political strike. Even the Chamber of Commerce organizations in some places are giving their support to the movement. Mass demonstrations in Havana and other cities have created a situation that at this writing the police and military have been unable as yet to dominate.

Mass Murder

Machine guns are being used indiscriminately against all groups gathering in public places and the list of dead and injured mounts rapidly. While the overwhelming majority of the population is being brought into action, all of the bourgeois opposition groups which are united only in the demand to overthrow the Machado dictatorship, are exerting their chief energies to attempts to canalize the movement and keep it under their control. The Communist party, while not in any sense having the hegemony of even the workers on strike, counts nevertheless with broad sympathies among the masses.

For many months the American imperialists, who have a dominating control of the Cuban sugar industry and of most of the island's minor industries besides, have realized that Machado's regime was in its decay stage and incapable of further serving their interests effectively. Any one of the principal leaders of the opposition (Memecol, Menditea, Gomez), all of whom have extensive interests in the sugar industry themselves together with the imperialists, would be equally willing, given the power, to serve Wall Street interests, and would be able to do so in a less crude and more efficacious manner.

Behind the "Arbitration"

It was the realization that Machado's overthrow could only lead to a long drawn out struggle among those very elements now collaborating in the opposition, which might give the Communists and other extremist elements an opportunity for struggle and growth, that led the Roosevelt administration to seek a means of compromise through mediation. The revolutionary mass movement is not only the workers' protest against the arbitrary interference of the U. S. State Department, but is also an attempt on the part of the Cuban masses to seek the revolutionary way out of the political impasse and the economic crisis which has been continuing in the island ever since the collapse of the sugar industry in 1925.

The colossal failure of American armed intervention in Nicaragua and the scandals attendant on the

occupation of Haiti, have made the State Department reluctant to intervene with armed forces in Latin American countries if other methods can possibly be used. However the situation in Cuba may easily develop to a point where Wall Street will demand armed intervention. Steps are already being taken to facilitate rapid movements of armed forces to Cuba on a moment's notice. Several U. S. marine and navy units are already prepared to embark. Washington dispatches indicate that the 1st Artillery Brigade, now in N. Y. State and about 1,000 marines stationed at Quantico, Va. would be the first to be moved.

In this regard the American Communists must raise the slogan "Hands off Cuba".

The Cuban masses require and Street's government in order to overthrow the dictator who until a few scant months ago was able to continue in power, thanks principally to the support of the American imperialists.

Correct Policy Decisive

Our party in Cuba has the opportunity to play a leading role in the struggles now developing in that country. Its influence in the coming period will depend almost entirely on the correctness with which the party reacts to the situation. If the proper slogans are advanced and the correct tactics pursued, the Communist party may well find itself in the direct leadership of the Cuban working class. In order to achieve this, however, a definite break must be

made with the errors of opportunism and of adventurism, which find their expression in the confusion of national with class slogans and terroristic tendencies. The Left Opposition of the Cuban Party is conducting an intense struggle for the correct Leninist policy.

BULLETIN

As we go to press, we learn that a horrible machine gun fire from the roof of President Machado's palace moved down hundreds of Cuban demonstrators on the streets of Havana and has aroused the entire country. Martial law has been declared. There is danger of immediate armed intervention by American marines. The Cuban militia has been called out by Machado. The populace is urged to defend the country against "foreign imperialism". The Cuban tyrant thereby hopes to win the anti-imperialist forces to his banner.

The workers are beginning to assume the offensive, relying essentially upon their own mass power,

LABOR'S MIGHTY CHALLENGE

Only a few brief weeks since the Industrial Recovery Act went into operation and there is already a husky crop of powerful strikes such as the country has not witnessed for a long time. Are these the harbingers of coming greater, and more intense, struggles? Unquestionably that is the case.

The workers are beginning to assume the offensive, relying essentially upon their own mass power,

U. S. Anti-War Congress Socialists Withdraw from Arrangements Committee

On Labor Day week end, September 1st to 4th, the "United States Congress Against War" will be held in New York City. The official call of the Congress contains the signatures of the Communist party, a number of organizations which it controls, pacifist groups, the I. W. W., and the Socialist party. Recently the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party withdrew from the united front because of criticism against it contained in the Daily Worker. A few words on how this united front was arranged.

Under the paternal guidance of Henri Barbusse—who will be in the United States for the Congress—Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair, members of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, issued an appeal for the September Congress. Suddenly an arrangements committee composed overwhelmingly of Socialist controlled organizations was organized. The Mustelites joined in. Under pressure primarily of pacifist friends of Barbusse in the S. P., lead by Jesse Wallace Hughes of the War Resisters League, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party joined the united front on the condition that it be given adequate

representation on the arrangements committee. This was soon agreed upon. A number of Socialists, Norman Thomas, Julius Gerber, etc. were added to the Committee; a few more Socialists were put on.

Double Game of Stalinists

In the preparations for the Congress the Stalinists played a double game. In the press they continued their old attacks on the Socialists, for the consumption of their own members and "others". At meetings of the arrangements committee they spoke very humbly and even apologized for articles appearing in the Daily Worker attacking the Socialists. This was the picture several weeks ago when the Socialists took the C. P. representatives to task for an article in the Daily and Minor replied by stating that he had not read the article!

Instead of an open appeal to the National Executive Committee of the S. P. by the Communist party for united front against war, the Stalinists employ intermediaries, radical or liberal intellectuals. But this did not help them. The National Executive Committee of the S. P. withdrew from the Congress on the excuse that it was looking for a criticism of it in the Daily Worker of the Socialist leaders. The arrangements committee replied by appealing to the N. E. C. to reconsider its decision. On August 3rd it decided: "That this arrangements committee takes the position that in developing the united front no organization which is carrying out the purposes of the anti-war Congress should be attacked by participating organizations on fields of common work. That all participating organizations shall first place before arrangements committee or the sub-committee empowered to act for it, any and all differences of opinion between the participating organizations relative to the U. S. Congress Against War, before making them public. It is understood, however, that every organization shall be perfectly free to urge its own program with respect to the struggle against war. These assurances which the Arrangements Committee will make effective and which was agreed to by all participating groups including representatives of the Communist party should make fruitful co-operation possible. (Daily Worker—9-8-1933).

Meaning of Non-Aggression Pact

We quote at some length because of the importance of the section. The non-aggression pact could not be more simply written. No criticism "on the field of common work". Does not this mean no criticism of the pacifist and Socialist action and policies on war? Where differences of opinion arise they should first go to the united front committee. Editors of the Daily Worker take note: before writing critical articles of editorials on the anti-war Congress submit it to the arrangements committee! The Stalinists.

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Perspectives of the Upturn

By LEON TROTSKY

This analysis by comrade Trotsky was written in August last year as an introduction to a discussion. It retains all its validity today except for the reference to the German trade union question. The demand contained, correct then, has now been obviated by events.

Business cycles in the post-war period have ceased to constitute the normal machinery of capitalist development, insofar as capitalism, in its entirety, is in a period of decay. But this does not mean that economic fluctuations belong to the past. Immediately after the war, it is true, they lost their cyclical and as to the recovery, at least, their universal character. Both these characteristics, however, up to a certain point, at least, are being revived before our eyes.

The present crisis is of world wide character. This means that world economy whose existence was

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A.F. of L. Leaders Sanction N. R. A. No Strike Policy!

The American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Wm. Green and J. L. Lewis, has entered into a no-strike agreement with the Industrial Recovery Administration. It came as an anti-climax to the numerous strikes in various industries, the most powerful being the one of the Pennsylvania miners which involved at the time of the strike some 70,000 men, threatening to extend to embrace several hundred thousand, even engulfing all the steel industry. That struck into the hearts of the capitalists and labor lieutenants alike. They hurried to reach the no-strike agreement. This is a desperate attempt to hamstring the American workers until the industrial codes with their class collaboration and compulsory arbitration machinery is firmly established.

The no-strike truce is to cover all unions and industries and to remain in effect during the period

of recovery. How long that is to be no one can predict. It provides for an arbitration board of seven members headed by senator Wagner. On this board are two labor representatives, Green and Lewis—the very ones who lead in selling-out labor's right to strike. This is by no means the first base betrayal performed by these reactionary labor leaders. It is only one more added to the record.

We can still remember the no-strike agreement entered into between the A. F. of L. officials and the Hoover administration at the inception of the crisis. It was stipulated to remain in effect during that period of "national emergency". So there we have it. A no-strike agreement with the bosses and their government during the crisis and a no-strike agreement during the period of recovery. Chain the workers more solidly to the chariot of capitalist exploitation while their aspirations and their endeavors to attain a human standard of living are crushed beneath the wheels of the state machinery of suppression.

That is the policy of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. It hits right into the mitt of the Wall St. executives at Washington.

At the very moment when the truce was being signed the Pennsylvania miners lay bleeding, one killed and many wounded by bullets spewed from guns of private plug uglies hired by the coal and steel barons; striking Pennsylvania horey workers were subjected to tear gas attacks by the police; and

striking up-state New York milk farmers were rubbing salt into their limbs, wounded and sore from contact with the state troopers' clubs.

No sooner was the ink on the signatures to the agreement dry than the I. C. F.rick Coke Company struck out from its contents all reference to the union which the miners had organized. It meant that the company has no intention whatever to recognize the miners' right to organize. But the government had no punishment to meet out to defiance from that side. The miners, on the other hand, have in this a clear indication of how their right to organization will fare in the coming arbitration. No sooner was the ink on the signatures dry than the non-union coal operators at the hearing of their code refused to withdraw their open shop qualification from the code.

It is no wonder that the capitalist representatives in the government were eager to obtain a no-strike truce. They recognize perfectly well a labor offensive when they see it. They have first of all the task to satisfy the powerful open-shop trusts which will insist upon moving heaven and earth to prevent unionism from entering their plants. In this the government was fully at the disposal of the trusts. The Washington merry-go-round was set into motion. Airplane to the Pennsylvania strike and, back to Washington to get the signature of the labor leaders, on to Crum Elbow for the approval of the President from his vacation retreat and back to Washington again. It was followed by the labor adviser to the Recovery Administration, McGrady, who covered almost the same route. The fear of an extension of the labor offensive oiled the machinery. It worked well and under high pressure speed. The labor lieutenants of capitalism can now repeat once again: "We do our part".

At first the miners were reluctant to accept the truce. They should not cause any wonder. They have had many bitter experiences of truces and arbitration, and hardly could there be found one example where this sort of intervention has not always served the interest of the bosses. Their reluctance set added machinery into motion. The federal government has opened an investigation into alleged Communist agitation in the Pennsylvania fields. It is to be led by Assistant Federal Attorney Lloyd W. Bryan. In this manner the powers that be are closing in on the workers to lay the basis for permanency of the no-strike policy.

This no-strike truce, by the time it is carried to its final conclusion, will be sure to prove another serious lesson to the American workers. The A. F. of L. leaders will stand out the more clearly in their true light. The role of the state powers as an instrument of coercion will become the more apparent. Its effect will inevitably be to further sharpen the future conflicts bound to develop on a yet much larger scale.

N. R. A. and the Trade Unions Question of Policy is Decisive in the Present Stage

We are entering a new stage in working class developments. This is verified not merely in the appearance of the N. R. A. and the new methods of capitalist co-ordination which it attempts to put into life, but primarily in the new relationship of forces created by the new economic conjuncture. These new methods of co-ordination express the efforts to find new ways of chaining the change in relationship of forces and maintain it within the old bounds.

It is a stage of developing economic struggles over a far flung field which is unfolding before us. At the present moment we see only its small beginnings, however, with a sharpness and acuteness fully indicative of the gigantic tremors which will ensue as these struggles enlarge their scope and intensity. The role that trade unions will play in this next chapter, to be recorded by history in this period, will become one of paramount importance. In the same measure, we can say confidently, will the question of trade union policy be the decisive question of the immediate future. Communists least of all can afford to overlook or ignore this.

No promises can be held out for the upward economic conjuncture. It can be expected only to be of a cumbersome, contradictory nature and heralding deeper plunges into prolonged and more turbulent crises. But that is a question of perspective for which the workers needs to prepare in this present stage. Meanwhile the sharper the action of the masses. The fact of the reduction of unemployment will correspondingly increase the self-confidence of the workers. Even a small change of economic conjuncture in one direction or another does not take place without leaving its mark. The change which is expressed in new workers being hired by the factories breeds a spirit entirely different from the one of the continual lay offs.

With all the efforts of capitalist co-ordination of its economic structure, of creating a gigantic monopoly, the competitive warfare does not cease. It only becomes elevated to a higher stage. On the other hand the workers find themselves in increasing measure united by the process of production. Their interests become constantly hampered down to a more unified level. In this sense the relationship of forces is changing in favor of the workers. The intolerable conditions, however, of the extremely low standard of living imposed upon them during the years of the crisis press ever harder for readjustment. But readjustments are not at all contained in the N. R. A. all demagogic plavoy of higher nominal wages and shorter working hours to the contrary notwithstanding. Readjustments mean struggle. That is what we see initiated today.

It is characteristic that the greatest of the strikes, that of the Pennsylvania miners grew from the

demand for the right to union organization. That can be said also to hold true to a more or less degree for other strikes of a smaller scale. In other words under the N. R. A. the workers are taking advantage of the change toward a more favorable relationship brought about by the turn in conjuncture. The elementary instinct of the workers is to translate the fact of their being united by the process of production into unity in organization. Everywhere there is manifested the tendency of workers seeking organization and it is to be assumed that the new conditions created will immensely further and develop this tendency. But in connection therewith the important question arises: Towards which unions will this working class stream gravitate, towards the conservative unions or towards the so-called revolutionary unions, or will it seek new and independent forms?

It should not be difficult to answer this question. The answer depends in the main upon the political maturity of the American working class. And, in this respect we know that we cannot speak of a working class politically mature of having a tradition of socialist consciousness behind it. As a matter of fact we are not here concerned

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Jackal Press Howls at Trotsky

The announcements that comrade Trotsky, held in Turkey for five years by Stalin's diplomats, is allowed to sojourn in France, has thrown the Stalinist bureaucrats into confusion. For a week, the editors of L'Humanite, organ of the French C. P., have filled its columns with a torrent of filth. Darnaud, one of the editors of L'Humanite, has been instructed by Stalin's agents to sling mud, to concoct detective stories—a stinking literature of provocation worthy of a white guard. The Political Bureau of the French party which was too impotent to organize the slightest action against Fascism, has stirred itself to hysteria to incite the apparatus against Trotsky.

These articles and these bursts of rage will do much to open the workers eyes to the real policy of the bureaucrats. And where do they look for arguments? They look to the Fascists, to Coty! (the arch-reactionary perfume manufacturer and publisher) Read the articles in L'Ami du Peuple (Coty's paper), listen to the cries of hate from the allies of L'Humanite:

"The traitor Trotsky is given permission to sojourn in France. 'One has the right to demand why the government has revoked its decision by authorizing the traitor Trotsky to sully French soil by his presence. . . .

"It is this wretched creature, who has shed French blood, that

they receive in our midst, that they also authorize, it appears, to go to Marseilles and Corsica! (July 23).

Listen to Renaissance, the Russian monarchist daily, the organ of the Gerguloffs:

"The present state of things is such that it is likely that he (Trotsky) will have no lack of visitors. And moreover, perhaps there is reason to predict, that besides those who are expected, there will be others, quite unexpected. . . . July 25).

The Down with the masks! What is behind this campaign, these incitements to murder issued by the political bureau?

That Litvinov sojourns in Royat in the company of Tardieu, very good! That Lunacharsky is officially received on his disembarkment at Paris, perfect! That Muenzenberg obtains a regular passport and the right to carry on his publications, that Paul Schwenk has the authorization, as a Communist deputy in the Prussian Landtag, to organize public meetings in Paris, all very well! Still better, that Radek, a new defender of the Versailles treaty, the order for whose expulsion out of Poland has been cancelled by Pilsudsky, is officially received in Warsaw and entertained by the editor of the biggest Polish bourgeois paper. Yes, all that is very natural: "Socialism in one country" needs that.

(Continued on page 4)

France Friend of USSR--Litvinov

We beg our readers to compare these two quotations First is the declaration made by Litvinov in Paris (Le Temps, July 9.).

"Neither our political nor our economic interests clash with those of France in any part of the world. That is why we consider that nothing should stand in the way of the continuation of a political as well as an economic rapprochement."

Further down, it is announced that Herriot is going to undertake an official mission in the USSR. Peri, "theoretician" of the French party explains in L'Humanite, daily organ of the French Communist Party (July 17th):

"It can be said that the role of leader of the anti-Soviet crusade held for so long by French imperialism, has today passed into other

hands."

What does this signify? We must affirm that this signifies that the USSR, weakened by the defeats of the international proletariat, is resorting to pacts, scraps of paper, particularly, with France the imperialist, the policeman of Europe and the guardian of the Versailles Treaty. Was it not that vicious enemy of the U. S. S. R., W. Churchill, who just said recently at Paris that the French army was the sole guarantee of the security of Europe?

Peri and Co. lie to the proletariat on the USSR in the situation; but the bourgeois press, all praise the Litvinov, does not conceal its opinion of the Soviet situation. Le Temps, of July 17th, publishes a

(Continued on page 4)

Roosevelt's National Police

In the Industrial Recovery Act the Roosevelt Administration has set up a united front between the national government and the capitalists for the purpose of driving wages down to starvation levels. In order to do this with the least possible commotion it is necessary for the government to have its own police, in addition to the army, to use against workers who presume to strike against the attack on their living standards. Such a national police is already being formed.

But it is not the blunt old Hoover Administration that is preparing this new weapon of the bosses. It is Roosevelt who has put through the National Industrial Recovery Act and is directing the capitalist offensive against the workers and now builds up a new machinery of coercion. This shrewd gentleman is now starting a campaign against crime, kidnapping, racketeering, extortion and blackmail. Laws are being prepared giving the government jurisdiction over all crimes interfering with interstate commerce and over all criminal activities involving operations in two or more states.

A liberal interpretation of such laws, and no doubt they will be interpreted with the greatest liberality, gives the government control over all labor disputes. At the time while these laws are being drawn up, the bureaus of investigation, identification and prohibi-

tion are being combined into a new Division of Investigation. This new Division will soon swallow up many other bureaus. Most important of all, the new Division of Investigation will have special squads of police to suppress all crimes coming under Federal jurisdiction. In short a national police department is being created. In view of Roosevelt's methods in the recent past, there is every reason to suspect that the main purpose of the new police is not that of stopping kidnapping and racketeering.

However guesses are not needed. The head of this Division of Investigation is John Edgar Hoover. This man was one of the most active of Attorney General Palmer's red baiters in the early twenties. He was responsible for the deportations of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Ludwig Martens, the Soviet representative to the U. S., and others. He has also served as head of the Bureau of Immigration which has always been notoriously ready to aid the bosses by deporting militant workers. There are few men as capable as Mr. J. E. Hoover for the job of leading a government attack upon the working class. It is clear that with such a man in charge the national police are intended to serve not against the gangsters but against workers who strike for the starvation pay of the N. R. A.

—PETER MORTON.

Lessons of the United Front

(Continued from last issue)

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS
United front plans for common action must be conducted in the open. The workers must fight against any plan to conduct negotiations behind closed doors. No leaders of the working class would ask for such a privilege, only misleaders or ignorant "leaders" would do such. The revolutionary Marxist has nothing to hide from the working class. They conduct their negotiations before the whole working class.

THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR OFFICE BOYS

The task of overthrowing the capitalist system is a great one. The job of defeating the capitalist agents within our ranks is part of this task. If the revolutionary Marxist is not superior to the capitalist agents within our ranks then we are not yet capable of overthrowing the system that has sent these agents into our ranks. The tactic of the united front is a necessary step when preliminary battles between these two camps are fought. It prepares the ground for united action of the class for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

SITTING AT THE SAME TABLE WITH BETRAYERS

The united front action of the working class is not a moral question. It is a question of bringing about the greatest class pressure possible in order to obtain our objective. Misleaders will be exposed in action. You can talk about misleaders year in and year out and they will retain their followers, but once you get them in different united front actions they can be exposed—providing the Marxists know what to do.

That misleaders, betrayers, and fakers can be elected or self-appointed from their organizations to the united front only proves how capable these fakers are in fooling their workers and how important it is for us to put these fakers to the test of action so the rank and file can see their true worth.

The proper application of the united front is the most effective means of exposing misleaders. It is no crime to sit down at the same table with misleaders. It is a crime if you do not know what to give and take in the united front when you sit down with them.

PARLIAMENTARY AND EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY

When we speak of the united front we refer to activity in the extra-parliamentary field and not in the field of parliamentary activity. Participation in parliamentary activity by revolutionists is one of the most delicate and complicated problems. The general rule, in parliamentary activity, is to oppose united front activity. The exceptions are few and far between. Besides this, one must remember that parliamentary activity, as a whole, falls into the category of auxiliary class activity and even this within the framework of the question of when to participate and boycott.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES

Many non-Marxist, but sincere workers are for the united front because they believe we can all get together and become one party fighting the capitalist class. In other words, they propose to do away with all the different political groups and factions and the fight within the political tendencies of the working class. These workers are "half right" and "half wrong". They are correct insofar as the united front tactic brings together different working class organizations for common action against the capitalists. They are wrong, insofar as they think, this tactic will enable the working class to merge all organizations into one big organization. Principle differences are not solved by giving up principles and getting together into one hodge-podge big organization. We would not trade one small organization of active Marxists for the merging of all other organizations into one big hodge-podge. Principle differences are settled in struggle and in action and through the united front. These methods enable the organization and leadership with a correct program to gain the rank and file and expose those organizations that are based upon a wrong program and have misleaders at their head. The united front action puts all organizations to a test and by this test in action the majority of the working class are transformed into one gigantic organization, and the masses are won over to that organization which has a correct program.

If there were no principle difference between organizations there would be no need of a united front. The need would be to iron out the secondary differences and get together into one organization. United front action is the complement of the existence of organizations with principle differences.

(To be continued)

We hear from Miss Hughes of the N. Y. Telegram that as a weapon against intervention a Soviet animal trainer is to train seals to divert the direction of torpedoes in marine warfare. The watery seals will probably prove as effective as the official Stalinist seal.

PINCHOT AND LABOR

New Bourgeois Methods in Pennsylvania Strikes

Both from the point of view of the number of strikes and strikers, on the one hand, and the militancy of the workers on the other, Pennsylvania occupies the center of the stage. Within this area are taking place the strike of the Reading hosiery workers and the struggle of the central western miners. In the eastern section of the state small strikes are occurring in the textile and manufacturing industries against sweat shop conditions. The strike of the miners marks the high water mark thus far of the developing working class offensive.

The capitalist class is moving in this area too. From Philadelphia to Fayette County there is the familiar story of police brutality and the viciousness of hired deputies. The armed forces of the state have also been brought into play. Demagogues in the high places of the state bureaucracy and in the ranks of organized labor have been trained on the workers to dull the edge of their militancy. Betrayal too plays its part. These are the time honored methods of "dealing with labor troubles".

But now for the first time a new element has made its appearance. The political hunkies of Mellon and Morgan have acquired a new weapon. They are beginning to use liberal policies which they accompany with deeds. Mrs. Pinchot, the first lady of the state, appears on picket lines and marches with the strikers; she bawls out the head of the Philadelphia police force for his brutality in dispersing strikers. Pinchot himself, after Roosevelt, appoints a lady to the position of state secretary of labor. She carries out a policy "in the interests of the workers" which brings down on her head the charge of being a "strike fomentor". Pinchot sends troops to the mine strike area to "protect the strikers against the deputies". He blamed the strike on efforts to deprive the miners of the rights guaranteed in the National Recovery Act. "The time has gone by when striking miners can be clubbed into submission by deputy sheriffs with the assistance of the national guard and the state police—and it will not come back while I am governor." (N. Y. Times, August 6, 1933.) Bravo! Bravo!

There are some unkind people who say that all this is not meant sincerely, that Pinchot is keeping up appearances and furthering personal political ambitions. They say that Mrs. Pinchot has her eye fixed on a senatorial seat. They say that the appointment of Miss Carr to the position of state secretary of labor was a blow directed at boss Grundy with whose machine Pinchot had broken in pursuit of a "liberal" reputation.

All this may be true. We are not in the confidence of the Pinchots and we cannot say. At any rate we are ready to believe that the servants of the capitalist class do not serve their masters out of altruistic motives.

The Daily Worker takes a somewhat different view from that of Pinchot's critics. The Daily holds to the idea that the Pinchot variety of demagoguery is the familiar brand the capitalists have been doling out for decades. It notices neither quantitative nor qualitative differences. It applies a correct ABSTRACT formula to all situations and gets the same results.

What is actually taking place in Pennsylvania is what Roosevelt is doing on a national scale—the reorganization of American politics from the capitalist side. The capitalists not only talk of labor's rights and needs. They make a sentence of doing something about it. And under cover of these "concessions" they plot and carry through further attacks in the workers.

The whole of the Pinchot policy fits into the Roosevelt labor policy as a finger fits into a glove. Roosevelt calls for class peace while

he carries out measures "in the interest of the workers"—the NRA—Pinchot does essentially the same. Only through his wife he goes a step farther; he "intervenes" on the side of the strikers! Pinchot's methods are an extension of Roosevelt's. Why do they do this? They do it, because they foresee a rise of working class struggles. They understand that the workers will make attempts to recover some of the ground they lost during the years of the capitalist onslaught. As possible and where it is not possible they seek to prevent as far as they want to continue the results to a minimum.

At the same time the capitalists are trying to put their house in order to launch their assault on the world market. They need a further concentration and centralization of industry and its administration and a reorganization of labor to the reorganized industrial apparatus at the expense of the working class. To carry through this program they have devised the measures embraced by the New Deal, among them the NRA. And to carry them through they need class peace in a period of rising working class struggles. That is why they try to carry measures through under cover of liberalism. The key to the strategy is summed up in the formula: The Europeanization of capitalist politics to prevent the political development of the working class.

—T. STAMM.

SPECIAL SUB OFFER

SUPPORT THE CLUB PLAN FOR TWO DOLLARS

The Militant Club Plan offers the friends and sympathizers of the MILITANT an opportunity to take advantage of a special talking point to obtain new readers and new supporters for the most important Marxist labor weekly in America. Units of the Left Opposition, workers' clubs and individuals should send two dollars to the MILITANT for four half year CLUB PLAN CARDS. These paid CLUB PLAN CARDS should be carried by each member and sympathizer of the MILITANT and should be used at every opportunity to obtain new subs. You resell these cards for 50c. As soon as the paid card is mailed to the MILITANT the new subscriber is placed on the mailing list.

The Friends of the Militant Club of Chicago and several units are active along this line. What about you? Attention-Workers Culture Club; Spartacus Workers Club; Militant Workers Club; and branches of the Left Opposition.

SUB PAID CLUB PLAN CARDS FOR EVERY MEMBER OF THE BRANCH OR WORKERS CLUB. EVERY SUPPORTER OF THE MILITANT SHOULD CARRY A PAID CLUB PLAN CARD.

CORRECTION

Two errors crept into the article by G. Gourou on the "Left Socialists and Our Tasks," due to a mistake in translation and faulty proofreading.

1. The sentence that reads "The center of the Stalinist faction is characterized by a policy of concessions and zig-zags or by a standstill and it is the most conservative of all centrist formations that have ever existed in the workers' movement" should be changed to read "It is the most stable of all centrist formations that have ever existed in the workers' movement."

2. Wherever the article refers to the Left Opposition within the socialist organizations it concerns the Left wings or Left socialist groupings in the reformist organizations and not the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), affiliated to the International Left Opposition.—(Ed.)

A. F. of L. Federal Unions

Federal Labor Unions, chartered directly by the A. F. L., comprising all of the workers within the plant, instead of the organizing of these workers into the several crafts within the plant is the form of organization necessary to meet the new situation under the NRA, according to the A. F. L. labor leaders.

Speaking of the workers engaged in mass production Green says: "There is no way by which these workers may engage in collective bargaining except through the establishment of the federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

What Green says in 1933 was true as well as in 1913 or 1903. These workers could not be organized effectively into craft unions. The question is, will the federal unions answer the new situation? Is the A. F. L. starting out on a new policy? Green says: "In following such a plan of organization the American Federation of Labor is not in any way departing from the form of organization and traditional policy which it has pursued from the beginning."

The labor "leaders" admit that the craft union is not satisfactory and state clearly they intend to continue the same policy of the last century. Then what is the purpose of the federal unions? The A. F.

L. leaders are blowing life into the Federal Unions as an attempt to substitute this form of organization for the industrial unions. To bring to life the old federal form of organization—to meet the demands of the present situation—which can only be fulfilled by the organization of industrial unions based upon the class struggle, is to use the federal unions as buffers and stumbling blocks for our class. When the Left wing and class conscious workers understand the purpose of the A. F. L. in its attempt to substitute the federal unions for the industrial unions, it can use the federal unions as a skeleton structure for the organization of industrial unions. The A. F. L. leaders will try to dissolve the federal unions into craft unions when they become a menace. The Left wing must use them as an enemy industrial unions.

The only effective answer to the NRA is the organizing of powerful INDUSTRIAL UNIONS with a class struggle policy inside and outside of the A. F. L. according to circumstances and conditions. Industrial Unions with a class struggle policy where Communists as well as other political forces have the right of minority and political expression are means of bringing class pressure upon the slave codes of the NRA.

Strikes Spreading in Massachusetts

Shoe Industry

Boston, Mass.—The New England shoe industry is so complicated that even those close to it can hardly keep up with the new turns that present themselves from day to day. The main cause of this is that there are five unions in the field. The Boot and Shoe (A. F. L.) completely discredited in 1929, has recently lost all but a few shops in Boston, but still remains strong in Brockton and the west. Its history is one of devoted service to the manufacturers. Recently it organized the strike-breakers by agreement with the boss in the Hyde (Cambridge) plant where the National Shoe Workers Association is conducting a strike which has now run into fourteen weeks. In Brockton, its stronghold, it is now losing many members and a new mutual group is forming.

Many Unions

The Shoe Workers Protective Union, strong in Haverhill and Lowell, despite its actions in the past, was able to save itself by militant words protesting its desire for amalgamation when the shoe revolt started.

The National Shoe Association, beginning in Lynn, took over practically all of Lynn, Boston and Chelsea (except two large and a few small shops). The leather workers have organized under the name National Leather Workers Association after the bosses refused to settle with a combined National Shoe and Leather Workers Union. The two unions are closely allied.

In Salem, an independent union exists. This is due to the fact that when they went on strike in January they kept the National out of Salem.

T. U. U. L. Union

And finally, we have the Boot, Shoe, and Leather Workers Industrial Union (T.U.U.L.), which has a small group in Boston, Chelsea and Lynn. In these districts, it settled a few small shops with slight increases, and while these victories (?) were blazoned in the Freiheit, the majority of the shoe workers joined the National.

As the crisis deepened, the shoe workers' conditions reached unheard-of depths. Speed-up, yellow dog contracts, ten dollars a week for skilled men, girls on two dollars a week, and forced deposits for the job. The Boot and Shoe Union legalized these outrages. Revolt was in the air. The Boot, Shoe, and Leather Workers Industrial Union (T.U.U.L.) tried to start a strike in a small shop in Chelsea, then they pulled out some workers in one Boston factory, only to have them return to work when they found out who was leading them. (The Party representatives had not impressed the shoe workers favorably in the 1929 struggles).

Left Wing Isolates Itself

In Lynn, the National Shoe Cutters Association, under the leadership of reactionary Mahan, began a campaign to organize the Lynn shoe workers. The whole town turned to its support. Strikes were called and the outstanding feature was the militancy of the rank and file. The Boot, Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union (T.U.U.L.) settled one small shop the day the strike was called and then proceeded to antagonize the new union at every step. Instead of entering the new union or working with it, they campaigned for the T.U.U.L. union with the result that they were left with their original small group of revolutionary workers while the bulk of the shoe workers, now in the National were with radical leadership to fight Mahan and his agreements. While comrade Jack McCarthy in Labor Unity complains of the way in which Mahan put over the agreements, he should add that this was made possible by the fact that the party had kept the radical workers from being present. Mahan should publicly thank them for this.

The National Shoe Cutters Association now became the National Shoe Workers Association and proceeded to organize Boston and Chelsea. The response was remarkable. Instead of 1,500 workers as expected, 7,000 came out in answer to the call. Here again the Party comrades missed a great opportunity, and by maintaining a dyed-hard attitude found themselves separated from the workers. When the Protective leadership under the reactionary Nolan saw which way the wind was blowing, they hastened to propose amalgamation in the near future and so save themselves from extinction. They led the strikes in Lowell, Lawrence and Haverhill.

Prospects of Many Strikes

In the last few days the National has begun an attack on the few open shops left in Lynn and in Boston. Also some of the manufacturers are refusing to abide by the decisions of the state board of arbitration regarding back pay. This stand is taken at the same time that the August 1st agreement offered by the union discard arbitration and demand extensive betterment of working conditions. Thus undoubtedly the immediate future will be marked by many strikes.

T. U. U. L. in the meantime has shifted its position and the members have all gone into the National Shoe Workers Association to

FROM THE MILITANTS

Labor Shows Militancy in Los Angeles Conflicts

Los Angeles.—The seventh week of the strike at the Golden Broom Millinery Shop finds the workers with spirit high and ranks intact. Picket lines have been maintained in the face of the "Red" squad, which probably is the most degenerate collection of strikebreakers in the country.

Eight women have been arrested. The picket line has been subject to most brutal attacks, in which pickets, women as well as men have been slugged and beaten. The events of Friday, July 24, will give an idea of the activities of the "Red" Squad as well as the courage and valor of the strikers.

At 5 o'clock as the picket line was forming, Pfeiffer, lieutenant of the "Red" Squad began donning a pair of gloves. Every picketer knows what that means. The gloves cover brass knuckles. Unflinchingly the strikers maintained their ranks. Squad cars rolled up, twice unloaded from these cars. With face pale the picketers continue.

"Clear the Streets"

"Clear the streets, officers!" commands Pfeiffer. The street is "cleared". Fighting every inch of the way the picketers are forced down the street. On the corner of Eighth Street, the picketers resistance increases. Pfeiffer becomes polite-stricken. "Take your saps out officers—and use them," he shouts. No picketer is intimidated.

The chairman of the strike committee is punched. The picketers demonstrate. Brass knuckled fists strike and blackjacks fly. Comrade C. Curtis is knocked to the ground. He recovers his feet and is whisked off to a doctor where a number of stitches are taken into his scalp.

The picket line stands its ground. The next day all the picketers are there again, early in the morning. Spanish and English speaking, young and old, in a display of solidarity, that is making working class tradition on the west coast. Old time western rebels pay a tribute as the most militant strike in Los Angeles since the McNamara trial. In the heart of reaction in Los Angeles the "white spot" of Harry Chandelers Los Angeles Times to maintain a picket line is a heroic deed. The tribute is well earned.

General Strike Needed

Every militant in the entire needle trades is watching this strike. One thing becomes obvious and that is, that in order to firmly establish union conditions it is necessary to project the idea of a general strike into the millinery industry. Faced with the highly organized association it is absolutely necessary to organize all workers in the entire industry. In the millinery trade the New Deal is a joke. The minimum the bosses agreed to in their code is \$2 lower than the minimum for women in California. The idea of a general strike will undoubtedly find a fertile field awaiting it in the underpaid, speed-up millinery workers.

Agricultural Workers Strike

The recent strike of the 5,000 agricultural workers has been ended with a "victory" for the strikers and the recognition of a union formed under the aegis of the Mexican Consul. Wage rates had been increased to a minimum of \$1.50 for a nine hour day, with all overtime and part time paid at the rate of 20 cents an hour. Before the ink was dry on the agreement the ranchers began breaking the contract.

The situation is still ripe for an aggressive strike. The workers demands have not been satisfied yet—not by far.

T. U. U. L. Outwitted

The T.U.U.L. Agricultural Workers Union was completely outwitted by the Mexican Consul. The leadership of the T.U.U.L. while courageous in action was very weak in strategy. Now it is necessary to make a quick shift in the orientation of the Agricultural Workers Union.

The Archbishop Benjamin Again

About a month ago the Militant printed an account of a meeting held in New York by the local P. S. U. The feature attraction was a eulogy of the Soviet regime by the Archbishop Benjamin, a self-confessed, unabashed Wrangelite priest. At that time the exact nature of the services His Eminence had rendered the White Guard troops of General Baron Peter Wrangel was unknown to us. Nor did the meager notices of the meeting in the Daily Worker enlighten us in this respect.

Some idea of his faithful devotion to the Soviet cause in the dark days of the Civil War may be gleaned from a brief passage in a recent history of the counter-revolution and intervention. "The begin the uphill fight which they should have undertaken in the days of the strike. There they find a militant rank and file willing to listen to them."

Against this background the present problems are (1) those of amalgamation, (2) those connected with the agreements which terminate August 1, and (3) those presented by the federal government in its industrial code.

—W.

An Example of the New Deal

in Operation

Chicago, Ill.—In Chicago, the New Deal, with the N. R. A. as its principal weapon, is now in full swing, attended by much enthusiasm on the part of gullible workers and prosperity hungry employers. Many firms have signed up, and are now operating under the blanket code; while others are preparing to function under individual trade codes.

Where employees have been working more than forty hours, exclusive of certain types of vocations, it will mean shorter hours, with the promise of no reduction in pay and a possible increase in the near future. However, in actual practice, it looks like the same old marked cards are being used in the New Deal.

Hoax of Employment

For example, for many years, in the large Chicago Department stores, it has been customary to hire the great majority of the salesforce on commission basis. Until the great depression set in, some small drawing account or stipend was allowed, but in most cases, this has been taken away. The average customer, unfamiliar with this pay arrangement, on seeing the great number of salespeople in attendance, would naturally conclude the establishment had a large pay roll. Much credit has been taken by the owners and managers of these stores for employing large numbers of employees, with a resultant large pay roll. Merely cheap propaganda.

By working their help on the commission basis, the store paid nothing to such employees unless earned in sales. Even then, the reimbursement has been very small, little more than a bare living, and that gradually reduced by cuts in the commission rates. To add to these miserable conditions, during periods of large sales promotions, extra help has been added on a similar basis, thus making it difficult for the regular force to take advantage of such sales to increase their meager pay and make up for former losses.

300 Workers Laid Off

Now, the blanket code stipulated by the Roosevelt Recovery Plan is being forced on the workers. This means a minimum wage must be paid to all employees of the store. What has been the result? One large store, specializing in low-price merchandise, has accepted the code and has turned out approximately 300 salespeople, many of whom have been with the store for many years.

This same scheme is and will be perpetrated by other stores, offices and factories, resulting in the speed-up process, putting more work and increased responsibility on fewer employees. The administration has plainly warned against speed-up methods and assures the workers they will be protected against this evil. We must not be deceived by this sort of talk.

There is a promise of shorter hours and increased pay. In fact, a veritable paradise awaits the worker, whether he wears a white collar or blue shirt, if he will only rest his confidence in Franklin Delano and allow the great white prophets to guide his destiny.

How long will it take the average worker, especially those now on the Roosevelt bannwagon, to realize the awkward position into which he has been cast? How far distant is the time of disillusionment? While his hours are decreased, and his pay stabilized at the former figure, or possibly increased, he must be made to realize that all the policies of the present administration are pressing forward to a higher cost of living, resulting in a lower standard of living for the working class. Only when the worker begins to realize how little his pay is returning him in necessities of life and the few luxuries desired, will he question the fake altruism of the present government, spokesman for the ruling capitalist class.

While liberals, socialists and labor fakers are tooting their horns and shouting hymns of praise in support of Roosevelt and his New Deal, the Communist party and its factions, particularly the Left Opposition, with its correct Marxist background must rally to the fight to assist in the early destruction of this mirage now being foisted on workers blinded by the glib embellishments of a program to beat down the proletarian class and some elements of the petty bourgeoisie.

Strikes are being outlawed and discouraged. The now gullible workers must be taught that only by struggle can their lot be improved. This is where all organizations of Left and revolutionary tendencies must play leading roles in taking advantage of the bankrupt tactics of capitalism and prepare for its complete liquidation.

—STUART.

YOUTH CLASS IN BOSTON

The Marxian Youth Club in Boston, Mass., will begin a class on the History of the Left Opposition on Monday, August 7th at 8:30 P. M. The class will treat with the fundamental points of difference between the Left Opposition and Stalinism. All young workers are invited to attend and learn. The class will be held at 11 Kenwick St.—To get there take Beacon St. car to St. Mary St., and walk back one block.

—T. STAMM.

Letters from Fascist Germany

From the Lower Rhineland.

June 28, 1933.

On June 26 the information department of the S. S. (Schutz Staff—Fascist Special Corps) succeeded in tracking down the district center and information service of the C. P. G. in the Lower Rhineland. Most of the persons connected with the latter were arrested. At the same time there were arrested in our city a former alderman and a printer. They were charged with the production of Communist leaflets—The Steel-Helmet (nationalist) Workers Camp was dissolved and several of the leading figures imprisoned. The arrests took place under the direction of the S. A. (Storm Troops—Fascist Regulars), who forced their way into the camp with loaded pistols.—The "red air raid over Berlin" is designated in these parts as a provocation of the government.—All workers are disappointed in the utter failure of internationalism. No support anywhere for the German workers! So it happens that sanctimonious protests of foreign social democrats, like that of Juhau in Geneva, is looked upon by many as a ray of light. Everyone is asking: Where is the Soviet Union?

Beginning of July 1933

Those who believe that the Fascist terror is declining, are mistaken. Today a big bicycle raid took place in the proletarian quarters here. Everyone suspected of being a Communist had his bicycle or motorcycle confiscated. The inhabitants here feel like prisoners. The police come every day, and under one pretext or another, sneaks from one worker's rooms to another's, makes arrests, sets the arrested free and then arrests them again, etc.—In a large concern, stickers considered "hostile to the state" were found on the walls of the women's toilet. 18 girls were arrested, three were held in prison for a long time in an effort to get confessions out of them.—In a suburb, six Communists were arrested by S. S. men right on the street, brought to an armory and from there, as heavily wounded, to the local jail.—Political prisoners are no longer allowed to receive visitors or mail, on the grounds of a "certain incident".—In Duesseldorf, several corpses were found near the Griefenberg woods. They were the bodies of persons formerly belonging to the Communist group "North-West Forward". An old comrade, Seif, who was over 60, and had one time been the leader of a workers' concert band, was found dead, with a fractured skull.

FROM SAXONY

At the time of the raid of the People's House, all red flags, books, safes were confiscated. Workers arrested were made to say the Lord's Prayer and to shout "Heil, Hitler!"

The S. A. troops clipped the hair on the workers' heads in the shape of the swastika. The workers were then forced to gather horse-manure over a distance of more than a hundred meters with their bare hands, to smear the walls with it and then to scrub the walls. In the course of this, they were beaten bloody, and forced to beat one another and clip each other's hair. A S. P. G. worker who put on a swastika emblem so as to be able to proceed to work unhindered was found out and sent to the hospital with grave injuries. A worker from a "Proletarian First Aid (Medical)" group has his hands cut up "so that, you jack-ass, you won't be able to bandage anyone any more". Gauze and medicaments were taken away from him.

Days after these raids, scraps of

Threaten Deportation of Penna. Militant

Antonio Bellussi, a militant Italian worker of Luzerne, Pa. is being held for deportation for his activities on behalf of the labor movement by the federal immigration authorities of the New Deal government. Once again it is clearly revealed that despite its liberal phrases the Roosevelt government differs only by a thin veneer from the open deportation policies of the Hoover-Doak administration.

The case of comrade Bellussi shows in bold relief that any capitalist government in the United States, irrespective of its public declarations, follows a policy of victimizing the foreign born worker, sowing seeds of race hatred between him and the native born worker in the factory, mine and workshop, and deporting him when he fights in the interests of his class to the Fascist land of his origin where he is thrown to the tender mercies of the butchers and murderers of militant workers that hold sway in those countries. Only the mass movement of the workers can cement the ties between the native and foreign born workers.

The workers must come to the defense of Bellussi, stay the hand of the deportation agents and keep him from falling into the hands of Mussolini's hangmen.

Do not forget that THE MILITANT needs your support. The very best way to do it is to get a new sub.

No Abatement in Terror, Workers Feel Effect of Party Failure

books torn up, flags and papers destroyed, and bills of skin, strands of hair and large puddles of blood could be seen in the courtyards. A priest from Z., for many years a member of the Nazis, was thought to be a Rabbi because of the beard he had grown. The S. A. lugged him down from a street car and cut off his good Teutonic beard. Badly mangled proletarians were quartered with the insane. Their dependents were given to understand that they could get their release only upon signing a statement that they had not been maltreated. Workers put under "protective arrest" had to pay 2 Marks per day for "protection". In the concentration camps—constant torture, constant inquisitions. For food—mostly potatoes, to be peeled by hand. Any visitors allowed can see and speak to the prisoners only in the presence of Nazi attendants. In the evening the workers are made to stand at attention and to sing patriotic and Fascist songs, all under the threat of blackjacks. When the trade union headquarters and printshops were occupied, the social democratic workers were seized with panic. They had never

The Importance of the 6 Hour Day Slogan Under the N.I.R.A.

Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization of industry and the great swath which the crisis cut in employment, the organized labor movement in its larger part has turned toward the shorter work day as a means of absorbing into industry some part of the great army of unemployed.

The Socialist party and the A. F. of L. have officially gone on record for the six hour day, five day week. It goes without saying that the economic development of the United States makes possible not only a six hour day but even a shorter one.

The blanket code provides a thirty five and forty maximum hour week. Most of the codes submitted provide for forty hours. Thirty-five and forty hour maximum are stagger systems. They will not absorb the unemployed workers. The spokesmen for the electrical workers union stated that to absorb the unemployed in that trade an 11 hour maximum was necessary! On the other hand a forty hour maximum is an increase in hours in some trades.

The contradiction between the official position of organized labor and the labor provisions of the N. I. R. A. creates the condition for a struggle for a shorter day in the interest of the working class. But there is no struggle for the six hour day. Instead the labor fakers make a pretense of opposing the hours stipulated in the various codes. Sidney Hillman appeared before the National Recovery Administration and attacked the forty hours demanded by the bosses on the ground that the average number of hours in the men's clothing industry in 1932 was a fraction over 37. To put men back to work he proposed 35! Others like John L. Lewis have come forward as the champions of the thirty hour week. They are of two kinds. Those that qualify the demand for the thirty hour week by stipulating a five day week or a six day week are making demagogic use of the slogan to retain their leadership and their hold over their followers. Those who do not embellish their fakery with these qualifications are trying to put over a stagger system on the workers. For a maximum of thirty hours a week is not at all the six hour day, five day week. It may and most likely will be a three day week of ten hours.

The reasons for the absence of a militant struggle around the slogan of the six hour day, five day week are many. The A. F. of L. and S. P. bureaucrats are not going to conduct struggles if they can avoid them. And they will lead those workers force upon them only to sell them out or steer them into channels as little harmful to the capitalist class as they can manage. The illusions sown by the NIRA also tend to keep the workers in a state of expectant and hopeful passivity.

But, deeper than these reasons lies the failure of the Communist party to give a correct analysis of the situation, to foresee the blows of the capitalist class and arm the workers with a correct policy and the correct slogans. The party's trade union policy isolated it from the organized working class movement. On the other hand from the beginning of the crisis the party staked its cards on the unemployed movement and attempted to build it as a movement separate and apart from the struggles of the class as a whole and the organized trade union movement. In pursuing this orientation it made unemployment insurance its central slogan. Later it added immediate relief. But at all times in this period it rejected the slogan of the six hour day five day week.

In our thesis for our second na-

believed that Fascism would step right over their trade union headquarters. Among the Communist workers, many said: "Good for them. It won't hurt the swine." But these sentiments of hatred were soon overcome by feelings of being deserted and betrayed. Although the main guilt has to be ascribed to the social democratic leaders, many Communists also accuse their own leadership. Many say that it was necessary to talk less about united front and to do more about it. In a united front, they feel, concessions would have been made from both sides. But the leaders did not want this and now we have: misery. Our cuss and say: "Yes, the leaders could talk big; but now when it is becoming dangerous, they take the money and beat it out of the country." Work in the party has in some parts ceased altogether. The comrades avoid one another. Many think that Fascism will rule only for a short time and that then they will find each other again. Others are afraid because of the Nazis. As to the slogans ordered to be smeared over the walls like "The Red Front Fighters League Still Lives", and the distribution of leaflets calling for a general strike, many have a great aversion towards them and consider them as provocations, because they always accompanied with new persecutions.

The Importance of the 6 Hour Day Slogan Under the N.I.R.A.

dional conference we held out the perspective for what was then the coming period of struggles by the workers against the capitalist offensive. We are now entering that period. The wave of strikes is assuming the character of an offensive. Nearly all of them center around wage increases, shorter hours and union recognition.

In its Open Letter to the Central Committee of the C. P. on February 15, 1931, the Left Opposition with regard to the question of a central slogan and its relation to the stage of the movement: "In each tactics must lay the basis for correct preparation and direction of the next one." And in line with this idea the Opposition proposed "The central immediate demand must be the six hour day without reduction in pay." (Today it is necessary to demand increased pay to keep step with the rising cost of living). And the opposition has consistently advanced this slogan as the means of uniting the employed and the unemployed.

The failure of the Stalinist leadership of our party to lay the basis in the past period for the transition to the present one is the reason the party has been unable thus far to influence the workers in their attitude toward the NIRA. It also explains the failure of the party to build a united movement of the employed and unemployed workers. But the Stalinists have learned nothing from their blundering. Yesterday the six hour day slogan was a propaganda slogan, a slogan of preparation for action. The Stalinists rejected it as counter-revolutionary. They adopted the slogan of the seven hour day. Later it changed its slogan from the seven hour day to the shorter workday with no reduction in pay (Daily Worker of April 8, 1933).

For a time the party was able to get by with this ambiguous and confusionist slogan. But the NIRA gave it its quietus. The codes are specific. The Stalinists who force nothing and reel under the blows of the class struggle were taken by surprise by the Act. In their reaction to it the bankruptcy of their position in the trade union question and the shorter workday was exposed.

Today they are trailing not only the reformists and the labor fakers but even the capitalists. Their policy on the shorter workday is entirely empiric. It varies with each industry and each trade and each code. And in nearly every case it trails the labor fakers. Dubinsky appeared before the NIRA and spoke for the 30 hour week. Hyman of the Industrial Union spoke for the 35 hour week according to the Freiheit and 33 according to the Daily Worker. McMahon of the U. T. W. spoke for a thirty hour week. Ann Burlak of the N. T. W. U. asked for a 30 to 40 hour week.

On the other hand Powers, chairman of a delegation of workers in speaking on the shipbuilding code, demanded the six hour day, five day week (Daily Worker, July 24, 1933). And two days later the New York Times and the Daily Worker reported that Alex Nara of the Lumber Workers Union of the Northwest in speaking on the lumbermen's code, demanded "That the six hour day and five day week be established for the industry as a whole."

The lack of a correct policy by the Stalinists on the question of the shorter workday should be clear. In this respect the party can record only failure. The party is unable to influence the workers in their attitude toward the NIRA. It is seriously handicapped in exposing the fakery of its provisions. It has allowed the reformist and labor fakers to make capital out of the shorter work day for their own

Powerful Anti-Fascist Front in Chile

(Below is an appeal of the National Executive Council of the Anti-Fascist United Front in Chile issued to the workers of that country which can very well serve as a model to be followed by the revolutionary movements of the more advanced countries. This united front was organized at the initiative of the Left Opposition of Chile and the ideas that it advances are primarily those of the Left Opposition.—Ed.)

"The working classes of Italy, Poland and Germany have felt the painful and bloody experience of Fascism.

"Workers: democrats, socialists, Alexanderists, Communists, anarchists or an other tendency—your elementary duty is to defend your family your wages, your class organizations and above all your right to life.

"Exploited comrades, against the feudal bourgeois united front of hunger, reaction, terror and war—strengthen the anti-Fascist united front wherever you work, build committees of struggles for your every day demands and against Fascism.

"The organization participating in the united front will hold preparatory meetings leading up to a great demonstration which will take place on July 1st.

"These are the objectives of the struggle of the Anti-Fascist front

"1. Dissolution and immediate disarmament of the republican militia.

"2. Abrogation of all repressive laws, full freedom of organization, press, to strike and assembly and amnesty for all political prisoners;

"3. For the six hour day, against the cutting of wages and for their proportionate increase to meet the needs of the working class.

"4. For better treatment and relief of the workers, the employees, the unemployed and their families.

"5. Abrogation of all taxes and tariffs on commodities of prime necessity.

"6. Put an end to the seizures of land from the peasants and Indians lower by 50 percent the taxes, the ground rents and the mortgages.

"This program is jointly signed by the following organizations:

"General Confederation of Workers—Workers Federation of Chile—Communist Left (Chilean Section of the I. L. O.)—Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C. I.)—Socialist party—Students Federation—General Association of Chilean Teachers—J. W. W.—United Building Workers Committee—General Union of Cabinet Makers—General Union of Bakers—Employees Federation—Leather Workers Union—Tile Workers Union—Carpenters Defensive Union—Journemen Tailors Union—Young Communist Federation—Founders Defensive Union."

ends and in the interests of the capitalists.

Serious struggles of the workers against the slavery which the NIRA will impose on them are ahead. If the party is going to discharge its duty toward the class it must break through its frightful sectarian isolation. At present it is travelling in the opposite direction. One of the first steps to change the course is a serious analysis of the past course and open admission that its policy on the shorter workday was false. Analysis like the bureaucratic whitewash of the Open Letter only make the confusion deeper. The party must adopt the slogan of the six hour day, five day week with increased pay and approach the A. F. of L. and the S. P. with a serious offer of a united front struggle for it. That is the road to defeat the attack which lies hidden in the wooden horse of the NIRA.

—T. STAMM.

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THE MILITANT
125 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

VI. No. 39 (Whole No. 136)
SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

A Delegate Visits the Soviet Union

From the report of a foreign Communist, member of one of the May delegations which visited the U. S. S. R.

Reception at the station—music, the "Comintern" song (it is now being sung no less often than the Internationale), banners, dancing, pioneers, Comsomsols. At the same time, a crowd of more or less unconcerned onlookers, silent, passive, workers for the most part. Although I am joyfully moved by everything that is going on, I cannot overlook the difference between these two groups. One's attention is caught at once by the bad clothing; almost nobody has whole shoes. Those who are better dressed always have a briefcase in their hands. When we march in columns through the streets, with music and accompanied by enthusiastic Comsomsols—the same picture. Indifferent groups of people on the sidewalks, as far as I can see. One comrade tells us with indignation, "Trotzky is shown in a caricature next to Hitler!" Another says, "You simply cannot imagine how great the potential forces of the Opposition are!" He says it in a half-regretful tone. Fear!

Pessimism and Tiredness
A competent comrade, who works in the film industry, tells us that there has been no progress of late; the films have had to give up a great deal. The dominating tendency is: away from life, from reality; the public is also tired of "heavy" revolutionary subjects. "It is false to believe that slogans or directives come from above to this end; it is simply that pessimism and tiredness have accumulated among all, particularly the intelligentsia." And, after a brief interruption, "By the way, this reflects the economic situation!"

It was very difficult in the winter. Even the privileged foreigners received, for each two persons, eleven pounds of meat a month. The foreign worker is not able to stand the conditions under which the Russian worker has to work. Along with the fact that the Soviet Union had been painted to him as a Socialist paradise, it is not surprising that a number of workers and foremen who returned to Germany have joined the Fascists and are taking an active part in the struggle against Communism.

The difficulties of the newly-arrived foreign worker are especially enormous at the beginning. Only to secure his midday meal, he has to run for days from one office to another, from one organization to another. In general, one of the

Outstanding Impression is Poverty of People and Long Queues

greatest difficulties in every kind of work is the red tape. It is still goul where there is some initiative from below.

At the Marti shipbuilding plant in Leningrad, thanks to local initiative, a sanitary organization was created. The plant itself built the necessary apparatus, including complicated radiologic machinery. This fact, which shows the extent of local initiative, also shows the disorganization of economy. The production of this apparatus in a factory not designed for it naturally caused tenfold higher costs.

We were brought into a bourgeois hotel with orchestra, waiters in rail-coats, etc. An unpleasant contrast to real life. The hotel is intended for the use of foreigners, but the guests are for the most part Soviet and party officials.

Poverty on Sidewalks
On the streets there is much poverty, many sidewalk vendors of matches and cigarettes many homeless people in rags, some as young as 15 to 18 years old. No one concerns himself with them. Even when they are taken away by the militia, they are released again in a day or two. Many peasants with bundles, and in rags, who have come on foot or by rail from the village, sit around on the steps, blocking the traffic with their bundles. They are waiting—for what?

Although I know the Russian language well, the interpreters and accompanying functionaries do not permit any contact with the "outside world". When one asks the interpreter, "Who are these people in rags?", he invariably answers, "Kulaks". A beggar approached our group! "What did he ask?" "He asked me to show him the way", the interpreter answered. Another poor fellow comes along. A woman interpreter steps up to him, takes his hand, and draws him aside. She is putting on a performance of "meeting the acquaintance". We, who came along as a front, understood this and were seized by a deep feeling of shame. We did not look at each other.

In Moscow there is more life than in Leningrad, and living is easier. The people are better dressed, and the shops are not so poverty-stricken. But hours before they open there are enormous lines standing before them. I saw such lines a hundred yards in length and more. The biggest lines are in front of the shops that sell bread without cards.

No Admittance

In Leningrad we wanted to visit the Putilov Works. On the excuse that part of the delegation was tired, this was refused us. The real reason for the refusal was as follows: The Putilov Works were for a time the scene of constant visits. A number of incidents took place. The Putilov workers saw many foreign delegates, who came from capitalist countries, well dressed, well fed. Pointing out that they were more poorly dressed and ill-fed, they put corresponding questions to the foreigners.

The show windows are poor and dirty. Many portraits of Lenin and of Stalin, more of Stalin than of Lenin. One of my acquaintances, a German Communist who has been working a long time in Russia, tells me, "Do you know, there are many people here who have no love for Stalin, there are very many for whom it is better not to speak of Stalin at all. But Lenin is holy, he cannot be touched...."

Why They All Climb On N.R.A. Bandwagon

1. The bankers support the NRA by agreeing to loan more money to obtain more interest.

2. The manufacturers agree to support the NRA by producing more commodities to obtain more industrial profits.

3. The wholesalers agree to support the NRA by selling more commodities to obtain more commercial profits.

4. The retailers agree to support the NRA by selling more commodities at higher prices to obtain more profits.

5. The landlords agree to support the NRA by renting more property to obtain increased rents.

6. The government, the state as the executive committee of the capitalist class passed the NRA in an attempt to save a sick and tottering capitalist system, to establish a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the workers, to eliminate the small producers, and to prepare for a greater international struggle.

7. The labor leaders support the NRA, because they are agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the working class.

8. The farmers will support the NRA if they can obtain higher prices for their products—so they can pay the bankers the money they owe them.

9. The workers—? If they don't support the NRA they are unpatriotic, if they strike they will be outlawed. The workers are asked to support the NRA to enable the capitalist to get out of the crisis—by taking the burden on their backs—in order to compete with the other imperialists on the world market.

economic activity.

The experience of the London Conference reinforces the Roosevelt policy of national concentration and mobilization, and at the same time indicates what its next phase will be. The policy in its full form is—to consolidate American capitalism nationally before proceeding to a new attack on Europe.

It is clear that this attack will take a wide variety of forms—financial, commercial, diplomatic, and military. Correspondingly the preparations for the attack cover a wide range—big navy program, reforestation camps, banking laws, railroad coordination, but above all, the NRA, the unparalleled agency of the capitalist State for the enslavement of the working class.

Roosevelt himself has let no opportunity pass to emphasize the connection between his program and the preparations for war. His inaugural speech openly asked for war-time powers; he linked up the reforestation camps with the army by putting the CCC (Civilian Conservation Camps) under the control of army officers, whose trade paper, the "Army and Navy Journal", boasts of the efficiency of the army in militarizing the untrained city youth; the one tangible result of the famous 3 billion-dollar "public works" program so far has been planning for the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars for armaments, tying up war preparations and the Roosevelt way out of the crisis in a very significant manner; and the Peace Boards now being organized under the NIRA are modeled on the War Labor Boards of Gompers, and say so openly. Even the administration of the NIRA is entrusted to a man who represents the double exploitation of the worker, as a capitalist and as an army man, General Hugh S. Johnson of the U. S. Army and the Moline Plow Co., a true representative of the double face of the Roosevelt program. The American eagle, holding the olive branch of class collaboration in one claw and the arrows of war in the other, is the genuine symbol of NIRA, not the inflated bluebird which decorates the grocery shops.

The closing of the London Conference, and the manner of its closing, constitute a milestone on the road toward the international conflagration toward which all this preparation and mobilization is pointing. No class-conscious worker ever had any illusions as to the possibilities of success of this effort to solve the contradictions of the capitalist world, in the agony of its world-wide crisis, by peace and mutual agreement. But now the demonstration has been made, the academic possibility of international understanding has been eliminated. War has been brought by that so much nearer.

Just as the capitalist class, its executive committee, the State, in America recognize by their actions how closely the question of war is interwoven with the question of the issue out of the crisis, so must the American working class link its struggle against the NRA as a weapon of capitalist exploitation with its struggle against war. Against the class-collaborationism and social-patriotism of the bourgeois ideology which the ruling class is trying to force deeper into the ranks of the working class, with the help of reformist trade-unions and the Socialists, we must build up the working-class organizations of defense and offense, the militant trade union and the mass Communist party, posing the class demands: Higher wages and relief, the six-hour day and the five-day week, unemployment relief and unemployment insurance, the fight against Fascism and the fight against war.

—B. J. FIELD.

The N.R.A. and Trade Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

merely with the smaller section of skilled trades but with the broadest strata of the working class. It is the politically undeveloped workers, who are yet, at least to an extent, captivated by illusions of the N. R. A. who are just breaking away from their former capitalist ideology; it is these workers who are being set into motion and who are gravitating toward the unions. Their direction will inevitably be toward the conservative unions. That is already indicated in the Pennsylvania strikes. They cannot be expected as yet to take the step all the way to militant unionism, nor as yet to seek new independent forms.

Will this not imply a revival and growth of the American Federation of Labor? Undoubtedly it will. Moreover, to a certain extent it will change its basic character in that it will record an influx of proletarians from the heavy industries. What will emerge will be an A. F. of L. altered in composition and compelled to make certain organizational readjustments in order to measure up to new conditions. To a certain degree it will be compelled to give way to pressure from the ranks. Furthermore, a pressure in a militant direction will inevitably assert itself as the struggles grow, and stand as a heavy counter-weight to the capitalist ideology and policy of the leadership. The continued castigation of the A. F. of L. as a company union, and conclusions drawn accordingly, as performed by the official Communist party leadership, in no way solves the problem of attitude to this union. It only adds further confusion and isolation to the militants. It will be said, and well founded upon past experience: The A. F. of L. leadership will continue its policy of betrayal, it will continue its service as labor henchmen of capitalism. True enough, one cannot hold out any hope for a change of outlook in this respect. But betrayals have been facilitated essentially by being left unchallenged from the militants voluntarily remaining on the outside. Under such conditions the reactionary policies of the leadership remain entirely dominant over the mass movement. And, on a whole, that is just the salient fact, the leadership is still dominant in the movement and determine its ideology. The problem is to effectively challenge this leadership and infuse the mass movement with a new militant ideology and lead it to political consciousness.

This poses the old problem again before the Communist movement, but in a new and more pressing form. The place of the Communists first of all within the mass movement. It is therefore necessary to say to the leaders of the official party that now an end must be made to the suicidal and fatal T. U. U. L. policy. It is a splitting policy. It must be substituted by a unity policy. Trade union unity is becoming the paramount issue. The opportunities for its being carried into life are at hand. No one would propose an outright liquidation of all T. U. U. L. unions in disregard of the question of relationship of forces. But the general orientation must be for unification, away from the revolutionary paper unions and for the Left wing to function within the mass movement.

The prospects are excellent for the workers' struggles to deepen and broaden in the coming period.

The Suicide of N. Skrypnik

A Striking Revelation of the Degeneration of Stalinism

On the 7th of July, N. Skrypnik committed suicide. In 1901, Skrypnik, a student, joined the revolutionary movement and soon after became a professional revolutionary, a Bolshevik. He was exiled several times and escaped several times. He spent five years in Siberia. The official biography of Skrypnik states that he took an internationalist position at the beginning of the war and participated actively in the October Revolution. From 1920 up till his death he was Peoples Commissar in the Ukraine. He was not only a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union, a member of the Political Bureau of the C. P. of the Ukraine, but also a member of the E. C. C. I. Only a few months ago his sixteenth anniversary was solemnly celebrated in the U. S. S. R.

Member of Stalin's Private Faction

During the entire period of the internal struggle in the party, Skrypnik together with Kaganovich, Postyshev and others belonged to Stalin's closest and most intimate faction which operated in the Ukraine and set the pace in the struggle and the repressions against the Left Opposition. Consequently this is a matter not only of one of the foremost leaders of the Soviet Union but likewise of a member of Stalin's private faction. Several weeks before Skrypnik committed suicide a campaign was carried out against him in the press. On June 10, the secretary of the Central Committee of the C. P. R., Postyshev, a careerist and one of the most obsequious of Stalin's valets, said at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukraine, addressing himself to Skrypnik: "The work of Ukrainization rests in the hands of all sorts of dogs. These enemies are hiding behind your big back as a member of the Political Bureau." Very little is known today of what Skrypnik said or did.

According to Postyshev, Skrypnik answered that the policy that he had carried out up till that time was correct but that the situation was now changing. To this Postyshev replied: "No, what you have done was as rotten six years ago as it is today." One has only to ask how it is that during these six years (!) none perceived or said that Skrypnik had relations with "bourgeois nationalist and anti-Soviet elements who carry 'party cards in their pocket', that Skrypnik defended these foreign and hostile elements", that he hid all sorts of dogs behind his back. And all that for six whole years!

If these charges have foundation then what has the Central Committee, the Central Commission and the party been doing during these six years?

What Is the Explanation?

The explanation of the Skrypnik case, which ended with his suicide, can only be made on the basis of the processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and the Stalinist apparatus.

It will mean also an opportunity to justify Socialist consciousness to the masses. That is the task of the Communists. Only the Communists can lead in that direction. But it is not sufficient to proclaim the abstract right to this leadership; it is necessary to attain it by deeds. It cannot be accomplished only within the very limited frame of the party controlled independent unions but on the whole field of the class struggle. The essential starting point at this moment, however, lies within the mass unions.

—ABNE SWABECK

ist apparatus. Having lost the last remnants of its authority in the eyes of the masses, the Stalinist leadership is forced still further on the road of repression, of the further strangling of the party which reduces the Leninist vanguard to a soulless and formless mass of mere executors of orders. The growth of discontent and differentiation in the ranks of the party is reflected in the apparatus. The apparatus is no longer a full of itself and therefore cannot fulfill the role which Stalin sets out for it. Stalin is obliged to construct another apparatus in the cadre of this apparatus, that is, a narrow faction of loyalists. By the logic of its development the bureaucratic regime constantly undermines its own basis. For each of his mistakes Stalin sacrifices entire sections of his apparatus. They are branded as traitors, saboteurs or counter-revolutionaries.

Machine Devours Creators

The big as well as the small administrators pay with their head today for Stalin's policy and mistakes of yesterday—for the leadership is "infalible". It does not suffice for him to make scapegoats of culprits in the middle apparatus, he is obliged to reach out to the members of the Central Committee and the E. C. C. I. Stalin condemned Skrypnik without taking the least trouble to furnish any evidence at all in proof of the charges made against him. They say of a member of the C. C. and the E. C. C. I.—and this is not just anyone—"bourgeois nationalist elements, shielded by their membership in the party, were taken into his confidence." That is all the explanation that is made by the C. C. The more Stalin tightens the vise, the more cracks are disclosed. Skrypnik is one of these cracks. The Stalinist machine devours its own creators. And Skrypnik who has helped not little in the creation of this machine has been caught in its coils.

—JOSEPH CARTER

Greek Stalinists Support Bourgeois Party in Elections

Within six months two general elections have taken place in Greece. The last one, which was held in March, resulted in a narrow victory for the Populist party headed by Tsaldaris. A coup d'etat by the Venizelist general Plastiras failed and subsequently Tsaldaris formed a parliamentary government.

The Tsaldaris government proved itself capable of even surpassing its predecessor Venizelos in terrorist measures against the working class and the poor farmers. Nevertheless the Greek finance capital, represented by the Venizelists, could not tolerate a Populist party regime based upon the petty bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudal lords. The former have not yet found it necessary to resort to outright Fascism. But this is in the making, initiated by the Populist party. The latter has organized a combination of Greek nationalists which held its convention on June 26 at Athens. At that time the Greek workers, under leadership of the Archio-Marxists (Left Opposition), organized a counter demonstration in which our comrade Panagiotis was fatally wounded.

The Venizelists challenged the government to conduct a re-election in Saloniki. The challenge was accepted, and the re-elections were held on July 2. The Venizelists listed the support of the agrarians under the reformist Solanopoulos,

Socialists Back Out of Anti-War Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

ists agreed to, or more accurately inspired—in line with the March 5, Communist manifesto—the above statement. They have traveled far from the policy laid down by Lenin for the Communists at the League anti-war conference of the Socialists and Socialists in 1922. Through the Barbusse Anti-War Congress held last August and all the subsequent "anti-war united fronts" they have blurred the line of revolutionary struggle against war in the direction of militant pacifism.

They are now appealing to the Socialist party branches to support the U. S. Congress Against War. J. B. Matthews, a member of the Socialist party who trails along with the Stalinists in its united fronts, has remained on the arrangement committee. One or two Socialist groups may support the Congress, but little more than that can be expected. The sabotage of the leaders of the Socialist party combined with the false course of the Stalinists and their anti-revolutionary position on the united front against war will result in keeping the Socialist workers for the time being away from common action with the Communists.

At the U. S. Congress Against War the Left Opposition delegates will present the revolutionary Communist program against war in contradiction to Stalinist confusion. Lenin's teachings on this important sector of the class struggle, his conception of the united front on war and the need of American working class action against Roosevelt's war program will be raised by the Left Opposition. This will aid in the clarification of both the Communist and Socialist workers and lay the basis for a genuine common action against war and the capitalist offensive.

—JOSEPH CARTER

Jacks Howl at Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

But that Trotsky, true to proletarian internationalism, utilizes the right of asylum in France—no that will not do.

Who does not experience a feeling of indignation and disgust at the base provocations of the Political Bureau? Then it is necessary to look at another aspect of the question: The political bureau is organizing demonstrations against Trotsky, but what has it done against Fascism. What has it done against the Italian and German Fascist ambassadors, against the hounds of the white guards? Not a thing!

No class conscious worker can or will respond to these provocations. The Left Opposition will continue unswervingly on its path with new tenacity it will struggle for the banner of Marx and Lenin and against all revisionists and provocators.

—A. C.

Perspectives of the Upturn

A Marxian Analysis of Business Cycles by L. Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

interrupted by the war years, has made its way in spite of all tariff walls and has proven its powerful reality in painful form. There is every reason to believe that the coming reversal of the trend, in the direction of a business revival—not simultaneously and not with equal strength—will likewise assume a world wide character. In other words, the cyclical movement of capitalism is resorted by the present crisis.

Naturally, we cannot expect full-blooded cycles in the future. In the last two decades before the war, crises had the character of short and not too profound interruptions, while each new upswing left the peak of the preceding one far below. But now we must expect the reverse; profound, long and painful crises, while the upward movements are weak and short-lived. If the old cycles were the mechanism of the broad upward movement, the new ones can only be the mechanism of capitalist decay.

Only, the influence of cyclic changes on the life of the mass of people remains enormous. In a certain sense, it is now more far reaching than ever before. The whole present status of capitalism represents a completed merely ripe, but overripe, pre-quisite for the proletarian revolution. What lags behind is the consciousness of the proletariat, its organization, its leadership. Because of the general instability of the social equilibrium, the conjunctural fluctuations lead to enormous shifts of political power, to revolutionary and counter-revolutionary disturbances.

The bourgeois world, and with it, the social democracy awaits the new upturn in commerce and industry as a savior. The theoreticians of the Comintern are afraid of such a perspective and deny the possibility of an upward turn in

the business cycle curve. To us Marxists, it is perfectly clear that a new revival of business activity would not open a broad avenue out of the crisis, but would lead into a new, still sharper and more painful crisis. On the other hand, the inevitability of a more or less near by change in the business cycle is perfectly evident to us. We must equip ourselves theoretically for the next "post-crisis period" and assume correct points of departure.

The years of crisis have thrown and are throwing the international proletariat back for a whole historical period. Discontent, the wish to escape poverty, hate for the exploiters and their system, all these emotions which are now being suppressed and driven inward by the frightful unemployment and governmental repression, will force their way out with redoubled energy at the first real signs of an industrial revival.

Because of the general situation of present day capital, even in the event of a substantial revival, the employers will not be in a position to make such concessions to the workers as to confine the struggle within the framework of the trade unions. We can predict with assurance that the industrial revival will leave no room even for a return to those conditions of labor which prevailed before the present crisis. The economic conflicts will not only take on a wide scope but also inevitably expand into political movements of a revolutionary character.

The Comintern must strip off the last remnants of the theory of the "third period" must begin to investigate concretely, the economic and social terrain of the struggle, and no longer issue commands according to its own good judgment to the proletarian vanguard but through the latter, guide the real development of the class struggle. In the very first place, the work among the trade-unions. Lovovsky's "third period" must be discarded as well as the third period of Manilsky. Put an end to the policy of self-isolation. With the greatest sharpness must be posed the question of the restoration of the unity of the German trade union movement, through the integration of all R. G. O. members into the mass of the "free trade unions". Every party member who is able to must be obliged to join a trade union.

The development of the economic struggle will put enormous tasks before the reformist bureaucracy. The exploitation of the difficulties of the reformists can best be accomplished by a flexible and enterprising united front policy.

That the Left Opposition, in spite of its small numerical strength, can be in a position to occupy an honorable place in the mass struggle is shown by the experience of the Belgian comrades. In any case, it is the task of the Left Opposition to unfold the questions clearly before the Party, to outline the general perspectives, to formulate slogans of struggle. Now, less than ever, can the Left Opposition be permitted to remain a closed propaganda group, standing aside from the real development of the class struggle.

Every Bolshevik-Leninist must be a member of one mass organization or another, above all, of a trade union. Only under this condition will our organization keep their hand on the pulse of the proletariat and fulfill their role as the vanguard of the vanguard.

—L. TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, Aug. 18, 1932.

N.Y. Upholsterers Strike Bulletin

THREE small shops have signed up with local T. B. of the A. F. of L. This is an entering wedge into the united front of the bosses' association. In spite of daily ads in the papers for scabs, for two weeks, the bosses have failed to get them. The spirit of the men is accordingly high. Plans are under way for organized relief for the strikers.

STRIKE MEDIATOR FROM WASHINGTON IS THE BUNK! Pay no attention to anyone who represents himself as such. He is here ONLY TO SELL YOU OUT like MacGrady, the NIRA representative in the Pennsylvania coal fields. To the shame of John L. Lewis and the United Workers of America, the strike was broken and the men went back at the old conditions. Don't let that happen to you! Only the workers organized into a strong union can enforce your demands.

REGULAR STRIKE MEETINGS of the shops should be held. Not merely the general meeting each day. Men from the shops must be drawn into the strike activity.

Framemakers in the union shop controlled by 1204 of the Carpenters have refused to come out in support of the general strike of framemakers called by the Furniture Workers Industrial Union. Elementary solidarity of the workers in a strike which has become general (over thirty shops involved) demands that these workers be condemned for scabbing and that they be called out in sympathy and help win conditions.

To prevent any misunderstandings, a SITTING COMMITTEE must always accompany the officer of the union who meets with the boss for settlement. The chairman and at least one other member of the shop must be present. This rule must absolutely be adhered to or there is bound to be unsatisfactory results.

The strike needs a DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN posted in a conspicuous place in the strike meeting hall. Here all the news vital to the strike should be published. That will give correct information and pep up the men.

Litvinov and France

(Continued from Page 1)

letter from the USSR which reveals the gravity of the economic situation. How does Litvinov answer this?

Thus: "In spite of their wishes, Mr. P. Berland and the 'Temps'—striving peculiarly to oppose the recent declarations of Paul-Boncour with regard to the USSR—will not be able to prove, by these calumnies, the collapse and the weakness of the Soviet regime."

What does this phrase between the dashes signify? Hasn't one the right to see here a discreet understatement with the French government concerning information on the USSR? How far will they go on this path?

We must explain to the workers that only one force is capable of helping the USSR surmount its difficulties, the organized proletariat, the Communist party. Treaties signed by the USSR are precarious portents; they will be ineffectual against imperialism's will to war!

—From La Verite.

The Development of the Los Angeles Jobless Movement and a Perspective

(Continued from last issue)

The Left wing, finding itself hampered by the predominance of especially backward elements from the county area outside of the city, took the initiative in the organization of the more progressive of the city units into their own center, the Council of City Units of the U. C. R. A. At first it was boycotted by the county organization, but in course of time it continued to develop strength, and while never formally affiliated with the County Council, it was later recognized to the extent of sending an advisory delegate to the weekly meetings of the delegates of the Executive Board of the latter. Delegates from the County Council would also visit meetings of the Executive Committee of the Council of City Units. At first only four of the city units were represented on the Left wing council, but this grew to 14 and at one time to 16.

All the progressive steps taken by the U. C. R. A. through the County Council finally agreed to demand \$20,000. Later it compromised with the city and county—the amount to be reduced to \$6,000 a month at first, and a representative of the Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce was permitted to sign all checks and thus administer the funds, although the U. C. R. A. did all the purchasing and supervised the administration of the Chamber of Commerce representative. The county also agreed to furnish gasoline and oil for the transportation of farm products from those areas where the self-help work was to be distributed by the U. C. R. A.

Meeting the Problem of Evictions

Another problem was presented by the rapidly increasing number

of evictions, as well as shut-offs of gas, light and water. At a meeting of the Council of City Units, at which members of the County Council and the chairman of a State-wide unemployed organization (existing practically only on paper) with which the U. C. R. A. was affiliated, attended as visitors. The latter proposed that we try to legislate a bill to make evictions illegal. The Left wing elements counterposed to this the use of mass pressure, proposing to put the evicted workers back into their homes and to turn on again gas, light and water where they had been turned off. This to be done by a general mobilization of all units under the direction of the leading committee of the unit in the district where the action was to take place.

A resolution to this effect was passed, and the response was enthusiastic. At the first following eviction, over 20 units were mobilized, constituting practically all the city units, out of 65 units in the whole county. The police arrested the evicted worker on the charge of "breaking in". At the trial, several hundred members of the organization were mobilized as witnesses, and the case was handled, not as the defense of the evicted worker as an individual, but as a collective defense of the U. C. R. A. All members accepted responsibility for the action. After 150 witnesses had been heard, and costs of over \$4,500 to the county had been incurred, the evicted worker was acquitted, and the jury (composed of small property owners) made a collection of \$50 for him. In only one or two other cases was it again necessary to defend in court our mass resistance

Turning On Gas and Light

Later we changed our tactics, and instead of putting back the furniture, roped off the streets, pitched tents (which we immediately wired for light from the overhead street lines), made fires, and mobilized our forces with bands, street dancing, singing and speech making, thereby attracting the whole neighborhood and giving our action the widest publicity. This resulted in a rush by the welfare organizations to offer housing or cash, with the promise that if our members were evicted, all we had to do was to notify them and they would either pay his rent or place him elsewhere.

We also adopted the policy of turning on gas, light and water, where they had been shut off by committees. When the city (operating the electrical and water services) or the privately-owned gas company turned them off again, we came back and turned them on again. Where meters had been taken out, we would connect the house directly with the mains, maintaining our own plumbing shop for the purpose. We would put up a label worded as follows, "Do Not Shut Off—By Order of the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association." These cut-offs amounted altogether to tens of thousands of cases, sometimes 50-60 in a single day. The committee consisted of the overwhelming majority of the members, who signed a pledge stating that they would continue to the end, even at the risk of arrest. Thousands of evictions were handled in the same way.

The Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and the State, county and city authorities made frequent efforts, toward the end of 1932, to obtain a detailed registry of our membership. The Left wing consistently refused this, under the slogan of "no paperization—we are self-sufficient", and defeated these efforts.

We also drove off state intervention in the case of Pat Mays, a

former trade unionist, who committed irregularities in handling the warehouse work. We insisted that his case, and its disposition, be handled entirely by the organization, whereas the Right wing elements wanted to take it into court, and the County Council, by a vote of 43 to 3, voted to expel Mays, one of our first victories in the larger organization.

The growth of Communist sympathies during this period as vividly illustrated by the case of Ezra Chase, who was arrested while heading a committee fighting an eviction. He was charged with criminal syndicalism, and the local press began a red-baiting campaign against "Communist leadership in the unemployed movement". After four weeks of propaganda throughout the organization, we brought the question of supporting him before the County Council, and succeeded in getting a resolution passed putting the organization in back of him. The state later dropped the case.

At about this time the Left wing caucus drew up a statement addressed to all labor organizations, pointing out the need of a united front of all progressive elements on a minimum program of substantial state aid to the unemployed, insurance, and support to all workers' struggles and strikes. The Stalinists fought and defeated our proposals for the six-hour day and for long-term credits to the Soviet Union.

Because of the lack of trade union organizations in this area, the response was practically nil. One result was the organization of a broad caucus of the Communist party (which had agreed to colonize members in the U. C. R. A.), the Musketiers, and non-party Left wing elements. This group worked effectively for a period of four months, and succeeded in building up the Council of City Units into a considerable force. More units were added, vigorous mass meetings were held. Out of the new strength grew the renewal of the old demand

for \$50,000 in cash a month for relief, and a demand that emergency work be furnished through the U. C. R. A. These demands were introduced to the County Council by 22 units. At a series of mass meetings, these demands were voiced, together with demands for an increase in the supply of gasoline and oil. The policy of fighting evictions and shut-offs was re-affirmed.

The city and county administrations compromised for a total of \$30,000, the former supplying \$20,000 and the latter \$10,000 a month in cash for relief.

The party groups within the progressive council now began a series of sectarian adventures. They organized several paper organizations, one was called the Independent Organization of the Forced Labor Camps, another Organization of the Homeless Youth and a third the "County Workers' Protective Union". Following this party groups attempted to have the unemployed workers shift their allegiance from the U. C. R. A. in favor of these paper organizations. As a result of these maneuvers, the party was weakened and isolated within the general Left wing, especially as the Right wing by that time had consolidated itself into an effective working force.

After four months of collaboration within the broad Left wing caucus, the party ordered its members to withdraw. Out of about 150, some fifty to sixty remained, contrary to party orders.

A weekly newspaper was started by the Left wing in the second half of 1932, under the control of varied elements but bringing forward a class point of view. About 3,400 copies a week were circulated. While its political level reflected the backwardness of the movement in that stage, it nevertheless has been consciously endeavoring to raise this level. Its persistence was shown by the fact that, after the County Council had taken over the paper originally founded by the Left wing, the latter after a certain period again got out its own paper.

In the whole process of development of the Left wing, the Left Opposition elements played the leading role, posing the class issues, proposing concrete programs and conducting systematic propaganda for its class policies, similarly by constant visiting and speaking to the workers in the units, and above all by prolonged, systematic direct participation in an active and leading capacity in the practical work of the movement. In general, the policies adopted were those of the Left Opposition. The increasing influence of the Left wing over the entire U. C. R. A. is shown by a series of actions, in addition to those mentioned above and to the demonstration before the Board of Supervisors on the milk issue. Such were the resolution to support a farm hands' strike the vote of confidence in the women's milk committee, the resolution of thanks to the Communist lawyer who defended the first evictions case, the resolution against participation of bourgeois politicians in discussions. All were taken after resistance by the organized Right wing elements in the County Council.

Very important also was the work among Mexican and Negro workers who have developed a feeling of full class solidarity in the movement, and the breaking down of barriers among the white workers.

Lessons of the Los Angeles Experience

What general lessons do we draw from this experience in the light of the present perspectives as influenced by the Industrial Recovery Act?

1. We must adjust our strategy in the American labor movement to a short-term perspective, not to the long-term tasks of building a new leadership out of the youth. The State apparatus is being ever more closely intertwined with the class-collaborationist elements in the labor leadership, and first of all with the A. F. of L. The reformists are engaged in an enormous upswing,

and have been able to reach fields which they have not formerly touched for a generation or more. They report enormous organizational gains in steel, coal, textile, auto, metal mining and oil fields.

2. In such a period of upsurge of the elemental labor movement, there is enormous room for Left wing labor elements, which are badly needed for the concrete work of organization. If a cohesive Left wing is built up, and is able to work together in spite of the basic political differences; if such a Left bloc is able to entrench itself into the rising movement, it will not be possible for the Right wing leadership as has been the case before, to kick them out after their organizations are consolidated.

3. If such a policy is not followed, the class-collaborationist elements will consolidate their position and block the road to further development of the progressives, isolating them even more than is now the case.

4. The question of relation of forces within the Left wing cannot continue to be posed as it has been in the past. Confronted with the tremendous scope of the tasks to be performed, the necessity of urgent speed in view of the danger of consolidation of the Right wing, and the weak forces of the individual political groupings out of which a Left wing can be built—whether Left Oppositionists, Stalinists, Musketiers, Wobblies or Anarchists, the Left wing elements must form a united cohesive bloc in order to be effective at all. In the course of the struggle itself, the energy, militancy, and correct policies of the individual sections of the Left wing will undergo profound modifications, as will the relation of their forces.

5. The Los Angeles experience has conclusively shown that even a small group of energetic elements, with revolutionary training and basing themselves solidly on a correct policy, can be very effective and gain great influence within a broad mass movement.

—M. J. ROSE.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]



Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 40 [WHOLE NO. 187] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

LEON TROTSKY

Fascism and Democratic Slogans

1. Is it true that Hitler has destroyed "democratic prejudices"?

The April resolution of the Praesidium of the ECCI "on the present situation in Germany" will, we believe, go down into history as the final testimonial to the bankruptcy of the Comintern of the epoch. The resolution is crowned with a prognosis in which all the vices and prejudices of the Stalinist bureaucracy reach their culmination. "The establishment of an open Fascist dictatorship,"—the resolution proclaims in bold-face type, "accelerates the tempo of the development of a proletarian revolution in Germany by destroying all democratic illusions of the masses and by freeing them from the influence of the social-democracy."

Fascism, it seems, has unexpectedly become the locomotive of history: it destroys democratic illusions, it frees the masses from the influence of the social-democracy, it accelerates the development of the proletarian revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy assigns to Fascism the accomplishment of those basic tasks which it proved itself utterly incapable of solving. The theoretic victory of Fascism is undoubtedly an evidence of the fact that democracy had exhausted itself; but politically, the Fascist regime preserves democratic prejudices, recreates them, inculcates them into the youth and is even capable of imparting to them, for a short time, the greatest strength. Precisely in this consists one of the most important manifestations of the reactionary historic role of Fascism.

Doctrinaires think schematically. Masses think with facts. The working class perceives events not as experiments with this or that "thesis" but as living changes in the fate of the people. The victory of Fascism adds a million times more to the scale of political development than the prognosis for the indefinite future which flows from it. Had a proletarian state grown out of the bankruptcy of democracy, the development of society, as well as the development of mass consciousness would have taken a great leap forward. But as it was, in reality, the victory of Fascism that grew out of the bankruptcy of democracy, the consciousness of the masses is set far back,—of course only temporarily. The smashing of the Weimar democracy by Hitler can no more put an end to the democratic illusions of the masses, than Goering's setting the Reichstag on fire can burn out parliamentary cretinism.

2. The Example of Spain and Italy

For four years in succession we heard that democracy and Fascism do not exclude but supplement each other. How then can the victory of Fascism liquidate democracy once and for all? We would like to have some explanations on this score by Bucharin, Zinoviev, or Manuilsky "himself!"

The military-police dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was declared by the Comintern to be Fascism. But if the victory of Fascism signifies the final liquidation of democratic prejudices, how can it be explained that the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera gave way to a bourgeois republic? It is true that the regime of Rivera was far from being Fascist. But it had, at all events, this much in common with Fascism: it arose as a result of the bankruptcy of the parliamentary regime. This did not prevent it, however, after its own bankruptcy was revealed, from giving way to democratic parliamentarism.

WE NEED MONEY!

"I have a little shadow that goes in and out with me, and what can be the use of it is more than I can see!" runs a poem by Stevenson. And that is how it is with us. Over all our activities hangs a shadow, a financial shadow.

In the immediately past period our shadow was small. From the financial point of view we stood at noon or not far from it. But lately the sun has been going down. And our shadow has been lengthening. Last week it got so long that we couldn't see in front of us and the Militant didn't come out.

But that sun has to rise again and shorten our shadow. A desperate tug made it possible to get out this issue. But what about next week? And the week after?

It isn't at all a bleak future that faces us. Next week's issue or the issue of the week after will carry the details of our new expansion program. That will be the lever to lift us over this temporary obstruction.

In the meantime we need some assistance. And we need it quickly. Let us put our appeal on this basis: the expansion program as our long lever to raise us to a new level; immediate donations to keep us going. Send all funds at once to the Militant, 126 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

One may attempt to say that the Spanish revolution is a proletarian one in its tendencies, and that the social democracy in alliance with other republicans has succeeded in arresting its development at the stage of bourgeois parliamentarism. But this objection, correct in itself, proves only more clearly our idea that if bourgeois democracy succeeded in paralyzing the revolution of the proletariat, this was only due to the fact that under the yoke of the "Fascist" dictatorship, the democratic illusions were not weakened but became stronger.

Have "democratic illusions" disappeared in Italy during the ten years of Mussolini's despotism? This is how Fascists themselves are inclined to picture the state of affairs. In reality, however, democratic illusions are acquiring a new force. During this period, a new generation has been raised up. Politically it has not lived in the conditions of freedom, but it knows full well what Fascism is: this is the raw material for vulgar democracy. The organization "Justice and Liberty" is distributing illegal democratic literature in Italy and not without success. The ideas of democracy are therefore finding adherents, who are ready to sacrifice themselves. Even the flabby generalizations of the liberal monarchist, Count Sforza, are spread in the form of illegal pamphlets. That's how far back Italy has been thrown during these years!

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THE COAL OPERATORS' ORGAN FRAME-UP ON THE MILITANT

The Taylorville, Ill. Breeze, a旬body Coal Co. rag, in its July 20 edition printed a miserable scrawl headlined to give the appearance of an advertisement of The Militant. The purpose of the article was to further the ends of the coal company by adding confusion to the situation facing the miners of Illinois and to attempt to discredit the growing influence of our paper in the minefields.

The Militant of course never did and never could have placed an ad with the Taylorville Breeze and we do not expect to refer to it again until we announce that the coal miners of Illinois have thrown the Leabody Coal Co. and similar parasites off their backs and with them the lickspittle tools of the kind that edit the Taylorville Breeze.

U.S. Imperialism Holds High Cards in Cuban Situation

Machado is out. Cespedes is the new president of Cuba. Tweedle-dum has replaced Tweedledee. Both are from the same political party. The new cabinet intended at first to be a concentration cabinet, but is more "oppositional" character following the categorical demand of the ABC for political recognition, but is as exclusively bourgeois and agreeable to American imperialism as its predecessor was originally.

What is more important than its personnel is the program to which Cespedes has committed it. And the country: a reorganization of surplus labor back to the land; reorganization of enormous debt to the United States; and a trade agreement with the United States over the sugar crop which has been selling below the cost of production.

The details of this three-point program have not yet been made public but their character is indicated by the whole situation. There can be no doubt that all the high cards will repose, as heretofore, in the mitt of Uncle Sam. From Roosevelt to Welles to Cespedes the line is unbroken. The stake of the United States imperialists in Cuba has been estimated from a billion and a quarter to two billions. It reposes principally in sugar, tobacco, and government and private debts. Any program in Cuba will have to base itself on the careful protection of these investments.

Cespedes Welcomes U. S. Warships If confirmation were needed Cespedes has supplied it. He has welcomed the presence of American warships in Cuban waters and has been at pains to reassure the nervous men of Wall Street that he will play the game of serving Yankee profits according to the rules. In short the cast has been changed but the play is still the same. The capitalist press calls this substitution of actors a revolution.

That is how it is at the top of Cuban society. Below it is not so satisfactory to the American puppet masters. The whole nation was in

PROTEST FRAME-UP AGAINST YOUNG ANTI-FASCIST WORKER

Athos Terzani, a young anti-Fascist is being held in the Queens County Jail on a murder indictment which is more flagrant a frame-up than any the labor movement has seen for some time. Terzani has been accused of the murder of one of his fellow worker and comrade-in-arms, Anthony Fierri—no less! The charge of murder against Terzani has as its purpose the shielding of the real criminals—the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America.

The workers are familiar enough with this specie of frame-up. But if proof be needed listen to this statement by Art Smith who boasted before an audience of 1,000 in Philadelphia, on July 23rd that his organization had "murdered" one radical and sent 19 others to a hospital at a New York meeting recently! Enough said!

Workers! Defend Terzani! The bloodthirsty capitalist class must not be permitted to make another labor martyr of Terzani! Send contributions immediately to Herbert Mahler, treasurer, Terzani Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Clubs, Tear Gas, Riot Guns Used in Milk Strike

Richfield Springs, N. Y.

During the last four to five years the farmers in the New York milk district have been exploited to the limit by the big dairy companies. Naturally, therefore, when some slick organizers from up-state began to set up the Dairyman's League the farmers all supported it hoping that it would solve their problems. But they soon learned otherwise. The organizers soldified their own control in the league and though they told the Borden company that they were on their side, the result was that the farmers received even less for their milk than before.

Farmers Get It in the Neck

The dissatisfaction continued to grow, the conditions became unbearable and the farmers appealed to the governor to step in and appoint a Milk Control Board. By that the farmers expected to get a square deal. In March the Milk Control Board was appointed, the farmers were happy, the New Deal apparently was approaching; but again they got it in the neck.

The Milk Control Board classified the various grades of milk and set a price on each classification. The lowest grade was to be that containing three and two-thirds percent of butter fat for which the farmers were to receive 1

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J.L. Lewis Betrays Miners at Coal Hearing

The NRA has blown life into the United Mine Workers Union and has given Lewis and Company a new lease on life. After a score of years of the most brazen betrayals and sell-outs, John L. Lewis is appointed Labor's representative on the NRA. If this were the only act at our disposal to determine what the Roosevelt Government thinks of labor it would be sufficient for condemnation. However, the present government of the imperialists have a long record for the few months they are in power; a record of clever reform, and sugar coated measures for greater subjugation and exploitation.

Workers throughout the mine area are flocking to the folds of the U. M. W. A. Not that they have any faith in Lewis and Company, but because they think that they will get a new deal under the NRA, through the conservative union. "The sell-out in western Penn., by Lewis a few weeks ago and the revolt against Lewis and Company brought out in bold relief what the actual situation is. Nevertheless, the absence of a Left wing in the U. M. W. A., and the capitulationist right wing, class collaboration policies of the Progressive Miners of America all favors the Lewis stronghold upon the miners together with the help of the government.

Lewis and Class Collaboration

Lewis, speaking before the code hearing said: "The Recovery Act means a rebirth—not the bringing into life again of the forces of former years which we have found impossible. It is now a recognized fact by the most disinterested and authoritative opinion, both within and without the industry, that it cannot save itself without involving the cooperation and supervision of the Federal Government." Lewis recognizes that the coal industry is a sick industry even if he did not recognize this as part of the decay of capitalism. He also recognizes that some form of nationalization is necessary to pull the coal industry out of the rut. The NRA, as a first step in this direction, will start this process and if more drastic government steps are necessary they will be taken to insure the operators profits.

Lewis says: "We knew from long experience in the industry that it could only be stabilized and restored to a normal condition through a code which would be national in its scope and its provisions." But Lewis never thought it was necessary to have a national miners policy and national strikes. If Lewis thinks it is good for the operators and the government to have a national policy then why does he not think that such a weapon would also be good in the hands of the miners against the operators. The separate agreements, one after the other; the strikes on district scales, while across the line the other miners worked year after year, all indicate who Lewis is talking about when he thinks a national policy will be good.

According to Lewis, capital and labor benefit as follows: "The employer is the greatest beneficiary of the Recovery Act. On the other hand, what do the workers either by mind or brain, expect from the Recovery Act. Nothing beyond the right to organize and cooperate with the employer, and to receive what they have always been denied—a fair participation in the output of industry." In fact the workers won't even get these crumbs Lewis speaks of.

Lewis and Company is discredited throughout the industry, however the NRA class collaboration plan will give these labor agents a new lease on life. A Left wing must be built in the U.M.W.A. where they

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MASS MEETING THE 2ND AND 3RD INTERNATIONALS AFTER HITLER'S VICTORY

What is Now Happening in the Communist and Socialist Internationals? What Are the Perspectives of Their Future Developments? Can the Socialist Party in Germany Be Revived? Has the Communist Movement Been Destroyed? HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor of the "Militant"

Who has just returned from an extensive visit to various European countries where he had the opportunity to study the Revolutionary Movement First Hand and to Visit the Exiled Bolshevik Leader Leon Trotsky in Turkey and France

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 30 at 8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA — Main Hall Irving Place and 15th Street

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2 Young Negroes Slain by Lynch Law in South

Once again the Negro hating and working class baiting southern bourgeoisie has shown its unique method of meting out justice to that doubly exploited section of the southern proletariat — the Negro.

In the dark hours of early Sunday morning, August 13, Sheriff Shamblin and some deputies decided that for "safety's sake" they were going to transport the three young Negroes, Dan Phipps, A. T. Harden and Elmore Clark, charged with a typically southern felony—murder of a white woman—from Tuscaloosa to the larger city of Birmingham, Alabama. A lonely, untraveled road was picked for the journey. Two cars made up the caravan. One car carrying the sheriff, a deputy or two and the prisoners and another following with deputies "for protection". When the journey was about half completed the sheriff ordered the trailing carful of deputies to return. This was at the darkest and quietest intersection of the road. The sheriff's car with the handcuffed Negroes in it resumed on its way. They had not gone far when a mob waylaid the car, and ordered the sheriff to hand over the Negroes to them. All went as if re-

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N.Y. Furniture Strikers Repulse Manoeuvres of the Employers

The militant strike of over 1500 upholsterers is nearing settlement. The Furniture Manufacturers Association has been brought to terms by one of the greatest strikes in the history of the trade. They have been forced, at the moment when victory is in the grasp of the strikers, to call in the NRA to "mediate the dispute".

And the NRA has acted. On August 15th, the Washington conciliator, Colonel Leopold Phillips, chairman of the Bureau of Conciliation, came to an agreement with the Furniture Manufacturers Association at the Pennsylvania Hotel, (the headquarters of the NRA). The agreement, which was to serve as the "code" for the furniture industry, calls for a "sliding" wage scale beginning with a 60c an hour minimum, in place of the \$1.40 per hour, demanded by the union; a 40

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N. Y. Dress Workers Gain as Strike Ends; One Union Needed

False Policy of Stalinists Leads Left Wing Workers into Blind Alley. Reentry of Left Wing into I.L.G.W. Cannot Be Delayed. Vital for Enforcement of Settlement

The big strike of dressmakers of New York and nearby points for elimination of the sweatshop, which involved some 60,000 workers, has come to a conclusion with some gains for the workers. The strike lasted only a few days but displayed all the power and militancy for which the needle trades workers have become known. It was the most complete strike seen in this industry for a long time.

The overwhelming mass of the workers involved struck under the banner of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, but the I.T.U.L. union dress section made common cause with the former. In this a certain progress must be recorded. At least it is a far cry from the position of the Stalinists, who are in control of the I.T.U.L. union, took in the strike in 1929 when this union declared it would remain on the job in face of the I.L.G.W. strike. But it is a change which is compelled by the hammer blows of events. In essence there has been practically no change in the bankrupt trade union policy of the official party leaders.

International Consolidated Union

It is necessary to add to this that at the present moment the I.T.U.L. union is pressed right up against the wall. Essentially the strike was one to establish recognition of the I.L.G.W. as the sole union in the industry to the exclusion of any other. It will have to be admitted that in this respect the strike also went far toward attaining its objective. The settlement which is arrived at is one between the I.L.G.W. and the manufacturers under theegis of the local NRA administrator, Grover Whalen. It resulted also in the much more complete organization of jobbers and manufacturers. Apparently all accepted the settlement enthusiastically and cheered for Grover Whalen.

This gentleman did not fail to make clear, as an inducement to their opportunity to make an end to the Communist influence in the industry. Proceeding from this the manufacturers will undoubtedly extend recognition to the I.L.G.W. even to shops where it was not formerly recognized. The strike affected practically all shops, organized and

unorganized. Subsequently this union's officers have been kept busy lining up new members, organizing throughout the industry.

Gained 35-Hour Week

There was not a great deal of difference in the demands advanced by the two unions. It would be too much to say that these demands were all gained, but the actual settlement represents an improvement over past actual conditions and, if enforced, will mean a step forward for American labor. Undoubtedly the most important gain is the 35-hour five-day week. In this respect the I.L.G.W. has demanded 30 hours while the I.T.U.L. union demanded 35 hours. Both unions had demanded the abolition of piece work; the settlement, however, retains this system for certain of the crafts, while otherwise the scale agreed upon for week workers represents an improvement from formerly actual conditions obtaining.

This progress made by the New York dressmakers will undoubtedly have its effect in further stimulating the American workers to fight more tenaciously for their right to organize and for a better standard of living regardless of all the empty demagoguery of the NRA and regardless of its class collaboration brakes. One cannot disregard the pernicious class collaboration influences in this strike and its settlement. But it would be idle to conjure what could have been accomplished with a militant union leadership. We know the splendid militant tradition of the rank and file. The important fact remains that this forward step will lend its impetus to new advance elsewhere.

One Union A Necessity

But that is only one side of the question. Another one remains pressing ever harder for a solution. It can perhaps be approached most concretely from the point of view of the situation as existing at this moment in the needle trades. It is common knowledge amongst the rank and file workers that the present essential question is: Will this new agreement be enforced? Such a question could be answered in the affirmative only provided two necessary conditions obtain. First, that the rank and file members are ever watchful of their officials and that the Left wing definitely assert itself in this direction. Secondly, that a unity between the two unions be accomplished in such a way that the Left wing union has become an integral part of the mass movement. In reality the attainment of the former is conditioned upon the latter.

Long since we have specifically proposed this as an orientation for the I.T.U.L. union of that section of the needle trades. We proposed that it seek re-entry into the I.L.G.W. upon the basis of no discrimination, their membership rights and democratic union rights being guaranteed. This was a pressing necessity then and the possibilities for success of such a policy were reasonably good. Today it is even more than a pressing necessity, it is a matter of life and death in the Left wing union. There can be no real progress for the mass movement without such a policy.

THREATEN PUBLIC TRIAL OF BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS IN MOSCOW

The following highly significant incident occurred at the Congress of the United Federation of Teachers (Red Trade Union) of France which met on August 24th in Reims, France.

Pressed by the delegates for an answer and an explanation on the case of Victor-Serge, a Bolshevik-Leninist now in exile, the representative of the Soviet teachers federation stated officially from the platform:

"Victor-Serge as well as other 'Trotskyists' formed part of a counter-revolutionary group which has just been discovered. A public trial will take place in Moscow and their accusations and proofs will be given."

Is this another one of the famous amalgams of Stalin and his thermidorian allies to exterminate the Bolshevik-Leninists, the men who fought in the most dangerous battlefronts of the civil war?

If there is any truth at all in this declaration of the Soviet delegate then it is a sign that the baiting of the Left Opposition can no longer proceed on the old basis. It needs new justification in the eyes of the proletarian vanguard which has grown dubious and alarmed at the continued viciousness of the Stalinist persecutions.

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WHO BREAKS THE STRIKES?

"Wholesale arrests were made today by State troopers and Sheriff's deputies in their effort to break the backbone of the ten-day-old strike of milk producers." This statement appeared in the New York Times of August 11.

Openly and brazenly this mouthpiece of American finance capital proclaims that the sheriff's forces, that is the forces of the political state, of the government, are acting to break a strike by wholesale arrests. Its headline announced: "200 Milk Strikers Seized Up-State." In sub caption appeared the addition, "Trend Pleases Lehmman"—that is, the governor—"He says: 'Sheriffs are Handling Situation Adequately'."

Of course this trend pleases the governor. It equally pleases the big dairy companies. A strike broken by arrests and by previous attacks by state troopers, using tear gas, clubs and riot guns. A strike broken by force and violence.

That is what pleases them. In this instance the strikers were poor farmers. In many others the strikers are workers; but the treatment is the same, and if there is any difference, it is on the side of greater viciousness.

Does any worker still doubt that the government under capitalism, whether it be democratic or republican, functions to protect the rich against the poor. Does any worker doubt that it is a class government functioning to protect the interests of capitalism, to defeat the aims and aspirations of the workers and to beat down their resistance with sledge hammer blows. It is the capitalist state in operation. But this is only one more example added to countless similar experiences. American labor history is replete with these bitter lessons. Many workers' lives have been sacrificed and often their organizations have been laid waste in strike struggles throughout the country. Such is the record of the capitalist ex-

ecutors in the government.

Will the workers draw the necessary conclusions from this? Will they understand that there is no other way to advance their interest? Right now they are being set into motion, pressed forward by economic necessity, but a correct direction cannot at all be assured unless the correct conclusions are drawn from all these experiences.

That implies first of all a recognition of the true nature of present day class society and the function of the capitalist government within it. With that as a basis it will be easier to distinguish the wolves in sheep's clothing, the honey worded labor lieutenants of capitalism who play hand in glove with the government to disorganize and defeat the workers. With that as a basis it will also be easier to recognize the necessity of the working class building its own revolutionary party to carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system of society.

Political Character of Strikes Under N.I.R.A.

The NRA slave codes of the capitalist class and its effects upon the American working class have been explained in the columns of the *Militant* and by the Left Opposition ever since the Gillespie Trade Union Conference prior to the act becoming a law. In the meantime, we have been hammering away on the question of trade union policy in the different industries. A correct analysis of the NRA must first be presented in order to present a correct program of struggle against the new capitalist offensive. Within the ranks of the other forces of the labor movement confusion still reigns. The socialists are still fighting within their organization over the question of an analysis of the NRA. Other groups say little or nothing except that they are against the NRA. The Stalinists are also opposed to the NRA but have not answered the burning question of how to fight the NRA. In every union where they have fought the capitalist and reformers codes, the Stalinists have trailed behind them, not only in demands presented but also in many cases on the demands adopted as a law.

The capitalists projected the NRA in an attempt to solve some of the difficulties confronting them. However, the steps taken in this direction have created other contradictions. The most important of these new contradictions thrown to the surface is the one dealing with the trade unions. When the act became a law, it carried with it the outlawing of strikes as soon as the codes become finally adopted. In the meantime, an increasing number of strikes took place. These were not only a continuation of the wave of strikes just prior to the NRA as an effect of the upturn in production and increase in prices but also as a struggle for the right to organize and to bring pressure to obtain better conditions as the codes were being considered.

This wave of new strikes at the time the codes were being considered threatened to upset the NRA, especially the Penna. mines struggle. A special emergency measure was adopted. The establishment of the NRA Adjustment Board, an arbitration board to consider all strikes. The NRA outlawed strikes after the codes were adopted. The new measure outlawed strikes when the codes were being considered.

This means the workers face a new condition, a war measure condition in the trade union field. Trade union struggles of yesterday are now entirely changed—the new contradiction the capitalists themselves have created. Most of the trade union strikes of the past were listed as industrial and economic struggles and only the outstanding strikes took on a political nature of a high degree. Under the NRA EVERY STRIKE BECOMES A POLITICAL STRIKE AT THE VERY START. A strike against the capitalists is a strike against the STATE.

This brings to the surface as the most important working class question and opposition to the NRA—the workers right to strike, the right to organize. The capitalist intend to smother them in class collaboration, in arbitration and by outlawing them. The class struggle cannot be stopped this way. It can only be warped, providing the Communists are not equal to the task.

In other words, the central point of the workers struggle against the NRA revolves around the Communist answer to the trade union question. All strikes against the capitalists now are political strikes against the capitalist state.

Around the fight against the capitalist, the capitalist government and the capitalist labor agent's NRA slave code, the workers fight for the right to organize, to strike and to live, must be woven the struggle for the other demands of the class at this stage. The stagger plan must be fought by the struggle for the six hour day the five day week with increase in pay. The capitalists relief substitutes must be fought by the struggle for unemployed and social insurance. The question of long term credits to the Soviet Union and recognition of the Soviet Union as against the capitalist maneuvers on this question must be brought to the fore. The struggle of the youth to obtain a social solution and recognition for the youth denied a chance to make a living by the "abolition" of child labor.

The trade union question of the working class has now become the central point of the workers struggle against the NRA and the outlawing of strikes. Violators of the codes can be fined and imprisoned. This means strikers. This means trade unionists.

LIMITED EDITION OF "MY LIFE" ON SALE

Pioneer Publishers has recently obtained a limited number of copies of Leon Trotsky's autobiography "My Life" and is offering them for sale at the special price of \$3.00 a copy. The publisher's price is \$5.00. Make haste and take advantage of this offer. The book can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

AMONG THE YOUTH

L.A. Yipsel Suspended for Union Activity

The following appeal is from a militant Los Angeles Yipsel who has begun to see the reactionary nature of the leadership of the Socialist party and their youth wing, the Y.P.S.L. Her being expelled from class activities on the picket line makes this document more than an appeal—a warning to all revolutionaries within the socialist youth organizations as to the real drift of their leadership towards class collaboration and strike breaking. The appeal speaks for itself.—Ed.

LOS ANGELES.—TO THE MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

COMRADES:—The State Executive Committee has declared me suspended from the Young People's Socialist League without voice or vote for a period of two months pending further investigation of my activity with Communists.

Every member of the Y. P. S. L. must understand the reasons for such arbitrary actions on the part of our leadership—its basic causes and its inevitable consequences.

Charges when brought down to actual facts amount to two things: my activities in the union of my trade, the Needle Trades Workers Union and participation in the United Front Anti-War Conference.

In the name of what working class principles do these "leaders" of working-class youth bring a Yipsel up on charges for belonging to the only militant union in her trade?

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union has proved through struggle that it is a militant union fighting for and in the interests of the working-class.

While the leadership sits back and engages in petty discussions, the cause of the workers is being consistently fought by the Needle Trades Union. Even at this time in the face of brutal police terror, manhandling of women and beating up of men on the picket line, a strike is being waged in a millinery shop under the leadership of the N. T. W. I. U.

Instead of suspending a member for being active in a strike, those members of the State Executive Committee who by their silence and inactivity have tacitly sabotaged the strike, these Yipsel "leaders" should be severely condemned.

The Y. P. S. L. leadership charges me with Anti-War activity with the Communists. Who is accused and who are the accusers? It is now entirely changed—the new contradiction the capitalists themselves have created. Most of the trade union strikes of the past were listed as industrial and economic struggles and only the outstanding strikes took on a political nature of a high degree. Under the NRA EVERY STRIKE BECOMES A POLITICAL STRIKE AT THE VERY START. A strike against the capitalists is a strike against the STATE.

This brings to the surface as the most important working class question and opposition to the NRA—the workers right to strike, the right to organize. The capitalist intend to smother them in class collaboration, in arbitration and by outlawing them. The class struggle cannot be stopped this way. It can only be warped, providing the Communists are not equal to the task.

In other words, the central point of the workers struggle against the NRA revolves around the Communist answer to the trade union question. All strikes against the capitalists now are political strikes against the capitalist state.

Around the fight against the capitalist, the capitalist government and the capitalist labor agent's NRA slave code, the workers fight for the right to organize, to strike and to live, must be woven the struggle for the other demands of the class at this stage. The stagger plan must be fought by the struggle for the six hour day the five day week with increase in pay. The capitalists relief substitutes must be fought by the struggle for unemployed and social insurance. The question of long term credits to the Soviet Union and recognition of the Soviet Union as against the capitalist maneuvers on this question must be brought to the fore. The struggle of the youth to obtain a social solution and recognition for the youth denied a chance to make a living by the "abolition" of child labor.

The trade union question of the working class has now become the central point of the workers struggle against the NRA and the outlawing of strikes. Violators of the codes can be fined and imprisoned. This means strikers. This means trade unionists.

For the Revolution,
FLORENCE WYLE.

Chi. Y.C.L. Bureaucrats Expel 5 Militants

The bureaucrats of the Chicago Y. C. L. have found it necessary once again, to stem the tide of opposition which has developed amongst its members—by expulsions. This is the only answer which the statement endorsed by 6 comrades of the Y. C. L. solicited from the bureaucrats. Five expulsions and Probations for one. The appearance of the statement which precipitated the expulsions was provoked by the German catastrophe and by the tendency on the part of the C. P. to return to its devastating policy of the united front from below which was responsible for the German disaster. The statement concerned itself with these two essential points.

If the young bureaucrats expected that the German defeat and the expulsion of Albert Goldman from the C. P. would be received with silence on the part of the Y. C. L. members, it is only because they from the rank and file that they can no more gauge their sentiment.

The leadership was taken by surprise when it was informed of the actions of and in violation of the no fraternization law, organ-

ized a discussion meeting at which Lydia Beldel and Albert Goldman, prominent party members, spoke and presented their position. Subsequent to this, a debate was arranged in which the Stalinists were compelled to participate. Pressed for a statement, the youth submitted a 9 page document in which they clearly formulated their position upon a number of points.

The statement is introduced by pointing out that utter confusion exists among the leadership as well as the rank and file of the Y. C. L. on the question of the united front and Germany due to constant changes without explanation or analysis. Honesty and clarification are necessary in order to avoid a similar catastrophe. It proceeds to prove that the theory of the united front, from below and the theory of social Fascism advanced by the leadership of the C. P. are mainly responsible for the German defeat. The C. P. must severely condemn its action in Germany and repudiate these erroneous policies.

Hailing the C. L. Manifesto as a turn in the correct direction the statement of the comrades correctly warns from its (the manifesto's) acceptance of a Non-Aggression Pact with the Social Democrats. The document concludes with a remorseless denunciation of the existing bureaucracy within the organization, demanding a change (free discussion, a convention, no bureaucracy, etc.) if the organization is to exist and make progress. In compliance with the demands of the "Rotten Liberalism" Act (expel immediately all who disagree) the comrades were expelled.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs have followed with great interest this and other movements along the same line. These expulsions are indicative of the fact that there are in the Y. C. L. young comrades who are alert to the situation and who have the moral courage to present their view in face of expulsion. One must not look at this group as an isolated one; nor should the comrades consider that their work is now completed. To those who could not be intimidated by threats of expulsion in the face of such important events as Germany, we say that your work has now only begun. You have opened up stifled minds. You have begun to think objectively, to view things honestly. You must not stop at Germany. There is China and Britain, Russia and America. Stalinism has failed miserably. Why? Begin immediately to study these questions. Read the literature of all groups. Do not confine yourself to one side. If you study objectively our position along with others, we are certain that you will be in our ranks before long.

Study is not incompatible with participation in the class struggle. In the revolutionary movement they are inseparable. To those who shout that outside of the Y. C. L. you cannot carry forth work for your class, you must answer: no one has a monopoly on the class struggle.

—T. F.

Education and the Century of Progress

Chicago.—Last month the Chicago Board of Education struck the Chicago public school system a terrific blow which may make it permanent. After a secret meeting instigated by the secret Citizens' Committee they passed a bill which removes all the educational improvements made in the last forty years. They took these steps to end the "over-education" of the youth and to revive the school system from the "fads and frills" which were supposed to be stifling it. In one stroke they cut off, or severely curtailed the parental schools, physical education, junior high schools and a junior college. These measures to revive the "little red school house" are so disastrous that they deserve our immediate attention because they are ominous signs of the decline of the public school system throughout the United States.

This act was the solution of the Board of Education, to a critical financial situation in which the public school system has been in entangled for the last two years due to a premature depletion of the city treasury. For the last two years the public school employees have worked almost gratuitously and meekly like "true" patriots. The sporadic demonstrations they conducted plus a student's strike evoked nothing but a few spurious resolutions from the Board of Education.

B. of E. Chooses Graft

The B. of E. had two courses to choose; either curtail irretrievably the educational facilities of the Chicago schools and thus satisfy the disgruntled, childless taxpayer or follow the Strayer report and eliminate the graft which had eaten up the funds previously. In making their decision they followed the representatives of big business dictators of the citizens' committee, in Chicago. Graft was more favorable to them than an "educated citizen."

This fact is not as strange as it seems. The system of universal compulsory education extant today was instituted when American capitalism was expanding. It needed more trained clerks, professionals, skilled workers, etc., than our private schools could provide. Today our

economic system is declining and needs fewer such servants. This means that it is no longer necessary for the youth to receive that training which was needed till now. The big industrialists and financiers do not think that physical education, junior high schools, free junior colleges and colleges are necessary or even desirable for the children of workers and poor petty bourgeoisie. In fact it is dangerous to have an army of unemployed youth who can think for themselves. They will be able to find no other outlet for their education than in radical thought. In the past, a little education to spice the dish of jingoism and chauvinism did not have bad effects for the capitalist lackeys decided to strengthen the effects of legal narcotics in education; civics and U. S. History. Then they reduced the antidote; scientific method, mathematics, laboratory work, etc., to ineffectiveness.

Decline in Education Marks Capitalist Decay

But this bill did not meet with the approval of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie of Chicago. They do not think that their children are being over-educated. The "little red school house" is an anachronism today and the workers are fighting against its re-establishment. But their protests have so far been of no avail against the Board which ignores them.

At the same time that this fight against education is conducted in Chicago, Chicago is also the scene of festivities which land capitalist civilization and its achievements to the skies—The Century of Progress. Strangely enough this action of the Chicago school authorities is as much a part of the Fair as the machines which decorate its interior. Instead of being a blot on a perfect picture it is an indispensable part of it.

Not only have the last hundred years witnessed the growth of the machine but also it has seen the rise and early stages of the rapid decline of the capitalist system of production. Little over one hundred years ago the young and vigorous capitalism in the United States began one of the wildest rides down the rocky road of history that time has even witnessed. Today it is a decrepit, tottering centurion, exhausted by its ride and rotting with many contradictions and diseases which its mount has helped to intensify.

The editor to the Chicago Fair should note the shrewd line of the Fair on the one hand and the measures for curtailing and degrading public education on the other. They are both integrally connected.

—D. S.

Progressive T. U. Center Disrupted by Right Wing

Some months ago the workers of the midwest states organized a Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee with headquarters at Gillespie, Illinois. The program and policy adopted was presented in the *Militant* some months ago. The whole Left wing approved the program and policy with the exception of a small Right wing led by MacFarlane and Walker, secretary and chairman of the Committee.

We are now informed that a secret meeting was called by the Right wing, over the heads of, and without the knowledge of the duly elected Executive Committee. At this secret meeting the policy was ignored and a new independent "Federation of Labor" was established. The new organization consists of several independent crafts: Teamsters, Motion Picture Operators, Painters, etc., in the small towns of the coal fields, the logical carry and break, that follows the trail of the Progressive Miners Union break with Lewis and Company.

This new craft federation comes to "life" after the NRA takes shape and the workers are flocking into the A. F. of L. where they will be at the mercy of the bosses agents, the labor fakers, unless we build a powerful Left wing.

The whole affair raises a few important questions. First, what is the position of the Right wing leadership of the PMA Percy and Keck, etc.? Now that a big section of the Right wing is ready to make amends with Lewis and Company, and do not want to be hampered by the Left wing or such a Progressive trade union committee, would it not be a wise policy on their part to wipe out the Left wing in the PMA as they are, and kill the Progressive Trade Union move by MacFarlane and others kills the committee.

On the other hand—what are the Stalinists doing. The Stalinists have ideological control of the Executive Committee of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee. What are they going to do about this? They did not use the P.T.U.E.C. for the Cleveland Conference. Will the Stalinists allow the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee to be killed by the Right wing? They cannot prevent the accomplished split, but they can call an executive committee and utilize the PTUEC with its correct policy as a sectional grouping of Left wingers to be connected nationally with the other Left wing bodies.

FROM THE MILITANTS

Examples of N.R.A. at Work in St. Louis

St. Louis.—Comrade Oehler's prediction that the NRA would not solve but intensify the basic contradictions of capitalism is being borne out to the letter here in St. Louis, which may be taken as an example of all the large industrial cities. The basic contradiction of capitalism is the tremendously accelerated growth of productive forces on the one hand, (which throws thousands of workers into the ranks of the unemployed) and a steadily contracting market on the other. It was in a futile attempt to solve this contradiction that the Roosevelt administration came forward with its N. R. A. plan and its demands for a 40 hour week and a minimum wage scale.

Burden Loaded on Workers

A striking example is the garment workers strike reported in another column of the *Militant* by comrade Murphy. The manufacturer signed a code agreeing to the 40 hour week and a minimum wage scale of \$12 a week. In order to preserve their profits the entire burden of the code agreement had to be loaded on to the shoulders of the workers—mostly girls and women—who were already brutally exploited. A piece work scale was worked out by the bosses and handed to the workers. Under this scale many of the girls found it impossible to make their minimum.

Naturally they were fired and more efficient workers hired in their place. It was not a case of "newcomers" or inexperienced girls that were weeded out by this process. On the contrary, many of them were workers who have been employed in the trade from 5 to 10 years. In the shop where our comrade Rose Casano was employed seven girls were thus dismissed but since comrade Casano enjoys a great deal of respect among the girls in her shop, they carried on a militant fight for the seven girls fired and they were reinstated.

The Same Trick

Another concern which is putting across the same scheme is the notoriously low wage concern, the Artistic Furniture Co. The "depression" wages of this outfit was \$1.00 a day for eight hours work. Now since the code has been signed many of the "old" men (old in years as well as in service) have been dismissed because they can't make their minimum. In their place are hired young and husky men, many of whom are former boys drifting into the city, lured by the golden promises of the N. R. A. A "good" upholsterer can make from \$15 to \$18 a week. We have no worthwhile contacts in this factory but are working in that direction. As is to be expected the shop is bitterly anti-union and two workers have already been fired for talking organization.

Last week 500 employees of the Western Cartridge Co. of East Alton, Ill., walked out in a body protesting against the code and demanding a radical revision of it.

The reactionary ILGWU officials have already announced that at this time it is not a question of wages (heaven forbid!) but only the question of union recognition. Taking advantage of this, the Amalgamated which has some influence here, immediately began to talk about wages and shop conditions and because of this has gained additional prestige among the workers. It has also the additional advantage of being backed up by the socialist party, particularly the Yipsels who have shown exceptional courage and militancy on the picket line, not only in the garment workers strike but also in the molders strike at the Jackson-Evans Iron Co.

Interested Only in Pie-Card

The officialdom of the ILGWU is, of course, as in all other A. F. of L. unions interested only in one thing—the dues and the salaries derived from the dues. Hence its bid for the support of the bosses by laying low on the question of wages. But the workers whose exploitation has been doubled and trebled under the NRA will have something to say about this matter and the leadership will be pushed in a "leftward" direction whether they like it or not.

On one occasion during the strike when our comrade Casano was to be refused a place on a committee because it is known that she is a Communist, a girl in her shop who is hostile to Communism, took the floor to protest saying: "Who knows but that we all may be Communists before this thing is over." She was warmly applauded. The A. F. of L. bureaucrats may find it necessary to revise their past policies—in words at least.

Just as the socialist party and the Musteliet act as a brake on the leftward swing of the working masses towards Communism so it is that the Amalgamated acts as a brake in the needle trades to prevent the workers, disgusted with A. F. of L. tactics from finding their way to the class struggle unions.

Stalinists Win with the Mayor

And it is just here where the rub comes in. The Stalinists have no unions worthy of the name. The NTWU is only a shadow, and should comrade Casano step out, its already insignificant influence would melt away like snow under a mid-summer sun. In spite of the noise

Lessons of the United Front

(Continued in this issue)

POLITICAL BLOC (Extra-Parliamentarian)

The united front of working class organizations and a political bloc of two organizations against other organizations are two entirely different things. The same elements enter into both but the relationship is entirely different. It is one thing to call a united front of all organizations and find one or more refusing to join. It is another thing to form a political bloc between two organizations as a united front.

The difference between a united front and political blocs as FORMS of united action cannot be settled within the frame work of the discussion on the question of the united front tactic. The differences between two forms can only be understood properly when the theoretical and political questions underlying the question of the united front are considered. It is often possible for organizations of opposite theoretical positions to momentarily pose tactical questions in the same light, as far as surface indications reveal. Such "similarity" is not sufficient grounds for a political bloc. Such a "united front" would only result in blundering and confusing the basic theoretical and more fundamental differences between these organizations. Such is the question and relation of the Right, Centre and Left Opposition.

Davenport Stalinists Use Hooligans

Davenport, Iowa.—The first open air meeting of the branch was held Saturday, August 5, 1933, at the Washington Square where about fifty workers listened to comrade Papum exposing the NRA. The party as usual became frantic due to the renewed activity of the Left Opposition, and immediately methods were devised to disrupt the open air meeting.

They got hold of a degenerate, with whom it is well-known there is something wrong in his upper story, to get up and rave at the speaker, threatening arrests and howling at the top of his voice. But the meeting was not broken up in spite of this rotten method of the party who have to resort to such means because they cannot answer the conclusive arguments of the Left Opposition. It is well-known that the party member called and hauled this depraved individual by the name of Frank Holliday to the place of the meeting.

Not satisfied with the threats that were made at the meeting the party leaders mobilized for the extermination of the Left Opposition, by force, if necessary. So they proceeded to get one of their erstwhile leaders, Ray Secoy, drunk and on Wednesday August 16th they waylaid, with another gangster name unknown, comrade Papum who was on his way to his fishing camp along a lonely road and proceeded to attack him. The fight was only stopped by a stranger and his wife from a house nearby.

It would not be amiss to describe this Ray Secoy who is aspiring for leadership in the party, but who was defeated, due to the activities of the Left Opposition, for the Section Executive Committee at the last election on which he had served up until that time. He is known locally as a degenerate of the worst type. He is trying to utilize the same methods as he previously did in his hijacking of workers by hold-ups for which he has served time once in a penitentiary and another time in the local county jail.

These local leaders of the party are especially vicious due to the exposure by the Left Opposition of their incorrect policies, by the fact that the district leadership of the party, in District 8, has made them scapegoats for the wrong policies of the Central Committee and the District Committee.

It is evident by the above actions that the party leadership will stop at nothing to prevent the Left Opposition from being active and presenting its ideas to the workers of the tri-cities.

The Left Opposition of the tri-cities appeals to all workers to combat such terrorist activities as the party leadership is at this time displaying in order to cover up their miserable failures which are only a part of the national fallacies brought about by their incorrect tactics and policies.

—BETTY ROWLAND.

St. Louis Dress Workers Strike for Recognition

St. Louis.—The ILGWU of St. Louis has declared a general walk-out for the industry. To date about 90 percent of the shops have joined the strike. Some 2,500 workers out of the 3,000 employed in the trade have walked out and more are leaving the shops every day. The largest and nationally known shops are effected by the strike.

The reason for the strike is that the bosses have signed the NRA but refuse to pay the minimum wage. The grievance of the place workers is that under the present rates they cannot make the minimum pay. To meet this condition the bosses speed up the machines and if the workers cannot make the minimum they are fired.

THE MARXIAN CONCEPT OF THE UNITED FRONT

The purpose of the united front is, (1) to bring to bear the greatest amount of working class pressure possible against the capitalist system, and (2) to gain our class objective and immediate class interest, (3) to train and educate the masses and their organizations in action, (4) to expose in action all misleaders, agents of the capitalists, and opportunists, and (5) to win the rank and file to class struggle and revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. This leadership cannot be guaranteed in advance, it must be won in action. The united front must at no time result in a compromise on principles.

The united front is (1) a temporary agreement, (2) between working class organizations, (3) on immediate demands, (4) in action, (5) where each organization retains its organizational independence, (6) refrains from slander and personal attacks, (7) but maintains the right of minority expression and political criticism, (8) no exclusion of working class organizations, (9) and where continued effort must be made to bring into the united front those organizations that refuse to participate.

The organization with a Marxian program has nothing to lose and everything to gain by united action of the working class. Marxism will stand all tests in theory and practice.

—HUOO OEHLER.

Some of the shops pay the code scale to some workers and not to others. Lay-offs are prevalent. About 20 pay checks were photographed which ranged from \$1.00 for three days and \$3.50 for four days.

The Yipsels have some influence among the shops and have shown great militancy on the picket line. Yesterday 18 pickets were arrested for picketing the shops still working. For singing the Internationale and Solidarity they were arrested on the charge of "disturbing the peace". Among the pickets arrested was comrade Rose Casano of the Left Opposition.

The speeches by the workers are fair but they lack leadership. About all the A. F. of L. gives them is a few radical phrases and then: "We must stick to our (!) government and the N. R. A." The same reactionary stuff over and again.

But in spite of the labor shames the workers are militant. The walls of the old jail echoed with the strains of the Internationale. The cops just stood and gaped in astonishment.

Comrade Casano has been doing fine work and was one of the first to get the workers in her shop to down tools 100 percent. About 100 workers were employed in her shop. The L. O. has offered speakers as well as pickets to the strikers. It is doing all it can to help the strikers and gain influence among them. The Stalinists are nowhere to be seen.

—LLOYD MURPHY.

N. Y. FOOD WORKERS MEET FOR UNITED ACTION

Last Tuesday, Aug. 22, in response to a call by the Amalgamated Food Workers Union for united action of all food workers organizations, a mass meeting was held in Palm Gardens Hall, N. Y. More than one thousand workers were present. The TITUL was at hand but the vague references made by its speaker on the subject of united action under a united organization called forth a very cool reception from the workers. Gitlow, (representing the A. F. W. U.) on the contrary, played up this very thing that the party speaker omitted and fairly brought down the house.

Impressions of Fascist Germany

When I arrived in Berlin during the middle of May I went directly to the home of my good comrade S. On my previous visit in February he had invited me to come next time to stay at his house. Now I found a police seal on the door and somehow it helped me to make up my mind very quickly, to get out of the house and make no inquiries. I knew then that both comrade S. and his wife were in the clutches of the fascists. The vision of the savage beatings with steel rods always applied to Communist prisoners sent a cold shiver down my spine.

Halls upon workers' homes were still going on, no less dramatically but more "ordnungsgehemmt". Formerly the groans of the victims could be heard on the outside. Now all sounds were muffled. But the terror was still used by the Nazis to show the possible doubters who was the master. It also provided an outlet for the acrimonious hatred deliberately fostered and tempered to a white heat in every Storm Trooper. Swift and thoroughness had now been added to improve the earlier dramatic staging. These had become specific features of the process of German Fascism taking over power and consolidating its gains.

What a difference in the picture now presented from that of my first visit in February! Then there was an atmosphere as if before a big battle in which the opposing forces had not yet come to grips, had not yet really measured strength. A disquieting anxiety prevailed, a painful uncertainty as to what the next step would be. It was in the air, it was everywhere. Could it be possible? Were the fascists really going to be victorious? Apparently there was yet time to stop the onrushing horde. But time was precious. And then, in May, it had been settled, virtually without a battle. The important features of the "Third Reich" were visible and even the Nazis were surprised at the ease of their victory.

Most typical of the German scene now was the artificially drummed up enthusiasm flowing over into spectacular staged demonstrations. "Celebrating the National Uprising" became the general title covering them all, but almost any occasion could be used for a demonstration; and, besides, they served admirably to feed illusions to the Nazi plebeian following. Highlighting the rehabilitated imperial crown with the Swastika on public buildings meant the careful setting of the stage for a demonstration. Sometimes, in the rush, the Storm Troopers would forget about the national colors and the Swastika would go up alone; but the "enthousiastic" demonstrators did not seem to notice the difference. When the new nationalist reactionary spirit demanded a change of street names, their former obnoxious Marxian, or even more republican coloration, as for example changing Platz der Republik to Adolf Hitler Platz, or the rechristening of such streets as Bruberger Strasse, Karl Marx Strasse, Bebel Strasse, Eberts Allee, etc. a demonstration with the solemnity of a religious ritual would be staged. Similarly at the enunciation of a new program of worthless promises or the installation of new officials under the "Gleichschaltung". Even the burning of Marxian books had to have its festive setting in which would be sacrificed to the devouring flames the literary treasures not only of the German working class movement but also that which gave expression to the country's progress in science and culture.

The greatest demonstrations, from the point of view of numbers, were those on May Day which was converted into a Nazi day of labor. In a certain sense these Nazi May Day demonstrations became a test of strength of the regime. To the workers, with socialist and trade union tradition of long standing, it meant adding insult to injury. Still they could not escape it. For them attendance was made compulsory. Berlin on that day therefore found the bulk of its proletarian marching dejectedly with their footsteps heavy and their heads bowed in agony. In the Ruhr territory on the other hand, I was told, that in most cases they sent stories about along the marching ranks which in a jocular fashion took about the size of the potatoes this year; showing the clenched fist to indicate size (the "Red Front" salute).

May 2 witnessed the final and complete taking over of the trade unions by the Nazis, including their worst stockpiled treasures, and the arrest of practically every trade union official, from the top down. Outstanding among them were Lelup and Grassmann. Both had particularly distinguished themselves by their abject servility. Now the official report of the arrests gave them special mention saying laconically: "transferred to a hos-

An Eye-witness Account of Conditions in Hitler's Regime

pitia". Of course, this was all done in typical Nazi fashion with appropriate proclamations about "the furthering of the interests of national elevation" and the protection of the united people against the "Marxist Bonzen". In reality it was no further important step in the Fascist process of "Gleichschaltung". Evidently they had reason to consider the strength of their regime as having fully stood the test; that at least was the verdict of Goebbels at a huge Berlin meeting of his party functionaries held a couple of weeks later. He presented what he called the recent major political achievements, enumerating for special emphasis four different events. First there were in the field of foreign affairs the demand at Geneva for German arms equality and Hitler's speech on foreign policy. At home there were the May Day demonstrations and the capture of the trade unions. Incidentally this also gives a picture of the Nationalist Socialist party political methods; the method of constantly keeping the followers intoxicated with the spirit of marching from victory to victory. All that was lacking was some ceremonial self-criticism. But that is not yet in the faculty of the Nazis.

"I mean that the National Socialist movement is to become the State," Goebbels said at this meeting. "In this the old guard possess an unquestioned privilege," he added amid the thunderous applause of the horde. A little later the party decided that the original hundred thousand members were to be provided with jobs immediately. Surely one could then better understand the reasons for the campaign to freeze out all so-called non-Aryans from their economic and professional positions. One of the very attentive observers of political developments in Germany at that time said to me: "On the day of the Jewish boycott the Storm Troopers had been whipped up to such a frenzy that a mere signal could have turned the whole affair into all the horrors of a Bartholomew's Night." The anti-Jewish campaign was gruesome in all its revolting details. But it was essentially a by-product of the real aim, namely, to cow the working class with a reign of terror.

It was difficult to imagine the German working class cowed or in abject submission. But a look at the Berlin North district soon convinced me that it was so. I stopped one day to read one of the Ullstein papers displayed for passersby. Beside me were two women. Their murmur and neat appearance told they were from the working class quarters. Both had their attention attracted to an article dealing with the trial of the Altona Communists.

3. Can the Social-Democracy Regenerate Itself?

German comrades testify that the social democratic workers and even many of the social democratic bureaucrats are "disillusioned" with democracy. We must extract all we can out of the critical moods of the reformist workers, in the interests of their revolutionary education. But at the same time the extent of the reformists' "disillusionment" must be clearly understood. The social democratic high priests scold democracy so as to justify themselves. Unwilling to admit that they showed themselves as contemptible cowards, incapable of fighting for the democracy which they created and for their soft berths in it, these gentlemen shift the blame from themselves to the intangible democracy. As we see, this radicalism is not only cheap but also spurious through and through! Let the bourgeoisie only beckon these "disillusioned" ones with its little finger and they will run on all fours to a new coalition with it. It is true, in the mass of social-democratic workers a real disgust with the betrayals and mirages of democracy is being born. But to what extent? The greater half of the seven to eight million social democratic voters is in a state of the greatest confusion, glib passivity, and capitulation to the victors. At the same time, a new generation will be forming under the heel of Fascism, a generation to which the Weimar constitution will be an historic legend. What line then will the political crystallization within the working class follow? This depends upon many conditions, among them, of course, also upon our policy.

Historically the direct replacement of the Fascist regime by a workers' state is not excluded. But for the realization of this possi-

and the demand for the death penalty. Their eyes met in silence. It was a mutual dreadfully frightened expression. At that moment two trucks loaded to the bumpers with Nazi Storm Troopers approached. Their "Heilmurde" split the air. The women hurried away. That excessively charged atmosphere made one feel uncomfortable. A couple of weeks later I learned that the supreme penalty had been imposed upon four of the Altona prisoners. When receiving the verdict, the leader of the group, Meckler declared: "The death penalty is the highest honor to a revolutionist."

In February the fascists were only beginning their expansion, reaching out for every position within the state apparatus, cutting the ground from underneath their opponents while, at the same time, also moving by way of head-on collision. But the advance was still quite chaotic. The streets swarmed with the Nazi ruffians, moving in detachments in the process of taking possession, but not yet entirely sure of themselves. Members of the Steelhelmets would meet, click their heels and salute in the stiff Prussian military fashion, causing a jealous animosity among the Storm Troopers. Here and there could still be seen groups of unformed Reichsbannermen; but they were much more uncertain. The workers everywhere carried the expressions of bewilderment and fearful anticipations.

Did the German workers fall in the decisive hour because they were not ready to resist the Fascist ad-

vance? No, that would not be the conclusion of the attentive observer. For that there were too many examples of actual readiness. There were the instances of general strikes in the free city of Lubeck and in the city of Stassfurt protesting against the Nazi murders. In both cases all wheels were brought to a standstill. For anti-Fascist demonstrations would turn out oftentimes hundreds of thousands eagerly awaiting a decisive leadership. In Hamburg, at the time when Nazi Storm Troopers began to occupy the workers' headquarters, thousands of workers gathered in front of their buildings, ready to defend it. But the officials on the inside who were more frightened at this mass demonstration and anyway suspected a Communist plot, beseeched and enjoined their members to stay at home.

One incident of workers' bravery I observed personally. Although I arrived only as the smoke cleared away. It was at Neukoelln where I came one evening when Storm Troopers had made a raid on a restaurant frequented by Communists. I got near enough to see some brown shirts who lay sprawled on the street being picked up by their brethren. The workers had given a good account of themselves. But that was only one of the isolated, desperate efforts to fight off the mortal enemy. A centralized direction to these efforts, a firm policy, or a serious attempt to unite the working class was not at hand. The parties in which the German workers, through their tradition of organization discipline, had placed their confidence, failed. In that lies the real explanation of the ease of the Fascist victory.

— ARNE SWABECK

Stalin Reassures Hitler on Trotsky's 'Return'

Two or three weeks ago, the official Soviet news agency, TASS, denied the rumor that Trotsky is returning to the USSR. The solemn and categorical tone of this denial gave cause to believe that the Kremlin was pursuing some important political aim. But not in the field of internal politics, for neither the denial nor the newspaper rumor against which it was directed, was published in the U. S. S. R. The denial was intended fully and exclusively for foreign consumption.

The sense of this denial will become sufficiently clear when it is recalled that about two years ago Trotsky wrote on the necessity of preparing the Red Army for a struggle against National Socialism. This article, not even mentioned in the U. S. S. R., found in its time a loud echo in the National-Socialist press. We know with what demonstrative friendliness the Stalinist bureaucracy received Hitler's coming to power. "Izvestia" wrote: "The public opinion of the Soviet Union has never entertained any

plans, directed against the present current in Germany". These words signified nothing short of a demonstrative disavowal from Trotsky. Can there be any doubt that the article in *Izvestia* was written after a corresponding diplomatic inquiry from Berlin and that it had as its purpose to convince Hitler that Moscow holds unswervingly to the doctrine of socialism in one country?

At the time TASS published abroad the categorical statement that Trotsky "will not return" to the U. S. S. R., the Berlin paper, *Vossische Zeitung*, directed an official inquiry to Trotsky through its Constantinople correspondent as to whether he is really returning to Russia. The very fact of the inquiry seems unexpected and at the same time very significant, especially if the fact is taken into consideration that the *Vossische Zeitung* is now completely in the hands of the Nazis. Hitler simply ordered the former liberal paper, through its former liberal correspondent, to check up on the newspaper rumor of the coming return of Trotsky to Moscow and of the corresponding

The Overflow of the Cuban Revolt

The Cuban revolt to oust Gerardo Machado, has been successful. So general was the opposition to the "butcher" that Ambassador Welles, who was attempting to eliminate Machado peacefully, was not given time to bring his "mediation" to the hoped-for conclusion.

The disaffection of the army was the last straw necessary to swing the scales against the dictator proving that the Cuban generals still recognize the master's voice. American imperialism, after many months of bargaining with anti-Machado elements, had at last spoken clearly and the army shifted its allegiance.

There is every indication that the rank and file of the army would have mutinied en-masse against their officers and supported the already nation-wide general strike of the workers and petty-bourgeoisie, if their superiors had not come forward in support of the revolt at the time they did.

All the decisive forces were against the perpetuation of Machado's tyrannical regime. The workers and peasants together with the urban middle classes were the first to take up the struggle openly. American imperialism during the whole period since last February had given signs of its intention to peacefully replace Machado before a mass uprising that might carry the change too far, could get under way. On July 1st, the imperialist representative, U. S. Ambassador Sumner Welles, commenced his negotiations for that end, with the frank cooperation of almost all of the bourgeois opposition elements. The masses however,

Continued Strikes, Riots Burst Bounds Set by New Deal Diplomacy

understanding in a confused and general way that some maneuver was afoot, took the offensive under the leadership of Communist and radical petty-bourgeois elements. The general strike proclaimed in the first days of August, received the wholehearted support of the Cuban working class, and was also utilized by the bourgeois oppositionists inasmuch as it was directed against the Machado regime. Wall Street's "mediation" move had failed, and now the only way to check the mass revolt was to be found in going along with it. The army caught between two fires both of which were directed against the government, joined the movement at the eleventh hour, and in the interests of Wall Street thus assuring the downfall of the dictator before the insurgent masses should get entirely out of control. Machado gone, Dr. Cespedes was hurriedly sworn in as provisional president and has already at this writing commenced to bring repressive measures to bear in order to check the mass movement, which barely commences to show the first signs of abatement.

Once unleashed, following the first reports of the "butcher's" flight, the fury of the populace was uncontrollable. The National Palace was sacked as were also the private homes of many of Machado's personal supporters and those of all his cabinet ministers. The offices of "El Heraldo de Cuba" Machadist daily were wrecked and the presses demolished. Many workers and soldiers under the leadership of members of the "ABC", systematically hunted down and slew those who had most distinguished themselves as murderers and torturers of enemies of the old regime. The police were either neutralized or powerless to interfere. Colonel Antonio Jimenez, chief of the "porra", Machado's extra-legal strong arm force, infamous for its prosecution of revolutionary workers and students, was among the first to encounter the wrath of the enraged populace. Jose Magrinal, who was sent to Mexico by Machado in January 1929 to assassinate comrade Julio Antonio Mella, did not even have time to hurry for his hole like the proverbial rat. In all, a score or more of Machado's "finest" have been killed. If the "butcher" himself escaped it was only due to his superior elusiveness and better protection.

The deposed tyrant, now in refuge at Nassau in the Bahamas Islands, may yet meet the fate of his cohorts. Meanwhile, he does not intend to suffer any unnecessary personal inconvenience, as is evidenced by the huge sums of money amounting into millions of dollars, that have in recent years been the

posited by him in foreign banks, doubtless in anticipation of such a contingency. American imperialism will now be able to consolidate its forces in Cuba. A "new deal" for Cuba is already being spoken of quite openly, and the sending of four American warships to Havana is not so much an episode of it is symptomatic of the spirit of this "New Deal". Attempts will be made to smooth over the differences and contradictions of imperialism and native capitalism at the expense of the workers. This new situation will open broad perspectives of struggle for the Cuban workers, as no possible arrangement under capitalism can solve the contradictions of Cuba's economy except at the expense of the workers.

The new situation is pregnant with great possibilities for the Communist party and the proletariat. But in order to fulfill its role, our party must analyze realistically all the factors in the situation. The present mass movement raised by the general strike, must be utilized to the limit in order to better entrench our party among the masses, democratic demands must be raised and consistently fought for in order to gain every possible advantage from the period of confusion that is bound to ensue, and which the "concentration" government of Dr. Cespedes, even with Wall Street's direct and complete support, cannot entirely eliminate. Hundreds of exiles and political prisoners are returning to Cuba from their places of exile abroad, and from the detention colony on Isla de Pinos. Among these in addition to Communists are also many petty bourgeois aspirants for political jobs. Among these latter, a jockeying for power, hardly intended to calm matters, is bound to take place. All indications point to a period of internal struggles among the diverse sectors of the bourgeois and imperialist camps. If an attempt at a democratic regime is made, it can only be temporary as the continued crisis is not such as to permit of democratic forms. Some form of bourgeois dictatorship under imperialist tutelage is inevitable. The only road out of Cuba's permanent economic crisis is that of the proletarian revolution. But if this is to be seriously considered the Cuban Communists must lay aside their opportunistic slogan of an "anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution". This slogan can only lead the proletarian vanguard deeper into the slough of nationalism. —R. N.

STALINISTS REFUSE L. O. REPRESENTATIVE RIGHT TO SPEAK

Youngstown, Ohio—About three hundred workers attended the August First Anti-War demonstration of the Communist party here. Representatives from the Unemployed Councils, Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, the International Labor Defense, and John Marshall, Communist candidate for governor, spoke. But a representative of the local Unemployed Federation was not given the platform in spite of the fact that it had endorsed the demonstration and had a request of the C. P. through L. Mack several days ago that one of its Executive members be permitted to speak specifically on the local Federation. Perhaps the fact that the speaker it had proposed was L. Newby of the Left Opposition had something to do with the Stalinists' "inability" to spare five minutes of its program for other than official C. P. speakers. —N.

At the 7th congress of the Russian Communist Party, in March 1928, during the discussion of the party program, Lenin carried on a decisive struggle against Bukharin, who considered that parliamentarism is done for, once and for all, that it is historically "exhausted". "We must..." Lenin retorted, "write a new program of the Soviet power, without renouncing the use of bourgeois parliamentarism. To believe that we will not be thrown back, is Utopia..." after every setback, if class forces inimical to us should push us to this old position, we shall proceed to what has been conquered by experience—to the Soviet power..."

Lenin objected to a doctrinaire anti-parliamentarism with regard to a country which had already gained the Soviet regime. We must not tie our hands beforehand, he taught Bukharin, for we may be pushed back to the once abandoned positions. In Germany there has not been and there is no proletarian dictatorship, but there is a dictatorship of Fascism; Germany has been thrown back even from bourgeois democracy. Under these conditions, to renounce beforehand the use of democratic slogans and of bourgeois parliamentarism means to clear the field for a social democracy of a new formation. Prinkipo, July 14, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

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Leon Trotsky on the Question of Fascism and Democratic Slogans

(Continued from Page 1)

Why Fascism in Germany is called upon to play a role entirely opposite to that which it played in Italy, remains incomprehensible. Because "Germany is not Italy". Victorious Fascism is in reality not a locomotive of history but its gigantic brake. Just as the policy of the social democracy prepared the triumph of Hitler, so the regime of National Socialism inevitably leads to the warning-off of democratic illusions.

3. Can the Social-Democracy Regenerate Itself?

German comrades testify that the social democratic workers and even many of the social democratic bureaucrats are "disillusioned" with democracy. We must extract all we can out of the critical moods of the reformist workers, in the interests of their revolutionary education. But at the same time the extent of the reformists' "disillusionment" must be clearly understood. The social democratic high priests scold democracy so as to justify themselves. Unwilling to admit that they showed themselves as contemptible cowards, incapable of fighting for the democracy which they created and for their soft berths in it, these gentlemen shift the blame from themselves to the intangible democracy. As we see, this radicalism is not only cheap but also spurious through and through! Let the bourgeoisie only beckon these "disillusioned" ones with its little finger and they will run on all fours to a new coalition with it. It is true, in the mass of social-democratic workers a real disgust with the betrayals and mirages of democracy is being born. But to what extent? The greater half of the seven to eight million social democratic voters is in a state of the greatest confusion, glib passivity, and capitulation to the victors. At the same time, a new generation will be forming under the heel of Fascism, a generation to which the Weimar constitution will be an historic legend. What line then will the political crystallization within the working class follow? This depends upon many conditions, among them, of course, also upon our policy.

Historically the direct replacement of the Fascist regime by a workers' state is not excluded. But for the realization of this possi-

lity it is necessary that a powerful, illegal Communist party form itself in the process of struggle against Fascism, under the leadership of which the proletariat could seize power. However, it must be said that a creation of a revolutionary party of this sort in illegality is not very probable, at any rate it is not assured by anything in advance. The discontented indignation, fermentation of the masses will, from a certain moment onward, grow much faster than the illegal formation of the party vanguard. And every lack of clarity in the consciousness of the masses will inevitably help democracy.

This does not at all mean, that after the fall of Fascism, Germany will again have to go through a long school of parliamentarism. Fascism will not eradicate the past political experience, it is even less capable of changing the social structure of the nation. It would be the greatest mistake to expect a new lengthy democratic epoch in the development of Germany. But in the revolutionary awakening of the masses democratic slogans will inevitably constitute the first chapter. Even if the further progress of the struggle should in general not permit, even for one day, the regeneration of a democratic state—and this is very possible—the struggle itself cannot develop by the circumvention of democratic slogans! A revolutionary party that would attempt to jump over this stage, would break its neck.

The question of the social-democracy is closely connected with this general perspective. Will it reappear on the stage? The old organization is irrevocably lost. But this does not at all mean that social democracy cannot be regenerated under a new historic mask. Opportunist parties which fall and decompose so easily under the blows of reaction, come back to life as easily at the first political revival. We observed this in Russia in the example of the Mensheviks and the S. R.'s. German social democracy can not only regenerate itself, but even acquire great influence, if the revolutionary proletarian party should set up a doctrinaire "negation" of the slogan of democracy against a dialectic attitude towards them. The Prædium of the Comintern in this field, as in so many others, remains a gratuitous assistant of reformism.

4. The runderlities Improve On Stalinists.

The confusion in the question of democratic slogans, has revealed itself most profoundly in the programmatic theses of the opportunist group of Brandler-Thälheimer on the question of the struggle against Fascism. The Communist party, the theses read, "should unite the manifestations of discontentment of all (!) classes against the Fascist dictatorship". (Gegen den Strom, page 7, the word "all" is underlined in the original). At the same time, the theses insistently warn: "The partial slogan can not be of a bourgeois-democratic nature." Between these two statements, each of which is erroneous, there is an irreconcilable contradiction. In the first place, the formula of the unification of the discontentment of "all classes" sounds absolutely incredible. The Russian Marxists did at one time abuse such a formulation in the struggle against czarism. Out of this abuse grew out the Menshevik conception of the revolution, later on adopted by Stalin for China. But in Russia, at least, it was a question of the collision of the bourgeois nation with the privileged monarchy. In what sense can one speak, in a bourgeois nation, of the struggle of "all classes" against Fascism, which is the tool of the big bourgeoisie against the proletariat? It would be instructive to see how Thälheimer, the manufacturer of theoretic vulgarities, would unite the discontentment of an unemployed worker. How else can one unite a movement of "all classes" if not by putting oneself on the basis of bourgeois democracy? Verily, a classic combination of opportunism with an ultra-radicalism in words!

The movement of the proletariat against the Fascist regime will acquire an ever greater mass character to the extent that the petty bourgeoisie becomes disappointed with Fascism, isolating the possessing summits and the government apparatus. The task of a proletarian party would consist in utilizing the weakening of the yoke on the part of the petty bourgeois reaction for the purpose of arousing the activity of the proletariat on to the road of the conquest of the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

It is true, the growth of the

discontentment of the intermediary strata and the growth of the resistance of the workers will create a crack in the bloc of the possessing classes and will spur their "left flank" to seek contact with the petty bourgeoisie. The task of the proletarian party with relation to the "liberal" flank of the possessors will consist, however, not in including them both in a bloc of "all classes" against Fascism, but on the contrary in immediately declaring a decisive struggle against it for influence on the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

Under what political slogans will this struggle take place? The dictatorship of Hitler grew directly out of the Weimar constitution. The representatives of the petty bourgeoisie have, with their own hands presented Hitler with the mandate for a dictatorship. If we should assume a very favorable and quick development of the Fascist crisis, then the demand for the convocation of the Reichstag with the inclusion of all the banished deputies, may, at a certain moment, unite the workers with the widest strata of the petty bourgeoisie. If the crisis should break out later and the memory of the Reichstag should have had time to obliterate itself, the slogan of new elections may acquire great popularity. It is sufficient that such a road is possible. To tie one's hands with relation to temporary democratic slogans which may be forced upon us by our petty bourgeois allies and by the backward strata of the proletariat itself, would be fatal doctrinarism.

Brandler-Thälheimer believe, however, that we should only advocate "democratic rights for the laboring masses": the right of assembly, trade unions, freedom of press, organization and strikes. In order to emphasize their radicalism more, they add: "These demands should be strictly (!) distinguished from bourgeois democratic demands of universal democratic rights". There is no person more wretched than the opportunist who takes the knife of ultra-radicalism between his teeth!

Freedom of assembly and the press only for the laboring masses is conceivably solely under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, under the nationalization of buildings, printing establishments, etc. It is possible that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany will

also have to employ exceptional laws against exploiters: that depends upon the historic moment, upon international conditions, upon the relation of internal forces. But it is not at all excluded that, having conquered power, the workers of Germany will find themselves sufficiently powerful to allow freedom of assembly and the press also to the exploiters of yesterday, in accordance with their actual political influence, and not with the extent of their treasury; the treasury will have been expropriated. Thus, even for the period of the dictatorship there is in principle no basis for limiting beforehand the freedom of assembly and the press only to the laboring masses. The proletariat may be forced to such a limitation; but this is not a question of principle. It is doubly absurd to advocate such a demand under the conditions of present day Germany, when freedom of the press and assembly exists for all but the proletariat. The arousing of the proletarian struggle against the Fascist inferno will take place, at least in the first stages, under the slogans: give also to us, workers, the right of assembly and the press. The Communists, of course, will at this stage also carry on a propaganda in favor of the Soviet regime but they will at the same time support every real mass movement under democratic slogans, and wherever possible will take the initiative in such a movement.

Between the regime of bourgeois democracy and the regime of proletarian democracy there is no third regime, "the democracy of the laboring masses". True, the Spanish republic calls itself "the republic of the laboring" even in the text of its constitution. But this is a formula of political churlishness. The Brandlerian formula of democracy "only for the laboring", particularly in combination with the "unity of all classes", seems to be especially designed to confuse and mislead the revolutionary vanguard in the most important question: "When and to what extent to adapt ourselves to the movement of the petty bourgeoisie and the backward strata of the working masses, what concessions to make to them in the question of the tempo of the movement and the slogans on the order of the day, so as more successfully to rally the proletariat under the banner of its own revolutionary dictatorship?"

Discussion on the German Defeat

The article below represents the first installment in a discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. Comrades are invited to state their views which will be printed as discussion articles.—Ed.)

In the course of events in Germany, which culminated in the complete victory of Fascism, the international proletarian movement finds itself face to face with an entirely new situation. In its objective essence it means a new historical stage; the inauguration of a new revolutionary period with its serious implications not only for Germany but for the world as a whole. That it will be fraught with new attacks upon the workers, with prospects of imperialist wars moving much closer, with new serious dangers to the Soviet Union and also with new revolutionary possibilities, goes without saying.

In measuring the consequences of these events the international Left Opposition has some time ago made clear that for this new situation the orientation, the position and the terminology of the past will no longer suffice. We thereby placed ourselves entirely upon the basis of the new historical situation created by the victory of Fascism and the collapse of the German Communist Party. Where we had previously emphasized the immediately pressing problems for a change of course of the party and of the Comintern to prevent the Fascist victory, that is, where we had emphasized the short perspective we now place before ourselves the long perspective. Where we before, in pressing for a change of course, also held the position of reform of the party, we are now compelled to recognize its complete breakdown and to orient ourselves upon that basis. To this extent there was unanimity within the international Left Opposition. In this we also met with sympathy and considerable agreement from other working class groups stirred by the course of events. Some doubt, however, did naturally arise when the question was posed fully in the concrete: What must follow the breakdown of the party? Can there for us be any other course than that of a new party? To pose the question that way was such a radical departure from our former position of a party fraction fighting for reform of the party. But this was necessitated by the historical change which had taken place and, in the first instance, the doubts could only emerge wherever the full significance of this change was momentarily lost sight of. These doubts are disappearing and in their place we have a greater clarity.

In order that we here in America may better understand what is involved in this question of whether or not a new party in Germany we must endeavor to fully appreciate what the historical change means to the working class in general and to the German proletariat in particular. We have already mentioned that it means a new revolutionary period. No further proof of that is needed than the tangible evidences of experience since German Fascism came into power. What needs particular emphasis, however, is the seriousness of the scope of the working class defeat. First the Social Democracy miserably exposed its bankruptcy followed by the bankruptcy of the Communist party. Both parties were numerically powerful yet they disappeared in face of the onslaught of the Fascist regime. Today there is no revolutionary party in Germany. This is the greatest defeat recorded in working class history. It is the culmination to a series of defeats suffered by the Comintern beginning with Germany of 1923, through the disaster of the Chinese revolution and back to Germany in 1933. And yet all these defeats occur under the conditions of the downward spiral of capitalism, during the very period of its bankruptcy being the most glaringly demonstrated. This is the frightful paradox. And because of that the responsibility for the policies and strategy which brought such disaster becomes only more times greater. Of course, the Comintern leadership, the Stalinist leadership, must be held entirely responsible. Once again the importance of a working class revolutionary party has been demonstrated, but this time in a negative sense. Already from the time of the Communist manifesto we knew that the emancipation of the working class was unthinkable without its own revolutionary party. It was the absence of such a party, or to put it more precisely, the failure of the Stalinist party to perform this function, which accounts for the Fascist and not the proletarian being victorious. In seeking the reason for that, when traced to its source, the verdict will read: It is because we had in Germany a party of national Socialism instead of a party of international revolution. For proof of this, wherever doubts or disagreements still exist outside of our ranks, we need not confine ourselves to the inescapable conclusion that the theory of Socialism in One Country can produce nothing else but parties of national Socialism. We can add the advice to the comrades to study the numerous declarations of German party leaders on their program of national and social emancipation. This program is of course only a reflection of the basic party and Comintern orientation.

Today, after this frightful defeat, the German party leaders, speaking from emigration, and behind them

the Comintern leaders, commit the double crime of stubbornly denying the historical character of the defeat and add to it the attempt of maintaining the dangerous illusions in the minds of the Communist workers that Hitler will soon get out of business.

But as Hitler remains and consolidates his power the disillusionment will inevitably set in. New and more frightful demoralization will result. The Communist workers will leave the Stalinist party leaders in disgust and despair. Today these gigantic experiences are fresh in the minds of the Communist

United States at London Confab

The World Economic Conference, just concluded at London, met at the most critical period of world crisis. The victory of Fascism in Germany and Japanese aggression having heavy over the conference. Between these realities and American imperialism, the conference was unable to end satisfactorily for the leading European powers. In this situation, 1933 represents an accumulated 1913, and therefore, many countries left the conference with fear of tomorrow.

Conclusions drawn from the London Economic Conference indicate that the United States was not only able to hold its own position, it was also able to leave the gathering in a stronger position. Imperialist powers and capitalist nations do not enter peace conferences and economic conferences with any illusions about their ability to solve the "objectives" listed for public consumption. This is especially true of American imperialism under the Roosevelt government.

The real objective of the economic conference that met at London was the imperialist struggle for points of vantage, at the expense of the other powers in the preparation for more intense economic and military wars. Peace conferences are cloaks for greater economic and military wars.

The high sounding phrases and humanitarian cloak was pierced by the reality of the economic conflicts and imperialist antagonisms at the very opening of the London Conference. Prime Minister MacDonald, in behalf of Europe, and especially in behalf of England's hegemony over Europe raised the forbidden question of war debts. This move revealed an attempt of a European united front against American imperialism which came to London with the intention and plan to further the process of putting Europe on rations.

The powerful pressure of American imperialism and the tremendous contradictions in Europe since Hitler took power smashed this attempted united front. This first attempt was repeated on several occasions but to no avail. The next attempt to drive American imperialism from her strong position was the European effort to peg up the dollar and obtain the temporary stabilization of international exchange. England was part of this bloc, half concealed and half open, nevertheless, the bloc and plan was shattered, especially after Roosevelt's statement on this question. Next the die-hards under the leadership of France organized the Gold Bloc. This move, in the long run played into the hands of American imperialism because it widened the gap between the French and British interests and thereby gave America a better position in this three cornered fight.

It is true that Germany played no outstanding role at the conference at the rise of Fascism to power in Germany caused a shake-up and a realignment. It contributed to the success of America against Europe.

American imperialism went to London well armed for the battle against Europe, as well as Japan. Some of the weapons in the hands of the American representatives were pounded out in the first days of the Roosevelt administration. This move was cloaked as part of a national policy but was pointed out at that time in its true international relation in the columns of the Militant. The Banking laws and farm relief amendment, which were important international weapons as well as internal weapons were used very effectively at the conference.

America went off the gold standard, repudiated the gold clause, gave the President power to inflate currency as well as other forms of inflation and to reduce the content of the dollar by one-half. If the American representatives did not hold this threat over the London conference another story would have been written. These weapons were very effective in helping the American representatives in shattering the united front of the European powers against America. The mere threat to use some of them resulted in excellent results at London as well as within the country. The internal policy of the Roosevelt administration is an integral part of this international struggle. It is two sides of the same problem.

Economic collaboration and organized production is as hopeless as non-aggression pacts (regardless of what Litvinoff says). No one but liberals and half-wits expected such from London. America desired more from the London conference than the other powers. The London conference can be summed up as a prelude to a more intense on-

workers and yet there is no discussion permitted by the party leadership. Inquiries into the correctness of the official line are taboo. Those who express doubts are branded and expelled. From these facts it follows that what still exists in Germany of sporadic activities by the official party remnants is not at all the beginnings of an orientation based upon the new conditions but only the tail end of the past. After that follows the void, for there can be no other perspectives for a party leadership which denies the existence of the new historical conditions.

The facts being so, one can brand only as criminal light-mindedness the final conclusion of the Comintern resolution adopted after the German defeat; the resolution of April 1. This resolution finds that it is necessary to strengthen the party and all the mass organizations of the working class.

"To prepare the masses for decisive battles. For the overthrow of capitalism and for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship by an armed rising."

In other words, the armed uprising is placed on the agenda in the midst of the greatest defeat yet suffered by working class. Upon what prognosis does it rest? First of all upon the Comintern bluff that the cause of what has happened in Germany is Social Democracy. Its part of the betrayal never needed to be doubted; but that does not in the least explain the Comintern and its position. Secondly it rests upon the foundation of the Comintern affirming the infallibility of its characterization of "Social Fascism," thus nullifying and giving the lie to any expressions for desire of a united front with social democracy. Further it rests upon an estimation of the preceding governments of Papen and Schleicher having been Fascist governments the same as Hitler's. Finally it rests upon the analysis, as presented in the resolution, that there was no revolutionary situation in Germany. Yet a complete historical change has taken place. But the change is not toward strengthening the possibilities of the proletarian revolution. On the contrary, the Fascist reaction is immensely strengthened, the German working class defeated, the Communist parties elsewhere declining, demoralized and impotent. In face of this the armed insurrection is placed on the agenda by the Comintern resolution. Criminal light-mindedness is about the mildest characterization one can find for this.

The international Left Opposition poses the problems facing the German working class, and the world movement, from the point of view of opposite considerations. To rebuild upon an entirely new foundation what lies shattered in Germany, its general working class movement and above all to rebuild the revolutionary party, that is the task. There can be no more talk about the old basis or the old formulae. The problem is to build new. The Left Opposition proposes an orientation toward a new party in Germany liberated from the deadly embrace of bankrupt Stalinism. —ARNE SWABECK.

Furniture Strikers Defeat Maneuver

(Continued from Page 1)

Very truly yours,
Col. Leopold Philipp,
Chairman, Bureau of Compliance.

He added the following postscript without the knowledge of the union officials:

"This letter was sent to help pacify the labor leaders." The whole fraud of the NRA as the impartial arbitrator in strike disputes is here shown up in all its nakedness. After secretly conspiring with the bosses association to put across starvation wages in the industry, the NRA sends a hypocritical "reprimand" to the very elements with whom he made the conspiracy.

Now, when we have the bosses licked is the time for solid ranks in the strike. Let there be no talk of going back to work. NO FAKE SETTLEMENTS. Without the recognition of the union you are helpless to enforce whatever conditions you have achieved by the strike. Don't let the boss pull any promises to groups of men in the shop. It's too late for that. If he wants to settle, make him settle with the union. The time is past for herding unpolished stones under the slave conditions of the past 3 years. —LANKIN-COWL.

slaughter on Europe, a greater drive by America to put Europe on rations, a prelude to the imperialist world war—in which America hopes she can duplicate her role of 1914-1918.

The Paris Soir paper summed up the World Economic Conference in the following words: "If we allow the depreciation of overseas currency to continue, their rivalry will be more than ever irresistible and our reserves will be wasted. It is only a question of time until European industries will be controlled by the United States." —HUGO OEHLER.

J.L. Lewis Betrays Miners at Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

are such forces in order to give direction to the revolt of the disillusioned workers in the very near future. Proper tactics will be able to guide such a struggle to a higher level (than the recent western Penn. experience).

P. M. A. Capitulation and Stalinist Blunders

The Progressive Miners of America lost their most favorable opportunity and now the fruit of the fight wage policy has resulted in lost ground. Their capitulations policy has not even enabled them to get in on the NRA bantwagon. The right wing, or at least a big section of it, is ready to go over to the folds of the UMWA. The left wing must intensify its work toward the realization of its policy. If the Progressive Miners of America had called a national conference prior to the NRA becoming a law as advocated by the left wing and had conducted a left wing policy, a different story would be written. However, the wrong policies of the right wing of the PMA, and the whole series of Stalinist blunders for years in the trade union field means that we have to retrace our steps to obtain a running start for the coming struggles which are sure to develop in the shock and decayed coal industry. The reorganization of this industry through the NRA will cause increased class antagonisms between the operators and miners as well as between the large and small operators.

The National Miners Union could have saved the day some time ago if the Stalinists had a correct trade union policy, understood the united front and used a little common horse sense. Now they are pushed into a more difficult corner. Due to the Stalinist's wrong policies and the lost ground, our task is to retrace our steps through the wing of the UMWA and the PMWA. Then the Communists can once again take the lead in the coming struggles. To continue to play with the paper National Miners Union is to waste valuable time and retard the movement of the class.

HUGO OEHLER

Clubs, Tear Gas in Milk Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

and three-fourth cents per quart. The better grades were priced at from 2 to 2 1/2 cents per quart. But the big dairy companies, including the Dairymen's League classified all milk alike and paid an average of 1 3/4 cents per quart. The farmers thus found that they were again sold out. From then on their conditions grew from bad to worse. Most of them cannot meet their taxes, not to speak of interests and payments on mortgages. A degrading poverty set in. The farmers reached the end of their endurance. A breaking point came. The strike was declared and spread to seven counties involving many thousands of farmers. At their meetings the farmers agreed not only to hold back their own milk supply but also to picket the milk stations. There they took care of the scabs in the effective manner of dumping their milk.

"Striking Against the Government"

The owners of the big dairy companies, however, could lean back in their swivel chairs saying: "You are not striking against us, you are striking against the government. Meanwhile Governor Lehman the willing tool of the dairy companies, concentrated all the state troopers in the territory to give the striking farmers a lesson in law and order, enforced by clubs, tear gas and riot guns. He proclaimed that all law abiding citizens are to be protected, by that he meant the scabs. He proclaimed that all law breakers, meaning the striking farmers, must be prosecuted. Several hundred were subsequently arrested.

The striking farmers demanded as their share 45 percent of the price at which milk retails in the cities. This would mean about 4 to 5 cents a quart. The trouble is, however, that the farmers have no organization. They are merely loosely held together by pressure of the desperate conditions under which they suffer. Nevertheless they all expressed themselves as ready to fight to a finish, stating that they had nothing to lose. At the time of this writing a truce has been declared and it remains to be seen whether the strike will be renewed, whether the big dairy companies, aided by the state forces, will be able to enforce their kind of an agreement.

The roads here in all directions have been patrolled by about 500 state troopers equipped with steel helmets and gas bombs. How many sheriffs and deputies were added to this force I do not know but in many instances actual wholesale deputizing took place. The Dairymen's League asked the governor to also call in the National Guard. For the time being that is held in abeyance. There is no sign of the Milk Control Board offering a solution, but meanwhile the farmers are learning rapidly that the government is not for them but against them. —GADFLY.

U.S. Holds High Cards in Cuba

(Continued from page 1)

The anti-Machado movement was essentially anti-imperialist, at different times different classes came to the front and occupied the center of the stage. The students and the petty bourgeois constituted the left wing of the nationalist front. While the proletariat remained passive they fought the military dictatorship with terroristic methods. Sections of the bourgeoisie went in for heavier work. They organized military insurrections which were put down.

The direct intervention of the proletariat into the struggle precipitated the crisis which drove Machado out. The general strike has been described as a "passive, revolutionary" one. It is unquestionable that the proletarian organizations, many of them, distinctly left in political orientation, were opposed to both Machado and his imperialist masters. But the press dispatches fail to show the revolutionary content of their participation in the struggle.

Pre-Revolutionary Situation

The situation which developed was a pre-revolutionary one. It required the determined intervention of the proletariat under the leadership of a resolute, revolutionary vanguard to develop the situation into a revolutionary one and prepare for the seizure of power. The demands which the workers made, not on their bosses, but on the new government before it had an opportunity to consolidate its power, were modest to an extreme: immediate freedom of all imprisoned workers; repeal of certain legislation affecting wage scales; stricter enforcement of the eight hour day law; recognition of the Confederación Nacional Obrero de Cuba, the national trade union center; and regulations to put in force lower prices for foodstuffs.

These are essentially democratic demands. All the more astonishing is the statement of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party in the Daily Worker of August 4: "Butcher Machado is gone, driven out by the mass revolutionary uprising of the Cuban workers, peasants and toiling population, organized around the general political strike, which was initiated by the Communist Party of Cuba!" The question arises: if the Communist party is so well rooted in the proletariat that it can organize a general political strike why did it not put forward demands corresponding to the situation?

The truth of the matter is that the Communist party did not organize the strike and is not, unfortunately a decisive factor in the situation; that the Daily Worker is boasting; and that the proletariat with inexcusable modesty marched behind the bourgeoisie against Machado. That is why the struggle did not rise above an anti-Machado movement. The modesty of the proletariat below and the skill and pressure of American imperialism above combined to confine the anti-Machado struggle to an anti-Machado movement. The job of Summer Welles consisted in easing Machado out to allow the rising tide of discontent, and slipping in a substitute of the same servile stripe, but one more agreeable to the population. The situation created by the intervention of the proletariat very nearly upset his plans. But the "disinterestedness" of the proletariat which demanded nothing "unreasonable" or "unpatriotic" for itself allowed Roosevelt-Welles to retain the cloak of friendly mediation, that is to say, to keep the lid on the anti-imperialist movement, without resorting to more forceful measures.

None the less the mediators were worried. They had to allow the

people to blow off steam. They utilized the anti-Machado sentiments of an entire country as a safety valve. The hatred of the people for Machado took on violent forms. The members of La Porra were hunted down like rats and killed where they were found. The Presidential Palace was sacked. The Lleras de Cuba a Machado paper was also sacked. The soldiers and police stood by and even lent a hand occasionally.

Céspedes' Job

In this way mediation canalized the anti-imperialist movement. The

2 Young Negroes Lynched in South

(Continued from Page 1)

hears. The sheriff did exactly as ordered. He did not lift his little finger in protest—not to mention his gun. The youngest of the three Negroes, Dan Phipps, 18, and A. T. Harden, 16, were slain outright. Blumore Clark, 28, was saved from death only by a ruse. He played dead and after the lynch mob left crawled to the house of a Negro family where he had his wounds dressed and cared for.

If ever the phrase cool, calculated and premeditated murder could be used, this is it. The sheriff was warned that a mob had organized to lynch the Negroes. He was warned not to move them without sufficient protection, yet he deliberately sent home the trailing car of deputies on the darkest part of the road. He made absolutely no effort to resist the lynchers. The case is clear.

That typical southern hypocritical yawning of southern courtesy and fair play is again to the fore. Always after another lynching, "Justice will be done," rants Judge Foster. And he immediately sets about pointing his finger at the international Labor Defense which had offered to defend the boys against lynch justice. The boys were undoubtedly terrorized against the use of the I. L. D. The attempt on the part of the southern bourgeois to shift the onus of responsibility for this crime will go unheeded by the southern white and Negro workers. These workers will recall that it was due only to the mass pressure of the working class throughout the entire country and even throughout the entire world set in motion by the international Labor Defense that the Scottsboro boys are still alive. They will realize as they must that for a poor exploited Negro of the south there is only one kind of justice meted out in the courts—lynch justice. The legal murder of Dan Phipps and Harden are no accidents. Rather it is the rule in the south. To defend himself from the heinous fury of the southern ruling class the Negro must learn that only by uniting in common struggle with the exploited poor whites of the south against their common exploiters will a measure of safety be gained for him. Lynch law is the law of the southern ruling class.

As we go to press we learn that a committee under the auspices of the Scottsboro Action Committee, the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners and the American Civil Liberties Union has been formed to demand from Roosevelt immediate action in Tuscaloosa and to force the arrest of Judge Henry B. Foster and Sheriff R. F. Shamblin in connection with the murder of the two young Negroes. —M. GLEF.

shooting and sacking, thought the mediators, is like a thunder-storm. It makes a noise and it passes. But this thunderstorm did not pass quickly enough to snuff the mediators. As long as the people were in motion the movement contained within itself the possibility of developing to a higher stage. President Céspedes faces the serious problem of... preventing the successful mass revolution from becoming too revolutionary." N. Y. Times, August 14, 1933.

And if it went far enough it would make necessary armed intervention to induce it to subside. In that case the whole of Latin America with the help of England would raise a tremendous cry against American imperialism with the resulting shifts in trade more favorable for England at "our" expense. The lessons of Nicaragua and Haiti have not passed Wall Street by without a trace.

Still treading warily Roosevelt ordered warships to Cuban waters—without marines aboard just to protect American citizens and property. No intervention intended. And the Cuban army has been ordered to shoot down any violations of "peace." The holiday is over, say the mediators. Slaves, back to your yokes.

The policy of Roosevelt in the Cuban situation is an extension on an international scale of his domestic policy. American imperialism is learning to speak a new language. For a time and for a purpose it is forgetting the accents of harsh command. The mailed fist is there. But it is clothed in velvet. Soft words now fall from Uncle Sam's lips. Friendliness beams on his face. He believes and practices mediation!

The reason is not far to seek. The crisis of American capitalism cannot be solved on a domestic scale alone. Europe, Latin America and Asia are the markets to which American capitalism must export to realize its surplus value. The assault on Europe has already begun. The assaults on Asia and South America are in preparation. That is the meaning of the trade parleys with the South American countries, as far as South America is concerned. And Roosevelt is careful not to jeopardize them by blunders of Hoover-Stimson type.

Céspedes and the new deal for Cuba will no more solve the problems of Cuban economy than the policies of Machado. Whatever makeshift is worked out will be a temporary scheme to protect the profits of American capitalism on the backs of Cuban masses. The condition of the Cuban masses can be improved and the problems of the revolution solved only by struggle against Céspedes and Wall St.

By themselves the Cuban masses cannot throw off the yoke of American imperialism and Cuban capitalism. The socialist revolution in Cuba is dependent on the revolution in the United States. That is true for Latin America as a whole. But to the Cuban proletariat can fall the honor of entering upon the revolutionary path before the more backward American proletariat. For that is necessary a Communist party rooted in the proletariat marching on a correct internationalist road. In Cuba and all over the world the Stalinist theory and practice hold back the movement. The revolution in Cuba cannot grow to its full stature until the Communist party strikes off the shackles of Stalinism. This the newly formed Cuban Left Opposition must help it to do. —T. STAMM...

: BOOK REVIEW :

S. S. Bulgakova
July 20, 1933

FONTAMARA

A remarkable book! From the first line to the last it is directed against the Fascist regime in Italy, against its lies, its violence, and book of pseudo-political propaganda. But revolutionary passion is raised not to such heights that it creates a truly artistic work. Fontamara is only a poor, god-forsaken village in the South of Italy. In the space of the book's two hundred pages, this name becomes a symbol of the whole Italian countryside, its poverty, its despair, but also of its indignation.

Silone knows the Italian peasantry remarkably well: the best 20 years of the author's life, according to his own words, were spent in "Fontamara". He knows how to see and sentimentalize are for life as it is, how to generalize what he sees by means of the Marxist method and then to embody his generalizations into artistic images. The story is told by the peasants, canon, paupers themselves. Despite the exceptional dexterity of this style, the author executes it like a real master. Some chapters have a stupendous force!

Has this book appeared in the Soviet Union? Has it drawn the attention of the publishing houses of the Comintern? The book deserves a circulation of millions of copies. But no matter what the may be towards works of truly revolutionary literature, "Fontamara"—we are convinced—will make its way into the official bureaucracy may be towards works of truly revolutionary literature. To assist in the circulation of this book is the duty of every revolutionist. —L. TROTSKY.

Fontamara. A Novel by I. Silone, Zurich, 1933.

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The Left Wing's Place Is in A. F. of L. Unions

The most convincing answer to the question of Left wing trade union tactics raised anew by the Roosevelt policy has been indicated by the instinctive action of the workers themselves. In tens and hundreds of thousands in various trades and industries throughout the country, the workers are streaming into the conservative labor organizations. A. F. of L. unions which in many cases were reduced to skeletons during the recent years, are experiencing a stormy revival.

If we wish to keep a live contact with the masses, hasten their inevitable disillusionment with the grandiose swindle of the N. R. A. and steer them into great class battles we must march with this instinctive movement and influence it from within. The Communists must urge the workers to join in this main stream which is flowing now in the channel of the A. F. of L. and unions of a similar type. And, what is no less important, the Communists must go with them in full force and without hesitation. To stand aside from this living movement with its present direction and arbitrarily prescribe a different path would only mean to rob the mass movement of its dynamic revolutionary nucleus, to paralyze resistance to the unholy combination of the bosses, the government and the labor fakery and condemn the Left wing to an isolated sectarian facility just at the time when conditions begin to mature for its wide expansion in the labor movement.

Yet, from all accounts, this is the ruinous course which the Stalinists, who year by year do everything they can to discredit, disorganize and discredit the Left wing, have imposed on the trade union conference at Cleveland. For these organizers of defeat every catastrophe only serves to justify the policy that brought it about and to seek new fields for its destructive influence. Faced with the overwhelming developments in the needle trades where, thanks to the blunders and crimes of the Stalinists, the resurgent movement of the workers has led to the reintegration of the reactionary forces and the virtual destruction of the Left wing organizations, the collective Stalinists could think of nothing better to do at Cleveland than to prescribe a universal application of the bankrupt policy.

In the *Daily Worker* for August 28th, the gruesome wisdom derived from the new developments is announced as follows:

"Answering Muste on urging workers to join the A. F. of L. Stachel said we are against this, except in certain cases like the Railroad Brotherhoods, as the A. F. of L. is organizing the workers for betrayal and not for struggle."

This is what they have learned from the great trade union developments which are taking place before everybody's eyes. This is the incredible deduction from the Left wing catastrophe in the needle trades. Are the masses themselves going to the A. F. of L. unions of their own motion? This question, which is decisive for the elaboration of an intelligent and realistic approach, does not exist for these harlequins. Didn't the resolutions of several plenums of the Comintern and the Profintern and the Party and the T. U. U. L. instruct the masses to join the "red unions" and stay away from the A. F. of L. And if the workers, under the impact of events and of pressure of various kinds, have taken a different path, how can that possibly necessitate an amendment to various Plenums? It is quite clear that nobody but a counter-revolutionist could make such a suggestion.

"The A. F. of L. is organizing the workers for betrayal." Insofar as the leadership is concerned, there is not a class-conscious worker who can have any doubt on this point. The discovery is not original with Stachel. But the assertion of the fact does not prevent the betrayal. Neither does it prevent the workers from entering the A. F. of L. unions. In this circumstance it is quite obvious that the organization of the struggle against the betrayal can begin only inside these unions. To stand aside from the surging movement into the old unions on the ground that the bureaucrats have treacherous designs means only in effect to facilitate the treachery and free the hands of the traitors. This is the essence of the Stalinist trade union policy imposed on the Left wing for a number of years and now again proclaimed at Cleveland.

We cannot have anything to do with such a policy. The class-conscious workers have to adjust themselves to reality and connect themselves closely with the living movement of the masses. Cut-and-dried schemes are of no use in trade union questions. Different industries present different problems. There is no universal formula to fit every situation. But the main

DEMAND THE 7TH CONGRESS!

Is the Communist International dead? This question may well now be asked more insistently, more sharply than ever. It demands an answer.

At this moment the Second International has just concluded its special international congress. The Amsterdam International of trade unions recently held its congress. Left Socialist parties from various countries are now meeting in special conference. Only the Comintern remains silent. There are no signs of its Seventh World Congress.

It is now five years since the Sixth World Congress. Five years marked by the most severe capitalist crisis ever known. Five years of the most fatal consequence to the world proletariat, culminating in the disastrous German defeat. Five years filled with dreadful experience of false policy pursued by the Comintern leadership. The German proletariat lies prostrate, trampled underfoot by the Fascist hordes. Its revolutionary party is obliterated. The Communist parties elsewhere, misguided and disoriented, are declining in numbers and declining in influence. The Soviet Union, once the proletarian tower of strength, is facing the greatest danger in its existence. And now a new reactionary period has been inaugurated with the Fascist victory posing new problems in all their magnitude to the world revolutionary movement. But its general staff fails to meet. Again we ask: What has become of Lenin's International?

The Second International leaders gathered under the heavy shadows of these terrible defeats and their own openly demonstrated bankruptcy. A motley crew of peripatetic betrayers attempting to shove off the burden of responsibility and attempting to find new avenues to capitalist ministerial posts. Though they failed entirely, as could be expected, to draw a balance of events the rank and file Social Democratic workers are now proceeding to do it for them. This is manifested in the many currents of Social Democratic workers everywhere moving in a Leftward direction, toward Communism. But at least the Second International called its congress. Not even that much sign of life is displayed by the Comintern.

Do the Comintern Stalinist leaders fear to give an account of their stewardship openly before the world proletariat in a World Congress? If so—and there are good reasons to believe that such is the case—that will prove even more fatal than the combined results of their disastrously false policies and orientation. That could only mean that the Comintern is entirely wiped out as a world revolutionary force for the future tasks.

But what about the millions of Communist workers? Their heavy tasks still lie before them. What about the still existing official Communist parties? Are they content to become reduced to impotent nationalist sects without an international revolutionary leadership? Will they raise their voice in a powerful demand for the convocation of the Seventh World Congress? We address this question to the American Communists. You must know what your international leadership has to say, what it intends to do. Demand that the Comintern leaders give an account of their stewardship!

NRA Reveals Its True Role in Strike Situation

It is an Instrument for Greater Class Collaboration and Simultaneously a Means to Make Strikes Illegal

As the N. R. A. moves forward to conquer new territory its true intent becomes ever clearer. Most recently this has been established in two directions both of which fit the plans for strengthening of monopoly capitalism. On the one hand are the notable efforts to make the NRA a perfect class collaboration machinery carefully guarded by the reactionary labor leaders. On the other hand are the efforts to use this machinery as an additional club against working class resistance properly backed up by the means of force at the disposal of the government.

For the first instance we need only refer to the concrete example of the recognition by the coal codes of the John L. Lewis union to harness possible miners' revolts against forcibly imposed slave conditions of which such vivid manifestations were recently displayed. For the second instance telling proof is available in the attempts of the New York NRA administration, under Grover Whalen, to outlaw the T. U. L. union shoe workers strike because the manufacturers had plastered the Blue Eagle signs on their windows.

Industrial Codes to Prevent Strikes

The Recovery Administration now admits that the progress registered on the coal and auto codes came just in the nick of time to avert a general strike in the coal fields with possibilities of spreading to the auto industry. That is how they express it, those who naturally count upon its efficacy to crush workers' resistance. But even in this they may count without their hosts. The coal code with its projected forty hour week and \$4.00 a day wage, with a differential to \$4.20 in the South, leaves all the old problems of unemployment with its misery and the general unbearably low standard of living as before. But—and this is significant—it contemplates complete recognition of the United Mine Workers throughout the fields. In this manner it is hoped to perfect the class collaboration machinery. An accomplishment not without importance for it is precisely from this industry that the worthy administrators received their greatest shocks and entertained the greatest fears of mass rebellions.

At the initial stage of the code negotiations the coal operators remained adamant insisting upon their "sacred rights" to run the industry open shop or company union as they pleased. Evidently they now see things differently. It is not that their desires, first of all for the open shop and secondly for the company union, have changed. No, it is a question of accepting the lesser evil. Militant unionism they fear above all.

It has been comparatively easy for the bosses to obtain the Blue Eagle sign. They have not been loath to display it even though confessions in the shops remained either the same as before, or certainly unsatisfactory to the workers. That was the case of a group of shoe manufacturers in Brooklyn. It did not, however, deter several thousand workers from striking for decent conditions under the banner of the T. U. L. union. The NRA administration headed by Grover Whalen pounced upon this as a test case. Six pickets were arrested charged with illegally striking NRA shops, and charged with being a Communist union.

By this action Grover Whalen, out of ambition and clownish stupidity, revealed the strategy the capitalist will pursue to bolster up the NRA and against working class militancy. First they will strike down the Left wing unions and the Communist movement. If this serves their purpose of keeping the workers in leading strings of the class collaborationist A. F. of L. unions and the arbitration structure of the NRA, they will rest their assault there, at least for the time being. But if the workers press forward along the paths of struggle the capitalists will not hesitate to make strikes everywhere illegal. That is what is revealed in this case, and that is also the danger to the labor movement as a whole.

Russian Recognition A Class Question for World Labor

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States is rapidly drawing closer. The first breaches in the financial blockade of Soviet Russia have been made, with Soviet bonds being freely offered for sale in this country, and the government-controlled Reconstruction Finance Corporation financing purchases of cotton by the Soviet agency.

Objectively the recognition of the Soviet Union is a great gain for the workers' state, and therefore a revolution for the cause of the world revolution. Yet we must recognize that this gain is being accomplished only on the basis of the temporary coincidence of the immediate needs of the bourgeois American state and the Russian workers' state. Sometimes it happens that two lines which go in very different directions may cross at a point—but only at one point, only in a temporary and limited way.

The American state wants bigger markets for its products, to help it get out of its typically capitalist crisis, and it wants to lay the foundation for some kind of military agreement which will help it in its plans for imperialist expansion against the Japanese.

The Soviet State wants help in carrying out the second Five-Year Plan, first and foremost. It negotiates with the American government as one state with another, solely on the basis of these temporary coincidences of immediate aims.

Unity of Proletarian Interests Is Still the Issue

The fundamental differences between the two states, which are far more important than the secondary immediate purposes, have been kept in the background by the Soviet government. The fact that the Soviet State is, first and foremost, a workers' state, has played no part whatever in the change of American policy toward recognition.

The Left Opposition, true to its fundamentally internationalist outlook, has consistently based its proposals for "Long-Term Credits to the Soviet Union" on the needs of the workers' State in Russia and the working-class in America. These needs are identical, based on both fundamental and permanent interests; these two lines do not merely cross and coincide at a particular point, but are one all the way through. The international solidarity of the proletariat means that not only the immediate interests of the American worker will be served, in that he will get a job making products for the Soviet Union, but also his ultimate interests in building up the first fortress of the world revolution.

The Stalinists have consistently refused these proposals, have refused to mobilize the working class

Youth Day Must Prepare for Real Anti-War Fight

At the height of the patriotic hysteria of the last World War, when the leaders of the Socialist parties proclaimed civil truce with the capitalists and supported their national master class, a small, but courageous group of revolutionary socialist youth met at Bern, Switzerland, July 1915, to organize the youth of the various European countries against capitalism and war. Undaunted by the war frenzy, in total disregard of the universal chauvinistic public opinion, with the single aim of furthering the movement for the emancipation of the working class, irrespective of personal consequences, these young revolutionary fighters considered the next steps to be taken, and proclaimed the first Sunday of every September, International Youth Day—the day of demonstration against capitalist militarism and war.

The Young Communist International, the inheritor of the best traditions of the Socialist Youth International formed at Stuttgart in August 1915, and the militant traditions of the Bern Conference, continued the practice of International Youth Day. In the early years of its existence it succeeded in mobilizing broad masses of young workers on this day as a culmination

Left Socialist Conference Shows Trend Toward Left Opposition

Concrete manifestations of ferment within the various Socialist parties, as a result of shattering of faith in the Second International, are multiplying rapidly. Left Socialist groupings and parties are emerging and groping their way, with much confusion, but nevertheless in a Leftward direction. Outstanding among these manifestations is the conference under the auspices of the "International Committee of the Independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties," convened at Brussels, August 27th and 28th.

No sooner, however, had the conference been issued than the Leftward developments became more distinct and more decisive. Most notable is the trend toward the Left Opposition. While these parties and groups are trying to find their way they are simultaneously repulsed by the Stalinist bureaucratic ultramilitarism and bankruptcy. The Left Opposition ideas are penetrating deeply into the membership of several of these groups. Numerous and increasing are the instances of pressure in this direction. Further discussion and clarification is the need of the hour, and the prospects that several of them, or important parts of them, will fully find their way may be enhanced.

Among the initiators of this conference are included the Independent Labor Party of England, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany, the Norwegian Labor Party and independent Socialist parties and groups of Switzerland, Poland and elsewhere. The reason for the calling of the conference is said to be: "The complete failure of the Second and Third Internationals and their affiliated parties to offer any effective opposition to the attacks of capitalism on the workers throughout the world."

Confusion Is Still Apparent

However, in what this failure consist is not yet clear to the initiators. In their confused way they speak of this preliminary conference as an attempt to prepare for a world congress the purpose of which is to bring together the representatives of working class organizations, which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the achievement of Socialism, for unity against "Fascism, war and capitalism." Invitations to participate were sent to all "Socialist, Communist and working class organizations. In other words the parties of the Second and Third Internationals, both of which have failed, and, of course, neither of which will attend. On the other hand among organizations which can on this basis support such a conference are the Right wing Com-

LEON TROTSKY Hitler's 'Disarmament' and Prospects of War with Soviet Union

(Copyright Harpers Magazine)
L. Trotsky's "Pacifism".

Diplomatic routine has its advantages so long as events move along the old tracks. Confronted with new great events, it wanders off. A most dangerous thing is not to appraise any enemy exactly only because his system extends beyond the bounds of routine. To reduce the problem to the assertion that Hitler is a demagogue, an hysterical person and a comedian, means to close one's eyes so as not to see the danger. It is not all hysteria that leads to the seizure of power. At any rate, there must be method in the hysteria of National Socialism. Wee to those who do not understand this in time! The leaders of the German labor organizations refused to take Hitler seriously: while they considered his program reactionary and utopian, they proved incapable of appreciating his dynamic power. The same danger may be repeated in the domain of world politics.

Up to May 17, many thought that Hitler would proceed with violence in the question of the Versailles treaty, and that he would apply to the European regime the same methods as to the Reichstag building, Marxian literature and the Jewish department stores. Nobody really knew where the lightning would come from and where it would strike. But neither could anybody predict twenty-four hours in advance the crushing of the trade unions according to all the rules of a gangster assault upon a bank.

Hitler's speech in the Reichstag staggers one with its unexpected pacifism. By this alone it has attained its most immediate aim. It is always advantageous to take an opponent by surprise. His adversaries are fairly embarrassed. Highly experienced diplomats have allowed themselves to be at least halfway assuaged by a few well-calculated pacific sentences, after having allowed themselves to be frightened by Papen's strident phrases. John Simon has gratefully noted in the Chancellor's speech the moderate tone of a statesman. That is also the impression of Austin Chamberlain. Contrasting Hitler to Papen's the *Morning Post* has discovered in the declaration the "soft accent of the South". The entire press has declared: The whole atmosphere has suddenly become less tense. At the same time, the hypothesis has been expounded: the shrewd diplomat Mussolini has brought Hitler to reason; the pressure from Washington has undoubtedly not been without influence. And consequently: the chances of the disarmament policy have manifestly increased. What a flagrant blunder! The psychological secret of the hubbub is simple: whoever expects to meet a madman brandishing an axe and encounters instead a man with a Browning hidden in his hip-pocket, cannot fail to experience a feeling of relief. But that does not prevent the Browning from being more dangerous than the axe.

There is no luck, on the other hand, of distrustful people who see in Hitler's declaration only an episodic maneuver occasioned by the unfavorable echo to the speech of Papen: it is enough, at least for a few weeks, to deceive public opinion and then one will see. An all too simple explanation! The menacing harangue of Lord Riallsman provoked by the speech of Papen, may, it is true, have served as the impulsion to Hitler's intervention. But all this relates to the order and to the tone of political declaration, that is, it touches only the technical side. Behind the diplomatic fencing, however, are concealed much deeper factors and plans. It would be just as false to take Hitler's pacifism at its word as it would be to dismiss the declaration of a "demagogue" without penetrating into its sense. The political problems consist in establishing the inner relationships between Hitler's declaration and his real plans, that is, to try to understand by what ways Fascist Germany hopes to attain those ends which it cannot and will not name. The past must already have adequately shown that if there is fantasy and delirium in the policy of National Socialism, this does not mean that Hitler is incapable of weighing realities: his fantasy and delirium are in expedient conformity with his real political aims. That is our point of departure in

Mooney Stays in Jail; Crook Free

"Sacramento, California, August 19, 1933.—Asa Keyes, who as Los Angeles District Attorney was convicted in 1928 of criminal conspiracy and sentenced to five years in San Quentin prison, received a full pardon from Governor Rolph today. Keyes has served eighteen months of his term.

"After reading letters and petitions urging executive clemency, some from—former Chief Justice M. H. Sullivan, and Supervisor Judge Edward I. Butler, who sentenced Keyes, Governor Rolph said it gave him 'great pleasure' to pardon Keyes and 'wish him every success'." (N. Y. Times, August 20.)

Tom Mooney, a militant labor organizer, who was framed up and sentenced to hang for a crime he didn't commit and later had his

BROOKLYN MASS MEETING

What Is Now Happening in the Communist and Socialist Internationals? What Are the Perspectives of Their Future Developments?

Can the Socialist Party in Germany Be Revived? Has the Communist Movement Been Destroyed?

HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of the "Militant"
Who Has Just Returned From An Extensive Visit to Various European Countries Where He Had the Opportunity to Study the Revolutionary Movement First Hand and to Visit the Exiled Bolshevik Leader Leon Trotsky in Turkey and France

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 6, 1933 at 8 P. M.

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM
219 Sackman Street
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

ADMISSION : : 10 CENTS

As places:
New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

Temps and Stalin Against Trotsky

Temps of August 13th publishes a cable from its Moscow correspondent which we recommend to the attention of every thinking Communist. The cable seems to have been written directly in Stalin's office. Trotsky "will in no case return to the Soviet Union"; "Trotsky never was a friend of the peasantry"; "no reconciliation is possible between Trotsky's policy of permanent revolution and the policy of... socialism in one country". All this is said, it is clear; not to scare the bourgeoisie but on the contrary to pacify the public opinion of the French bourgeoisie.

To fool the foreign workers Stalin orders the official Communist press of the West to say that Trotsky is an ally, a prop and hope of the world bourgeoisie. But the Temps correspondent astiduously assures the French bourgeoisie that "Trotsky

The Workers' Path Is Through Struggle

Evidently Bill Green did not dare to support this raw deal. Undoubtedly, from this point of view, it revealed too soon the true intent of the NRA. Because of the growing pressure from workers everywhere for their rights to organize and to fight for better conditions he found himself obliged not to be associated with this assault. Besides this untimely exposure also threatened the success of the delicate work he is doing to maintain the illusions among the workers that the NRA is for their benefit. Rank and file unionists in many other industries might draw their own conclusions from a strike in any one instance being declared illegal.

Nevertheless it is necessary that the workers begin right now to draw the proper conclusion from this assault. Grover Whalen and his associates, due to the determined attitude of the militant Brooklyn shoe workers, have been compelled to heat a retreat. But it is by no means a final one. The assault was a part of the real intent of the NRA. It is sure to be renewed elsewhere. It means for the workers to be on guard and to learn the lessons implied. They will also soon realize that regardless of the Blue Eagle signs the only path the working class can pursue to better their conditions is the path of the class struggle.

FROM THE MILITANTS

Conservative Unions
Grow in St. Louis

St. Louis, Mo.—The American workers are on the march! Strikes everywhere. Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Missouri, New York, California. In every town and hamlet, in every industry and occupation, workers are daily marching up to the bosses and demanding higher wages, shorter hours. The prices of the necessities of life are rising. The workers are losing their "individualism"; are learning to "stick together."

These strikes are for the most part bare-ups, not planned struggles of an organization. The "revolts" express the accumulated resentment of the workers against the past four years of hellish suffering. After the workers gain their demands or a portion of them, the "rebellion" is usually over. In most cases there is not yet a full understanding by the mass of strikers, the need of permanent union organization. They do not foresee the coming winter, the next spring....

With the worsening of conditions, as NRA inflation continues, union organization will be forced on the agenda of every shop, factory, and mill in the United States. The Communists recognize this, and plan accordingly. Big struggles are ahead—the present strikes will appear as molehills to the mountains on the horizon of tomorrow.

The capitalists and their government officials have considered the probabilities of the Communists gaining control over the haphazard strikes and have already laid plans to "avert" the danger. The "democratic" statesmen are using the same methods that proved so successful during the last "democratic" war. A pact with the wolves in cheap clothing, the labor fakery, capitalism promises through its government that it will "recognize the rights of the workers to organize" (into AFL unions) if the AFL bureaucracy will agree to "prevent strikes and walkouts."

The "Great labor leaders," Green and Lewis, naturally agree with any proposal for "industrial peace" and so they are drafted by the militarist, Johnson. The first duty of the Industrial Peace Board, being to phone by long distance the local leaders of the 70,000 striking Pennsylvania coal miners and instruct them to "get the men behind the National Recovery program by going back to work."

With the blue eagle of the NRA on their breasts, the American flag in their hand, and patriotic speeches in their mouth about the new Messiah, Roosevelt, the AFL is accomplishing the organization of hundreds of thousands of workers through the country. The AFL organizers are now met with open arms by the at-their-wits-end bosses.

Even the Southern bourgeois responsible for the Gastonia and Harlan nightmares now give the glad hand to their arch enemy of yesterday, the American Federation of Labor. According to AFL figures, over 150,000 workers have been organized "down South" within the past couple of months.

In St. Louis, within less than sixty days time, the AFL Organization Committee has written over 20,000 membership cards. And their "recovery" campaign is only in its infancy.

The method of organization varies. Sometimes it is openly acknowledged as a joint drive in the employer and the AFL organizer to "ensure industrial peace." The Johnson, Stephens, Shinkle Shoe Company, open shop for years, suddenly locked out its employees, remained closed for several days, and then refused to re-hire any worker unless he first joined the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union! Waving the American flag, Shinkle's two columns ad explained that they were henceforth going to operate "under the provisions of the National Code."

Generally the agreement between the labor fakery and the company is kept more or less under cover. For example the organization of the workers employed at the Chevrolet Plant and the Fisher Body Company, by the Automobile Industrial Workers' Union, an affiliate of the AFL. Already over 2,000 workers have joined, signifying their need of higher wages. But the union officials announce that they are going to proceed in an "orderly and careful manner." They are not going to make any wage demands upon the employers "just yet." All they want is union recognition "in conformity with the NRA." In Silent Cal style, the employers pun. They state they would "rather have a company union."

The Industrial Ladies Garment Workers' Union has now a membership of over 3,000 in St. Louis. As prophesied, the baby outfit is swaddling clothes fast. Approximately 90 percent of the silk and 65 percent of the cotton garment workers joined the union to date in order to fight against the piece-work stretch-out system and wage scales of \$5.00 and \$10.00 a week. M. Bialis of Chicago, vice-president of the ILGWU came to St. Louis to "prevent trouble." He is a middle with representatives of the local garment manufacturers' association, forgetting about the workers wage demands, abolition of piecework minimum wage, etc. in his vehement insistence that "first" must come the recognition of the union. The near-sighted manufacturers replied that they would wait until the completion

of their industry's code of fair competition. So tomorrow night a meeting of the union membership will be held; a general strike call will be the likely outcome. The Left wing will try to convince the workers of the necessity of a settlement of all their grievances during the strike—and not merely struggle for the abstract right of union recognition.

—MARTIN.

N.Y. Doll Workers
Call Strike

One thousand Doll and Toy workers of Greater New York have gone out on a general strike, with at least that many more coming out as we go to press. The Doll and Toy Workers' Union, Local 18230 of the American Federation of Labor, called the strike after a mass meeting of the workers had voted unanimously in favor of it.

The conditions in the trade were so bad that the workers could stand it no longer, and they would have struck at beginning of the season, in June, but for the fact that there were two unions in the field, the A. F. of L. union and the Independent Union. Now the latter appears to have left the field and, though it is the middle of the season, the strike has been called with every prospect of winning.

The conditions in my shop, and this true of all the others, were such that dippers and grinders averaged about ten dollars a week apiece, where in 1929 they used to make fifty dollars a week on the average. The two main reasons for these terrible conditions, of which the above is merely an example, are the piece work system of paying and the contracting system of letting out work. The abolishment of these two evils, and the enforcement of all the other demands of the union would be of the greatest benefit to the Doll and Toy workers.

The demand of the Union, as put forth in a leaflet calling for the strike are the following:

1. Recognition of the Doll and Toy Workers Union No. 18230
2. Maximum work week of thirty hours
3. Wages equal to the 1929 scale
4. No overtime nor Saturday nor Sunday work
5. Equal distribution of work in the slack season
6. Abolishment of contractor system
7. Wages shall be paid weekly on a stated pay day
8. Dismissal wage
9. Safety and sanitary provisions to be adopted
10. No home work
11. No workers under 17 years of age to be employed
12. Employment should be made through the union office.

The spirit of the strikers is high and they mean business. We expect to hold out until all our demands are granted so that we can again make a decent wage for a higher standard of living under good working conditions.

—A DOLL WORKER...

N. Y. Mirror Workers
Organize Union

Proof of the fact that workers are now becoming conscious of the need of organization is afforded even within the smaller sections of light industry. The New York Novelty Mirror Industry is an example. A number of young workers, driven to desperation by the systematic declining of their living conditions, unheard of wage cuts, lengthening of hours, unpaid for overtime work, firing upon the least sign of protestation, some time ago declared a strike in one of the shops and began picketing immediately. These young workers lacked trade union experience, and unaided by anyone had difficulties in surmounting in forming an organization. But as it matured in the process of the struggle they quickly learned that unless they extend their victory and drew in other shops to their aid they would fail in their task.

Aided by a member of the Left Opposition, a worker of the trade, plans were quickly laid to accomplish their aim. Workers in other shops, hearing of the example set by one shop, needed very little coaxing. And within a short period of time the strike extended to other shops. But because of the above mentioned obstacles—lack of organizational ability, no functioning apparatus, the strike was discontinued. Nevertheless it was not in vain, a partial victory was scored by one or two groups, in obtaining a 25 percent increase in wages.

Union Extends to All Crafts

In the midst of the strike, the union took shape and crystallized into the Novelty Mirror Workers' Union. At first the intention of the inexperienced union organizers was to organize only certain crafts, and although ignore the other workers. But after systematic explanations and persuasion by the member of the Left Opposition the former decisions were rescinded and the doors were opened to admit all workers employed in the industry.

The industry comprises some twenty or more shops, in greater New York and New Jersey. It employs some three hundred workers, of which a good number are highly skilled, glass cutters, bevelers, polishers, silverers, who in former

The New England Shoe Unions

Question of Amalgamation and the Blue Eagle Code

Boston.—In our last article we stated that at present the three outstanding problems in the New England shoe industry were: (1) those of amalgamation, (2) those connected with the agreements which terminated August 1, and (3) those presented by the federal government in placing the shoe code not far down the list. Now have these problems been approached?

Amalgamation gets lip service from everybody. Nolan, head of the Protective, speaking at the National Shoe Convention on invitation, praised amalgamation. Actually, he and Mahan of the National, after trying to arrange a fusion could arrive nowhere, because there wouldn't be enough jobs for the henchmen of each. The workers distrusting these bureaucrats took up the initiative. On the invitation of one local they sent representatives to a planning board whose purpose is to force through amalgamation. This planning board consists of rank and file representatives of the majority of the locals in the National, Protective, and Independent (Salem). The planning board has over sixty members, a few being former members of the TULU union which has dissolved. This group, under the leadership of Klarfeld, has made every effort to get this body to go ahead with amalgamation over the heads of the union by calling an amalgamation convention.

Opposed to the TULU group are the Lovestonites led by I. Zimmerman of the Brooklyn local. They have gained prestige by their efforts in the original Boston and Chelsea strikes, which they helped lead. At that time their position was that the National must be organized—with increase in pay, if possible, but without if necessary. The TULU group called them traitors, etc., because in many shops they sent the workers back without increase. Their answer was "Wait until August, then with a strong union and a busy season we will get an increase that will mean something." Another bone of contention was the use of the state board of arbitration. This also the Lovestonites insisted was temporary and would go in August. They continued the workers.

The Issue of Amalgamation

Now let us return to the planning board. The Lovestonites insist that if the planning board takes the initiative in the amalgamation procedure that they will be playing right into the hand of the bureaucrats who will split away, taking the conservative workers with them. Zimmerman, in an article in the Labor Age attacks the Communist party group openly claiming that they want this split, hoping to get control of those workers who would rally to the planning board if a split occurred. He says all amalgamation must go through regular union channels. In this he is correct. The planning board meetings have degenerated to a fight between the C. P. and the Lovestonites, a fight which is reported to have included the use of fists.

When the National held its convention in early June, amalgamation was approved and a committee of five was elected to meet with a committee of five from the Salem Independent and five from the Protective. This provisional committee was to go ahead with the amalgamation. The Salem Independent Union immediately appointed five on a similar committee, and the two groups met for discussion, awaiting the convention of the Protective at the end of July, hoping that the Protective would appoint a similar committee.

Comrade Cooperstein of the Left Opposition is on the Salem committee and several of the five representing the National are Lovestonites or under their influence. The setting up of this provisional committee with complete power for amalgamation was followed by a fight in the planning board. Zimmerman proposing that this board go on record as limiting itself to amalgamation propaganda only. Klarfeld pointed out that the Protective has still to meet, and that they might not vote for amalgamation or for a committee. However the planning board backed Zimmerman. In the meantime it is said that Nolan of the Protective proposed to the National group of five a plan of amalgamation. This plan

years were earning as much as fifty and sixty dollars. To-day their wages have been cut in half and in some cases to even less. Only recently the union gained considerable strength through the addition of a number of shops, which comprise the most skilled and better paid workers, including also a number of women. To-day the young organization of more than seventy is growing daily as workers come to realize the many advantages that can be gained through a union.

This is taking place, to be sure, not without the usual hardships and confusion attending the formation of a union by a group of inexperienced workers. Leadership is naturally slow in developing. However there are good possibilities and the union in this small industry will grow. A temporary Executive Committee has been elected representing every shop and craft which is engaged at the present in drafting a Code covering the entire trade, and forming shop committees to manage a possible strike that looms in the near future.

—A MIRROR WORKER.

amounted to having the other two unions move into the Protective headquarters until January 1, and that then they could discuss amalgamation.

Officials in Log Rolling Game

At the Protective convention a committee of five was elected but they were only given power to meet the other two groups and ask them for their plan of amalgamation, obtaining this they were to report back to the convention. Zimmerman had submitted a plan of amalgamation to the two groups representing the National and Independent, but no action had been taken. Nolan had got wind of this plan and was afraid that the other two groups had already adopted it, so he took this means of finding out. The three committees met and the National and Independent groups insisted that they had accepted no plan. The Protective group then presented, unofficially, Nolan's old plan mentioned above, which the others opposed. The National and Independent groups were then invited to the Protective convention where they pleaded that the Protective give its committee powers equivalent to their own. Finally a committee was elected, and claims to have powers equivalent to the other groups of five. In the meantime the TULU shoe union of New York with a membership of about 1500 has asked permission to send a committee of five. This has been opposed by J. J. Jones of the Lovestonite group who claims that they come not for unity but for splitting. He bases his argument on a statement made by a conference of representatives of various shoe unions in New York. This statement asserts that the TULU group after joining with them broke away declaring that it could not unite with any group that did not accept the TULU principles. (Incidentally, this conference in New York intends to unite the shoe unions there and then to join the amalgamation negotiations in Mass.) Comrade Cooperstein spoke in favor of admitting the five from the TULU, and the committee decided this way.

What Was Done to the Wage Increase?

The National agreements with the manufacturers terminated August 1. The reader will remember that the Lovestonites answered all criticism in March with the joyous prediction "Just wait until August 1." The Lovestonites and their sympathizers were high in the union. June went and half of July and not one step was taken to get most of the locals busy determining what the new prices should be. This should have been started back in June. Some locals received notice to take up prices only on July 19—eleven days before August 1. We hold the Lovestonites directly responsible for the fact that when August 1 came the prices had not been decided and in some cases lists had not been presented by the union. Instead of playing petty politics they should have centered on this major task. They cannot say that the question was not brought up. They deliberately did not act!

So when August 1 came everything was confusion. The National demanded that the manufacturers give a flat 20 percent increase with a forty-hour week during negotiations. While the manufacturers delayed (knowing that the code was around the corner) and privately it is said, offered 15 percent, the National took the men out on "holidays." Then the manufacturers gave their flat refusal, and the union called a strike. This strike consisted of putting a couple of pickets in front of each shop, although no attempt was made by the manufacturers to get workers.

The Blue Eagle Appears

Into this situation came the blue eagle. Mahan and a committee were called to Washington where they are humble pie out of Perkins' hand. Their big speeches they delivered to each other on the train coming home. They brought back a temporary 20 percent increase which means only a 3-13 percent increase, since the hours are now 40 instead of 48. And who is to decide the permanent increases, if any? Our old friend, the state board of arbitration! The agreement is for a year, with a no strike clause, and 60 days notice (this last to give the bosses plenty of time to prepare against a strike).

The workers were given patriotic speeches by one of the committee close to the Lovestonites and the locals accepted the decision with a few dissenting voices.

We see that there have been many disappointments. However, conditions in the shops have certainly changed for the better. The workers now dare to tell the boss where he gets off. Following the March strike at least 60 workers in Boston were put back in their shops after being fired by the boss. This was done on the unions request, not one case going to arbitration. The wages under the National are much higher than those under the Protective, and already three shops are moving from Boston to territory under the Protective.

Will Amalgamation be Achieved?

The important question now is amalgamation. The planning board is a Soviet representing the locals. It is a true rank and file expression, not a Communist party artifact. It is, however, not official. All attempts to weaken it are to be derided. On the other hand if the planning board does more than propaganda for amalgamation, the bureaucrats will yell "Moscow, Reds, etc.", and a split will occur leaving the radical workers isolated. The Provisional committee should be allowed to prove its worth with plenty of pressure through propaganda by the planning board. Even if the Provisional committee fails to agree on amalgamation, a part of it could call an open convention with more authority than the planning board should and Provisional committees closer together should be supported.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Toronto L. O. Branch
Scores New Gains

An open-air mass meeting of the International Left Opposition of Toronto took place Friday, August 18 in Earlscourt Park before an interested crowd of about 1500 workers. The meeting was organized as the chairman, comrade Chris Doran, announced, in the interests of the fight of the workers for free speech and assembly.

The first speaker was comrade M. Spector who pointed out that the reasons for the growing repression in Canada and throughout the world was because capitalism was decaying and its further existence was possible only through the introduction of Fascism, the restriction of the workers rights and the forcing down of the workers living standards. The capitalists were now only way out for the workers into a new imperialist war and the only way out for the workers was through organization for the Social revolution. He further pointed out what was behind the present Swastika movement in Toronto and finally the fallacy of the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation as a party to free the workers from capitalism.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 showed the workers the way to emancipate themselves and the International Left Opposition holds to this same program. The speaker concluded with the demand for the repeal of section 98 and the freeing of all class war prisoners. Comrade T. Mill added a few words and the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion.

A Reformist Has His Day

As Buckley of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council and one of the leading spokesmen of the C. C. F. was invited to take the platform. Buckley spoke for fifteen minutes in which he attempted to justify the C. C. F. and explain why the class struggle in Canada could be resolved through the use of parliamentary methods only. Buckley was against all dictatorships whether it be socialistic or capitalist.

Comrade Spector when he took the platform to reply asked the assembled workers whether they would rather be under a dictatorship of the workers over the capitalists or a dictatorship of the capitalists over the workers because there was no in-between. The workers dictatorship would be in the end do away with all dictatorship and class repression, the capitalist dictatorship must today in its present period of decline, increase the repression and suffering of the workers in order to maintain its class rule.

In a masterful way, comrade Spector tore all of Buckley's arguments to shreds and tatters and exposed the C. C. F. as a party to save capitalism despite all its "socialistic" phrases.

The meeting was a huge success and a decided gain for Communism and the Left Opposition.

SUCCESSFUL MEETING

On August 23, another big open-air mass meeting was held in Earlscourt Park, with comrades J. Macdonald and M. Spector as the principal speakers, and comrade Chris Doran as chairman.

Comrade J. Macdonald dwelt on the capitalist crisis, the bankruptcy of the old political parties and the present belated attempt of reformism, which has shown its bankruptcy and worthlessness on a world scale to resurrect itself anew in Canada, by exploiting the radical trend to the Left of the Canadian workers, farmers and sections of the city petty-bourgeois. He warned the workers that the C. C. F. will only be able to repeat the failure of reformism in Europe.

When comrade Spector took the platform the C. C. F. supporters made a futile attempt to disrupt the meeting, which met the significant resistance of the workers. The speaker was able to handle the situation quite easily and continued with more fire his short talk, which was a reply to several questions asked of him by C. C. F. supporters.

This meeting like the previous one was very successful. The criticism of reformism in this C. C. F. etc., and a split will occur leaving the radical workers isolated. The Provisional committee should be allowed to prove its worth with plenty of pressure through propaganda by the planning board. Even if the Provisional committee fails to agree on amalgamation, a part of it could call an open convention with more authority than the planning board should and Provisional committees closer together should be supported.

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The ideal thing at present would be to have all the Left wingers get together and work out a minimum program on which they can agree. This is an impossibility unfortunately. The Communist party group were wrong in maintaining their TULU unions back in the March days. When offered five on the Provisional committee in July, they dissolved their union. This was wrong again. They were correct in their attacks on the negotiations and the "holiday." They are wrong in their desire to have the planning board proceed with amalgamation. The Lovestonites on the other hand are right on amalgamation procedure but have played a shameful role in the negotiations. These positions are irreconcilable at present.

League Activities

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In a masterful way, comrade Spector tore all of Buckley's arguments to shreds and tatters and exposed the C. C. F. as a party to save capitalism despite all its "socialistic" phrases.

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SUCCESSFUL MEETING

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Comrade J. Macdonald dwelt on the capitalist crisis, the bankruptcy of the old political parties and the present belated attempt of reformism, which has shown its bankruptcy and worthlessness on a world scale to resurrect itself anew in Canada, by exploiting the radical trend to the Left of the Canadian workers, farmers and sections of the city petty-bourgeois. He warned the workers that the C. C. F. will only be able to repeat the failure of reformism in Europe.

When comrade Spector took the platform the C. C. F. supporters made a futile attempt to disrupt the meeting, which met the significant resistance of the workers. The speaker was able to handle the situation quite easily and continued with more fire his short talk, which was a reply to several questions asked of him by C. C. F. supporters.

This meeting like the previous one was very successful. The criticism of reformism in this C. C. F. etc., and a split will occur leaving the radical workers isolated. The Provisional committee should be allowed to prove its worth with plenty of pressure through propaganda by the planning board. Even if the Provisional committee fails to agree on amalgamation, a part of it could call an open convention with more authority than the planning board should and Provisional committees closer together should be supported.

The ideal thing at present would be to have all the Left wingers get together and work out a minimum program on which they can agree. This is an impossibility unfortunately. The Communist party group were wrong in maintaining their TULU unions back in the March days. When offered five on the Provisional committee in July, they dissolved their union. This was wrong again. They were correct in their attacks on the negotiations and the "holiday." They are wrong in their desire to have the planning board proceed with amalgamation. The Lovestonites on the other hand are right on amalgamation procedure but have played a shameful role in the negotiations. These positions are irreconcilable at present.

League Activities

Toronto L. O. Branch
Scores New Gains

An open-air mass meeting of the International Left Opposition of Toronto took place Friday, August 18 in Earlscourt Park before an interested crowd of about 1500 workers. The meeting was organized as the chairman, comrade Chris Doran, announced, in the interests of the fight of the workers for free speech and assembly.

The first speaker was comrade M. Spector who pointed out that the reasons for the growing repression in Canada and throughout the world was because capitalism was decaying and its further existence was possible only through the introduction of Fascism, the restriction of the workers rights and the forcing down of the workers living standards. The capitalists were now only way out for the workers into a new imperialist war and the only way out for the workers was through organization for the Social revolution. He further pointed out what was behind the present Swastika movement in Toronto and finally the fallacy of the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation as a party to free the workers from capitalism.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 showed the workers the way to emancipate themselves and the International Left Opposition holds to this same program. The speaker concluded with the demand for the repeal of section 98 and the freeing of all class war prisoners. Comrade T. Mill added a few words and the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion.

A Reformist Has His Day

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—FLORENCE WYLE.

Growth of Fascism in England

Edinburgh.—The advent of Hitlerism has given the impetus to the formation of Fascist groups in Britain. Brown Shirt, Blue Shirt, Green Shirt and Black Shirt organizations are coming into existence in different parts of the country and all of them seek to emulate Herr Hitler.

In Scotland, a Scottish Fascist party has been formed under the leadership of Weir Gilmour, a former member of the Labour party. This group plays upon the religious and nationalist feelings of the Scottish workers by calling upon them to support such things as Home Rule for Scotland and the expulsion of the Roman Catholics from Scotland, while Gilmour also advocates the formation of a Scottish industrial union.

In London, a Green Shirt organization has come forward with an appeal to the youth of England. The young men and women must save the British Empire from ruin by means of supporting the much discussed currency scheme known as the Douglas Credit System which, once adopted would bring prosperity to the shores of Britain.

The outstanding personality in the ranks of the British Fascists, however, is Sir Oswald Mosley, another former member of the Labour party and a member of the Labour government. He has organized a Black shirt group known as the British Union of Fascists and in the capacity of propagandist he has published a book in which he outlined the main features of the Corporate State. Mosley has paid several visits to Italy and is a great admirer of Mussolini.

However he sees certain flaws in Italian Fascism and he would remedy these weaknesses upon the basis of rationalized British industry with a new political structure adapted to British traditions. The monarchy would be retained as the great unifying force in the Empire but the House of Lords would be abolished as being antiquated and in place of the present parliament there would be a National Corporation elected from the best brains in banking, industry and politics. The state would settle all industrial disputes and the trade unions would be forbidden to strike but would be called upon to aid the state in the reconstruction of industry. In order to achieve this delightful scheme of things, the forces of anarchy must be overcome. And Mosley sums up this part of the program as meaning the struggle against Communism which must first of all be destroyed in Fascism is to triumph.

All the Fascist groups take up this latter point with great enthusiasm. Their literature abounds with threats against prominent Communists who are being at the root of all the troubles that afflict mankind and especially the British Empire. The numerical strength of the Fascists is uncertain but they probably number 10,000 and are much-time the favorite theme of music hall comedians and the popular cartoonists. But despite this ridicule they have started actively to interfere with strikes and Communist meetings and are obviously being financed by certain sections of the capitalist class. Their main recruiting ground is the middle class and the lumpen-proletariat—quite a useful combination for any dirty work—and their ranks are likely to be considerably strengthened as the crisis deepens or if the working class should swing to the Left.

The numerical weakness of Fascism is in direct contradiction to the tremendous interest that is being taken in the subject of Fascism in general. The popular press devotes whole pages to the development of Hitlerism in Germany and each new atrocity against Jew or Communist in line with the particular policy being pursued by the given newspaper. Hitler is written up as a hero or a villain. His policy is praised by the Daily Mail or vigorously attacked by the Manchester Guardian. The latter newspaper has led the field in the matter of exposures of German Fascism and unlike the organ of the Labour party, the Daily Herald, has made the defense of Jew or Communist a special feature. While in contradiction to the organ of the Communist party, the Daily Worker, it has found space for the brilliant analysis of the German situation by comrade Trotsky although it took pains to point out that it disagrees with Trotsky's belief in the world revolution.

All the political parties have discussed the Fascist question and they are all in opposition to Fascism but the organs of the Conservative party advise the youth of Britain to watch and learn from Hitler whose easy triumph is welcomed with ill-concealed delight. The rapidly decomposing Liberal groups have declared against Hitlerism but their spokesmen enunciate policies that are as near to being Fascist as makes the difference hardly discernible. Thus the parties of the capitalist class are leering at Hitler but endeavor to hide their admiration under a cloak of mock condemnation.

When we turn to the working class movement we find a strange scene of confusion. All the parties are against Fascism; all are apprehensive as to the nearness of the monster; all have talked and demonstrated against German Fascism but all are entangled in a net of confusion when it comes to the question of how to defeat Fascism, of how to destroy the reptile before it releases its deadly sting. In this connection all are agreed

Will the British Workers Learn from the German Experience

upon the necessity for a united front. But when we come to the question of just what is meant by a united front then we come up against certain peculiarities of the British labour movement that have made it the despair of its comrades in other lands.

Thus when the Communist party approached the Labour party, Trades Unions, Cooperatives and the Independent Labour Party for a united front against Fascism they singled out not the most important issues around which unity must be built but presented these organizations with a complete industrial and political platform embracing everything from the Versailles Treaty to the legal rights of the trade unions. The Labour party and the Trade Unions replied by stating that while they were against Fascist dictatorship they were also against Communist dictatorship and whilst they agreed upon the necessity for a united front they could not join with the Communists but would call upon the workers to join the Labour party to show the world the peaceful path to Socialism.

But this position did not suit the intelligentsia of the Labour party now comprising the Socialist League, a recently formed group of Fabians, ex-members of the I. L. P. ex-members of the C. P. and including J. T. Murphy, Colonel Malone, Raymond Postgate, C. D. H. Cole, and Sir Stafford Cripps. They also would have nothing to do with the Communist party but they thought that the question of Fascism raised the other question of the policy of the Labour party. In the course of their speeches and writings they succeeded in formulating a brand new program.

They declare that the Labour party may gain a parliamentary majority at the next general election but that then the capitalists would let loose the forces of Fascism. To meet this situation the Labour party must request the king to create a majority of Labour peers in order to abolish the reactionary House of Lords. Then an emergency Powers Act would be passed with the consent of the king. Parliament would be dissolved and a country would then be ruled by a series of Orders in Council which

would be operated by a body of National and District councillors appointed by the Labour cabinet and would also empower the armed forces and the police to deal with the Fascists pending the socialization of the banks, mines and railways, etc.

This wonderful scheme, in which the monarchy would cooperate in the establishment of Socialism, was immediately seized upon by the leaders of the Conservative party who labelled it "Fascist" and much to the disgust of Lansbury, Clynes and Henderson, the Labour party was accused of secretly planning a dictatorship. The executive of the party and the General secretary of the trade unions have, of course, denounced the scheme and have even hinted that they may deal with the members of the Socialist League as they previously dealt with the Communists, i. e., by throwing them out of the Labour party. In reply, the Socialist League have been at great pains to point out that they only wish to deal with Fascism in a Constitutional manner and that they are just as much against dictatorship as is Lansbury and in the course of the controversy they arrive at the remarkable conclusion that German Fascism is no dictatorship.

Thus the editor of their monthly organ, the Socialist Review, writes: "The Nazi regime is no dictatorship. Hitler and his henchmen were every one of them elected to do just what they are doing—bait the Jews and suppress the Communists." The fact of the matter is that the Labour party is saturated with love for the constitution and both the Rights and the "Lefts" would seek to destroy Fascism by lawyers' tricks.

The Communist party has no illusions as to the constitution and even the leaders of the Independent Labour Party are becoming somewhat clear on this point but, nevertheless, all is not well with the anti-Fascist united front of these two bodies. Beginning on the basis of no criticism it was not long before the leaders were busily engaged in attacking each other. And when Fennell Brockway accused the Third International of having betrayed the interests of the working class movement, Pollitt replied by calling Brockway a counter-revolutionary. And declaring him to be "worse than any Trotskyist" he urged the rank and file of the I. L. P. to deal with its leaders.

In the midst of this word war—

fare a section of the united front broke down. The Lancashire, Wales, North Eastern branches of the I. L. P. refused to continue the united front and make an appeal to the National Council which proved ineffective. The latter body met in conference and after three days' labor produced yet another policy for the I. L. P. But in the course of the debates on this policy a split took place over the question of continuing the united front with the Communist party. John Paton, general secretary of the I. L. P. resigned and five members of the National Council voted against the new policy which was only carried by a majority of four votes.

Thus the I. L. P. looks like losing yet another portion of its already greatly reduced membership. While one section staggers back to the Labour party and a few members go over to the Communist party, the main section will hold on to their precarious role of centrism, swinging between right and left. The latter wing of the party is being led by Maxton and Brockway who are endeavoring to stem off the evil day of complete dissolution. They are now supporting the world congress of all revolutionary working class organizations to be held in Paris. They do not favor a criticism of the policies of the Second and Third Internationals but desire a discussion on "positive revolutionary principles". At the same time they leave the door open for an entry into the Stalin stronghold by declaring that "the German Communist party held correct revolutionary principles but applied them wrongly," while "the cooperation of the I. L. P. and the C. P. is beginning to unify revolutionary activity that may well facilitate the creation of a united revolutionary movement."

Both the I. L. P. and the C. P. are at low ebb and it well known that wires are being pulled in order to push on the formation of a United Communist Party in Great Britain composed of a fusion of the two forces. Such a move would give a temporary lease of life to the bankrupt Stalinists as well as to the I. L. P. reformists but soon the contradictions of the Stalin line would bring the shaky structure down again.

The danger of Fascism has brought to the forefront the basic problems confronting the British working class movement and the brief experience of the united front movement of the I. L. P. and the C. P. has once again proved that there are no short cuts to success. At the same time it has revealed the Communist possibilities lying latent in the application of the united front if based on sound principles. Neither the I. L. P. nor the C. P. possess these essential qualities—hence the failure to take advantage of the weakness of the discredited labour party.

—T. C.

August 14, 1933.

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Vol. VI, No. 41 (Whole No. 188)
Saturday, September 2, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

If the number on your wrapper is 188 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly issues.
THE MILITANT
128 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

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—On Club Plan (Clubs of Four)
Six Months 50 Cents.

the support of grain prices, in 1932 there were provided 67 millions, now 125, nearly double the amount. The "Dreadner Bank" receives 100 millions. The expenditures for military purposes were raised from 636 to 670, and including the special department of Herr Goering, Aviation, to 745 millions, that is, an increase of over 100 millions. On top of that must be added the concealed expenditures of the budget (which is free from any kind of control, and the tax relief for capital ownership, already mentioned.

The secret of spending more money and yet saving expenses is easily solved. They took away from the poorest, in order to be able to give to the richest. The war cripples and war orphans receive, instead of 1313 millions, only 1040 millions, that is, 25 percent less. The expenditures for the unemployed are reduced from 945 to 520 millions, that is, cut down by almost half. That a "balance" in the budget should be established, at least in the theory of the budget estimate, is a miracle. But this miracle is not brought about by any magical power of Hitler's, but through the starvation of the disinherited and the hell of the concentration camps.

Jobs Are Not Spared
But even the unemployed are not spared in this campaign of robbery. The budget estimate for 1933 closes, both in revenues and expenditures, at 400 million marks lower than in 1932. How was this trick of a saving in expenditures worked, in spite of the lavish increased spending for the sake of increased profit on capital and for the militarization of Germany? For

Disarmament and War - V.I. Lenin

(This article was published by comrade Lenin in October 1916, in the Social-Democrat, the Bolshevik publication issued in Geneva, Switzerland during the war. It is of especial importance now, when preparations are being made for an Anti-War Congress with the participation of Barbusse and other pacifists. It clearly states the revolutionary line in the struggle against war, and distinguishes it from petty-bourgeois pacifism. To read this document now enables one to measure the distance which separates the line of Lenin and that of Stalin, the "greatest disciple of Lenin".—Ed.)

One of the main arguments in favor of disarmament is that, and it is not always directly expressed: We are against war, in general, against any war, and the most definite, clear and unequivocal expression of this view of ours is the demand for disarmament.

We have dealt with the incorrectness of this argument in an article on the Junius pamphlet, to which we refer the reader. Socialists cannot be against every war, without ceasing to be socialists. One must not let himself be blinded by the present imperialist war. For the imperialist epoch, just such wars among the great powers are typical, but democratic wars and insurrections too, are absolutely impossible, such as for instance wars of oppressed nations against their oppressors, for their liberation from oppression. Civil wars between proletariat and bourgeoisie, for socialism, are inevitable. Wars between victorious Socialism in one country against other countries, bourgeois or reactionary are possible.

Disarmament is the ideal of Socialism. In Socialism society there will be no wars, consequently disarmament will be realized. But he is no Socialist, who expects the realization of Socialism without the social revolution and the dictatorship. Dictatorship is state force, which supports itself, immediately, upon force. Force in the twentieth century—as in the epoch of civilization in general—is neither the fist nor the club, but the army. To take disarmament into our program would mean to say: We are against the use of arms. In that there is to be found just in little Marxism as if we were to say: We are against the use of force!

We want to point out that the

Imperialist War and Class War are Sharply Contrasted

international discussion on this question has been carried out mainly, if not exclusively, in the German language. And in German, two words are used, the distinction between which is hard to reproduce in Russian. One is (Abruestung) "disarmament", and is used, for instance, by Kautsky and the Kantians in the sense of limitation of armaments. The other is (Entwafrung) "total disarmament", and is mainly used by the Lefts in the sense of abolition of militarism, in the sense of abolition of every militarist (warlike) system. We are speaking in this article of the second demand, which is prevalent among some revolutionary Social-Democrats.

II.
An oppressed class, which does not endeavor to learn how to use arms and to possess arms, would only deserve to be treated like slaves. Without becoming bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, we must not forget that we live in a class society, and that there is not and cannot be any other way out of it than the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

In every class society—whether based on slavery, serfdom or, as at present, on wage labor—the oppressing class is also armed. Not only the present standing army, but also the present militia—even in the most democratic bourgeois republics such as Switzerland is the arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. This is such an elementary truth that it is scarcely necessary to spend much time on it here. It suffices to point to the use of the army (including the republican-democratic militia) against strikers, a phenomenon which is the same in all capitalist countries, without exception. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the most important, most fundamental, and most significant facts of capitalist society in the present period.

And in the face of such a fact it is proposed that the revolutionary social-democrats set up the demand for total disarmament! That means the same as the complete rejection of the standpoint of the class struggle, the rejection of every

thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: Arm the proletariat, to conquer the bourgeoisie, to expropriate and to disarm it. This is the only possible tactic for the revolutionary class, a tactic which arises out of the whole objective development of capitalist militarism and is prescribed by this development. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie, can it throw all weapons onto the ash-heap, without being disloyal to its world-historical task; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, not only then, and in no case before.

If the present war produces fear among the reactionaries, the christian-socialists and the woezy petty-bourgeois, only horror and fear, only aversion to any use of weapons, to blood, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and always was terror without an end. And if the present war, the most reactionary of all the wars of this society, is preparing an end in terror, then we have no occasion to fall into despair. In its objective meaning the "demand" for disarmament—or, more correctly, the demand of disarmament at a time when before the eyes of the whole world, through the forces of the bourgeoisie itself, the only legitimate and revolutionary war, that is the civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie, is being prepared, is nothing but an expression of just such despair.

If anyone says that this is a visionary theory, we want to remind him of two world-historical facts: the role of the trusts and of factory work for women on the one hand, the Commune of 1871 and the December insurrection of 1905 in Russia on the other.

It is the bourgeoisie's affair to develop trusts, to drive children and women into the factory, to ruin and skin them alive there, and condemn them to the worst misery. We do not "demand" such a development. We do not "support it," but we struggle against it. But how do we struggle? We know that trusts and factory work for women are a progressive step. We do not want to go backward, to handwork, to capitalism without monopoly, to home-work for women. Forward through trusts and the rest, and over them, to Socialism!

These considerations, which take into account the objective course of the development, can be applied with suitable changes to the present militarization of the people. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie is militarizing not only the whole people, but the youth too. Tomorrow perhaps it will go on to the militarization of women too. To this we can only say: So much the better! So much the faster is it going ahead! And the faster it goes ahead, the nearer we are to the armed insurrection against capitalism! How can the social-democrats let themselves be intimidated by the militarization of the youth, if they have not forgotten the example of the Commune? This is no "visionary theory", no dream, but a fact. And it would be very bad in fact if the social-democrats, in spite of all economic and political facts, were to begin to doubt that the imperialist epoch and the imperialist war must inevitably lead to a repetition of such facts.

A bourgeois witness of the Commune wrote the following in an English newspaper in May, 1871: "If the French nation consisted only of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and children over 13 fought at the time of the Commune alongside the men. It cannot be otherwise in the future battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The proletarian women will not stand by passively and see how the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot down the poorly-armed or unarmed workers. As was the case in 1871, they will take up arms, and out of the present intimidated nations—or more correctly, out of the present workers' movement, which has been disorganized by the opportunists more than by the governments—there will develop, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international union of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Now militarization embraces all of public life. Imperialism is a bitter struggle of the great powers for the division and redivision of the world, and therefore it must lead to further militarization in all countries, even in the neutral and the small countries. But what will the proletarian women do about it? Will they only curse at every war and every phase of militarism and only demand disarmament? Never will the women of an oppressed class, which is truly revolutionary, content themselves with such a miserable role. They will say to their sons:

"Soon you will be grown up. They will give you weapons. Take them and learn the craft of war. This knowledge is necessary for the proletarian—not in order to shoot at your brothers, the workers of other countries, as happens in this war and as the betrayers of socialism are advising you to do—but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, to poverty and to wars, not with pious wishes, but through victory over the bourgeoisie and through their disarmament."

If anyone rejects such propaganda, particularly in connection with the present war, he would do better not to use his words about international social-democracy, about the struggle against war.

(To be continued.)

—V. I. LENIN.

N.R.A. and Changing Forms Of Amer. Capitalist Economy

The launching of the NRA has brought out in bold relief the intellectual sterility of Stalinism in America. When we examine the columns of the Daily Worker, we find the usual blatant generalities. One looks in vain for a sober, scientific analysis of the issue, with a view to the establishment of a correct perspective for action on the part of the working class.

The most important feature of the N. R. A. lies in the fact that the new Roosevelt turn signifies the initial stage of an entirely new political and economic organizational form for American capitalism. It is the beginning of state capitalism—the final economic form of capitalist society. How soon a more advanced stage of state capitalism is reached will depend upon the juxtaposition of a number of political and economic factors.

It is altogether inadequate to call the N. R. A. "the Slavery Act" and let it go at that, as if capitalism in any of its forms is not slavery for the workers. To refuse to recognize this new turn, first, by clear analysis and second, by the posing of new slogans and tactics is to continue the "tail end" position that the Stalinists have always followed with unvarying consistency. Despite the recent notable increase in strike activity throughout the country, the overwhelming numbers of the American working class along with the petty bourgeoisie is still convinced that the Roosevelt program actually means the "re-employment of men and dollars." The present administration is very skillful and effective in the use of demagoguery. When will the disillusion come? Not until it has soaked thoroughly into the consciousness of the workers by their own experiences in the actual results and meaning of the N. R. A.

Under these conditions it is absurd to launch general appeals to fight the N. R. A. as a "slavery act" on a united front basis. These appeals will bring nothing concretely, but will weaken the possibilities for genuine united front action to become of utmost importance. The labor lieutenants, on whom the NRA relies to a considerable extent to successfully put it over, have in the meantime stimulated themselves into such activity as they have not seen in years. The labor provisions of the Act were specially designed to enlist the support of organized labor. Aside from the nullification arising out of bitter opposition by the big open shop industrialists, the law specifically and in so many words gives labor the right to organize and bargain collectively. The reason for this paradox lies in the realization on the part of the Administration that a threat was necessary in order to whip into line the recalcitrant industrialists.

The years of depression have created havoc in the labor organizations. More than one of the old unions have seen their membership decline and disappear. The rankers have been a bit apprehensive about their pie and and felt that something ought to be done about it. The NRA gives them the opportunity and they are seizing it with both hands.

A recent bulletin brings us the news, for instance, that in Akron, Ohio, 1,500 workers have joined the A. F. of L. United Federal Union of Rubber Workers while 2,000 have joined the steel union in the Youngstown district. When one considers that these two basic industries have been traditionally open shop, the news achieves real significance. This bit of news can be multiplied hundredfold for the country as a whole. Everywhere the A. F. of L. is busy organizing, Johnson's declaration that no police machinery will be set up to ferret out and prosecute code violations plays right into the hands of the A. F. of L. leaders. The tasks of organized labor under the NRA will be "simplified" for the time being to the extent that it engages in policing the industries.

What is the Left wing under the TUUL doing? It is reviving its social insurance bill as a main proposition to put before the American workers! Even if the "Communist" social insurance bill were more Left than that offered by the socialists, which it is not, the T. U. U. L. would still be widely dodging the main issue.

The reaction of the Left wing to the necessities of the moment must be immediate. The tasks before it are clear. Every effort must be made to get back into the conservative unions at once. Where Left wing unions already exists constituting a factor in the industry for which they are organized, they must be extended by well planned and executed organizational drives.

It is safe to predict that the time in which organization efforts will be tolerated will be short. Therefore, every possible advantage that the workers can squeeze out of the situation must be utilized. Swift, mass action will count a great deal.

Will the N. R. A. give us shorter hours and a minimum wage scale? Very well, then, we shall organize to see to it that we get no less than that which is granted to us. We shall fight to prevent the minimum wage scales from becoming the rule. We shall fight to retain present wage scales in a number of industries from being lowered to the minimum set by the codes and for wage increases to meet increased cost of living. Such should be the tenor of our argument.

(Continued on Page 4)

—UNSER WORT.

Discussion on the German Defeat

The article appearing below is a second contribution to the discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. The views expressed are those of the writer.—Ed.

L.
The victory of Fascism in Germany is now an irrefutable fact. The defeat of the German proletariat means, of course, an indubitable set back to the revolutionary reorganization of society. To minimize the Fascist victory is to open wide the gateway to subsequent disasters. But there is no less danger in overestimating it. Fascism is victorious but its victory is not final. Its triumph was gained in Germany over a demoralized proletariat. It won because the workers were demoralized by the betrayal of the party of social democracy and the party of Socialism in Germany. To draw erroneous political conclusions from this betrayal—to blame the workers—is to lead to further demoralization, despair and catastrophe on the international scale.

The "amazing thing" about the experience in Germany is that Hitler was able to come to power legally, i. e., that Hitler's assumption of the state power did not provoke elemental resistance on the part of the workers. The worshippers of the elemental are aghast at this discrepancy between the dynamic background and the inertia of the proletarian mass. The proletariat of Germany, they sigh, is the "best organized working class in the world" and yet despite its strength and organization, the Fascists literally slid into power without any resistance. Nothing approaching such passivity can be cited from past history. There are no analogies that seem to apply. The incentive to set them in motion seems to obtain, and yet the masses do not budge. Their lives are at stake and yet the workers remain docile, indifferent or stupefied. Learnedly, facts and figures are being culled to prove that the masses did act spontaneously in the past. Why, the same workers openly resisted the very same Fascists even before Hitler assumed power. Still more perplexing is the fact that even at the beginning of its historical journey the proletariat evinced unmistakable initiative. At their weakest, the workers tended "instinctively" to organize themselves, rising up spontaneously, throwing up their own leaders, and at times acting despite their leaders when the latter tried to stem their elemental urge. But now, almost on the brink of their historic goal, the workers seem paralyzed. Once Fascism assumes power, they permit it to crack their skulls and destroy their organizations. There are a number of revolutionists who are at present voicing privately their indignation, if not disgust with the workers of Germany and their "psychology." The German workers, they say, are after all Germans and like all Germans they have been drilled and organized to the point of becoming automatons, ready to goose-step no matter who commands. It is a shameful fact that today in America there are Marxists who produce such psychology to account for the passivity of the German workers. In order to explain the situation in Germany, they find it unnecessary to dig into the tragic historical course of the working class in Germany; the role of their parties explains nothing; the treachery of social democracy and the supplementary treacherous policies of the official German Communist Party explain nothing. Psychology explains everything—"the racial psychosis" fully accounts for everything, not only in Germany but in America also. Why are the American workers so inert? Are they not imbued with the psychology of rugged individualism and not the psychology of bay-foot, straw-foot? Answer—"They suffer from the racial American psychosis." Our rugged individualists, if they happen to be American workers are also provincial and hence "terribly backward." Clearly, the American workers—all workers—are to blame if they do not know how or why to fight; clearly, the workers and only the workers are to blame for failing to learn what their psychopathic leaders cannot teach them.

But according to our fetishists of the elemental, the American, just like the German worker is supposed to fight anyway, no matter what he knows and what he doesn't. Why aren't the American workers responding elementally like the American petty-bourgeoisie, the farmers, who are in open revolt? The farmers are acting, militantly they try to force their demands

NRA & State Capitalism

(Continued from Page 3)

Concurrently, we must strengthen our unemployed work. Demand for social insurance, as well as all other related unemployed demands and activities must be constantly held in the foreground. We must particularly develop united front action among the various unemployed organizations in the field on every possible occasion.

If we are at all successful in dealing with the tasks that present themselves to us with such clearness, when the mass disillusionment sets in the vanguard will be recompensed by added strength and power. The Left Opposition wing can rally to its banner new valuable revolutionary forces by demonstrating that it is capable of understanding the new turn of events and applying correct Marxian tactics.—JOSEPH S. GIGANTLI

upon the state, they mobilize—and the workers...? "They are still too backward," replies our revolutionary thinker. Small wonder that with such Marxists abroad one finds the most sanguine perspectives of the conjuncture in the American revolutionary press. The big bourgeoisie is prepared for riot, for spontaneous mass outbursts; it has put all its state machinery in order to meet the gravest eventualities, even to the extent of preparing the Army to take over the railroads, if and when necessary. The ruling class is alarmed by the lull below, fearful that the longer the masses remain dormant the sharper and more violent may prove the explosion. But the revolutionists are busy manufacturing alibis, maintaining their prestige, and screening their own bewilderment.

Is the big bourgeoisie of America merely hysterical from an acute attack of "crisis psychosis"? Not quite. Though somewhat distended in panic, its eyes see clearly nevertheless. For one thing the big bourgeoisie sees danger on the part of the petty bourgeoisie which as a class responds the quickest and easiest to the elemental in accordance with its subordination to bourgeois ideology which is propagated and instilled in all individuals in society by the bourgeoisie.

L.O. Holds Successful Meeting in N.Y.

Upwards of 500 workers came to the Irving Plaza Hall to listen to the report of comrade Max Shachtman on the fate of the second and third Internationals. An enthusiastic atmosphere was manifest throughout the entire proceedings of the meeting. Workers never before seen at Opposition meetings were in evidence through every part of the hall. Besides these there were scores of Party members and sympathizers. Lovestones, Socialists and every other shade of working class political opinion present. The questions upmost in the minds of the most developed elements in the working class movement—is there a chance for the revival of the International Socialist movement? Will there be a resurgent movement within the ranks of the Communist International after the Hitler victory in Germany?—these questions and others of a similar nature were posed by the speaker of the evening and developed and elucidated in a manner as to rouse in the minds of the workers present a serious and critical approach to the problems confronting all revolutionists at the present time.

Following the collection, the floor

was thrown open for questions and discussion. Dozens of questions followed: Does the speaker have the temerity to say that the Communist Party is liquidated in Germany when the Communists there are painting slogans on working class houses? Why were the Italian workers defeated when they had such great leaders to guide them as Lenin and Trotsky? What is the direction of the Left Socialist groupings, S. A. P., I. L. P., etc? Why didn't the Left Opposition make a determined struggle against Fascism in action?

Quite a number of the questions revolved around the problem of a new International. To these comrade Shachtman replied that there was now a serious discussion going on in the ranks of the International Left Opposition and that as soon as a full and thorough discussion had been concluded and a policy democratically determined the L. O. would make its standpoint clear to the entire working class. It was after midnight when the speaker concluded with the questions, so it was quite apparent that discussion could not unfortunately be had. The meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

(Continued in next issue)
—JOHN G. WRIGHT.

Prepare Youth Day for War Fight

(Continued from page 1)
tion to its regular anti-militarist propaganda.

Today the heavy clouds of war looms over the entire world. The threat of Japanese imperialism to the Soviet Union, its robber war and conquests in China, the consolidation of German Fascism, the conflicts between the imperialist nations, England vs. the United States, Japan vs. the U. S., Germany vs. France, Austria vs. Germany, and so on, brood an impending massacre. The capitalist nations are reaching an economic and political impasse. It is becoming more and more difficult for them to settle their problems peacefully. France is armed to the teeth. Japan, England and the United States have been and are increasing their naval forces. Roosevelt is preparing the psychology of the American workers for a war situation. His national labor boards closely resemble those organized during the last war. Through the Civil Conservation Camps, the American bosses represented by Roosevelt's government are preparing a reserve of several hundred thousand young workers for the new imperialist slaughter.

...To counteract this process of militarization of the youth, little effective work is being done. The Stalinist Communist party and Young Communist League gives over to the Barbusse, Sinclair, and Dreiser the leadership of the struggle against war. In the trade unions, which are essential for war or anti-war purposes the Left wing is insignificant.

International Youth Day belongs to the militant and class conscious young workers. To give it real meaning to enshrine it in the hearts of the American youth an orientation of international revolution is necessary. Only on such a basis can an effective struggle against militarism and war be conceived. The Left Opposition youth will dedicate itself to this and endeavor to carry on the tradition of the handful of bold young fighters who met at Berne.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

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Left Socialist Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

minut groups though all of them still defend the basic line of Communist policies which lead to the failure and disasters. These people still declare that what needs to be corrected is only the "third period" sectarian aspects of the Stalinist policies.

The resolution for the Brussels conference deals with Germany, declaring that the "victory of Fascism has shown to the whole world the bankruptcy of the Social Democratic and Communist parties." It condemns the coalition policy of the Social Democrats and their acceptance of the "lesser evil" theory. Both statements are entirely justified and correct. Yet the character of the conference cannot fully be judged in advance. As far as at least some of the initiators are concerned its prospects still stand between the camps of reformism and Communism. A first test will be afforded at the gathering now taking place and the prospects for the trend toward the Left Opposition gaining momentum must be said to be good.

The Issue Within the British I.L.P.

The attitude of the British I. L. P. to this conference is of interest. The right wing of its National Council has lined up against further co-operation with the Communist party. In turn the leaders of the latter label the I. L. P. leaders bag and baggage "counter-revolutionaries," "Fascists," "enemies of the Soviet Union," etc. The I. L. P. National Council, after many differences within it were revealed, finally decided that in regard to the conference resolution its view is: "That whilst both the Second and the Third International also bear a share of the responsibility (for Germany) the nature of the failure is different. The Social Democratic failure is due to its reformist and compromising policy. The Communists had correct revolutionary principles but applied them incorrectly."

In connection with these developments our British Left Opposition section appeals to the comrades of the Independent Labor Party" imploring them to make clear their position, especially on the basic problems of the revolution. The lack of this formulation makes it possible in the I. L. P. to find today those who stand for immediate admission to the Communist party rubbing shoulders with those whose rightful place is in the labor party. The I. L. P. has not yet fully found its way to the Communist position. Consequently it has not yet fully made the break with Centrism.

The British Communist party is now campaigning for a "United Communist Party." The unity is to be brought about by a "Unity Congress," and we are told a "democratic" one. But this congress is to be on the basis of the Comintern program. That is the program adopted at the Sixth Congress, the program of "socialism in one country," which separated the workers from the mass of trade unionists, which evolved the fatal theory of "Social Fascism," and which is at the basis of the capitulation and defeat in Germany. Our British Left Oppositionists say to the I. L. P.:

"It is impossible to talk of unity on such terms. But the I. L. P. cannot exist on the mistakes of the C. I. For this reason it is all the more necessary to begin an exhaustive discussion which shall aim at facing up to the main problems posed by the present world situation and by the experience of the past in order to formulate your own viewpoint. And such a discussion would have profound effects, not only inside your own organization, but also inside the C. P. G. B. and would be the first step towards the real unity of the best revolutionary forces on the basis of ideological unity."

Temps and Stalin

(Continued from Page 1)

of repentance, as was done by Kamenev and Zinoviev... it would be impossible to accord him the permission to return to the USSR." To every politically literate person it can only mean that Stalin, "absolutely competent source," formally obligated himself to the agent of French finance not to admit Trotsky to the USSR even if he should sign a letter of repentance. "However, the correspondent adds in passing, it is not at all in Trotsky's character to sign such letters."

Temps carefully circumvents the contradiction of why "it would be impossible to accord Trotsky the permission to return to the Soviet Union," even in case of repentance, if he has no program, no adherents and is foreign to the masses. The experienced correspondent kept political discipline and did not ask any embarrassing questions of the "absolutely competent source." The categorical obligation of Stalin: Let the French stock market not fear a rapprochement with Moscow: "Trotsky will in no case be admitted to the USSR," sufficed for him this time. Yesterday Stalin made this pledge to Hitler, today to the Comité des forges.

Once again: let the Stalinists consider well this remarkable document. This is not chatter of the yellow, tabloid press. Not in vain did Jores once say: Temps is the bourgeoisie turned newspaper."

Hitler & the Prospects of War

(Continued from Page 1)

the appraisal of the internal as well as the foreign policy of National-Socialism.

The guiding philosophical and historical ideas in the declaration are truly pitiful in their pretentious modality. The idea proclaimed by Hitler of the necessity of re-adopting the state frontiers of Europe to the frontiers of its races, is one of those reactionary utopies with which the National-Socialist program is studded. Present-day Europe is decomposing economically and culturally not because its national frontiers are imperfect, but because the old continent is cut up in every direction by customs, prison walls, separated by the disorder of the monetary systems, that is, systems of inflation, and crushed by the militarism which Europe requires to insure its dismemberment and its decadence. A shifting of the internal frontiers by a few dozens or hundreds of miles in one direction or another, would, without changing much of anything, involve a number of human victims exceeding the population of the displaced zone.

The assurances given by the National-Socialists that they renounce "Germanization" do not signify that they renounce conquests: one of the central and most persistent ideas in their program is the occupation of vast territories in "the East," so that a strong German peasantry may be established there. It is not by accident that the pacifist declaration, having suddenly and unexpectedly left the ground of the "ideal" separation of the races, warns in a half-threatening tone that the source of future conflicts may arise out of the "overpopulation of Europe, primarily of Germany: the East. And when, lamenting the injustice of the German-Polish frontier, he declared that one could without difficulty find "in the East" the solution capable of satisfying alike the "claims of Poland" and the "legitimate rights of Germany," he simply had in mind the annexation of Soviet territories. The renunciation of Germanization signifies, in this connection, the principle of the privileged position of the Germanic "race" as the seigniorial caste in the occupied territories. The Nazis are against assimilation but not against extermination of the conquered "inferior" peoples to their Germanization. For the time being, fortunately, it is only a matter of hypothetical conquests.

When Hitler asserts with indignation that the great German people has been transformed into a second class nation, and that this conflicts with the interests of international solidarity and the principle of equal rights for all peoples, this idea rings false from these lips: the whole historical philosophy of National-Socialism proceeds from the allegedly organic inequality of nations and the right of the "superior" races to trample upon and to exterminate the "inferior" races. Taken as a whole, the Hitler program for the reconstruction of Europe is a reactionary-utopian medley of racial mysticism and national cannibalism. It is not hard to submit it to an annihilating criticism. However, it is not the beginning of the realization of this program that is on the order of the day of the Fascist dictatorship, but the re-establishment of the military power of Germany, without which it is impossible to talk of any program whatsoever. It is only from this standpoint that the declaration offers any interest.

Hitler's program is the program of German capitalism, the most dynamic and the most aggressive of all, and which is at the same time bound hand and foot by the results of the defeat. It is this combination of potential strength and actual weakness that predetermines the exceedingly explosive character of the aims of National-Socialism as well as the extreme prudence of the most immediate steps towards the attainment of these aims. One can speak today of loosening and gradually untying the knots, but not of cutting them asunder.

Any revision of the treaties, especially of the system of armaments, would signify a change in the present relationship of forces: Germany would have to grow stronger, France weaker. Outside of this, the very question of revision has no meaning for Germany. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the rulers of France will accept no changes that would weaken its position to the benefit of Germany.

That is why the Nazis regard as illusory and fantastic any policy calculated upon an improvement of the international position of Germany by way of an agreement with France. It is from this conviction which, as will be seen further on, runs through all the political activity of Hitler, that flows the inevitability of a new conflict between Germany and France. But not today, nor tomorrow. It is precisely this "correction" with regard to time that Hitler makes in his declaration and, in this sense, it is not a mere "deception." When Goering set fire to the Reichstag, he risked nothing but the heads of his agents. The premeditated firing of Europe is a more ticklish enterprise. In its present state, Germany cannot make war. It is disarmed. This is no phrase, it is a fact. Bespectacled students and unemployed with a swastika band are no sub-

stitute for the Hohenzollern army. To be sure, here and there Hitler can partially violate the obligations dealing with armaments. But he will not resolve upon any open measure on a large scale which would involve him in a direct and flagrant conflict with the prescription of Versailles. Only some "fortunate" circumstances, in the form of complications between the heavily armed states of Europe, could permit National-Socialism, in the very next period, to execute a panther's leap, its "March 5th" in foreign policy. But in their absence, Hitler will be forced to confine himself to grand diplomatic combinations abroad and to petty military outbursts at home.

Potential strength does not liberate from actual weakness. If the Germany of the Hohenzollerns set itself the task of "organizing Europe" in order thereafter to undertake a new partition of the world, present-day Germany, thrown far back to the rear by the defeat, is forced to set itself once more those tasks which Bismarck's Prussia solved long ago: the attainment of the European equilibrium as a stage in the unification of all the German territories. The practical program of Hitler is today bounded by the European horizon. The problems of continents and of oceans are beyond his field of vision and can be of practical concern to him only in so far as they are interwoven

USSR Recognition A Class Question

(Continued From Page 1)

and particularly the unemployed workers around the slogan of recognition and financial support to the Soviet Union. This was the logical outcome of the theory of "Socialism in One Country," which divorces the progress of the revolution in the Soviet Union toward Socialism from the interests of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the countries which are still dominated by capitalism. They have preferred to attempt to obtain recognition, not by the pressure of the masses, but by back-stage negotiations with the representatives of the capitalist class. Confronted with our slogans, they have denied that the proletariat would or could be mobilized around these demands, saying that the workers were too backward, that they would not understand, that it was a risky way of doing things, that it might arouse the antagonism of the bourgeoisie, that it might interfere with the cautious negotiations of the Soviet diplomats.

This policy of sacrificing the permanent and ultimate aims of the international working-class to the temporary and immediate ones of the Soviet State, is essentially opportunistic. It gains its immediate aims by retreating. How far this retreat will go we do not know. The American government has in past negotiations with the Soviet government asked for guarantees against the use of Soviet recognition to further revolutionary activity in the United States, and has even demanded the abolition of the Communist International. We may doubt that the retreat will go that far, but at what point will it stop? Will that point be fixed by the intransigence of the Stalinist diplomats or by the insolence of the American negotiators?

A correct revolutionary strategy cannot be based on the subordination or opposition of the international interests of the working class to the immediate interests of the first workers' state. With or without Stalinist leadership, the only sound policy remains: to pose the fight for recognition as a working-class demand joining the interests of the American workers with those of the Russian workers, to carry our demands in the course of struggle from recognition and long-term credits to steadily higher levels, forward to the demand for a joint plan of economic collaboration and as our ultimate goal, the international planning commission for world economy.

Unite the Interests of the Soviet

But we are faced with the actual situation created by the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. We must declare unequivocally—we are in favor of the recognition of the Soviet Union, because it strengthens the workers' state. The government of the workers state, however, is in the hands of Stalinism. For the present, the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy coincide with the immediate interests only of the Soviet State. The Left Opposition, on the other hand, always fights for the defense of the first workers' state as well as for the ultimate international revolutionary interests of the world proletariat. It is only the Stalinist apparatus that separates the two.

In defending the Soviet Union, we fight jointly with the present government, which is the Stalinist apparatus. When, and if, the interests of the apparatus or part of it conflict with those of the workers' state, as may occur in the event of intervention or a Thermidorian counter-revolutionary crisis, we defend the workers' state and call on the international proletariat to mobilize for its defense.

Even then the immediate question of the recognition of the Soviet Union will be settled, therefore, the Left Opposition still poses as its task the mobilization of the revolutionary vanguard of the international working-class for the support of the next stage of the needs of the Soviet Union, for economic collaboration and for international defense.—B. J. FIELD.

with the internal problems of Europe. Hitler speaks exclusively in defensive terms: this corresponds entirely to the stage through which renaissance German militarism must pass. If the military rule—the best defensive is the offensive—is correct the diplomatic rule—the best preparation for the offensive is to take care of the defensive—is no less correct. In this sense, Brookdorf-Rantzau, who had a taste for paradox, told me in Moscow: Si vis oclum para pacem.

Hitler is counting upon the support of Italy, and within certain limits, this is assured him—not so much because of the identity of internal regime (the parody German Third Reich is, as is known, a frankly Latin plagiarism), as because of the parallelism in—at least their negative—foreign aspirations. But with the Italian crust alone, German imperialism will not rise to its feet. Only under the conditions of support from England can Fascist Germany gain the necessary freedom of movement. There are no adventures, no declarations which smack of adventure! Hitler understands: every blow against the West (a blow against Poland) would rebound against the West, would promptly bring closer together England and France, and would oblige Italy to the greatest reserve. Every imprudent, premature, risky act of revenge-politics would lead automatically to the isolation of Germany and, given its military impotence, to a new humiliating capitulation. The knots of the Versailles treaty would be drawn still tighter. An agreement with England demands a self-limitation. But Paris—and Paris is just what is involved—is well worth a mass. Just as the agreement with Hindenburg, through the medium of Papen, permitted Hitler to accomplish his coup d'état in the form of an interpretation of the Weimar Constitution, so an agreement with England, through the medium of Italy, is to permit Germany "legally" to ravage and to overthrow the Versailles treaty. It is within this framework that the declaration of May 17 must be viewed. Hitler's pacifism is not a fortuitous diplomatic improvisation, but a component part of a grand maneuver which is to change radically the relationship of forces in favor of Germany, and to lay the bases for the European and the world offensive of German imperialism.

However, this is but one part of Hitler's program and only the negative part: to refrain from premature attempts at revenge is in essence the continuation of the Stresemann policy; it does not suffice to guarantee the active support of England. The declaration of May 17 contains a clear indication on the other, the positive, side of the Nazi program: the struggle against Bolshevism. It is not a question of the organizations of the German proletariat but of the struggle against the Soviet Union. In close connection with the program of the drive towards the East (Drang nach Osten), Hitler takes upon himself the protection of European civilization, of the Christian religion, of the British colonies and, against Bolshevik barbarism. From this historic mission, precisely and primarily from this mission, he hopes to obtain for Germany the right to arm itself. Hitler is convinced that on the scales of Great Britain the danger of German Fascism to western Europe weighs less than the danger of the Bolshevik Soviets in the East. This evaluation constitutes the most important key to the whole foreign policy of Hitler.

The most important, but not the only one. The National-Socialist dictatorship will not only play upon the contradiction between the West and the East, but also upon all the antagonisms of western Europe: there is no lack of them. Placing a cross over the fount of Austro-Hungary, Hitler pledges the special attention of Germany to the "young national states of Europe." He seeks auxiliary levers to re-establish the European equilibrium, proposing to the small and feeble states to rally around the vanquished and not the victor. Just as in its domestic policy, National-Socialism has assembled under its banner the ruined and the desperate, in order all the more surely to subject them to the interests of monopoly capital, so in its foreign policy Hitler will strive to create a united front of the vanquished and the injured in order all the more militantly to crush them in the future under the weight of German imperialism.

If Hitler has so eagerly accepted the English plan for armaments reduction, it is only because he counted in advance and with full certainty upon its failure. He did not need to take upon himself the odious role of the grave-digger of pacifist proposals: he prefers to leave that function to others. For the same reason, Hitler is not, hardly with his "warm thanks" to the American President for his declaration in favor of armaments reduction. The more broadly and extensively the program of disarmament is presented before the whole world, and the more inevitably it ends in a collapse, the more inconceivable will be Germany's right to rearmament. No, Hitler is not preparing to overthrow Versailles by violence—for violence one must have power! But he is counting firmly upon the prospect that, after the failure of the British program which he "supports," England, together with Italy, will support with all their might the right of Germany to strengthen its defense.... against the East. Nothing but defense, and only against the East!

(Continued in next issue)

—L. TROTSKY.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 120 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 43 [WHOLE NO. 190] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

The Cleveland Fiasco

The Cleveland Conference was another Stalinist "united front" masquerade which adds nothing positive to strengthen and unify the left wing of the struggle. That was to be expected. A service to the working class would have been possible there only if the conference had been convened under the sign of a change of trade union policy and a renunciation of the monstrous system of mistakes and crimes which have demoralized and decimated the left wing forces in the labor movement, robbing them of the possibility of playing their national role in the present beginning of a new rise in working class activity. Instead of that the whole affair was consecrated to the task of covering up the past and perpetuating the policies, methods and practices which have brought such tragic results.

From the point of view of trade union tactics, the class conscious workers have to reject the findings of the Cleveland Conference in toto. Faced with the overwhelming evidence on every side of a revival of the conservative labor organizations and a sweeping movement of the workers into them, a trade union conference at this moment can serve a progressive purpose only if it draws the inescapable conclusion. That is, to recognize that this new impulse of the workers for organization, even in the most conservative unions, is in itself a progressive development which the revolutionaries must assist and encourage and take part in. Regardless of variations in the process, due to the exceptional conditions in certain instances, it is absolutely clear to anyone who has eyes to see that this drift toward the A. F. of L. unions is the main line of union development in the new situation arising from the collapse of the Stalinist paper unions, the economic upturn and the inauguration of the NRA. A national trade union conference, called together in such a situation, must deal with main lines if it does not want to leave the track entirely.

The Stalinist engineers of the Cleveland Conference could not do this without revealing and admitting the falsity of all they have said and done and tried to do on the trade union field in the past period. They would have had to admit that life itself is refuting the contentions which they set up as rigid principles. They would have been obliged to recognize that the sectarianism and bureaucratic mismanagement of the paper unions under their control have brought under which operate as an objective factor to discredit and paralyze the independent union movement, to rob it for the time of its great vitality and by that to push the main stream of the awakening workers back into the conservative organizations, even into those against which they have previously revolted.

From the point of view of the proletarian united front the Cleveland conference was a comedy, unending and perhaps a little ridiculous than the previous exhibitions. As every vegetable has its season, so every change of the moon brings a new type of "united front". The "united front from below", which condemned all non-Communist leaders as fascists and excluded any cooperation with them, gave place to the approach to all reformist organizations for a united front with a non-aggression pact excluding criticism. This attempt to include everybody at any price is already out of date. The dealings with the fascists and Socialists in general are given up, in favor of the exclusive unity—and a touchingly affectionate one—with the "left social fascists", the "most dangerous" of the whole conglomeration of black shirts and brown shirts who lurked behind every bush.

This bloc in reality is a crude horse trade which must conduct on the principle of give and take, with the express proviso that the CPLA does not do any of the giving. Muste and Budenz sign their names to joint manifestos (which cost nothing), sit on the platform, and gain a certain rehabilitation before the Communist workers. This is a real gain for them. They are hot foot for this kind of "unity", and naturally so. But when it comes to the question of concrete agreements in any sector of the trade union field, they invariably balk. The "united conference" at Cleveland showed the Musteltes dissenting and keeping their hands free in every case.

All this is funny enough. But the sum total results of the Stalinist adventures in the trade union field are no joke. Just at the moment when the workers are beginning to stir again, to move in masses in sharp collisions against the employers—in a word, in a situation made to order for an advance of revolutionary organization and influence the reactionary labor bureaucrats reestablish their organizations and secure their positions and prestige on the support of new

hundreds and thousands of workers, while the left wing suffers catastrophic defeats. The most outstanding illustration of this anomaly is to be seen in the needle trades.

But this superficial appearance of things is in reality a contradictory process which is not without positive aspects which promise much for the future. If thousands of the class conscious workers, caught in the overwhelming pressure of external forces, are turning their backs on the cut and dried trade union schemes of the Stalinists and reentering the conservative unions, this movement does not necessarily imply a retrogression on their part. Any movement toward trade union organization is progressive. And when this is accompanied by a profound disillusionment with the Stalinist dogma and the Stalinist leadership its progressive nature is by no means impaired. On the contrary, the decisive break of the advanced workers out of the straight jacket of Stalinism is the first and most necessary condition for the reemergence and flowering of a genuine left wing in the labor movement. And that also is the necessary basis for a reconstruction of American Communism.

—J. P. CANNON.

Stalinists Ready to Give Up Saar to Hitler

One bloody sacrifice of the German working class is not enough for the adventures of the C. P. G. leadership. They are all set to commit a new crime. A crime which constitutes a crowning laurel worthy of all their previous deeds. A crime which shows up to a "left" their unconditional capitulation before the nationalist phrasology of the Nazis.

The negation of internationalism in proletarian politics and the headlong race with the Nazis for the exploitation of the chauvinistic instincts of broad masses in Germany—these are the fundamental causes of the class treachery of the C. P. G. "Tear the Chains of Versailles", "National and Social Revolution of the People", the united front with the N. S. D. A. P. (National Socialist German Labor Party)—i. e., the fascists under Hitler! During the "Red Referendum", the wailing of degenerate militarists and notorious labor assassins (like Major Giesecke, who later betrayed the whole party apparatus)—all these are important milestones in the German workers' path of sorrows. The consistent execution of such a policy, based on the fundamental error of nationalism, could not help leading to capitulation.

This course is now to be continued by the position of the party on the Saar problem. The party's position in this question is the most monstrous thing imaginable for Marxists and internationalists. The working class of the whole world must be made aware of what a completely degenerate bureaucracy is capable of. It is not in this case a matter any longer of theoretical dispute. No, it is simply a criminal offense.

The Saar territory, which is to be decided by referendum in 1935 as to how it wishes to shape its political future, has been under a League of Nations protectorate ever since the peace treaty. In the referendum the natives will have an opportunity to express their will in three ways: namely (1) for the maintenance of the status quo ante, that is, the present state of autonomy; (2) for annexation to France; (3) for the return to Germany.

Due to the social and economic composition of the Saar (preponderance of the coal and iron industries) there can be no doubt that the labor vote will play the decisive role in the referendum. It is also clear that nothing is further from the minds of the workers than the idea of desiring annexation to French imperialism. That possibility is excluded beforehand.

The Saar bourgeoisie is already today falling into step with the Third Reich. The Catholic Centre also. This surprises no one. The social democracy is of greater importance, however. For years they stood in the front ranks of the repatriation enthusiasts and there was no official celebration in Prussia in which some S. P. G. minister did not participate in the intonation of patriotic hymns to the German loyalists of the Saar proletariat. Today, after the S. P. G. has thus helped Herr Hitler into the saddle, after the latter has banished all the patriotic ministers to the concentration camps, the social democrats in the Saar are forced to revise their point of view most radically. They put forward the slogan

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The Class Face of the N.R.A.

The class conscious worker who has pursued with any measure of watchfulness the unfolding improvisations of this latest "Great Effort" of capitalism will receive the Green-Wool legend of NRA's unionism with his tongue in his cheek. He will remember the sudden "strike truce edict" of the great labor friend in the White House following not on the trail of the powerful challenge to the coal bosses thrust out by the miners of Pennsylvania last July. (The promise, "fair", "pro-union" coal code is, by the way, still in the offing.) He has witnessed the Johnson-Ritchie comedy around section 7 (a) of the Recovery law. He has seen an automobile code adopted with a stridently anti-labor, open shop "merit" clause. He has heard the Recovery cop, Whalen, invoke the NRA for the arrest of peacefully picketing shoe and bakery strikers in New York. And so on down the line.

But even more striking than all these manifestations of the "pro-labor" tendencies of the Recovery administration are its acts which involve the parts assigned to Green, Lewis and Co. themselves. A national arbitration board is named: Only two representatives of "organized" labor. And what representatives? John L. Lewis, the reactionary czar of the United Mine Workers and Bill Green, Hoover's darling. Two labor representatives out of a board of seven.

The steel barons meet for a code hearing. Bill Green arrives as representative of the administration. The steel men rise in angry protest—they won't negotiate with the President of the A. F. of L. Green apologizes, swears he is not there, goes for a representative of labor but as a legitimate spokesman for the NRA. No use. You can't fool the good capitalist instincts of the steel men. They turn their heels on poor Mr. Green.

A few facts, an incident, that speak volumes! The case-hardened boss class will not give up its class positions one inch without a fight. They know that it is only the docile William Green. They know that he is ever ready to talk peace to them, to betray every last worker he represents.

But no matter. To accept him as an administration representative? The idea alone makes the steel barons see nightmares of a Soviet! Not an inch of such a concession, it sets precedents!

And the good General Johnson wears out his knees in genuflections before them, repudiates Green as representative and ruthlessly rehabilitates him upon the protests of his colleagues.

But enough—the class face of the NRA is unmistakable. For Roosevelt it represents an effort toward a revamping of capitalism by internal reform and through the mobilization of a huge class collaborationist machine. For the steel barons it is a risky experiment. They will not dent with Browder's "Fascist" A. F. of L. Green. Tomorrow they may have to deal with social fascist Norman Thomas and the day after tomorrow—with Left social fascist Muste? You never can tell. It isn't safe to give in to anyone who represents labor!

But the labor movement remains silent. The official Communist party shows no comprehension for the events or their possibilities. The left wing of the trade unions is out of the picture.

Only one solitary gesture of protest rises against this hypocrisy of the NRA: It comes—also—only from a lady social worker who has been appointed to a post in the administration.

Mrs. Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation withdraws her acceptance of the post on the grounds that NRA does not give labor sufficient representation, that it deprives the workers of their only genuine weapon of bargaining—the right to strike, etc. The lady liberal took the reformism of Roosevelt at its face value. Her protest is genuine. Of course, it is only the isolated protest of a sincere labor sympathizer.

What the NRA deserved was a protest from mass pressure by labor itself. That will come, that will be effective and take the road to workers' victory when the left wing realizes the tremendous opportunities afforded by the situation, when the Communists appraise and analyze the present situation realistically, when the militant section of labor penetrates the A. F. of L. and snatches the leadership of organized labor away from the Greens and the Wollis and the Lewises.

—SAM GORDON.

HANDS OFF CUBA!

Stalin Invites Pilsudski to Review the Red Army

The hangman of Communists, the jailer of thousands of workers and peasants, the fascist dictator of Poland has been invited by Joseph Stalin to participate in the Red Army demonstration on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, whose vicious, bitter hatred and enmity to the Workers Republic is a secret to no one and which he has taken no pains to conceal is asked to come to Moscow to celebrate the overthrow of the landlords and exploiters; to review the army of Lenin and Trotsky. Sinister omen!

The revolutionary workers throughout the world must ask with horror what is the significance of this move that is so filled with implications of treachery.

Following close on the heels of Radek's visit to Poland, where he was feted and entertained in regal style by the editor of Pilsudski's official organ, the *Gazeta Polska*, the invitation to Pilsudski contains the serious warning that the Stalinist betrayal in Germany was but the first stage in their complete repudiation of internationalism.

The question becomes more insistent: Is the defense of the Polish Union to be entrusted to the Pilsudskis, the Herliots? And is the world proletariat to be sacrificed to that insidious end?

The heinous theory of Socialism in One Country has led directly to the capitulation before the Brown Shirts. Why? Because civil war in Germany might have disturbed the chimera of an isolated national socialist society. For these self-

same reasons the Communist International has not met in Congress for more than five years to discuss the burning problems facing the working class of the world. In its stead are the non-aggression pacts—scraps of paper which will be violated at the first opportunity by the imperialists.

And now the logic of the Stalinist policy leads them not to call upon the world proletariat to observe the November revolution by a powerful struggle against fascism—and fascism is not in Germany alone—but by tender congratulations for the fascist Pilsudski. What can the Polish workers say to this invitation when they are clubbed, jailed and murdered for the observance of the Russian Revolution? Stalin is indifferent to them. What cynicism is expressed for the revolutionary movement in the sending to Pilsudski the dossier of the latter's record in the Polish nationalist movement in the Czarist days.

It is hinted in the bourgeois press, and has not been denied by the *Daily Worker*, that a military alliance between Soviet Russia and fascist Poland is in preparation. We sound the warning that there can be no greater betrayal of internationalism, of the interests of the working class, no greater danger to the Soviet Union than the consummation of such a perfidious alliance. Let the Communist workers take note. The cook is preparing us another property soup. This time it is Soviet Russia that is at stake!

U.S. Prepares Assault on Europe

The New York Times in an editorial on August 20, issues a warning against any attitude of panic should the NRA not succeed according to expectations. It says: "But it is now evident that the issues of the battle will not be decided by the first shock of attack. A long period of what may be called trench warfare is before the country."

The main issues of this trench warfare are already discernible—and it will have plenty of new and greater shocks of attacks, covered also by barrages of heavy artillery. First and foremost, in the order of importance, is the onslaught upon the world market to be launched as soon as the home front is sufficiently prepared. In other words we are facing the American imperialist offensive against Europe. Its further fate and even the fate of the recovery program, is bound up closely with this offensive. Conversely that will also influence the trend of the American working class movement in the coming period.

Let us say at the outset that this should not lead to a minimizing of the importance of the domestic market or of the significance of relationship of forces at home. On the contrary. Precisely that aspect must be the starting point of accurate estimation of American prospects in the world market. The huge domestic market is the stronghold and the reservoir from which proceeds the penetration since the world war has already left the American imperialist imprint upon Europe. But now operations are being prepared for a far more formidable scale destined to put all past ventures in the shade.

The American bourgeoisie needs to strengthen its hands at home in order to be able to move with that much more certainty abroad. Efforts toward this strengthening are taking place in three different directions which, however, all fit in to one pattern: Between the various financial and industrial units which make up the national economic structure; in the relationship between capital and labor and finally in the relationship of the government to both. The specific method, or instrument, by which this is hoped to be accomplished, is the NRA.

In regard to the first of these directions named, the most noteworthy factors are the reorganization accomplished in the financial structure of the country, eliminating some of its most antiquated features and immensely strengthening the great metropolitan institutions as well as the reorganization of industry on a much more formidable monopoly basis. Not only is this the monopoly form of the past large enterprises, but it is the addition of a degree of governmental supervision and control through industrial codes which facilitates the elimination of small com-

petitors on a perfectly legal basis. In regard to capital and labor relations the efforts are distinctly to re-establish the old condition of "identity of interests" which was somewhat badly shattered during the crisis. The aim is not merely the "identity of interests" on the old narrow basis of collaborating directly with unions, exclusively craft in composition, and confined to the aristocracy of labor, or through labor banks, labor insurance schemes or stock ownership schemes—the methods of fattening the aristocracy of labor as a means of better keeping the proletariat under control. Such means are no longer sufficient. Moreover changes have taken place in the composition of American labor; the leveling process has not been without effects. Now the idea is to extend the "identity of interests" to an alliance based upon joint interests in recovery, to embrace the working class generally. First among the measures applied is the reorganization of labor power to the productive forces through reduction of working hours in order to blunt the most dangerous edges of the unemployment problem. Secondly, the affirming of the right to organization and collective bargaining which in reality means a tacit agreement to a further extension of the conservative unions for the purpose of cementing the alliance. Wages are, of course, to be adjusted to the needs of capital and its profit incentive. But for the whole it is hoped that the NRA machinery of labor ad-

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Soldiers and Students Oust Gov't.; U.S. Sends Navy

The rapidly developing events in Cuba have found an answer in the "democratic" regime of Roosevelt. Warships are steaming full speed ahead to Cuban waters. Marines are being mobilized—not for intervention!—just to protect American lives and property. At the first serious threat to the money bags of the Wall Street oligarchs the mask is stripped from the face of the "liberal" administration and it reacts like the most honored of the reactionary regimes in United States history. For the workers in the United States the central problem is the fight at home against intervention.

The Cuban situation is developing with hurricane speed. De Cespedes and his concentration cabinet have been swept away. The regime was not one month old when the military, the students and the ABC dissident wing blew it into eternity.

Communists to Be Tried for Goering Reichstag Fire

On September 17 the trial of those accused in the German Reichstag fire will commence before the Supreme Court at Leipzig. Unquestionably this represents the most monstrous and most brazen frame-up yet recorded in working class history engineered with all the skill for which the Nazis have become notorious. The accused are Ernst Torgler, former chairman of the Communist party Reichstag fraction; Van der Lubbe, the Dutch Nazi dupe, and the three Bulgarian Communists, who had been living as exiles for some time in Germany. Demitroff, Popoff and Taneoff.

The Reichstag fire on Feb. 27, dramatically initiated the terror regime which today can claim among its victims hundreds of workers, killed or maimed for life; acts which in their gruesome details defy description, the battering and devastation of all semblance of working class organization, the muzzling of all freedom of opinion and about 80,000 victims suffering the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps. On Feb. 27, under the glare of the flames, Hitler said to the reporter of the *London Daily Express*: "You are witnessing the commencement of a great historical epoch. This blaze is the beginning." And strangely enough, although this date fell right at the height of the election campaign, neither Hitler nor Goering nor Goebbels were out on the stump; all were assembled in Berlin—waiting for the fire.

All aid by foreign counsel has been denied the accused by the Nazi government. No one not under strict Nazi discipline is to be allowed to pry into this frame-up. Among such foreign counsel offering their services were attorneys Arthur Garfield Hays of the United States, Branting of Sweden, the well known writer Romain Rolland and many others. These have now constituted a committee to conduct a public hearing at the Hague simultaneously with the Leipzig trial.

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The coup d'etat was accomplished without bloodshed and with remarkable ease. The De Cespedes regime offered no resistance. Quietly and with "dignity" it abandoned the seat of power, saying only that the responsibility for the "burden of government" rested on other shoulders.

The painless amputation of the De Cespedes regime is to be explained by the fact that it failed entirely to enlist the support of the workers. Although the general strike came to an end with the return to work of the Havana bus drivers and later the stevedores and dock workers, strikes continued throughout the island in the cities and on the sugar plantations. These movements became ever deeper in character. Here and there the military attempted to put down the strikes but the soldiers, for the most part, FRATERNIZED WITH THE WORKERS. This strike movement cut away the ground under the feet of the government.

On the other hand the De Cespedes regime revealed its sympathies with American imperialism and the Michadistas. Not only had the De Cespedes regime organized Machado's escape, but it revealed a great reluctance to satisfy the popular demand for the arrest and trial of all the agents of the former dictator and the removal of his supporters in mayoralities and governmental posts. This infuriated the anti-imperialist elements of the petty bourgeoisie.

Finally the government signified its intention of cutting the soldiers' pay. This was the last straw. The soldiers rebelled. The movement developed with remarkable speed and immediately swept beyond its initial objectives. The soldiers of Camp Columbia, a Havana post, took to the radio and asked for the support of all enlisted men. The response was immediate. The entire army and later the navy joined the movement.

The rebellion of the military is a rebellion of the rank and file against the government carried out against their own officers. Their first action was to arrest all commissioned officers. And now for the first time in the present revolution the soldiers and sailors are putting forward THEIR OWN LEADERS. At the head of the army and navy stand non-commissioned officers. Throughout the army and navy the same selection is taking place.

The soldiers and sailors by themselves cannot constitute a regime. They need political leadership. In the present situation that has been supplied by the petty bourgeoisie. Under the slogan of the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly the petty bourgeoisie have erected a junta of five: four professors and a banker.

What will the petty bourgeoisie demand in the Constituent Assembly? The petty bourgeois masses are infused with anti-imperialist sentiments. The press reports that they signify their intention to fire on American marines should they be landed. A student jumps to the roof of an automobile and denounces American intermeddling.

The situation indicates that the demand will be raised for the abrogation of the Platt Amendment in the Cuban Constitution giving the United States the right to intervene with military forces in Cuba. The demand will also be made to denounce the treaty between the United States which gives the United States that right.

But the leaders of the new movement, the Junta, do not dare to say this openly. They are afraid of intervention by the United States to "protect foreign lives and property."

This lack of plain speaking characterizes the program of the new government. How could it be otherwise? The petty bourgeoisie have no social program. They cannot cope with the problems of modern society. Their position in society is a desperate struggle for existence between the capitalist and proletarian grindstones of the social process. They are incapable of conceiving, let alone carrying through, the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society; that involves the obliteration of their own existence as a class.

In the Cuban revolution the summit of their social vision is the Manifesto of their junta of professors and a banker. On the one hand they stand in awe of the American imperialist colossus: "Strict respect of the debts and obligations of the republic." This is assurance to the Chase National Bank and the House

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The Teachers Can Organize With Aid of Workers

The fight of the teachers in defense of their living and teaching conditions cannot be won by themselves alone. The experience of the Chicago and Havana teachers, to take only recent events, proves this. The militant mass demonstrations of the Chicago teachers were successful in winning a measure of relief. But the attacks on the school system and on the teachers directly and indirectly are not only continued but intensified. In Cuba it required the action of the entire population to oust the dictator who oppressed the country including the teachers.

The teachers are employees of the state. In defense of their interests they must contend directly against its enormous power and manifold apparatus of coercion and repression. The character of the movement which can successfully resist its onslaughts is indicated by the hurricane which swept Machado out of office. Such a movement the teachers cannot build nor even lead.

In a word the teachers movement must seek allies among those strata of the population whose interests bring them into conflict with the state. Local estate associations, chambers of commerce, civic betterment societies, etc., etc., sometimes fight government policies in pursuit of their special interests, principally in the matter of reduction of taxes. But this coincidence is more apparent than real. Local estate associations everywhere are now pressing for reduction in taxes at the expense of the school system and the living and teaching conditions of the teachers. The present drastic economy program in education is proceeding under the whip of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

More fundamentally, the real estate associations and chambers of commerce are the organizations of the ruling classes who instigate and carry through the attacks on the teachers THROUGH THE STATE. The state is their state. Their conflict with it is an attempt to REFORM ITS POLICIES IN THEIR INTEREST AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKING CLASSES WHICH INCLUDE THE TEACHERS. That is why they were not found in the ranks of the demonstrators in Chicago and Havana. If the teachers depend on them they will be betrayed. That is inevitable.

The position of teachers in capitalist society as a section of the working class marks out the road they must travel in resisting the blows of the capitalist class. They must join hands with the workers. Only the working class movement of which the teachers must become a part, as they have in France, can solve the problems of the free school system and the living and teaching conditions of the teachers.

This fundamental orientation must be reflected in the policies of the teachers movement and its organizational forms. The organization of teachers unions has already given the historic answer to the question: what organizational forms shall the teachers movement take? It follows that the basic organizational form of the teachers resistance is the trade union. And it makes it necessary for the teachers to enter the trade union movement. The defense of culture leads to the trade union movement.

This fundamental orientation and this fundamental organizational form does not exclude other, temporary forms of organized resistance. But it indicates the relation in which they must stand toward the teachers trade unions and the trade union movement.

Strike of the Doll Workers Grows

New York.—The second week of the Doll and Toy workers strike finds the strikers militant and fighting. Already strikers have been beaten and arrested by the police. The picket lines are holding strong and most of the doll trade is out. With prospects of the strike continuing indefinitely, we must not put faith in the NRA; and also the negotiations in Washington between the bosses' Association and the Union, over the codes, may fall through. Preparations for strike relief must be started immediately. We must appeal to all labor unions and other labor organizations to help us during the strike. Many of the strikers cannot pay their initiation fees, because they have no money. Therefore this outside assistance will be gladly welcomed.

Workers demand shop meetings in the union hall and not in the shop, because the boss will try to get the weak ones to go back to work by promises. He is doing this in order to break the strike and afterwards to worsen our conditions lower than before the strike. Also see that these meetings are held regularly, and that full reports are given to the workers to act upon and decide.

—A DOLL WORKER.

MOONEY MEETING IN BOSTON
A Free Tom Mooney mass meeting will take place at the Parkman Bandstand on the Boston Common, Saturday, September 9th at 3 P. M.

Congress of the 2nd Int'l. Ex-Ministers Gloomy--Socialist Workers Awakening

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alive in the breasts of the social democratic statesmen that the portals of their respective bourgeois ministries have not yet been closed to them for aye. No intoxicating vapors of victory were sung in Paris. The vocabulary of triumph made way for the vocabulary of defeat.

Nagui, as if recalling Vandervelde's greetings to the Vienna assembly, remarked rather maliciously about the "communes who used to come to international congresses as ministers of state, and who are now emigres". The Russian Menshevik Abramovich, whose wisdom is held in doubt even by his comrades in view of his questionable achievements before and after the 1917 revolution, declared that "the German capitalists knew the socialists would not fight". The Czech Menshevik Winter spoke off-handedly of the "collapse of the German party" (only yesterday it was the backbone of the Second International). The secretary of the International, Fritz Adler, casually mentions in the course of his report that the German "Social Democracy was crushed". Even the most hopeful among the delegates, the same Vandervelde who still presides over the International and yearns to transfer his presidency to the cabinet of His Royal and Pious Majesty, King Albert of Belgium, ran pump nothing more inspiring from the wells of his eloquence than the proclamation that "the International still lives despite all disasters".

Of major disasters, there has been no lack for the Second International since August 1914, when it passed—ministers and intendents—into the camp of imperialism. That it has been able to survive as a movement embracing millions of workers is due to no inherent powers of its own, nor even to the support of a bourgeoisie frightened by the prospect of the social revolution.

The principal source of strength of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the world war has been drawn from the degeneration of the Communist International induced by the policy and the regime of world Stalinism. If Stalinism has succeeded in maintaining its stranglehold on the official Communist movement only by living parasitically off the defeats of the proletariat which it helped to multiply for the last ten years—the social democracy, in turn, has been able to prolong the breathing spell it gained after the failure of the first spontaneous, and unsuccessful, post-war revolutionary wave, by a parasitic living off the blunders and crimes of Stalinism. Its strength has been essentially the weakness of its principal confederator for the support of the proletarian masses. "Our policies and successes may not be perfect, but those of the Communists are worse"—that is the beseeching note that has formed the motif of the pleas of the social democratic statesmen for years past.

Each time that a new impulsion swept tens and hundreds of thousands of socialist workers away from their old moorings and set them on the road towards Communism at a lively pace, they encountered a perfectly harmonious united front between the reformist and the Stalinist leaders standing in the way of their progress. Stalin, Brandler and Zinoviev did as much as mortals could to extend the lease of life of the German (and international) social democracy by the course they pursued in 1923. The powerful Leftward movement of the British proletariat in 1925-1926 was brought to an abrupt halt and turned backward—not so much by Purcell, Cilline and Swales, as by Stalin, Bucharin and Tomsky who propped up those tottering pillars of British capitalism. The widespread mood for struggle engendered by the terrific crisis of world capitalism, did not strengthen the Communist movement by an influx of socialist militants; instead, the latter were violently repulsed by the stratagems of the Third Period and driven back into the reformist camp.

In other words, not all of the Catholic obscurity about the "united front from below" has succeeded in eliminating infinitely more effective and genuine united front "from above"; between the social democratic leaders and what passes for a general staff in the ranks of Stalinism. The former have exercised all their strength to pull back the Leftward movement of the masses into the reformist swamp; the latter have left no means untried to push back into the same swamp the workers moving towards Communism. A more harmonious and more disastrous division of labor has rarely been seen in the history of the proletariat. And it is only by understanding the tragic significance of this process that one can explain how the corpse of 1914 was able to revive and to grow so strong in the past decade.

The Second International did not revive, it goes without saying, as a revolutionary proletarian organization. It became an objective obstacle to the revolution. Nor did its revival even as the numerical addition of national petty bourgeois parties of labor take place along an unbroken line. Quite the contrary. Even in the course of its rejuvenation, it passed through more than one convulsing crisis. Many of them afforded the Communists the opportunity of extending on to a world scale that which

was accomplished in one country in 1917: the final historical liquidation of social reformism. Under the stunning blow of the German catastrophe, the Second International is passing through such a crisis at the present time. That is why the former and future ministers of state assembled at Paris conducted their affairs in so lugubrious an atmosphere.

The classic party of reformism, the German social democracy has been mercilessly crushed and its leading staff scattered by the Fascist club despite all the assurances it gave of its anxious servility. The "great" Austrian social democracy, praises for whose cheap Viennese bread and municipal apartment houses were sung all over the world, clings pitifully to the sword-belt of Chancellor Dollfuss and prepares to resign itself to the fate of its German brother party like a doomed criminal in the death cell. The French socialist party is split into two independent parties, the Center of Leon Blum and Co. and the Right wing of "future ministers", Renaudel and Marquet who are even now negotiating with Daladier for places in the Cabinet. (With genuine French delicacy, the Renaudel wing still remains, as a pure formality and a concession to socialist public opinion, inside the same party as Blum and Aurio, while carrying on what has become more than a flirtation with Daladier, in spite of the stern, forbidding decisions of party congresses. A true-to-life Continental triangle, a French ménage à trois!)

Matters are anything, worse in England. First, the defection of ministers MacDonald and Thomas, and then the definite disaffiliation of the strong Independent Labour Party from the Second International, have not strengthened the position of the Second International in Britain. What is left is the Labour Party. And as the Menshevik correspondent of the New York Forward, Ivanovitch, observes, with a considerable amount of injured justification, "it should be kept in mind that the English and the other European socialists grew up in such sharply different spiritual circumstances that they were never able to find a common language. To the European socialists, the Englishmen were always too cold-blooded about important theoretical and principled questions, they were too great opportunists, conciliators, and short-sighted practicalists." And the parties mentioned constitute most of what is of real consequence in the Second International.

The day of miracles having passed it is futile to look towards the Second International for a genuine progressive movement. The working class of the world can march forward only by casting it off, by accelerating its disintegration, by driving it and its whole ideology out of its ranks. But in marching forward, the socialist workers are instantly confronted with the problem: Whither shall we go?

The answer is not so simple as it was a decade or more ago. In those days, the break with reformism led almost directly to the Communist International. At the present time, what has changed in the situation is precisely the fact that the discreditment of the Second International goes hand in hand with the bankruptcy of the Stalinists. The workers repelled by international reformism are not attracted by international Stalinism. At the present time, the existence of distinct and irreconcilable currents in the Communist movement makes imperative a qualification of the general slogan: On to the Communists!

The Leftward moving socialist workers are confronted with the choice of a decadent Stalinist apparatus and—the Left Opposition, the inheritor of all that is revolutionary and progressive in Marx and Lenin. In many of the organizations which have hung about the Second International and Communism, the choice is even now being made. These include the British I. L. P., the German Socialist Workers' Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Norwegian Labor Party and groups of a similar trend. Among them the ideas of the Left Opposition, the impulsion towards a new banner, a new program and a new organization, are making irresistible advances. Tomorrow, the same choice will occupy the thoughts of thousands, tens of thousands and more socialist workers as they realize more acutely the truth of Luxemburg's judgment that the Second International is a sinking corpse.

The importance of the Paris Congress of the I. S. I. does not lie in the frustrated thwarted aspirations or the revived hopes of the bourgeoisie. It lies only in the powerful subterranean movement of the reformist workers to the Left, a movement which has already broken through the bureaucratic crust in full force at some points. The situation dictates the most astute and comradely attention of the Left Opposition. The union of the truly revolutionary socialist militants and the regenerated sections of the Communist parties strangled by the Stalin machine, is the guarantee of the tremendous future which lies ahead. The unbattered banner of the Left Opposition will be the proud standard of the coming movement.

—SHACHTMAN.

Pravda Admission Shows Growth of Left Opposition

"...Among individual party members of some cells there began to circulate within the past period assigned anti-party syllabuses and questionnaires on the history of Bolshevism, of the Comintern and of the January plenum decisions, which were distributed to individual members in connection with the cleansing of the party. Such documents were discovered in the cells of the Sacharof (Sugar) trust, in the transport institute, in the chemical-technological and the evening machine building institutes. All these documents contain perversions of party history, program, policy and strategy, and on some questions—open Trotskyist interpretations."

These lines were published in Pravda of July 19, 1933, No. 2733. They are taken in full from the decision of the secretariat of the Kiev city party committee adopted June 28th and published in the Kiev Proletarian Pravda on July 3rd.

"The decisions," says Pravda, "contain a censure of the secretaries of the party cells of those organizations in which the 'syllabuses' were discovered: one author of these crisis (syllabuses) Kanavsky, is expelled from the party, another, Viaznikoff, is strongly reproved and taken off from all party work, the third author of these anonymous crisis, Haritonoff, is turned over to the regional cleansing committee."

The Stalinist bureaucrats are amazed—are they still a few people in the party who dare think for themselves? They ask: "How did it happen that during two months (time crisis, harmful and inimical to the cause) the bureaucrats would so gratuitously substitute the word Leninism for Stalinism? Have been going the rounds of the Communists under the guise of scientific syllabuses?"

Pravda explains the cause of this "strange" phenomenon.... "When anonymous Trotskyist crisis make the rounds in the biggest cells, this indicates not only the loss of party feeling (read: the ineffectiveness of the G.P.U. and the apparatus to stem the advance of Marxian ideas among the party masses) of those who used them but also the lack of vigilance and the weakening of ties with the cells of those leading party organizations under the very nose of which all this took place."

These quotations need no comment. They speak volumes for the growth of Bolshevik-Leninist influence and ideas among the working class, in the "biggest cells" of the party and throughout the Soviet Union. The cynical bureaucracy, with all its repressions and deportations is powerless to halt the wave of sentiment for the Left Opposition.

Chauvinist Policy or Stalinist Antics -- Which?

New York.—The incredible antics of the Stalinists have by now become so commonplace as to cease to be matters for wonder. Nevertheless in the interests of working class education—of how not to act—let us record a monstrous piece of Stalinist confusion. More ridiculous than any are the Puerto Rican Anti-Imperialist Ass'n. which carried on a "struggle" against the T. W. Grant Store in Harlem, New York.

"Together with several other Spanish speaking auxiliaries of the Stalinist party this mockery of a revolutionary organization, the anti-Imperialist League put forward a demand that 'fifty per cent of the employees of the Grant Store should be Latin-American.'"

So astounding was the nature of this "error," that when we first heard of it in the bourgeois press, we believed it a calumny against the workers' organizations. We were unable to believe that people calling themselves Communists could present such a demand as even the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. have not yet dared to bring forward. It was hard to conceive that people calling themselves internationalists could go to such an extreme as would only result in the pitting of one nationality of workers against another.

The Stalinist demand can have only one interpretation—the company should fire a certain section of the workers employed by them now and replace them with Latin-American workers. We were finally convinced that this was no bourgeois calumny when we saw its confirmation in the Stalinist Liberation, an article was published in this sheet which not only repeated this demand but which was nothing short of a nationalistic and chauvinist tirade of the worst sort. This demand is not only anti-working class but is especially ludicrous when advanced by a section of foreign born workers. Just another example of the bankruptcy and stupidity of the "Communist leaders" among the Spanish speaking workers in New York.

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The Boston Needle Trades Right Wing Unions Growing -- T. U. U. L. Isolated

In May 1933 the International Ladies Garment Workers called a strike in the dress industry. The industry was seventy-five percent unorganized. The International controlled the majority of the organized shops, while the Industrial Union had a very small number of organized shops, the majority of its members being in unorganized shops. Conditions in general in the industry were very bad. Workers were earning as low as seven and eight dollars per week and in many cases even lower. This was true of the union as well as the open shops. The Industrial Union due to its wrong policy and with the aid of the International terror policy lost most of its membership, and was not in a position to call a strike, did not even have a policy to propose to the workers. The old policy of unity from below did not work, the International members did not respond. When the members of the Left Opposition in the Industrial Union more than a year ago pointed out the necessity of reentering the International in a body, they were bitterly attacked in the good old Stalinist fashion. The Industrial Union leaders said they had patience, the workers will have to come to us when they realize the betrayal of the International. But time went on and the Industrial Union lost more shops, more members.

In the International the workers were very discouraged, had very few active elements and were very discouraged. However, these few did fight, demanding that something be done to better conditions. The International in order to maintain control in the shops gave all kinds of concessions to the bosses and did not want to call a strike. To the workers they gave all their excuses. Finally they decided to show the workers that they tried to improve the conditions, at the same time hoping to organize more shops and have more funds. For this they called a strike in May at the end of the season. The strike lasted about a week. They demanded nothing from the bosses, and thus they succeeded in getting agreements in many shops that had fought the union bitterly for many years. The workers were told to be satisfied, since they had gotten a union. In some cases they even managed to get small wage increases and the promise that next season they would get better conditions since they would be organized. The Industrial Union also called out its shops on strike at the same time that the International did, demanding only what the International did and sent the workers back at the same time. Many of the Industrial Union members that worked in open shops were told by their leaders to go to the International with the shop. In that way the latter gained many members from the former.

Union Members Begin To Stir
A long slack period took place shortly after the strike. The Left wing workers slowly began to make proposals and demanded that something be done to improve conditions. The International members gained courage when they saw that they could win a fight. More workers attended the meetings, made proposals and worked out demands for the coming season.

For the last few years due to the collaboration of the International with the bosses in their attempt to maintain control over the shops, a system was introduced into the industry of one price for each line of dresses. It made no difference how much more work there was on the different styles they were all settled for one low flat rate. The workers had to work very hard and could not make a living. They began to demand that this evil be abolished, and a minimum wage per hour be established for every craft in the industry, that prices be settled in every shop for each garment according to the amount of work in it.

Reject Bosses Proposals
Meetings were called, discussions took place and the union officials under the pressure of the workers also began to admit that the one price system must be abolished and promised to fight against it. The cost of living rising daily they felt that something must be done; the workers were very discontented. The International began to call for conferences with the bosses, telling them that the wages must be increased, at the same time trying to stall the members with all kinds of promises. In the meantime the NRA appeared and the government conciliator was brought in as arbitrator. A membership meeting of the dressmakers was called in Faneuil Hall where about seven or eight hundred workers came to hear the report of the conference, and the proposals made by the bosses through the government and the union representatives. They told the workers that the employers offered a fifteen percent increase for workers making less than twenty-five dollars per week, and a ten percent for workers earning above this sum. In addition they proposed a forty hour week and every thing about the same as before.

The workers felt that this was no improvement; that it meant starvation just as before. A discussion was permitted and the workers let them know what they thought of their miserable proposals. Jennie Chlipowitz, a member

of the Left Opposition, took the floor and unmasked the entire proposals, gave a correct analysis of the conditions prevailing in the industry and told them what the proposals meant for the workers in view of the rising cost of living; that the forty hour week would not abolish unemployment since there was a forty hour week existing for years in the industry. She demanded a thirty hour week, and at the same time appealed to the workers not to demand of government representatives to improve their conditions. This can be accomplished only through the united efforts of the working class. She appealed to them not to return to work until they had secured better conditions. The government and the union officials received their answer in a stormy applause when the speaker got through. It signified a strong protest against the offer. The officials were astounded, even frightened a bit; they did not expect such determination on the part of the workers. The government official rose and apologetically asked the workers to be patient since he realized that the speaker represented the sentiment of the workers. He promised them that everything would work out, that conditions will be improved. As a result, the entire offer was rejected by the workers.

The union leaders went back to hold further conferences with the employers and the government arbitrator. They sent the members to work with indefinite prices, told them that another meeting would take place where they will again bring further proposals which they expected to get from the employers. They promised not to make any settlement without the approval of the workers. Then what took place?

Union Leader Confuses Workers

The next week another meeting was called in Faneuil Hall where about a thousand workers came, eager to know under what conditions they are going to work. Kramer, the manager of the International, this time without the conciliator, told the workers that he managed to make the employers change their offer of a fifteen percent wage increase, to twenty-five percent, but that they insist on the one-price system for each line. Again the workers protested against it. They knew that the twenty-five percent increase, on the one-price system with piece work would mean nothing because should the styles this year mean more work, this would in reality be a reduction. Instead, they demanded a minimum wage of a dollar an hour for operators, and that a minimum scale be established for every craft. A motion to this effect, endorsed by the workers, was discouraged by the manager of the union. He succeeded in confusing the workers and got the motion defeated. He again told the workers to go back to work, to wait, that he would again confer with the employers, try to get as much as possible and not to settle without the consent of the workers. The following week the workers were told again that the conciliator suggested to accept the one price piece work system and that all settlements are only temporary pending the acceptance of the code.

Now the code has been accepted. We in Boston are not yet affected by it. We can expect nothing from it. Only the united efforts of the workers can improve our conditions.

Hyman Comes to Boston

A couple of weeks ago the Industrial Union called a mass meeting with Louis Hyman, president of the union and invited the members of the International to participate. They were going to give a report about the New York strike and talk about the Boston settlement, but as usual the International workers, in spite of their dissatisfaction with their union settlement, did not come to the meeting. Hyman spoke on the code in the cloak industry, on the roles played by the Industrial and International Unions in Washington. The Industrial Union spokesmen were not given a hearing there, since they did not represent the cloak-makers. Hyman was given the floor, not to speak, but only to answer questions that were put to him. Among other questions, he answered that if the cloak-makers had been given the chance to elect their own representatives, he would have been elected. He did not say much about the New York strike, what role the Industrial Union played and what they accomplished. He did say however that 30,000 dressmakers were on strike and that the reason the International got such a good code was due to the fact that the workers were on strike. When he was through, Eva Weiner, member of the Left Opposition, took the floor and asked him why he sent in the cloak-makers into the International through the back door, while he is sitting in the Industrial office; she asked him why the leaders of the Industrial union were not there with the workers to help them fight against the betrayal of the corrupt leadership of the International. She pointed out how they failed to carry out a genuine unity policy in the cloak and dress industry. Comrade Weiner also asked him why he did not report what the Industrial Union position was in the recent dress strike in New York, and what it was going to do now that the bulk of the workers were in the International. His answer was mild.

N.Y. Upholsterers Union Growing, Strike Goes On

The balance sheet in the sixth week of the New York Upholsterers general strike leaves Local No. 76 of the A. F. of L. with a grim grip in the trade than it had for many years. The skeleton to which it was reduced since the beginning of the crisis has been fattened up considerably by rallying under its banner about eighteen hundred upholsterers as compared to the few hundred it had before the strike.

With twenty-five shops already settled and negotiations being made daily for more settlements, the spirit and militancy of the strikers has been manifested to such a degree that the bosses and the N.Y.A. mediator, Colonel Phillips, have been forced to heat a retreat. This does not mean, however, that they will be content to mark time. The valuable experiences we have gained so far in the strike will be completely lost if we do not draw the proper conclusions from them. The upholsterers must reject any further negotiations offered them by the representatives of the N.Y.A. The only conceivable solution that the blue eagle can offer us is that we go back under the same intolerable open shop conditions we have been staying under the past few years.

Until all our demands are granted we must continue to strike and engage in intensive picketing. The strike is not yet won; the larger shops are still on strike and using every means to terrorize and demoralize the strikers. We must mobilize our forces in mass picket lines. The demonstration of three hundred of the most militant upholsterers of the union in front of the Trade Shop in Long Island has shown us the way. Participants in that demonstration included not only members of Local 76 but also members of the Furniture Workers Industrial Union.

The enthusiasm with which the latter were greeted is only another indication that their place is inside Local 76. Inside Local 76 they can become a powerful force that can influence and lead the upholsterers in still greater struggles against the employers. Outside of Local 76 they are doomed to remain an isolated sect; small in numbers, weak in influence, and completely separated from the masses, maintaining a meaningless paper organization which would, to say the least, only abuse the confidence of those workers in the Industrial Union who have not yet voted with their feet.

A terrible condemnation of the bankrupt policy of the T.U.U.L. union was very clearly demonstrated at a mass meeting of the upholsterers which was called for Tuesday morning, September 5, at which only seven workers showed up. No comment is necessary when that number is compared to the five-hundred which attend the daily strike meetings of Local 76.

By pursuing their present ruinous course the Stalinist leaders of the Industrial Union are only disorientating, discrediting and isolating the Left wing workers from the main body of workers which is now streaming into Local 76.

We must follow this movement into Local 76 in full force and without hesitation. The Left wing workers must demand once more of their leaders: unity with Local 76, build one strong union in the industry. It is not yet too late. Now is the time.

—LANKIN.

He said that there was no way for him to get into the International now; that the workers were not ready to fight there for his conditions and would not need him. He said that they intended to keep the office, that the workers would eventually come back and would have a place to go. On the question of the dress strike, he said that the Industrial Union had also participated in the strike, and many shops out and was fighting for conditions, nothing more.

Now we ask the leaders of the Industrial Union: How do they expect to get conditions if the international controls the major part of the industry and we are compelled to be guided by their settlements? The Left Opposition says that it is the duty of the Left wing leaders and workers to be together with the bulk of the workers and become a part of the mass union to fight against the betrayal of the international leadership, point out to the workers the correct policy, lead them, guide them and help them win conditions.

—A NEEDLE TRADES WORKER.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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Vol. VI No. 42 (Whole No. 189)
SATURDAY, September 9, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

Hitler & the Prospects of War

(Copyright Harpers Magazine)
(Continued from last issue)
A. A. REVEALING DOCUMENT

The speaker, or the simply cautious reader will reply that our interpretation of the Hitler program is, at best, a hypothesis, which has certain marks of verisimilitude but of no means the stamp of authenticity. To this one can reply: the program moves from the imperative logic of the circumstances and in its politics one must have as the point of departure that the opponent who always make his best moves. The anatomy of Hitler's program is, therefore, not a hypothesis, but a fact. The opposition literature of the National Socialists is exceptionally abundant and contradictory, whereas the governmental practice is still very recent and meager. The author was only aware of this difficulty when he undertook his work. But we were assisted by a fortunate accident which supplied us in time with a political document of extraordinary value.

We refer to an "Open Letter" of Hitler to Papen, published in the form of a little brochure on October 16, 1932. Hitler's political in tone, the "Letter" remained unimpaired outside of Germany. The leaders of National Socialism talk and write too much. Still, it should have found a place on the table of every diplomat or journalist who occupies himself with the present-day foreign policy of Germany. Let us recall the circumstances of the document. Papen was then Chancellor. Hitler was in expectation of opposition—between August 13, when Hindenburg refused to appoint him head of the government, and January 30, when the Field Marshal was forced to yield the command of Germany to Hitler. The "Open Letter" was not destined for the masses, but for the ruling classes, and had as its aim to prove to them that the social regime of Germany cannot be saved solely by bureaucratic methods; that only the National Socialists have a serious program in foreign policy; finally, that he, Hitler, is as far removed from effete resignation as he is from adventurism. The letter is almost void of demagogues. It is serious in tone and veracious in essence. Today, it may be assumed, Hitler would gladly burn his own brochure in the furnace. All the more attentively should his adversaries examine it.

"It is absurd to think," Hitler explained to Papen, "that the power which disarmed us, will today seriously disarm itself without being forced to do so." It is just as absurd to wait for France to agree some fine day or other to the rearmament of Germany. Its enormous military preponderance relieves France of the necessity of an entente with a vanquished foe on the basis of equality of rights. Any attempt to propose a military agreement to France in return for armaments, will not only be very coldly received but will immediately be brought to the attention of the state against which it might be aimed: Hitler is alluding of course to the Soviet Union. It is possible for Germany to gain the right to arm itself only by means of a genuine re-establishment of the European equilibrium. England and Italy are interested in the realization of this goal, but in no case and under no conditions is France. "It is inconceivable to think that the lack of intimacy and of concordance with England and Italy can be made up for by the establishment of better relations with France!" The fundamental thesis of the foreign policy of Hitler, which places a cross over the ideas, or if one prefers, over the illusions of Locarno, leaves nothing to be desired in the way of clarity. In the declaration of May 17, we will not of course find so clear an exposition. But the declaration in no way contradicts the "Open Letter"; on the contrary, it develops and applies its program for a definite stage.

The goal of German policy is the re-establishment of the military sovereignty of the state. Everything else is only a means thereto. But the means need not at all be constructed in the image of the goal. Under no circumstances must Germany present itself to the world with a rearmament program of its own, even less so to this Disarmament Conference. For two reasons no conference is able to adopt a decision which would radically change the material relationship of forces; the very demand for the right to armaments, while remaining a purely platonic demonstration, will nevertheless permit France to suppress the question of its own disarmament and, what is worse yet, bring England closer to France.

This latter result is, according to Hitler, already obtained to a certain degree as a result of the thoughtful policy of Papen. England is forced to support France much more than it wants to. It must be recognized that the criticism addressed by Hitler to the "Gentlemen's Club", and to the Chancellor of the Reich himself as a dilettante and an adventurer, is not merely biting but also quite convincing. The "national" foreign and bureaucratic have no foreign policy at all. The rattling of an in-existent weapon is dictated to them by domestic considerations; they are ready to utilize the nationalist movement while arresting, at the same time, its further growth. Undoubtedly taking his inspiration from Bismarck, Hitler does not recoil from a blow at the last Hohen-

Trotsky Warns Against Nazi Designs on Soviet Union

zollern: Papen and his colleagues are only the epigones of the theatrical policy of Wilhelm II, with this fundamental difference, that the Kaiser had a first class army, whereas they have only the memory of it. Hitler hits a bull's eye here.

It is not hard, after this, to understand how badly mistaken was that part of the press and diplomacy which sought to discover the real program of the present German government in the rhetoric of Papen on the peculiar charm of the man on the point of battle. It must not be lost sight of that Papen, when the Nazis, during the brief period of his rule, treated as a captain of the dragons, feels himself in their midst like a man who is constantly on probation. On May 13, he adopted an unusually loud tone so as to put himself in harmony—but he was mistaken in his calculations. One may have his own opinion about the tastes of an elderly captain of the dragons who, between taking a dose of Groland and drinking down a glass of Hunsd-Jesus water, propagates among young people the advantages of strapping over arthritic shoulders; but one thing is indisputable: behind Papen's discourse is concealed no program. The "pacifism" of the present Chancellor is much more dangerous than the bellicose blarney of the Vice-Chancellor.

In passing, we find the explanation for the sharp contradiction between Hitler's declaration and the previous policy of Neurath, Nadjny and others. Hitler became Chancellor at the cost of accepting a ministry of barons and privy counselors. The camarilla around Hindenburg consoles itself with the idea of pursuing also its policy under Hitler. In all likelihood, it is only the threatening repercussions of Papen's speech that gave Hitler the possibility of finally taking into his hands the helm of foreign policy. It is not Wilhelmstrasse which dictated the declaration of May 17 to the new Chancellor. On the contrary, it is Hitler who subdued the fantasies of the barons and the privy counselors of Wilhelmstrasse.

But let us return to the "Open Letter". With an unusual brusqueness, it attacks the slogan launched by Papen on naval armament: even if Germany had the means—and it hasn't—it would not be permitted to convert them into warships and it would be powerless to violate the prohibition. The slogan of military armament alone drove England to the aid of France; there you have the results "of your truly faithful leadership in foreign policy," Mr. von Papen!

The struggle for the arming of Germany, on sea and on land, must be based upon a definite political idea. Hitler calls it by its name: the need of "strengthening the defense against the latent dangers of the East." It is comparatively easy to motivate. Sympathy for such a program is guaranteed in advance on the part of "clear-sighted persons" in the West—obviously not in France. It is only from the standpoint of "the defense necessary for us in the East", with regard to the Baltic Sea, that England can be persuaded to accept "corrections" also in the naval paragraphs of the Versailles treaty. For it must not be forgotten: "at the present time, it is important for the future of Germany to have an attitude full of confidence towards England."

The German national movement and should demand armament, but the German government must in no case expound this demand. Today, it must insist only and exclusively upon the disarmament of the victors. Hitler considered it self-evident that the Disarmament Conference is condemned to failure. "There would be no need at all," he wrote three months before his advent to power, "for the German delegation to participate interminably in the Geneva Disarmament comedy. It would suffice to expose clearly before the whole world the wish of France not to disarm, for us thereupon to quit the Conference, stating that the peace of Versailles has been violated by the signatory powers themselves and that Germany must reserve for itself under these circumstances the drawing of the corresponding conclusions."

The declaration of Hitler, as Chancellor, only serves to develop this melody. The refusal of the victors to disarm would signify the "final moral and real liquidation of the treaties themselves." Germany would interpret such conduct as the desire "to remove it from the Conference." In that case, it would be hard for it "to continue to belong to the League of Nations." Truly, the "Open Letter" is indisputable as the key to the strategy of Hitler!

The departure of Germany from the League of Nations should be accompanied by a disaffection between France, on the one hand, and England and the United States, on the other. The first pre-conditions will be created for the re-establishment of the "European equilibrium" in which Germany must occupy a growing place. With the concordance of Italy and England, Hitler will acquire the possibility of re-

arming Germany, not by petty contraband measures but by big "corrections" in the Versailles treaty. Parallel to this, will be developed the program of "defense" against the East. In this process, a critical point must inevitably supervene: war. Against whom? Should the line against the East prove to be the line of least resistance, the explosion can also take place along a different direction. For, if it is still possible to discuss to what degree offensive means are distinguished from defense means, it is already beyond discussion that the military means suitable for the East are equally suitable for the West.

Hitler is preparing for war. His policy in the domain of economics is not dictated by the abstraction of autarchy, but primarily by a concern over the maximum economic independence of Germany in case of war. To the aims of military preparation must also be subordinated the service of obligatory labor. But the very character of these measures indicates that it is not a question of tomorrow. An attack upon the West in the more or less proximate future could be carried out only on condition of a military alliance between Fascist Germany and the Soviets. But it is not the most turbulent sections of the White Guard emigration that can believe in the possibility of such an absurdity or can seek to make a threat out of it. The attack against the East can take place only on condition of the support of one or several states of the West. This variant is, at all events, the more real one. But here too the preparatory period will not be measured by weeks or by months.

The four-power pact, deciding nothing fundamental in advance, can only organize the mutual contact of the largest states of western Europe: it is a guarantee against hazards of a secondary order, but not against fundamental antagonisms. Hitler will strive to extract from the pact all the advantages for the attack against the East. The regulations of the pact pre-determine no more than ten percent of its future destiny. Its real historical role will be determined by the actual relationships and the groupings of its participants, their allies and their adversaries.

Hitler is prepared for the next ten years not to undertake any military actions against either France or Poland. In the declaration, he fixed five years as the term which genuine equality of rights for Germany in the matter of armed forces must be accomplished. These terms need not, of course, be invested with a sacred significance, but indirectly they nevertheless outline the bounds, in point of time, within which the leading circles of Fascism confine their plans of revenge.

Domestic difficulties, unemployment, the ruin and the distress of the petty bourgeoisie, the mass of course, push Hitler to premature actions which he himself, by a cool analysis, must regard as harmful. In living politics, one must base

himself not only upon the plans of the opponent but also upon all the entanglements of the conditions in which he is placed. The historical development of Europe will not meekly obey the order of march worked out in the Brown House of Munich. But this order of march, after the seizure of power by Hitler, has become one of the great factors in European development. The plan will be altered in conformity with events. But one cannot understand the alterations without having before him the plan in its entirety.

The author of these lines does not consider himself at all called upon to mount guard before the Versailles treaty. Europe needs a new organization. But we betide it if this work falls into the hands of Fascism. The historian of the twenty-first century will, in that case, inevitably have to write the epoch of the decay of Europe begun with the war of 1914. Called the "war of democracy," it soon led to the domination of Fascism which became the instrument concentrating all the forces of the European nations towards the aim of "the war for liberation"....from the results of the preceding war. Thus, Fascism, as the expression of the historic blind alley of Europe, was at the same time the instrument of the destruction of its economic and cultural acquisitions....

Let us hope, however, that this old continent still has sufficient vital strength left to open up to itself a different historical road. Trinkipo, June 2, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

Richard Rall

Comrade Richard Rall, an active member of the Left Opposition in Kansas City, passed away Monday August 28. Rheumatism was the official cause but the bosses speed-up—the real murderer.

The auto plant where comrade Rall had been working up to the time of his illness had been driving its hired slaves from seventy to eighty hours a week during the months of May, June and July. This speed-up robbed comrade Rall of all physical resistance to disease and drove him a victim of capitalist exploitation, to death at the early age of 29.

Richard Rall had a rich proletarian background. His father was a militant worker in the early struggles and free speech fights of the western workers. The Russian Revolution opened the eyes of the elder Rall to the need of political action. This turn of events made a vivid impression upon the then young comrade, Richard Rall.

Comrade Rall came to Kansas City two years ago and immediately took up the study of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This brought him to the conclusion that the program of the Left Opposition was the only one that would lead the world proletariat to victory.

Up to the time of sickness, comrade Rall was the organizer of the Kansas City branch of the Left Opposition and the study class of the Spartacus Youth Club which, under his able tutelage grew from twelve to twenty.

Disarmament and War-V.I. Lenin

(Continued from last issue)
(This article was published by comrade Lenin in October 1916, in the *Social-Democrat*, the Bolshevik publication issued in Geneva, Switzerland during the war. It is of especial importance now, when preparations are being made for an Anti-War Congress with the participation of Barbusse and other pacifists. It clearly states the revolutionary line in the struggle against war, and distinguishes it from petty-bourgeois pacifism. To read this document now enables one to measure the distance which separates the line of Lenin and that of Stalin, the "greatest disciple of Lenin".—Ed.)

The adherents of disarmament are opposed to the point in the program on the "arming of the people" for this reason among others, that the latter demand is supposed to lead more easily to concessions to opportunism. We have already examined the most important part: the relation of disarmament to the class struggle and to the social revolution. Now let us examine the question of the relation of the demand for disarmament to opportunism. One of the most important reasons why it is unacceptable is precisely the fact that it, and the illusions created by it, inevitably weaken and take all force from our struggle against opportunism.

There is no doubt whatever about the fact that this struggle is the most important question on the agenda of the International. A struggle against imperialism, which is not indissolubly connected with the struggle against opportunism, is nothing but an empty phrase or a swindle. One of the main deficiencies of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, one of the main reasons for a possible fiasco (failure, or collapse) of these terms of the "Third International," lies precisely in the fact that the question of struggle against opportunism was not even openly posed, not to speak of a decision on this question in the sense of the necessity of a break with the opportunism. Within the European movement opportunism has conquered—for the time being. In all the larger countries two shades of opportunism have been formed: first, a phony, cynical and therefore less dangerous social-imperialism, that of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheideemann, Legien, Albert Thomas, Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, etc.; and second a concealed form, of the Kantakyn type: Kantakyn, Haase and the "Social-Democratic Co-operative Group" in Germany; Longuet, Pressman, Mayers, etc. in France; Ramsay MacDonald and other leaders of the "Independent Labor Party" in England; Martov, Scheide, etc. in Russia; Treves and other so-called "Left reformists" in Italy.

The sincere form of opportunism is frankly and openly opposed to the revolution, and to the beginning revolutionary movements and outbreaks. It is in open alliance with its government, no matter what different forms this alliance may take, ranking from participation in the

Imperialist War and Class War are Sharply Contrasted

ministry up to participation in the war committees of industry. The concealed opportunists, the Kantakyns, are more lurid and dangerous to the labor movement, because they hide the defense of their pact with the government behind fine-sounding and also "Marxist" phrases and pacifist slogans. The struggle against both these forms of the prevailing opportunism must be carried out in all fields of proletarian policy: parliamentary, trade union, strikes, the army, etc.

But in what does the most important peculiarity consist, which distinguishes both forms of the prevailing opportunism? It consists in the fact that the concrete question of the connection of the present war with the revolution and other concrete questions of the revolution are passed over in silence, are veiled over or are treated with reservations as to police prohibitions. And this is done—irrespective of the fact that, before the war, unofficially on innumerable occasions and officially in the Basle Manifesto the connection of the present war with the proletarian revolution was pointed out.

The main defect of the demand for disarmament consists precisely in the fact that in it all the concrete questions of the revolution are evaded. Or are the adherents of disarmament in favor of an entirely new kind of unarmed revolution?

IV.
We go on. We are in no way opposed to the struggle for reforms. We do not want to ignore that disarmament, that if the worst comes to the worst, mankind will live through yet another imperialist war, if, irrespective of the numerous outbreaks of the ferment among the masses and their discontent and irrespective of our efforts, the revolution fails to develop out of this war. We are in favor of a program of reforms, which is directed against the opportunists too. The opportunists would be only too happy if we were to leave to them alone the struggle for reforms, and betake ourselves to the misty distances of some "disarmament" in order to save ourselves by flight from the sad reality. "Disarmament" is just that, a flight from ugly reality, but absolutely not a struggle against it.

A proper one of the main deficiencies in the posing of the question, for example of the defense of the fatherland, among certain Left wingers, lies in the fact that the answer is not concrete enough. It is theoretically far more correct, and practically far more important, to say that in the given imperialist war the defense of the fatherland is a bourgeois-reactionary swindle instead of setting up "general" theses against "every" defense of the fatherland. This is not correct, and also does not "hit" the immediate enemies of the workers within the workers' parties, the opportunists.

In the question of the militia, in working out a concrete and practically necessary answer, we should have said, "We are not for a bourgeois militia, but only for a proletarian militia". And therefore "Not a penny and not a man", not only for the standing army but also for the bourgeois militia, even in such countries as the United States or Switzerland, Norway, etc. And all the more so, because even in the freest republican countries (for instance in Switzerland) we see the Prussianization of the militia, the prostitution of the militia for the purpose of mobilization against strikers. We can demand: selection of officers by the people, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign workers with the native-born (this is an especially important point in such imperialist countries as Switzerland which exploit foreign workers more and more shamelessly and leave them without rights) and moreover: the right, let us say, for each hundred inhabitants of a given country to create free associations for the study of the art and science of war, with free selection of instructors and payment of the work of the instructors out of State funds, etc. Only under such conditions could the proletariat acquire the knowledge of war for itself and not for its slaveholders, and the interests of the proletariat unquestionably demand such knowledge. The Russian revolution has shown that every success, even if it is only a partial success, of the revolutionary movement, as for instance the conquest of a certain city, or a certain factory district, a certain part of the army, will inevitably force the victorious proletariat to realize just such a program.

Finally, it is a self-understood that one must not fight against opportunism with programs alone, but by inflexibly seeing to it that they are carried out. The greatest and most fatal error of the now bankrupt Second International lay in the fact that its deeds did not correspond to its words, that the habit of the consciousnessless revolutionary phrase was cultivated (see the present relation of Kantakyn and his partners to the Basle Manifesto). If we approach the demand for disarmament from this point of view, we must first of all raise the question of its objective meaning.

Disarmament as a social idea—that is, as one whose origin is due to a certain social situation and which can have an influence on a certain social milieu, and which does not merely remain the caprice of an individual or of a circle—has evidently arisen from the special, unusually "calm" conditions of existence of a few small states, which have stood aside from the bloody road of the war for a fairly long time, and hope to continue to remain on the side. In order to be convinced of this, it is sufficient to visualize the line of reasoning of the Norwegian adherents of disarmament: "We are a small country, we have a small army, we can do nothing against the great powers (and therefore they are powerless to resist being forcibly drawn into an imperialist alliance with one group or another of the great powers!); we want to continue in peace in our little corner and carry on our little career politics and demand disarmament, compulsory courts of arbitration, eternal neutrality, and the rest" ("eternal" neutrality—like that of Belgium, evidently?)

The petty effort of the small states to remain on the side—the petty-bourgeois wish to remain at all costs far from the great battles of world history—and to use their relatively monopolistic position to remain in an ossified passivity—this is objectively the situation which can obtain a certain success and a certain circulation for the idea of disarmament in a few small states. It is self-understood that this effort is reactionary and rests on illusions alone, since imperialism is drawing the small states after all, in one way or another, into the whirlpool of world economy and world politics.

We can illustrate this by the example of Switzerland. The imperialist situation prescribes for it, objectively speaking, two directions for the labor movement. The opportunists are trying to make an alliance with the bourgeoisie, to make Switzerland a republican-democratic monopoly federation, to make money out of the tourists of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, and to be able to use this "peaceful" monopoly position all the more profitably and all the more quietly. In practice, this policy of the alliance of a small privileged layer of workers in a small country, itself in a privileged position, with the bourgeoisie of its own country, is opposed to the masses of the proletariat. The genuine social-democrats of Switzerland are trying to use the relative freedom of Switzerland, its "international" position (as neighbor to the countries of the highest civilization), as well as the circumstance that Switzerland, thank God, does not speak its "own independent" language but three world languages for the broadening, consolidation and strengthening of the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat of all Europe. "Let us help our bourgeoisie to remain in the monopoly position of dealing in the quietest manner possible in the beauties of the Alps for a long time to come; perhaps then a few pennies will fall off for us"—this is, objectively speaking, the content of the policy of the Swiss opportunists. "Let us help the alliance of the revolutionary proletariat among the French, the Germans and the Italians to overthrow the bourgeoisie"—that is the object-content of the policy of the Swiss revolutionary social-democrats. Unfortunately this policy is still only inadequately carried through by the "Lefts" in Switzerland, and the excellent and the excellent decision of its party congress in Aarau in 1915 recognition of the revolutionary mass struggle for the time being still remains on paper. But that is not the question now.

The question which interests us can be posed in this way: Does the demand for disarmament correspond to the revolutionary direction among the Swiss social-democrats, or not? Obviously this is not the case. Objectively speaking, the "demand" for disarmament corresponds to the opportunistic, narrowly-national, line of the labor movement, limited by the horizon of a small state. Objectively speaking, "disarmament" is the most national, the specifically national, program of the small states, and in no way an international program of international social-democracy.

—N. LENIN.

P. S. In the last issue of the English magazine, *The Socialist Review* (September 1916), the organ of the opportunistic "Independent Labour Party", we find on page 287 the resolution of the Newcastle Conference of this party—"Refusal of support to any conceivable war of any conceivable government", even if this war should "nominally" be a defensive war. And on page 205 we find in the editorial the following statement, "We do not approve the insurrection of the Sinn-Feiners (the insurrection Ireland in 1916). We do not approve of any armed insurrection altogether, just as we do not approve of militarism and war no matter what kind of form it may take".

Is it still necessary to prove that these "anti-militarists", that such adherents of disarmament, not in small state, but in a great power, are the worst kind of opportunists? And yet they are perfectly right in theory, when they regard the armed insurrection as being also "one of the forms" of militarism and of war.

—N. LENIN.

October 1916.

Inflation Hits the American Working Class

When President Roosevelt was granted the power to reduce the gold content of the dollar by one half and to inflate currency the inter-relation of politics and economics was clearly seen by the stimulation this act gave to the increase of the prices of commodities. Neither of these measures have been carried out, nevertheless, a state cannot adopt such a far reaching political measure, knowing the experience of post-war Europe, without expecting immediate effects upon the economic system and upon prices.

The commodities that the workers buy have increased greatly in price and average over 30 percent in many cities. Many economists deny this and inform us that inflation amounts to only about 1 percent. One of the many tricks they use is the method of taking an average of about 300 commodities, the majority of which the workers do not even buy once a year. In this manner the capitalist spokesman try to cover up the increase in prices of the daily consumed commodities the workers use.

Again the question of currency inflation is coming to the fore. This time directly in relation to the NRA. General Johnson correctly informs the public that unless the machinery for credit is organized as fast as the codes are being signed the NRA will not function properly. This means increased credit inflation now, to be followed by currency inflation later. Within the last few weeks the Federal Reserve Board has been increasing its purchases of government bonds. This is also a form of credit inflation.

The apologetics of capitalism are systematically propagandizing the general public to the effect that there is no inflation. This is true only in the sense that the technical financial machinery of inflation has not been put into motion on a broad scale. The cost of living, however, has gone up rapidly and consistently, and this is what the worker means by inflation, because this is how inflation is expressed in his every-day life. All lies that have an element of truth, or a half truth unexplained constitute the best kind of capitalist propaganda. Such is the case with the question of inflation. When the capitalist economists inform us that there

has been no inflation, meaning outright currency inflation, they are correct. But the real problem only begins where these writers leave off.

Currency inflation is only one form of inflation and not the best as experience has proven. Currency inflation will only be resorted to if the other forms and other methods applied fail to bring the desired results. Then we may be forced with the problem of actual devaluation of the dollar.

Credit inflation measures were started under the Hoover administration and have been increased since. The effects, however, were washed out by the decline in world prices. Nevertheless, the policy of the Hoover and later the Roosevelt government, through the different war relief organizations, through the R. F. C. and N. R. A., as well as the banking and currency acts, taken together all constitute measures in this direction.

The currency policy of the government is now following up its firm relief and R. F. C. policy by having the Federal Reserve increase its purchases of government securities in the open market. Since this leads to the replacing of Federal Reserve notes, backed by a minimum of 40 percent gold, by notes, backed by what is called sound collateral, this leads to a form of inflation. The general result is that since the Roosevelt government took office, there have been over a hundred million dollars of the new Federal Reserve Bank notes issued, but this has been more than counterbalanced by the heavy decrease in the old Federal Reserve notes outstanding. The further expenditure of public funds under the recovery plan will stimulate the inflation of credit, started under the Hoover administration.

On the foreign exchange markets the dollar has declined 30 percent. When Roosevelt issued his statement to the London conference instructing the American delegation not to participate in plans for currency stabilization, the policy of "controlled inflation" took another jump upward. The immediate effects of the fall of the nation's currency on the foreign exchanges usually does not effect the domestic prices to a great degree. However, in this case it did move prices upward on the home market. On the other hand, the fact that Amer-

ica is the world's creditor nation has a tendency to force the dollar toward par. But further measures against this tendency have been taken by the government.

Nevertheless, the government measures that is: the conferring of power to inflate currency, the going off the gold standard, the embargo on gold, the power to reduce the gold content of the dollar by 50 percent, the public works projects, the credit inflation and the fall of the dollar on the foreign exchange by 30 percent, all this has had the effect of causing prices to rise rapidly. Senator Thomas, who sponsored the Farm Adjustment Act amendment, said in behalf of his proposed inflationary measure: "If the kind of inflation we are having brings back the 1926 price level, then perhaps we may not need to resort to physical inflation of currency." Thus Senator Thomas informs us that inflation existed prior to the measures of the Roosevelt government. He is correct and today prices have been increased.

The Frazier Jelle and Company, dealing with the effects of inflation on stock market prices listing some stocks from March the third to June the nineteenth, finds that in dollars industrial stock rose 78 percent; rails 80 percent and utilities 65 percent. This is the price advance in terms of dollars. From the standpoint of the theoretical advance in terms of gold the rise in price has been: industrial 45 percent; rails 47 percent; and utilities 34 percent.

Hughes, of the Consolidated Press calculated that the advance due to inflation is between 41 and 46 percent. Inflation changes and price rise in the cost of living differ from the stock prices. The transfer of wealth from currency to commodities and stocks is the logical process of inflation plus the fear of currency inflation.

America's gigantic economic system, its creditor position, and its tremendous gold supply gives this group of imperialists a strong position despite the path of inflation in which it is now traveling. Nevertheless, even these bulwarks are no guarantees against the coming storms.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Discussion on the German Defeat

(Continued from last issue)
The article appearing below is a second contribution to the discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. The views expressed are those of the writer.—Ed.

That the proletariat is the only revolutionary class in modern society is due to the fact that the same forces that atomize all other classes tend to consolidate the workers, making them more and more. It is the only class in society capable of revolutionary organization. But it cannot fulfill its historic mission without Socialist ideology. So long as the proletariat is not imbued with Socialist ideology it remains a class in itself. The workers cannot achieve class consciousness spontaneously or instinctively. To quote Lenin, "it can only be brought to them from without." And again, "Since there cannot even be talk of the working masses developing their own ideology independently during the course of their movement, the question is to be posed only thus: bourgeois or Socialist ideology?"

There is no third. Of course, this does not imply that the workers do not participate in the formation of Socialist ideology. But they participate not as workers but as theoreticians of Socialism, only to the extent to which they are able to master the scientific knowledge of their generation and are capable of advancing it. Lenin expressed his complete agreement with Trotsky in condemning as absolutely incorrect the opinion that "Socialist consciousness is the inevitable direct result of the proletarian class struggle." Socialism and the class struggle spring up side by side and not one from the other. They spring from different pre-requisites. Of course, Socialism as a science is rooted in the same contemporary economic relations as the class struggle of the proletariat. But Socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. And the vehicle of science is not the proletariat but the bourgeois intelligentsia. "Thus, Socialist consciousness is something that is brought from the outside (von Aussen hineingetragen) into the class struggle of the proletariat, and not something elemental (urwuchsig) that springs from it."

It is by means of the party, and the party alone, that the proletariat can be organized politically and transformed into a class for itself; and it is by means of the revolutionary party that the proletariat is imbued with Socialist ideology. Thus the party opposes itself to the state. In relation to the proletariat, the class in itself, in capitalist society, the party is an objective force (von Aussen hineingetragen) and not a subjective force (urwuchsig).

The task of the party, as Lenin posed it, lies precisely in diverting the workers' movement from its elemental channels—from its urge to bourgeois ideology as a class in itself—and attracting under the wing of the party—imbuing it with Socialist ideology as a class for itself. Once a party has achieved this task, the fate of the proletariat becomes inextricably linked with the fate of the party which gains absolute control over the allegiance of the workers. This does not mean that the party having once achieved its task cannot degenerate and fail to fulfill its historic role and thus betray the proletariat. If the workers obey the party blindly, it is only because they have been blindfolded by treacherous leadership; it is only because the treachery of the leaders has not been exposed to them. To first blind the workers and then to accuse them of their blindness is to heap treachery upon treachery. The bulk of the workers in Germany have been attracted to the parties that claim to be the agencies of Socialist ideology. They have been trained to believe that the party of social democracy—originally a revolutionary party—truly continued to represent their class interests. Hence they obeyed it. The Communist party of Germany attracted another section but failed to gain over the social democratic workers because its own policies were at the core as treacherous as those of social democracy, and therefore could not counter-act or expose the perfidy of social democratic leaders. The workers attracted to the Communist party could not but obey the Stalinists. Outside of these two parties, there remained that section of the German proletariat that was still imbued with bourgeois ideology and those German workers therefore could not identify their own interests with either the socialists or the Stalinists. If they responded at all elementarily it was only to gravitate into the camp of Fascism.

The German workers who were imbued with Socialist ideology could not and would not act without their parties. Only a petty bourgeois can pretend astonishment at such "subservience or servility"; only slaves or fools could presume that the workers should have broken on the instant with their traditions of decades and have acted on "their own." The solidarity of the workers is no myth. They cohere so solidly, in fact, that nothing can prevent their being organized internationally as well as nationally—but on one condition, and one condition only, if an organization exists capable of directing them in their historic course. Alone they cannot and will not find the way. At all times and under all conditions in capitalist society a

true revolutionary party is necessary. No true revolutionary party existed in Germany. There, the leadership usurped the authority of the once revolutionary parties to corrupt the ideology and decapitate the working class. Not Hitler, but the Socialists and the Stalinists paralyzed the workers. By their silence or by their spoken order, the proletariat of Germany was mobilized not to oppose Fascism until the order to act would be given. The order never came, and now Marxists are "amazed" who do not know either what the proletariat is and what it is capable of, or what the party is and what the party may degenerate into. To repeat, the proletariat of Germany was defeated by Fascism because no true revolutionary party existed in Germany. The betrayal of its party reverted the proletariat back into a condition of a class in itself. As such it was helpless in the face of Fascism. Unless this lesson is learned once for all the disaster that threatens mankind will become a reality.

Whether or not Fascism will succeed in establishing itself in the majority of industrial countries is a life and death question for all these countries. An epoch of imperialist wars will inevitably follow the Fascist victory. In every country where the proletariat remains a class in itself, Fascism must win in conflict with the proletariat.

Leaving all other considerations aside for the moment, the proletariat of no nation can fulfill its historic mission, defeat Fascism and reorganize society, unless it is im-

bued with its international essence. In other words, the proletariat cannot become a class for itself unless the workers in each nation can think and act in international terms. The workers cannot so act—unless a true international party obtains. Regardless of all other forms of organization, if there be no such party, the proletariat will remain politically unorganized, and either remain in or revert to the demoralized condition of a class in itself and therefore prove unable to wrest the power from the bourgeoisie no matter what its strength, no matter what the objective conjunction of events.

Fascism is the inevitable program of those who rule our destinies at present. To their program, and to the program of the Socialists as well as that of the Stalinists, i. e., the (once) Communist Party must be counterposed the revolutionary scientific program—to win the decisive majority of the working class of America, sweeping along behind the true revolutionary party the broadest masses of the population in order to overthrow the bourgeois state within the national boundaries, and to lay the foundations for the socialist state as an integral part of the permanent revolution the goal of which is the establishment of a world-wide socialist society. The necessary and only means for achieving these aims is the international revolutionary mass party based upon the platform of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

This is the lesson of the German experience.
—JOHN G. WRIGHT.

U.S. Prepares Assault on Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

visory boards and of arbitration will make the alliance complete. Nevertheless the promoters are not at all overlooking its usefulness also as a means of entirely outlawing working class rank and file resistance. In all of this the relations of the government to the various component parts of national economy fits and performs its function to strengthen the hands of the American bourgeoisie in the home market. The executives of advanced capitalism and of the backward labor movement, the presidents, Roosevelt and Green, jointly make their appeal to capital and labor. On a vast scale the means of keeping the working class in subjection are being reinforced.

The NRA as such, that is as far as an actual recovery in the country is concerned, is about to face its decisive test. But, judging by surface manifestations, it would appear that its most essential objects enumerated above, are well on the way to being accomplished. In this respect the NRA climaxes the reorganization of American national economy in its present stage. The offensive against Europe can soon proceed full force. American capitalism again proves itself as the most advanced of capitalism and the full effects of the latest forward steps upon its working class should soon become visible. But this question we leave until a later point in our estimate.

The United States, as we already know, is the world's principal manufacturer, its principal commodity warehouse and its principal banker. The estimated wealth of the United States reaches above the three hundred billion mark and by far outdistances that of any other nation. Its enormous annual capital accumulation since the war had to seek new fields of investments. A heavy proportion thereof was exported to other countries to be employed at a higher profit rate. It became the means of promotion of the exportation of goods and the acquisition of super profits. The total estimated amount of foreign papers held in the United States, including the items listed under foreign investment—runs into \$28,000,000,000. But most characteristic of the American intervention in Europe during this period, is the fact that the loans advanced recorded a change from its first form of loans to governments for purposes of stabilization to loans to industrial enterprises. The latter are estimated at about seven to eight billion. American imperialism thus began to lay its hands on the national economy of the European powers. Its general intervention, and the objective of permitting Europe to rise again but within specifically defined limits, to assign to its nations their specific but reduced status in world economy.

In the United States the annual capital accumulation has suffered an enormous reduction during the crisis. But the masters now anticipate its rise at a vastly accelerated rhythm. And for that the NRA machinery of attempted regulation of class relations is to prepare the ground at home for more effective operations abroad. Even bearing in mind the scope of such operations in the past, we should be prepared for the fact that the campaign of American finance capital for the conquest of the world market, will actually in its real magnitude begin only tomorrow.

For this offensive the principal instrument is finance capital backed up by a now more completely organized monopoly, expressed in greater centralization and concentration of finance and industry. One of the initial means is likely to be the advancing of additional large scale loans and credits—in-

fluenced by political motives—as a means of promoting the exportation of commodities. But this, in general, will be backed up by the commands of a power of a superior national economy, and with that, heavier political and military ponderance. It is not for the purpose of creation of jobs that the United States naval constructions are now rapidly speeded up.

The crushing defeat suffered by the German working class signals a much freer rein for the American imperialist offensive. To the masters of Wall Street it signifies that the danger of a further extension of the Bolshevik revolution has been allayed. They breathe easier. Their responsibility, as the rulers of the strongest world power, for damping up against the extension of October, has become enormously lightened by the bankruptcy of the Stalinist International. They feel that they can now afford to proceed more ruthlessly and more mercilessly against their competitors in the world market. Their consciousness of power, their consequent unbridled expansion, will know no bounds. It is their much more complete world hegemony, as a means of self-preservation, which is at stake. It is the struggle for the maintenance of capitalism as the continued form of social relations. But the further advance will also lay the foundation for much more furious conflicts within the world arena. That, however, is only one side of the problem. Simultaneously with this develops the shifting of gravity of the revolutionary center from Europe to America. It is here in this country that future revolutionary struggles on a more gigantic scale than anything hitherto experienced can be expected.

—ARNE SWABECK.

OUR COMRADES CRITICIZE THE MILITANT

We have received some criticism from comrades Ainsworth and Hamilton on the article we published in the Militant of August 12, entitled "A Delegate Visits the Soviet Union". The essence of the criticism of both comrades is that this article gave emphasis to the conditions of poverty prevailing. Comrade Ainsworth, however, got the wrong impression when he thinks the article conveyed the idea that the population lives worse than hobs. That it gives one the feeling that people are dying like fleas in a frost or that party officials, in spite of their fixed maximum salary and rigid party discipline, spend their time winning and dining with foreigners in the best hotels, etc. This, of course, is a very much exaggerated impression of the article in question.

Comrade Hamilton states his criticism in regard to what would happen to a casual reader who peruses this issue and, without becoming acquainted with our general analysis, and gets a bad impression from the article in question. It is true that this article did not attempt to give an analysis. The delegate merely conveyed his direct impressions. In the full sense of the word these are penned by a supporter of the Soviet. But that in no way could release him from the obligation of describing conditions as he found them. Even though that conveys a bad picture the truth must be told. And there need be no doubt that the story was one true to actual facts.

—The Militant.

Workers Demand Hands Off Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

of Morgan that their loans and the magnificent interest rates have nothing to fear from the revolutionary junta. At the same time it is a pitiable attempt on the part of these near-sighted revolutionists to stave off intervention.

But as great as is their awe of the imperialist bourgeoisie still greater is their fear of "rats" and "bloodsuckers"; that is to say, to translate these phrases into the language of the class struggle, of the proletariat, of civil war to oust the imperialists and the native bourgeoisie. Between these two giants the petty bourgeois junta is caught as in the jaws of a vise and is doomed to early extinction.

Already on the third day of its existence it has begun to retreat before the revolutionary ascent of the masses of the proletariat and even recoils before its own supporters. An Associated Press dispatch of September 7 says that the junta has "secretly resolved to disarm all civilians and began to try to restore to their former positions officers ousted Monday night and Tuesday." So cowardice breeds treachery!

That is the road which the Junta is travelling. But that is not the road of the proletariat. Slowly, move in the present overture, it is now raising its voice. Its demands are, as yet, essentially democratic and not incompatible with the existence of capitalist society.

But there are signs that the workers will not stop with demands for higher wages and better conditions. Already in the interior they have seized sugar plantations to force the owners to comply with their demands. A majority of the plantations seized are owned by American interests, who own sixty percent of the plantations in Cuba. The lives of American executives are being threatened by the workers.

Thus the struggle for better conditions and higher wages leads to the struggle against American imperialism. Anti-imperialist sentiments are deeply rooted in the proletariat and in the entire nation. Will the proletariat rise to give leadership to the anti-imperialist struggle? That is the question that the next weeks will decide.

But the workers of Cuba cannot by themselves defeat the imperialist intervention. The economy and politics of Cuba are inextricably intertwined with the economy and politics of the United States. The same capitalists oppress the worker masses of both countries. The fate of the proletariats of both countries are inseparably connected. The struggle against American imperialism is a fight against the oppressors here at home.

The workers of the United States must come to the support of their Cuban brothers. That is the first point on the agenda of the American working class today—a demonstration of the solidarity of the American proletariat with the struggles of the Cuban workers for better conditions and higher wages against the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists.

Green and Wolf, Dubinsky and Hillman will not organize the movement. They are bound to the imperialist state by their position in the labor movement and through the NRA. It is not their job to stir the masses to action and organize the movement of protest and solidarity.

The Communist movement must take the initiative in building the movement. It must approach every working class organization of whatever political shade or trade union philosophy with the proposal for a united fight against the intervention of the United States in Cuba, in solidarity with the Cuban masses.

—S.

TERZANI OUT ON BAIL

Athos Terzani, young anti-Fascist worker accused of killing his comrade, Anthony Pierro, in a fight which broke up a meeting of the Fascist Khaki shirts of America in Astoria on July 14, was released on bail Wednesday afternoon, after spending 47 days in the Queens County Jail in Long Island City. He was given a rousing reception by many friends in the office of the united-front Terzani Defense Committee at 94 Fifth Avenue.

In a public statement issued immediately after his release, Terzani said: "My case is to be handled solely by the Terzani Defense Committee and its attorneys, and all money contributed for my defense should be sent to Herbert Mahler, treasurer of the Committee."

Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, has agreed to act as one of the trial lawyers and it is expected that Clarence Darrow, veteran Chicago attorney, also will take part in defending Terzani.

Darrow and Hays won an acquittal for Caligero Greco and Donato Carillo, likewise anti-Fascists, charged with murder here in 1927.

Grover Whalen, one time Commissioner of Police of the City of New York and outstanding red baiter, is now trying his hands at protecting the blue eagle insignia. He surely has his hands full with many strikes in progress in the city and new strike threats popping almost daily.

Radek's Visit to Polish Dictator

The new orientation of Soviet foreign policy which is expressed in the various non-aggression pacts and in the definition of the "aggressor" clause with France and her vassals has brought about a series of "amity acts" between the Pilsudski dictatorship ("Faithful guardian of Western Civilization"—says Maitre Paul Boncour) and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

After the pacts of rapprochement signed under the high patronage of the Quai d'Orsay comes a string of visits and return-visits of representatives of so-called public opinion, receptions to military authorities, exchanges of favors and compliments, etc....

The most significant of these latter was the visit of the one-time great revolutionist Karl Radek, who in his capacity as editor of the big Soviet Daily, the *Izvestia*, went to Poland on the invitation of Warsaw's official organ, the *Polska Gazeta* and of the Polish government.

This visit, which followed the "successes" of Litvinoff, was played up by the Stalinist press (see *L'Humanite*) as evidence of a change of relations of forces in the international arena to the advantage of the working class and the Soviet Union.

Let us first recall the exploits of the famous renegade. Greeted by the whole reactionary press which for several weeks did not cease publishing photos of the honorable editor as well as his declarations, received by Miedziński, the confidential advisor of the butcher Pilsudski, and the director of *Polska Gazeta*, received by the municipal and governmental authorities; Ra-

dek, the Polish Communist, the friend of Rosa Luxemburg (it was he, by the way, who represented the Polish social democracy at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences of 1915 and 1916) passed through the length and width of Poland, visited the major industrial centers and even spent a day with his mother at his native Tarnow.

He held a most remarkable speech at Gdynia, the Polish port constructed with French capital for competition with Danzig and according to Stalinist writings (which, it is true, date back a year or two), for the preparation of the anti-Soviet war!

Radek alighted his signature to the Golden Book of the town, greeted the Polish work, lauded the Polish men o'war and remarked philosophically that the "seus unity"? As can be seen, his language was very correct and the Pilsudski censorship did not have any cause to intervene.

Nor did the Polish Stalinist party cause the flirt and his flirtation any discomfort. It did not organize any demonstrations to greet the representative of the proletariat. He had already been greeted by the government....

The Stalinists, who in their press did not breathe a word about the declarations of Radek which were published by the whole bourgeois press (they distinguished themselves merely by a campaign against the voyage of the "comelier-revolutionary" Trotsky) and who want to hide his declarations from the eyes of the international proletariat—especially from the eyes of the Polish workers—will probably tell us that all this does not count for

much. That is a matter of diplomacy and Communists, members of the party, who have other things to do and are not diplomats, cannot bother with diplomacy. Soviet diplomacy is one thing and the proletarian struggle is another thing, and "the Trotskyists for the purposes of their counter-revolutionary work, want to mix up the two".

Diplomacy? Yes, we realize the need of it as long as the Soviet state is surrounded by a host of bourgeois states with whom it is forced to maintain relations. But proletarian diplomacy should take into account the opinion of the international proletariat and its fundamental interests. In order to please the bourgeois diplomats and to conciliate with them it is not at all correct to compromise the authority of the proletarian state in the eyes of the international proletariat.

Let anyone show us an example of similar declarations in the time when Lenin was alive! Lenin also understood the necessity of diplomacy and even of concessions to be made to it. But you will find no such example. The Stalinists simply don't worry much over the opinion of the international proletariat. They think they can always placate it with a few radical phrases. What counts for everything with them is good relations with the capitalist states who will permit them to build "socialism in one country".

But even Radek's exploits were far surpassed by another Soviet diplomat, another Polish Communist also: Hlanccki. Hlanccki, as representative of the Soviet government, that is to say, of Stalin, in the course of an official audience transmitted to Pilsudski the documents of the Soviet police concerning his once revolutionary past in the struggle for the independence of Poland!

When Benito Mussolini sends his Polish initiator his photo or when the infallible Pope Pius XI sends a cross to Pilsudski in appreciation of services rendered to civilization—that is quite natural. But when the representative of the Soviets thus renders homage to the butcher of the Polish people, that is something that is likely to appear strange to honest Communists, even those who believe in the general line! That this act was carried out by a man with such a grand revolutionary past as Hlanccki's, that is bound to be painful for some, but it only aggravates the odious character of the whole thing. It must also be underscored that such an act is in no way necessitated by any economic and political need.

Before the worker and peasant masses of Poland, fighting against the bloody dictatorship, this act signifies nothing less than the rehabilitation of Pilsudski by the Stalinist bureaucracy as an old revolutionary and a present friend of the Soviet Union.

The actions following close on the heels of the German capitulation show how great a part of the road to degeneration the bureaucracy of Stalin has already left behind it. They only counteract the heroic struggle of the Polish workers and peasants and reinforce the class enemy.

The ideas for which Radek and Hlanccki once fought will have to be and will be defended by the Polish Marxists against Stalinist revisionism.

—ROGER.

Stalinists and Saar Referendum

(Continued from Page 1)

of autonomy—which is absolutely correct—a slogan that will not fail to have an effect on broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as on the workers.

And the Communists? The Stalinist leadership of the Comintern has issued the slogan "back to Germany"! The argumentation for this outrageous position of the C. P. of the Saar are as follows:

First of all, by 1935 Hitler will long ago have been thrown out of the government (!). In all probability there will by that time be a Soviet Germany (!). But even if Germany should still be Fascist, then there is all the more reason for the workers to return to the Reich in order to strengthen the revolutionary work for the downfall of Fascism. Sentiments of separatism should not be aroused in the workers and in the middle layers of the population sympathetic to them.

This argumentation was presented to the present writer by an authoritative political leader of the C. P. of the Saar as authentic. That this is actually so may be gathered from the party press. Only a few weeks ago, at the beginning of August, *L'Humanite* (the organ of the French Stalinists) carried an article representing the same point of view.

The whole motivation is of course un-Marxist, hypocritical and ridiculous. The truth is that under no circumstances do these gentlemen want to be less nationalistic than the Nazis, regardless of the price they will have to pay. There may be people who believe that by 1935 Fascism will be replaced by the proletarian dictatorship. The incapable bureaucracy nurtures this belief, which helps it to substitute for lack of perspective with an unduly great optimism. By doing so it is following in the footsteps of the Comintern, whose German representative, the frightfully lamentable Hecker, broadcasts insults on the Moscow radio against all those "capitalists" and "defeatists" who do not believe in the Red October of 1933. The representatives of the C. P. G. have always been Marxists of that type which never hit upon the thought that a revolution is the concern of the class, but rather waited for someone else to start things rolling. On that famous July 20 it was to be the S. P. G. and today—the dissatisfied proletariat of the S. A. (the Brown Shirt Storm Troops). These "leaders" did not want to realize that their party was the one whose task it was to lead the masses to struggle. That idea was reserved only for leading editorials in the *Kote Fahne*, in practice they merely had their hands full searching for "deviations".

The hope for a swift fall of Fascism betrays a complete lack of the class point of view. That is all. But the suggestion that the Saar workers voluntarily turn themselves over to the Fascist prisons—that is nothing short of criminal.

Every single day workers are murdered, shot, beheaded and hanged, tortured by the tens of thousands and imprisoned under inhuman conditions in Germany. Every distributor of a leaflet is threatened with death. Fascist Germany is one big prison, a ghastly torture chamber for the revolutionary proletariat. And it is into this frightful dungeon that people who still call themselves Communists (what a shame!) want to deliver the workers of the Saar. A party on whose flag the idea of internationalism should occupy the foremost place, which still today speaks

in the name of Lenin, Lloeknecht and Luxemburg has sunk so low that in order to gain the praise of the bourgeoisie for its staunch national character, it is ready to send a whole section of a working class right through hell. Such a party rightfully belongs on the garbage heap of history.

The slogan for the Saar workers can only call for autonomy. It is of no consequence to the working class if the bourgeoisie calls this separatism. Its interests are decided by nothing else but the actual facts. It must defend its life and its property in the Saar from murderers and thieves. That is the task facing it.

At the time of the last elections in the Saar (July 1933), when the Communists were praised by the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and the *Angriff* for their position in the question of the referendum, that should have opened the eyes of the last worker and decided him, in the interests of his class, not to vote for the signposts of the C. P. It is never good to be praised by the class enemy.

The Left Opposition must take up the struggle with all the necessary energy and clarity against the criminal policy of the C. P. in the Saar. The L. O. bears a heavy responsibility before history as the consistent Marxist leadership of the new German workers' party. We must aid the Saar workers with all our might, before it is too late, before they are delivered into a sea of blood and tears by characterless degenerates.

—J. (PARIS).

The German Communist Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

If this will not perceptibly influence the rate of the accused, it will at least, help to make the nature of the frame-up clear to the world.

Among class conscious workers there need be no doubt that this trial is the culmination of an outright frame-up. Much substantiated evidence is already at hand. Most outstanding is the secret memorandum worked out by the German Nationalist, Oberföhrer. It gives a detailed description of the various links in the chain of events. First it describes the entering of the brown shirted incendiaries through the subterranean passage which leads from the residence of the Reichstag President, Goering, to the Reichstag building and which is the only secret avenue of entry to the building. The incendiaries, having done their job, returned to the Goering residence leaving behind them the dupe, Van der Lubbe, who, astounding as it may seem, went to work at the firing with his Dutch passport and a Communist party membership book in his pocket! The clumsy forgery made by the Nazis in supplying him with a passport is already well known to the world. It was made in Germany with his name spelled with a letter that does not exist in the Dutch alphabet. Since then it has also been proved that for the last couple of years he has not been a member of any Communist party, but a member of the Nazi party.

Oberföhrer was one of the German nationalists who had opposed the coalition with the Fascists. His secret memorandum coming to the attention of the Nazi led to raids upon his home and confiscation of all material in sight. On May 7 he was found dead at his home in Kiel, a revolver with an empty magazine at his side—"a suicide!"

A month later another dangerous witness, the engineer George Bell, who was simultaneously an accomplice, had been put out of the way under still more dramatic circumstances. George Bell had been in

charge of the Nazi, illegal, foreign division. He first came to international notice in connection with the Chervonetz forgery trial in Berlin, in 1930. (The notorious Druslovsky central in Berlin, produced in 1924, the forged letter, in 1925, the forged documents about the blowing up of the Sofia cathedral, and wound up by establishing a factory for the forging of Chervonetz which was exposed in the 1930 trial. During the forgery trial George Bell was exposed as an agent of the British oil king, Deterding, within the Reichstag building on Feb. 27 and was the first to bring information to British reporters about the fire. But he became a dangerous accomplice. So, when German soil became too hot under his feet, he fled to Kufstein, Austria where he was murdered by a pursuing Nazi gang on April 5.

All the details of this provocative frame-up are not yet uncovered. But there need not be the slightest doubt that the whole chain of events will be laid bare and expose the provocation for what it is. Meanwhile the lives of the accused Communists are in danger. The Nazi terror still demands its toll. It can be defeated only by an effective mass protest of the downtrodden and all the enemies of Fascism. The working class of the world must not lose one minute in letting its powerful protest be heard.

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THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

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MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 23, 1922 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 43 [WHOLE NO. 190] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

The Trade Union Question

The Left Wing Needs a New Policy and a New Leadership

The American workers, stirring again on the trade union field after a long passivity and confronting a formidable and well organized class enemy, need their own plan of battle. The class enemy has organization and a plan. That, in essence, is what the N.R.A. really is. In the united and comprehensive program of American imperialism against the world the N.R.A. is that section of the program aimed against the enemy at home, the American working class. The strike movement of the workers, on the other hand, has been elemental and spontaneous, lacking a conscious direction.

Who will assist the workers to formulate their own battle plan in their own interests? Certainly not the present leaders of the A. F. of L. and kindred labor organizations. These in reality belong to the capitalist board of strategy. In the machinery of the N.R.A. they are filling of protection their long established role of labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. A plan and program for the workers in the trade unions, by means of which their struggle could be organized and directed on a national scale, can come only from the Left wing, that is, from the class conscious section of the movement.

But in the present situation which has witnessed the beginning of a colossal wave of strike struggles, the Left wing failed completely in its function. The new events which should have been foreseen and anticipated found it unprepared and impotent. The domination of Stalinism deprived the Left wing of the possibility of influencing the new movement of the masses and of drawing new life and strength from it. The dogmatic program which had been imposed upon it was rotten in life. The leadership of bureaucratic usurpers showed itself to be bankrupt and helpless. The necessary conclusions from these happenings must be drawn without delay. The problem of re-establishing the Left wing, correcting its program and renovating its leadership is the most immediate and burning problem of the labor movement.

There is a new situation in the labor movement which the Left wing must take as the point of departure. The wave of strike struggles did not fall from the skies, nor were Roosevelt and the labor fakers the creators of it. The fearful sufferings inflicted on the masses during three and one-half crisis years; the starvation rations of the unemployed, the multiplied wage cuts and unprecedented speedup which goaded the employed workers to desperation—these were the real authors of the present strike movement. The workers' resentment and dissatisfaction was due for an explosion and it was reasonable to assume that it would coincide with the first signs of an economic upturn.

This was foreseen by the most perspicacious representatives of capitalism. The N.R.A. was devised as a means of coordinating the efforts of the employers and their labor lieutenants with the Government in a single scheme to arrest this movement in its first stages and to keep it within safe bounds. It is possible that the inauguration of the N.R.A. precipitated the strike movement. But at bottom it was caused by the discontent of the workers with their unbearable conditions and their aspirations to improve them at the first opportunity.

These causes will remain and will evoke increasing powerful movements of the masses after the battle of the Roosevelt program has spent itself, leaving conditions substantially unchanged except insofar as they are improved by organized struggle. Bitter experience will work rapidly and mightily to free the workers from their present illusions about the purposes of the N.R.A. The capitalists will not voluntarily improve the lot of the slaves under the beneficent influence of the Blue Eagle. The workers will gain nothing they do not fight for. The labor agents of imperialism will not become leaders and organizers of militant struggles, but on the contrary will do all they can, now and in the future as in the past, to sabotage and defeat them.

The Left wing cannot depart for a moment from these self-evident A. B. C. propositions. What has been happening in the way of working class activity in the recent months is only an anticipation of things to come. It is possible of course, and even probable, that the N.R.A. swindle will succeed in harnessing the new movement for a time. The illusions of the masses are very great. But the higher the hopes the more certain the disappointment and the expression of this disappointment in more resolute and determined class action. The first magnificent upsurge of the workers is, after all, only a tentative beginning, a preliminary testing of their collective strength

and solidarity. It is implicit with the certainty of another movement, deeper, wider and more militant.

The Left wing must base itself on this perspective and be ready for it. That means to begin now to reform its ranks and begin to assert its influence in the mass movement. Can this be done on the basis of the trade union policy of Stalinism? No, that is absolutely impossible. Those who try it will be deprived of all influence. On this question the decision has already been rendered by the actual developments in the labor movement.

The trade union Left wing which eventually rises to the magnitude of the new tasks, coordinates the militant forces on a national scale and organizes the real struggle against the capitalists and the labor fakers will consist of those who make a complete break with the bankrupt and discredited trade union policy of Stalinism. The tactical line which the Left wing must take is clearly marked out by the actual course of the movement, and no arbitrary scheme which contradicts this course is worth a cent. The Left wing must put itself in line with the main trend of the workers, assist and encourage their impulse for organization and become itself a force to bring the workers into the unions—into the real unions, not the paper unions. And the Left wing must go with them and organize the fight inside the unions against the capitalist agents in the ranks.

The Left wing—which is, the real Left wing—remains true to principle and to the interests of the workers—and to the masses unions and urge other workers to do likewise without any illusions about the reactionary leaders and without the least A. F. of L. fetishism. Communists do not make a fetish of any trade union organization form. In the future, as in the past, a rise of militancy in the unions will be apt to bring wholesale expulsions and splits. It is quite likely that many of the greatest battles will have to be waged independently, as "outlaw" organizations. The resurgent Left wing—again, the real Left wing, not sycophants and traitors masquerading as such—will remain with the masses under such conditions and not flinch from the formation of independent mass organizations. That, however, is a prospect of the future than a present problem. We will keep it in mind and let no labor fakers' cry

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Program and Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

The revolutionary events in Cuba have reached a decisive stage. The activity of the masses of workers, industrial and agricultural, has forced its way to the forefront of the struggle. The organization of their forces to fight for their demands and to mobilize the masses to resist U. S. intervention now requires the setting up of their own organs of struggle. The formation of Soviets for the defense of Cuba's freedom is the imperative need of the day.

American intervention already exists, even though no shots have as yet been fired from the thirty warships concentrated in Cuban waters. By its economic might, supplemented by this fleet, American imperialism is exerting a powerful pressure. In face of these conditions it is inconceivable that the cowardly San Martin government can exist very long on its present makeshift basis. It represents the petty bourgeois interests and is incapable of realizing the aims of the people who hate foreign imperialism, to say nothing of the aims of the proletariat. It is oscillating under pressure from two directions—from the masses surging forward, and from the United States. Its alternatives are complete collapse or capitulation to Wall Street. It cannot be conceived of as the leader of the fight to the end against imperialist intervention.

Cuba is now the most vulnerable point in the struggle of the United States for complete hegemony of the Latin American market. Only the fear of serious repercussions in the South, which would also give an advantage to other imperialist competitors, explains the fact that the United States intervention has not yet taken the open form of troop landings and armed attack. But let no one be deceived by the diplomatic maneuvers. The Wall Street magnates will readily stake the life of every American marine to maintain their more than a billion dollars worth of property in Cuba and continue their fruitful exploitation of the Cuban toilers.

Is there any possibility for the Cuban masses to make an end to this scourge under the leadership of the present makeshift government? Obviously not. The Cuban workers themselves, in fraternization with the soldiers, have already indicated the road to be pursued. They have formed Joint Committees, (Comites Conjuntos) which are nothing less than a spontaneous striving to build up their Soviets. The present

make-shift government, far more afraid of the Cuban masses than of American imperialism is even trying to sidetrack the calling of the Constituent Assembly. The workers must demand its convocation and raise their demands there. The abrogation of the Platt amendment and the unconditional independence of Cuba and the nationalization of the industrial enterprises' control stand in forefront of the demands. Most of these enterprises are owned by American imperialists and the advancing of these demands will serve to make clearer the distinction of their interests from those of the Cuban people and to develop the irreconcilability of the

(Continued on page 4)

New Forces for Left Opposition

New forces are coming forward to the support of the International Left Opposition. Three important European revolutionary groups adhered to our views contained in a declaration submitted to the conference of Left Socialist parties recently held in Paris.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, led by the well known militant, Sneevliet, whose record dates back many years in the Communist and revolutionary movement and who recently served time in connection with the mutinies in the Dutch navy, has already definitely

N.Y. Embroidery Workers Gain

New York, N. Y.—Following immediately on the heels of the great dress strike, 3,000 workers of the Bonnaz Embroidery stitchers and pleaters Union of the I.L.G.W.U., Local 66 walked out on general strike in responding one hundred percent to the call of the union.

This tremendous response to the strike call, coupled with all the power and militancy displayed by the strikers, from the very first moment brought the bosses astounded to its knees almost immediately, and made possible a settlement of the strike in only a few days.

The union also pulled out on strike certain sections of the industry which were never organized before, such as the stamperers, pinners, finishers, spoolers and pleating machine feeders. It gained for them a small increase in salary and reduced their working hours from 48 and 62 hours to 35 hours per week. By taking these workers into its ranks the union has to an extent cut aside the ideas of craft unionism to which it has clung tenaciously in the past period. But the union must stop all practice of entering into close alliances with the bosses who wisely were determined to keep these workers from organizing and acting effectively through their unions. The other crafts although not getting any increase in wages also had their hours reduced from 42 to 35 hours per week.

The first reaction of the workers to the agreement reached was definitely against it because it failed to increase the pay. The Lovestoneite representative on the strike committee displayed the usual brand of Lovestone opportunism by speaking against the agreement at the general meeting of the strikers and voting for the same agreement in the small strike committee meeting.

The agreement although now the best that could be reached nevertheless carried when voting on by secret ballot, the vote being 1608 for and 396 against. Summed up in total however the strike can only be interpreted as a victory for the strikers.

It is imperative for the workers in Local 66 to create a strong Left wing group for we do not believe that the A. F. of L. is capable and ready to organize the masses of workers into unions that will be militant fighting organizations of the workers. The masses now following it will be due shortly for a series of disillusionments and will probably and eventually break away from the present lead of A. F. of L. and look to others who will help them build strong fighting militant unions. In order to influence and lead such a movement the Left wing Communist workers must be there to follow the movement closely and guide it at every step. We must begin to sow our seeds of influence immediately in this fertile ground and we will soon be ready to reap a rich harvest. Workers of Local 66, organize into a strong Left wing group! That is the only path you can pursue in order to strengthen your position and win better conditions.

(Continued on page 4)

—LEFT WING WORKER.

Paterson Strike Ties Up Silk and Dye Industries

The Militant Workers Recognize Fallacy of the Stalinist Paper Unions

PATERSON, N. J.

The strongest sector of the nation-wide strike of silk workers, its Paterson division of more than 23,000 men holds firm. The tie-up in this city has closed every shop, the looms are idle and the workers have responded 100 percent solid to the strike call.

Striking against the intolerable conditions forced upon them by the vicious wage-slashing of the four years of the crisis the producers of silk are determined to take no promises from the N.R.A. and by struggle

to jack up their wages from the miserable \$13 average to a \$36 minimum, to bring down the hours from the slave working day of 11 and 12 hours prior to the strike to a 30 hour week.

Paterson is in the grip of the strike. Men and women, of all nationalities, young and old, those who have never known the meaning of union organizations and veterans of class struggle, are banding side by side on the picket lines, in huge, enthusiastic strike meetings displaying a spirit of militancy equalled

only by the heroic battle of 1913.

The great virility of this struggle is vividly demonstrated by the pouring out of the mills of more than 15,000 dye workers who for the first time in 20 years have taken their stand on the picket line ready to see the fight to the end. Bursting the shackles of long oppression and exploitation they are braving the police clubs, and tear gas, flocking into the union halls—a test-lament to the great power that lies latent in the unmobilized mass of workers in this country.

Meanwhile in Washington, negotiations are in progress between the union officials, the manufacturers, and the false friends of labor of the Roosevelt administration. A code for the silk workers is also under consideration. But the workers are watchful. They will not be tricked into any fake agreement, they will not be content with any conditions merely because it bears the insignia of the N.R.A. Already they have turned down a code that perpetuated the wretched conditions that have plagued the silk trade for years.

The real leader of the strike in Paterson is the Associated Silk Workers, an autonomous local of the United Textile Workers which is affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The decisive section of this industry, the 10,000 broad silk workers, are striking under the aegis of the Associated. It is marvelous to see the spirit of these workers. They are not newcomers to the picket line. This is by no means the first strike they have participated in. On the contrary, they have written a tradition in letters of red in the history of American labor. The workers in this union are wary of the betrayers of the American Federation of Labor. Years of sell-outs have brought this lesson home to them. The name of MacMahon, the president of the U. T. W. is anathema to the members of the Associated Silk Workers.

The rank and file of the Associated have thrown new leaders to the fore. The strike committee is controlled by genuine progressives—Left wingers who have been repelled by the horrible mismanagement, the crimes and the fearful bureaucracy of the Stalinists.

But for the dye workers, the ranks of the strikers are united. Here the forces are divided between the Associated and the Stalinist-controlled National Textile Workers Union.

The dye workers are green to the struggle. They came by accident to the paper union of the Stalinists. They were ready to accept any union that reached them first. But it is the universal opinion in Paterson among the more mature workers in the industry that the N. T. W. will be unable to hold the dyes permanently. There is more than one fact that can be produced in proof of this.

The criminal (after listening to the stories of good, reliable fighters one is tempted to say, insane) policy of the Stalinists and their paper N. T. W. has driven many of the best militants into the Associated, made them bitter against the N. T. W. Prior to the strike, the N. T. W. had practically no influence among the weavers, and the weavers, the more conscious group in the silk industry, passed them by when the strike started and made common cause with the Associated. So discredited, impotent and unattractive was the N. T. W. at the outbreak of the strike that this is common knowledge in Paterson—the N. T. W. tried frantically to postpone the date of the strike in order to make "preparations". Further, so great was the stigma of rotten internal life in the N. T. W. and its adventurist tactics, that Stalinists themselves were instrumental in forming a craft union of the warpers, independent of their paper union! One more fact. A member of the N. T. W. organized 3,000 workers—throwers—hitters unorganized and brought them not in to the N. T. W., but into the Associated. Can there be any doubt now whether the Stalinist outfit will hold the dyes?

The advanced, experienced workers in Paterson will have nothing to do with the N. T. W. The inexperienced dyes will not be long in finding out the justice of their decision.

In Paterson as elsewhere the workers are streaming into the real unions. They are paying no attention to the paper outfits run by the Stalinists. There is no place for the Left wingers in Paterson but in the Associated which they can transform into a powerful weapon for the militants nationally—a starting wedge in the struggle against the bosses and the reactionaries.

—CLABBE.

Swaback to Start National Tour

The long awaited tour of comrade Swaback will begin on September 29th. With the rich experience of the five months which he recently spent in Europe, which included attendance at the pre-conference of the Left Opposition and a protracted visit with comrade Trotsky in Prinkipo, comrade Swaback will have a message of exceptional interest. Branches will have the option of a lecture on: "The Future of International Communism"; or the "Roosevelt Program: What It Means for the Workers".

The larger branches which will retain comrade Swaback for several days and in some cases have both lectures as well as small meetings with branch members and sympathizers. Comrade Swaback's lecture tour is the opening gun of the great new campaign of the Communist League which is designed to lift all of our activity to a higher plane on a new basis. All the League branches will undoubtedly concentrate their full attention on the preparation and promotion of these meetings and utilize them for the strengthening of our movement.

The following is the schedule of cities:

Fri., Sept. 29th	Newark, N. J.
Sun., Oct. 1st	Bethlehem, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 3rd	New Haven
Wed., Oct. 4th	Boston, Mass.
Thurs., Oct. 5th	Boston, Mass.
Fri., Oct. 6th	Boston, Mass.
Sun., Oct. 8th	Rochester, N. Y.
Mon., Oct. 9th	Buffalo, N. Y.
Tues., Oct. 10th	Toronto, Can.
Wed., Oct. 11th	Toronto, Can.
Fri., Oct. 13th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat., Oct. 14th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sun., Oct. 15th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mon., Oct. 16th	New Castle, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 17th	Youngstown
Wed., Oct. 18th	Youngstown
Thurs., Oct. 19th	Cleveland, O.
Fri., Oct. 20th	Cleveland, O.
Sat., Oct. 21st	Chicago, Ill.
Sun., Oct. 22nd	Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 23rd	Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 24th	Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 25th	Springfield, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 26th	Stanton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th	Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30th	Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., Nov. 2nd	Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd	Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th	Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th	Minneapolis
Tues., Nov. 7th	Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., Nov. 9th	Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th	Davenport, Ia.

MINE PICKETS SHOT IN PENN.

Fifteen miners picketing the Gates mine in Uniontown, Pa., were severely wounded when armed deputies opened fire on them. A deputy who got into the way of one of the deputy bullets also was wounded. The conditions of the miners in this bituminous region are scandalous. Not even the "blessings" of the N.R.A. with which the miners are being hooked up by the U.M.W.A. officials, has been granted them. The glided lily of Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot, has of course promised the usual investigation. A more detailed article will appear in next week's

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

L.O. Issues Stir Party Membership

The situation in Brownsville, New York City, after several months of a campaign against "Trotskyism," is tense. The apathy and lethargy among the league and party is being ascribed by some to the fact that they are beginning to think for themselves. The arrest because crystallized lately; when due to the looseness among the rank and file and the impotence of the leadership, not a single meeting let alone a demonstration was held on International Youth Day. This despite the empty mouthing of the skaters, Gilberts and Shermans, about the necessity of youth carrying on a struggle against war, fascism, etc., etc. It is demanded. The repercussions of this affair has penetrated to the district. The bureaucrats there are asking for an accounting, particularly because of the disquieting rumors of "Trotskyism."

Sherman, the section organizer of the Y. C. L., is slated to be removed. His place will probably be filled by either Al Dasch, who earned his spurs slugging oppositionists, or John Morris, who proved his organizational ability by expelling sympathizers of the Left Opposition from the American Youth Club, when he was organizer of that club.

It was at this opportune time that comrade Shachtman appeared in Brownsville to speak on the future of the Socialist and Communist movements. The impression that his criticism of the bureaucrats, who are strangling the movement, made upon the party and league, can best be gleaned from what happened at the Bob Minor Election rally two nights later at the Brownsville Youth (?) Center.

The gigantic and monstrous (so advertised) rally attracted about 200 workers. The drive of his remarks which dealt with misery, starvation and hunger, were so dry, that an atmosphere of listlessness permeated the hall. It was so bad that the singing choruses of the club and a group of league members had to be rounded up in order to inject some life into the "rally." With the appearance of these boosters Minor was in his element. Thereafter every remark no matter how trivial was greeted with applause. At the end of the Minor eulogistic oration, the chairman called for questions, while the customary heartrending appeal for a collection was being made.

Despite the absence of a single member of the Opposition or even a close sympathizer (excepting the writer of course) every question handed in was on "Trotskyism" and on the very points that comrade Shachtman had raised at the meeting where he spoke. The election "rally" had so suddenly turned into a discussion on "Trotskyism" that Minor was left dumbfounded. Taking the floor again he pathetically appealed for questions from the audience.

After a violent and vituperative harangue in which Trotsky was referred to as an organizer of paid police bands and the head of the worst sort of scabbing scam in the working-class movement, (here several matured workers who evidently remember the part played by Trotsky in the Red October walked out) he made the following answers to the questions:

1. "What is the circulation of the *Role of the Party*?" (this question evidently prompted because of Shachtman's remarks about the increase from 60,000 before Hitler took power, to the imaginary sale of 300,000 after the Fascist victory.) Answer—"I don't know." This from a Central Committee member and former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

2. "How did Stalin come to power?" Answer: Not Stalin but the working class came to power. All those who dare to raise this question are but miserable agents of the bourgeoisie.

3. "Why was Trotsky and the Left Opposition expelled?" Answer: Because they disagreed with the workers (!) of the Soviet Union. Don't we expel scabs from the unions, fellow workers? Deep silence on the part of the workers was the answer to this.

4. "Why does the leadership of the C. P. retain its leadership after this group of self-avowed incompetents admitted FULL RESPONSIBILITY for the weakness of the Communist Movement?" Answer: A long lynch incitation against the Trotskyites, followed by: "Only provocateurs and Trotskyite police (!) hands would raise this demand. (Think about inner party democracy.)"

5. "Did Lenin ever say Socialism can be built in one country?" Answer: Stalin-Lenin's co-worker is proving (!!) it. SOCIALISM IS BUILT (!!!).

6. "Why did the German C. P. fail to lead the workers in a struggle against Hitler?" Answer: They did lead (!) that's why comrade Shachtman is in jail. (and Hitler in power and Heckert in Paris.)

7. "Why weren't the tactics of the October Revolution used in Germany?" Answer: "The same tactics were used (!) and the working class to day (!!) stands on the threshold of a Soviet Germany (!!!)."

But the baseless slanders and pompous boasts will not avail. The league and party members are beginning to think and investigate. The truth of the platform of the Left Opposition is sifting through

everywhere. And before long an accounting with the bureaucrats will be made. The triumph of the Left Opposition is assured. —LEAGUE MEMBER.

League Growing in Youngstown

Several months activity in the unemployed workers movement is yielding good results for the Youngstown branch. Not only is there a marked increase in our influence and prestige among the organized workers, but along with this we have gained in membership and supporting sympathizers. The demand of the workers for the *Militant* is increasing steadily and the support of our sympathizers has enabled us to furnish subs to twelve unemployed workers this week. Besides this we distribute twenty-five copies of the *Militant* each week among party members, the YPSL group, and a few rank-and-file members of A. F. of L. unions.

We have among those who choose to follow our program in preference to that of the Stalinists, the Musketiers or the Social Reformists, several who are active in the local unemployed workers movement and a few who are active members of mass A. F. of L. unions. Our attempt to fraternize and discuss with the YPSL members succeeded after many months of sincere, comradely approach to them. In their ranks is a goodly share of half-heartedness and confusion; but there is also a small number of serious youth who are honestly searching for a class solution to the evils of capitalism. With these elements we shall always find it easy to collaborate, and we hope that from among them will come more than one who will eventually accept Lenin's program of revolutionary Socialism.

The new perspective spurs us on! —N.

Labor Partyites Convene

Chicago, Ill.—The significance of the gathering held at Chicago on September 23 and calling itself the United Conference for Progressive Political Action was not very great. Its representation was such that nothing much can be expected of it in the way of harm and certainly not in the way of any good as far as the American labor movement is concerned. The old intellectual stand-bys who have been yearning for a Labor party to furnish them with an opportunity to play some political role in the movement were there. A few old and young enthusiasts from small groups of the League for Independent Political Action and a non-descript group of old men and women made up the majority of the hundred and fifty or so delegates to the conference.

Farmer Answers Judge There were several representatives of real organizations of farmers. The outstanding representative from the farm regions was a Judge from Iowa, John F. Wirts, President of the United Farmers of America. The incident that occurred at Le Mar, Iowa, where a group of about a hundred farmers gave one of Wirts' colleagues on the Iowa bench the scare of his life was to him, a result of the machinations of a few insane radicals. The only real farmer in the conference answered the Judge simply and effectively when he said that immediately after the demonstration at Le Mar the state and federal authorities began to do something for the farmers.

Two delegates represented bona fide organizations of unemployed workers. Their confusion was great. Nevertheless whenever they spoke the atmosphere became a little fresher. Obviously they were "Musketiers" and all the lack of clarity and all the hesitation so characteristic of that group was recognizable. A red tinge to the conference was furnished by Ben Gitlow who was quite careful not to protrude his Communism and run the chance of antagonizing the conservative delegates.

Warn Against Revolution

Wery one to judge from the first few speeches made at the conference the conclusion would be almost inevitable that the delegates were meeting for the purpose of preventing a revolution in the United States. The more conservative element at the conference, led by Mahony, mayor of St. Paul and Judge Wirts, had the floor for most of the first session. They testified to the ferment existing amongst the city workers and farmers, especially the latter, and warned the delegates that unless a Farmer-Labor party is organized a violent revolution would result. It would be unfair to the other delegates to state that the conference met for that purpose.

There were many sincere elements anxious to further the interests of the workers and farmers. These honest elements actually believe that a Labor party is the instrument by which the American workers and farmers will ultimately free themselves from the yoke of capitalism. They will live, to see the day when the Labor party will be the instrument of saving capitalism and not of destroying it.

Postpone Organization

It was recognized by the delegates that to proceed to form a Labor party at the conference would be the height of absurdity. It would

The first fruits of the "Open Letter to all Party Members" have already ripened and are ready to be plucked (if you care for that kind of fruit). At least on the journalistic field. "The circulation of the *Daily Worker* has fallen off," the Open Letter of July 13 announced proudly among the achievements of the Central Committee. Having failed to reach the masses in their struggles, in their unions, in their class movements, the *Daily Worker* has now undertaken a broad flank attack which bespeaks an evitable military-journalistic talent. If the masses are not to be corralled in the field of struggle Edward Newhouse will catch them in the tennis courts or on the golf course. If they succeed in evading Newhouse, they find their nudgy challenged, each morning when they rise to dress, by the fascinating party frock terms of Anne Adams. If they rush desperately to the dining room, Hathaway (surely it is he who prepares those tempting daily menus!) is there to tantalize them with some Cheese Fondue (don't forget to add 1 bit of soda as big as a pea), or Consume Printanier or Lobster a la Newburg (prepared at Camp Nitgedaiget). And after an attack of acute indigestion induced by Browder's latest article, they are turned over to the mercies of Dr. Paul Luttinger (M. D.—\$1.65 per visit, and a bargain!).

The layout can't fail. They catch you coming and going: from the breakfast table to the kitchen, and if anyone gets away, he has only himself to blame, for the *Daily Worker* has done the best it knows how. Take Anne Adams, for example, the Butterplate Queen of Lanterns (but to be confused with Diamond Lil), and the editorial concave (unfortunately anonymous) who guides her through the columns of the *Daily*. On August 24, we are recommended pattern 1539 (Size 36 takes 4 yards of 39 inch fabric to

say nothing of the 3-8 yard contraption), all for 15 cents (coins preferred). To make this adorable costume, "pure dye silks are the most satisfactory" although, Anne tips you off, "a well-dyed wool would look good too." Pure opportunism! Why not make it up out of imported chiffon velvet, or cloth of gold trimmed with ermine? We pass the suggestion on to the *Worker* editor. Or what's the matter with polka dotted satin which, Bettina Bodwell of the *Daily News* cables, is being "used for sports clothes at Cannes and Monte Carlo"?

Then those menus. More care should really be taken in getting those up. Wheatons for breakfast is all right once in a while, but there is nothing like braised kidneys well done, with Duchesse potatoes. Nor have we yet seen a reference to how to prepare Shepherd's Pie a la Nollenhustein. Anybody even a *Daily Worker* reader, who has had to stand the slops of the relief kitchens wouldn't hesitate a minute—we'll wager—between Hathaway's potted shoulder and our squabs en casserole with noodles in a Neapolitan on the side (bake in a moderately slow oven about 20 minutes or until crumbs are well browned). And what about cakes? Are they orphans? Can a really good meal be eaten without them? We call Hathaway's attention to the possibilities of Chocolate Marshmallow Roll with Baltimore Filling and Caramel Frosting. Just delicious!

Or Newhouse on sports. Not bad, only he doesn't go far enough. Even stuff sometimes, but not deep enough. Take August 16: "Tennis is the one major sport registering progressive tendencies. Two years ago Helen Willis Moody blazed the trail by appearing without stockings at Forest Hills and last season Bunny Austin stalked out his plover's chin by wearing shorts on court. Although the Deliberating Body of the West Side Tennis Club deliberated mildly against the principle of shorts, mass pressure by lady players with presentable stems caused a reversal of decision." Granted the mass pressure. But where was the party? Where was the Central Committee? Did it do anything to raise this movement to a higher, political level? If it did, Newhouse certainly fails to mention it. It's little slips like this that keep the Sports Column out of time with the rest of the paper. Bear in mind what comrade Browder once wrote: "A Bolshevik paper should be a Bolshevik paper." (Collected Works, Vol. 1N, page 318.) That's just as true today as when it was written.

Finally, good old Doc Luttinger. We don't want to appear to be

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martha Abram James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
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Vol. VI, No. 43 (Whole No. 190)
SATURDAY September 16, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

ference called for the purpose of dealing with working class problems.

Issues Unclear

Unfortunately no one made the issue clear to the delegates. What was necessary was someone to explain that the reactionaries are taking advantage of the party leadership to set a precedent. It was necessary to point out the difference between the official party and the expelled groups and to insist that in spite of the disruptive tactics of Communist party leadership the party represents an important section of the American workers and should not only be permitted to join but invited to do so. Gitlow was very weak. Weisbord was not effective. The non-Communists made a good fight in their own reformist way but could not overcome the fear of and the hostility to the official party.

Sentiment on the National Recovery Act was divided. The more conservative delegates saw good in it and wanted to give President Roosevelt a chance. Why those delegates who have hope in the N. R. A. should at this time be interested in a Labor party is somewhat of a mystery. Probably they figure that a Labor party should be organized for the purpose of helping Roosevelt put the N. R. A. over. To cut the discussion short the matter was referred to the incoming national committee.

Truax representing the Unemployed Leagues of Ohio, in the closing session and during the discussion on the N. R. A. pathetically asked: "If you go on record in favor of the N. R. A. how can I go back to face the unemployed who are starving? And what shall I tell them that you accomplished in the two days of your conference?"

Poor Truax! He has yet to learn that out of a conference of about a hundred and fifty delegates there are only two real workers and two real farmers nothing much should be expected. —A. V.

carping critics, but science is science, and it ought to be exact. Take his advice to "Gertrude" on August 24: "Six dry prunes have often a laxative effect on the bowels of some persons." Is that what Gertrude wanted to know? We doubt it. What effect would they have on her? And then again, suppose the prunes are wet, what then? He should be more concrete and give illustrations. Thus, in reply to W. J. C. on Trigonitis-Verumontanis, he says that "getting sexually excited without completion of the act aggravates the condition."

Now that's always been a disputed point in scientific circles and ought to be motivated more fundamentally, it seems to us. Or the reply to J. S.: "Your friend is unduly alarmed. Nearly every young, unmarried person masturbates. Those who deny it, lie in the majority of cases. Unless it is indulged in too often, neither the mind nor the body are impaired." Well, what would you call "too often"? It strikes us that this is the nub of the problem. Truth always being concrete, some experiences should be drawn on. Maybe the Polbureau of the party ought to be permitted to say on the matter. Or perhaps a happy medium could be found in the formula: Not too much and not too little. In any case, if you really want to get to the masses, you've got to be more precise.

Ourselves, we're inclined to the opinion voiced by Michael Brown (or is it Helywood Gold? We forget which), the new columnist of the *Daily Worker* in its September 1 issue: "You have to read the tabs to get the real lowdown on how the other half lives. Really, though it smells so bad, one should hold one's nose and study life in the millionaire slums. Let's be scientific." Now we know why Verne Smith left the *Daily Worker* to go to Moscow: He couldn't hold his nose! But as to being scientific, by all means!

Workers has struck the Kurtzman Clothing Co. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is planning a general strike and has been waging a series of minor strike battles in this situation it becomes yet more important for the I. U. W. members to finally learn to take the place of the Left wing is within the mass unions.

To the strikers out now and to those who are yet to strike, the workers of Golden Bros. shop have taught lessons that we hope will not go unheeded.

Although the strike has been called off, rearranged battles remain to be fought. These are the struggles for the freeing of the strikers arrested on the vicious anti-picketing ordinance, a piece of legislation aimed to maintain Los Angeles as the pride and joy of employers.

These trials are now going on. First results have not been good. Two workers were fined \$20 each. Two girl strikers, Elsie Meyers and Sally Wedgdon, have been fined \$50 or 25 days in jail. This case has been appealed. Three girls are going on trial now.

This fight cannot remain solely in the courtroom. Behind the victimized strikers all of Los Angeles labor must be mobilized.

The fight against the anti-picketing ordinance concerns every worker who is ever going to strike whether he or she is in a union affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, or independent unions. For workers to strike without picket lines is like soldiers marching to war without fire arms.

Around the right to strike and to picket a broad united front can be formed. The acute need of the moment for all workers is the winning of this right. The most important ingredient of successful strikes is strong picket lines. The anti-picketing ordinance stands in the way.

Only action by the workers can remove this anti-picketing ordinance, not legal argumentation before the bosses' courts. Although this latter angle must not be ignored, the following must be driven deep into the consciousness of stirring Los Angeles labor: "Only united action by the workers can do away with the anti-picketing ordinance, and open the road to higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions."

—C. C.

T.U.U.L. Disrupts Doll Strike

The sad pass which Stalinism has reached is clearly manifested in the Doll and Toy Workers' strike. The toy part of the industry, where the Stalinists have a small foothold, is told by them not to join in the general strike. They did this first with leaflets, (distributed by members of the Young Communist League) and then with lists.

They used members of the Communist party and of the Unemployed Council to attack and cut up union pickets of the Gong Bell Toy Shop at 200 5th Avenue, N. Y. C. Giordani, president of the Toy and Doll Workers (paper) Union, was in the shop urging the workers not to join the strike when members of the A. F. of L. union came to pull the shop down. It was then that the attack began. One of the pickets of the A. F. of L. union was cut so badly as to require medical attention.

This action on the part of the Stalinists is strikebreaking, no matter what the intentions. This action is to be doubly condemned as dragging the name of Communism in the mud, and playing into the hands of the A. F. of L. reactionaries. The reformists of the A. F. of L. can now get up on the platform at strike headquarters and tell the workers that Communists are strikebreakers and to have nothing to do with them; and, in fact, to beat them up wherever they meet them. This greatly hinders any work of contacting for the Communist movement and endangers the work of building a Left wing within the union. All attempts to expose Farnilla and Cannon are almost worthless for a while, thanks to the criminal blunders of the Stalinists.

Workers, be on your guard against those who attack the Communists. Examine their deeds, and see if the attacks are not to cover up their criminal policy of selling out the strike last year, and, then, after being kicked out of office and union, going to the A. F. of L. and getting a charter without the consent of the union membership. Judge these leaders by their actions and deeds and not by their words. To that end, see that the strike, settlement, and shop committees function so that the leaders (whom we do not elect are checked up. Finally, elections of officers on the basis of their work within the strike, should be cared for when the strike is settled.

—A DOLL WORKER.

means provided for in the inflation act would be utilized, no doubt: Federal Reserve credits would be expanded, new currency issued, and finally perhaps, as a last irrevocable step, the dollar might be cut down to half its gold content.

Every one of these steps, insofar as for as long as it has any effect, will result in raising the cost of living, and thus entailing the real wages of the worker—apart from the rest of the capitalist offensive in cutting relief, cutting school budgets, speeding-up labor, etc.

—B. J. FIELD.

Strike Lessons on Pacific Coast

Los Angeles.—It is sad to have to write to you that the workers on strike against Golden Bros. Millinery shop were defeated.

The bravery of the strikers, their militancy on the picket lines, their courage before the clubs and saps of a degenerate group of police, the great number of arrests bravely endured (17 in number) were not able to overcome the objective fact of the strike being forced on the workers in the off season and the subjective condition of weakness in the Trade Union Unity League officialdom. (To grace them with the name of "leaders" would be sheer violence of the latter term.)

Victory could have been won, even though the strike took place in the slack season, but for the passivity and lethargy in the general activity—a condition due to the actions of the apparatus of the T. U. U. L. and not the strikers themselves.

The chairman of the strike committee, comrade Louis Meyers insisted on a more militant attitude, but to no avail, as a result scabs manned the shops.

After much effort, comrade Meyers succeeded in securing what amounted to a little more than a verbal agreement with his views.

In spite of its weaknesses, the strike has created a tradition in Los Angeles. To all workers, particularly needleworkers, it showed how even the most brutal of police terror can be fought. Smashed picket lines were reformed. Jail did not daunt. In this manner strikes are won; not in the class collaboration of the conservative trade union fakers.

A storm of strikes, in the needle trades above all, is in the offing. The first strikes, the forerunners, are already here. The NTWU is conducting a number of small strikes. The Amalgamated Clothing

Cracks in N.R.A. Structure

The NRA, as a machinery of recovery, is one of those marvels of American technique, like the ninety-day ships built during the war, or the flimsy mass-production houses put up during a boom, which is as astounding for the speed of its construction as for its makeshift, jerry-built character. While the house is still being put up, the cracks are already appearing in its walls. Barely two months after the act was passed which created the NRA, and on the eve of another far-reaching publicity campaign intended to whip up enthusiasm for it, we can say that the Marxian analysis of the futility of such devices is already being borne out by the bourgeoisie who will not stop at the concrete facts. This means that the bourgeoisie will not stop at the present stage of its efforts to climb out of the crisis on the backs of the workers. As one stage after the other proves insufficient, it will put more and more pressure to bear. Correspondingly, the resistance of the workers will need to be ever more aggressive and better organized.

In the present stage of the bourgeois offensive, the basic strategy is to concentrate and coordinate economic and political power through increasing State intervention, to win the support of the broad masses for this program by demagogic bluff, and to avoid sharp challenges and irrevocable decisions. That is why no decisive answer has been given to the question of inflation, why no action has been taken on the imposing public works program involving the expenditure of 3,300 million dollars, why the "spread-work" program and the leveling-down of the higher wage scales have been disguised as maximum hours and minimum wages, and why the struggle against aggressive trade-union organization has been disguised as a concession in favor of "collective bargaining."

The official justification for this course is that purchasing power will thus be increased, and this in turn will increase production and consequently employment.

The beginnings of the breakdown of this policy, and the likelihood that the bourgeoisie will have to resort to more drastic measures, are shown in the following developments:

1. The ambiguous character of the governmental policy is shown by the fact that two important officials have resigned from the NRA for exactly opposite reasons, one from the left and the other from the right; Mary Van Kleeck as a liberal social worker because not enough concessions were being made to labor, Dudley Cates because labor was receiving too many concessions in the so-called right to "collective bargaining."

2. The nation-wide wave of strikes which greeted the NRA and has continued to develop until it now embraces hundreds of thousands of workers shows that the elemental needs of the working-class which are incompatible with the NRA are expressing themselves in spite of the bourgeois ideology represented by the NRA humming which is being pumped into them by all the agencies of the bourgeoisie state. Faced with the realities of the strike movement, the state has no choice but to discard the bluff of impartiality, and break up picket lines, shoot workers, discriminate against Left wing un-

FROM THE MILITANTS

Discussion on the German Defeat

The article appearing below is another contribution to the discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. The views expressed are those of the writer. Comrades are invited to participate in this discussion but their contribution should be limited to about 700 words.—Ed.

In the New Republic of July 5 there appeared an article by comrade Trotsky entitled "The German Catastrophe" (reprinted in the Militant) which subjected the policy of the Central Committee of the C. P. and the C. I. to a critical analysis. The substance of this document was that the failure of the C. P. and the Social Democracy to form a united front, and the failure of the C. P. G. to propose it, was responsible for the catastrophe. With the substance of this criticism, limited as it must be within the confines of a short article, we have no argument. But this explanation does not go far enough and to the root of things. The reader gets the impression that the leaders of the C. P. G. were free agents acting in accordance with the dictates of their own judgment which proved to be erroneous. The leaders of German Communism acted as they did not merely because their judgment was poor but because they consented to become puppets of the existing foreign policy of Stalinism. They had received orders from Moscow to offer only a dilatory opposition or passive resistance but no serious struggle against Hitler. What proof is there for these assertions? And what were the motives for justifying this policy?

The organs of the L. O. noticed the strange silence of the C. I. for months preceding the events of March 5, they called attention to its failure to furnish political assistance and to the failure of the C. P. G. to make adequate defense preparations. The C. P. U. S. A. also ignored appeals from the L. O. for action on the German crisis. These were the outward symptoms of the crisis in the C. I.

Were these features and events mere accidents and oversights on the part of the Stalinists? We know that in politics there are no accidents or oversights—not where major policies are concerned. We believe the answer is to be found in the changed foreign policy of the C. P. U. S. A. From a party committed to the promotion of world revolution it has degenerated into a party of national Socialism. In order to establish this hypothesis we invite the consideration of the following facts.

It is common knowledge that an isolated workers' revolutionary government operating under the discussion of a party committed to a policy of world revolution must of necessity have difficult and strained relations with capitalist powers, who, when they are not conspiring actively to destroy it, are protesting against the "outrages", that a foreign party, i. e. the C. P. U. S. A. should be conducting propaganda on their territory through an affiliated organization, the C. I. Hence, since the termination of the active interventionist program the capitalist world powers have demanded the cessation by the S. U. of Communist propaganda on their soil. In the language of diplomacy this means the suppression of the C. I. Depending upon various situation in the international field they have threatened to break off relations, have refused to sign trade agreements, treaties, extend loans, guarantee credits as long as the C. I. was an active threat to their existence. The Soviet diplomacy countered with the argument that it was not responsible for the actions of the C. I. and that no Soviet government agency was engaged in any hostile action on foreign soil. Mr. Henderson, British foreign minister to mention only one case, refused to accept this contention insisting that the S. U. was responsible for the actions of the C. I., which he considered a propaganda arm of the Soviets. He informed the Soviet Union that if the C. I. engaged in propaganda on British soil relations between the two countries would again be broken. As long as Lenin and Trotsky were leading the C. P. S. U. this demand for suppression of the C. I. was energetically resisted. But with the death of Lenin, the expulsion of the L. O., the slowing down of world revolution and the rise of the policies of national socialism, the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. S. U. has gradually yielded to the pressure of world imperialist powers. The benefit of an active international center coordinating the activities of the parties was considered as insignificant compared to the benefits of recognition trade and credits. The belief gradually grew up among the Stalinist bureaucracy that one or the other would have to be sacrificed. The C. I. was, of course, sacrificed and with it the international conception that the fate of the Soviet Union was bound up with the fate of the world proletariat. The

theory which the Stalinist school of national socialism advanced, officially and unofficially, may be expressed as follows:

The mere existence of the S. U. is a beacon light to the world proletariat. If the S. U. can obtain a breathing space for a number of years during which unruffled, peaceful relations, loans, trade, etc., can be established with the capitalist world powers then fulfilled socialism can be developed within the Soviet Union. The resultant socialist construction will be a great inspiration to the oppressed proletariat, who will then, seeing a finished socialist structure as an objective reality, be only too willing to overthrow their bourgeoisie. What shall the proletariat do in the meantime? In the meantime the C. P. S. U. abandons its original program of world revolution. In fact, the proletariat of other countries must mark time not even attempt to seize power because this would disturb the Soviet capitalist peaceful cohabitation. In fact for the time being, the world proletariat must be prepared to sacrifice its historic mission—the overthrow of capitalism for the sake of the "upbuilding of socialism in the Soviet Union".

These arguments have not an iota in common with Leninism. The war scare which the Stalinists use to justify their policy is strangely similar to that used by the German social democracy in 1918. When after the German Revolution they were called upon by the workers to establish a workers government and come to the assistance of the Russian revolution, they replied in these words: "If we come to the assistance of the German proletariat and establish a workers government the allies will march into Germany and occupy Berlin. Thus all the achievements of the German revolution will be destroyed. It is therefore much safer and more certain to follow the slow but peaceful path to socialism of the Weimar Constitution." Now we can understand the silence of the C. I. before and after the coup d'état. Now we can understand the passivity of the C. P. G. The German working class and with it the hopes of the world proletariat were sacrificed for years to come, so that the Stalin bureaucracy might nurse its illu-sionary hope of peace and quiet living together with world capitalism.

The Future of the C. I.

From the Stalinist course of a half-liquidated international there arises a three fold danger:

1. If the Soviet Union should be really threatened with war, intervention or both, the danger is that the workers of the various important countries will not respond with the same enthusiasm to the slogan of defending the Workers Republic as they have heretofore. These

workers will argue that the C. I. and the C. P. S. U. remained silent while Fascism rolled over our organizations and broke the backbone of our movement for liberation. Why should we break our heads for the Stalinists when the Soviet Union, manned by Stalinism, finds itself encircled by world imperialism?

Naturally from the standpoint of the I. L. O. such a viewpoint would be calamitous and the L. O. would actively resist it. But the danger nevertheless exists that such currents are likely to make themselves felt widely. The I. L. O. must take measures to forestall the possibility of such phenomena.

2. There is another danger—that of passivity. Many Communist-minded workers will lose faith, because of the inactivity of the C. I. in all revolutionary movements and withdrawal from the struggle altogether.

3. Lastly, the greatest danger is that of liquidation. When, in 1923, the C. I. failed to respond to the revolutionary situation, the result was a steady streaming back of workers to re-enroll under the banner of the social democracy. Such a danger is magnified today because the breakdown of the C. P. in Germany and Austria, in Germany and Italy Fascism has been able to carry on only because it has made deep inroads into the ranks of the workers. The danger therefore exists of large masses streaming into the folds of Fascism because of the breakdown of both Internationals, the 2nd as well as the 3rd.

Conclusion

The Stalinist policy, can now, be summarized as follows:

1. Abandonment of the Leninist program of world revolution.
2. Nominal existence for the C. I. Muzzling of the C. I. as important world crises arise.
3. Civil peace with world capitalism; no international class struggle.
4. Suppression of democratic centralism in the C. P. S. U.; conversion of the party into a semi-military administration and ruled from the top by a dictatorial oligarchy.

Where does this policy lead to? It is obvious that we are not dealing any more with a centrist current in Communism with which we have tactical differences but with right wing opportunism.

Upon the shoulders of the I. L. O. rests the responsibility of preventing the above-mentioned dangers from becoming acute and from engulfing for decades the entire workers' liberationist movement. Under these changed circumstances the I. L. O. must make plans for its transition from the role of an Opposition within the C. I. to a new role—that of the leading nucleus for the organization of a new International.

—L. BROWN.

U. S., Cuba and Latin America

Does intervention exist in Cuba? The capitalist press says no. We say it does. It began with the establishment of the revolutionary junta of five. The whole Atlantic fleet was sent to Cuban waters. The air fleet and marines were mobilized. Cuba was bottled up. A new form of intervention took place. "Armed" intervention had not been established? Cuba's independence has not been violated? As soon as the new government was established pressure from American imperialism increased from day to day, until the half-bourgeois element in the lead had slowly yielded and helped check the pressure of the bank and file and the workers from below. Nevertheless, the new regime which is compromising with American imperialism is sitting on a dynamite keg and the proper spark can blow up this regime causing repercussions which will be felt by the most backward strata of the American workers.

Why is America so careful in her dealing with her colony, Cuba? Cuba is at present the determining factor which will decide to a great degree the outcome of the impending Pan-American Conference to be held at Montevideo. This conference will be the culmination of a bitter struggle now raging among the imperialists to decide who will obtain a more favorable position in the trade relations with the South American countries. England, Germany and Japan are still making inroads in America's private backyard. The Americans hope to overcome this between now and the date of the conference.

One false move in Cuba, which will increase Latin America's hatred for the iron heel of the North will play into the hands of the other imperialists. America hopes to avoid this, which accounts for the new form of intervention the Roosevelt government is conducting in Cuba. As soon as the London Conference was over, as soon as America had tied a few more ropes around Europe in order to put her on rattions, America turned her attention to the South American struggle and the coming conference. Reports from investigators Roosevelt sent south at the very beginning of his administration indicated that Cuba was a most critical spot. This spot had to be removed as part of the preparations for the Pan-American Conference.

The objective conditions for a political explosion in Cuba were mature. All that was needed was a "hands off" policy from the iron heel of the North. America did more than that. It helped remove

Machado and place in power a more suitable puppet but events and conditions got out of control. Within a month history passed beyond this American set-up. The Cuban situation is characteristic of the quicksand upon which American imperialism has built its world structure. Attempts to solve one contradiction pave the way for a new and bigger contradiction.

The proletarian revolution cast its shadow across Cuba, an outpost of American imperialism. America's backyard has a revolutionary situation. Workers seize sugar plantations. American imperialism is denounced, complete independence is demanded. The Red scare becomes the headline overnight in the rabid American press. But the economic and political implications run deeper than the diplomatic and yellow press maneuvers. It runs deeper than America's attempt to patch up things for the Pan-American Conference.

America went to the London conference to smash the attempted united front of Europe. America's positive role at Europe's conference was to deliver a few destructive blows. America's role at the Pan-American conference is different. This is America's set-up. It is England's time to deliver a few destructive blows.

Below the surface of this imperialist struggle for markets and the preparation for war runs the more fundamental struggle of the imperialists and the proletariat. The American working class has an urgent and tremendous task to aid the Latin American workers and peasants. The overthrow of American imperialism is our task and the workers and peasants of Latin America are our closest allies. Their fight against American imperialism in Cuba is our fight.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Relativity and Pacifism

The New York Times of September 10 quotes Albert Einstein, world famous pacifist, as follows: "If I were a Belgian I would not refuse military service under the present circumstances, but I would, on the contrary, accept it with a clear conscience with the sentiment of a contribution toward securing European civilization."

The "present circumstances" are Einstein's fear of a threat of war emanating from Hitler. Einstein thinks that the tide of war will roll westward and that Belgium will fall beneath the Nazi chariot wheels. Hence the gratuitous admission to Belgian workers to train for the defense of "their" country.

The French Socialists and the British labor states want to defend European democracy against Fascist and "Soviet dictatorship". Hitler, too, wants to defend European civilization against "the East". How many saviors of European civilization there are!

It is difficult to reconcile this latest position of Einstein's with his endorsement of aid and services for the Stalinist Amsterdam World Anti-War Congress. This the Stalinists will have to explain away. We warned in time against entrusting the leadership of the fight against imperialism war to well meaning intellectuals and pacifists. For our good advice the Stalinists gave us curses and blows.

This latest advice of Einstein's stands in contradiction to his former, well known advice to the entire world to refuse to bear arms. He is the formulator of the pacifist idea that if only two percent of a population refuse to bear arms that number will suffice to defeat the war plans of the imperialists.

But if you think you see a contradiction here Einstein does not. He explains this point: "There does not mean I renounce my previous opinions. I desire nothing more than to see the moment come when the refusal of military service will be the means for an efficacious struggle for the progress of humanity." You see, he merely postpones his idea of refusing military service for a while. And in the meantime he advocates the exact opposite.

Is there a contradiction here? Yes and no. It all depends on how you look at it. Workers should remember that Einstein is the author of the theory of relativity which, despite its positive contributions to science, implies that there is no objective world independent of consciousness and that the world is only the result of the position of the measurer. In other words if you stick your head between your legs and look at the world from that position the Empire State Building grows down from the sky and calling on Belgian workers to enter on military service of the capitalist class is not in contradiction to pacifist ideas.

That is generally the conclusion to which the petty bourgeois, confusionist theory of pacifism lead. We hope that Einstein will forgive us if we see in his playing with serious questions the bankruptcy of pacifism and its objective support of imperialism.

—T. STAMM.

Southern Negroes Under the N.R.A.

The murderous meaning of Roosevelt's "New Deal" to southern Negro workers has been brought to our attention by many conflicts which have arisen around the issue of wage differentials between white and Negro workers. A firm in Atlanta which prominently displayed the blue eagle insignia pays its Negro employees from 6 to 13 cents an hour. The most violent forms of Jim Crowism transferred into the wage differential question is given testimony in an article in the New York Times of August 27, from which we quote in part:

"Mississippi already has given the nation an example of barbarity based on an economic condition. . . . Negro firemen were lured from their engines with flares and then shot down. Others were slain or seriously wounded in the engine cabs. . . . It can be assumed that how- ever true the statement that the living costs of the Negro justifies a differential in wages, the thought is not a pleasant one to blacks who are forced to live in miserable surroundings in order to live at the lowest scale. This situation created by the NRA regulations benefited as they are in intent (?) is one that must have the serious and honest consideration of reasonable men of both races."

It would be much more correct to state that this situation and the whole Negro question requires the consideration of working men of both races: for serious bourgeois of both races created exactly this situation. I quote further from the same article to prove this statement:

"Many men suggested that a differential in wages should be established. This was successfully done among laundry workers, where Negro workers have long represented the majority of the workers. But a drastic differential in other lines is another matter and contains a danger pointed out by Dr. R. R. Moton, head of Tuskegee In-

Even Slander Needs Meaning

A Discussion with those Stalinists Who Reflect

On every occasion the Stalinists repeat that the Bolshevik-Leninists whom they call "Trotskyists" are working in favor of military intervention in the U. S. S. R. A shameless absurdity of this kind is calculated to mislead ill-informed people. The courageous man, the honest one, must inevitably say to himself: "It is impossible that such a thing is simply an invention, there must be some truth in it." And unfortunately there are not a few of such courageous men in the world.

How then must one understand the aid that the "Trotskyists" will lend aid to intervention? Does that mean that the Bolshevik-Leninists are on the side of imperialism in the struggle against the U. S. S. R., that is, that they will be materially or politically interested in overthrowing the workers' state with the aid of the military forces of the imperialist bourgeoisie? There are people who even go as far as such assertions. In the majority of cases, these are sincerely careerists who are little concerned over intervention, revolution, Marxism and ideas in general they simply serve the master of today and will unhesitatingly betray this master in time of danger.

At bottom, these "Udarniks" (shock brigades) of slander continue the tradition of the reactionaries, who, from 1914 onward and particularly from 1917, repeated indefinitely that Lenin and Trotsky were agents of the German General Staff. After 15 or 20 years in the course of which such events as the October Revolution, the Civil war, the creation of the 3rd International and the intransigent struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists for the banner of Marx and Lenin against the degenerating bureaucracy have taken place—the Stalinists have withdrawn from the mind of the accusation formerly fabricated by the military espionage, by Milukov, Bourke and Kerensky.

Others of the more prudent bureaucrats do not trust themselves to pose the question in the spirit of the British and Carlist counter-espionage. They add a wise word, the "Trotskyists," say, objectively aid the counter-revolution and the intervention. Such a formula, which itself pretends to objectivity is in reality deprived of all content. Any mistake of the revolutionary party aids the enemy directly or indirectly but the whole question consists precisely in this: on whose side is the mistake? The Bolshevik-Leninists have demonstrated (and events have justified our arguments) that the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy has aided the bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism against the workers in China; that it aided the British reformists against Communism; that in the U. S. S. R. it has aided and it aids the thermidor-

ians and the Bonapartists against the October Revolution; finally that it aided Hitler against the proletariat in Germany. Is this true or not? This is the decisive question.

Of course our criticism does not contribute to raising the authority of the Stalinist faction; but can one put the prestige of the bureaucracy and the vital interests of the world proletariat on the same plans? The Stalinist bureaucracy, which disposes in abundance of the services of publications, papers, "theoricians", journalists, has not even approached a refutation of our criticism. Is it not truly astounding that the C. I. has no book which draws the lessons of the German events of 1923, the Bulgarian intervention and a series of other events of lesser extent. Thus, after the miserable report of Hecker they have put a cross on the forehead of the "Trotskyists". The criticism of the Left Opposition can only strengthen the diplomatic positions of Stalinism. A serious American bourgeois, Campbell, has shown the necessity of recognizing the Soviet Union by referring to the words of Stalin, saying that the course towards international revolution was liquidated with the expulsion of Trotsky. It is true that Stalin has disavowed these words. Let us admit that they were said to Campbell not by Stalin himself, but by one of his associates, let us even admit that Campbell, let us even admit that this argument into Stalin's mouth. At bottom that does not change the matter one iota. Campbell puts as a positive feature of Stalin that which he Left Opposition considers as a negative feature and the American bourgeois is right from his point of view.

In any case, to accuse the Stalinist bureaucracy of being nationally limited does not hinder, but facilitates "normal" and even "friendly" relations for it with the bourgeois states. What happens then to the lecture on intervention? It can however be said that that we do not exactly explain the basis of the Stalinist argumentation. Let us take their official press. We have at hand the last number of *Humanite* (August 2nd). Let us surmount the natural repugnance for slander and let us probe the arguments of the functionaries of *Humanite*. Here as an example of the counter-revolution, they cite the words of Simon Weil: "The dynamism of the Russian State should inspire us with defiance in case of war as in case of peace, just as the dynamism of the capitalist states, if not to the same degree." Further on they cite the words of a so-called "Trotskyist" leader: "The power which dominates the U. S. S. R. has nothing in common—in spite of its lies—with the October Revolution." In alleging these two quotations, of which we cannot guarantee the authenticity of the text, the editors write:

"These are words for word the same fifth that appears in the press of the other white Russian or French counter-revolutionaries, of the Renaissance of General Miller, in the Dernieres Nouvelles of Milukov and in *Populaire* of Blum-Rosenfeld."

So the White-Russians accuse Soviet diplomacy of having sunk to the level of bourgeois diplomacy or having betrayed the heritage of the October Revolution. Can anything more stupid or more ridiculous be imagined? And in order to show what he really is the unfortunate functionary accomplishes more than he can: "The quotations of the two camps coincide word for word."

In reality, the white guard press exerts all its strength to prove to the bourgeois governments that the Stalinist bureaucracy continues the original work of the October Revolution, that it does not limit itself to national aims and aspires as before to the world revolution, and that is why the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet non-aggression pact or the recognition of the Soviets by Spain are fatal mistakes. In other words, the reactionary Russian and world press tries to demonstrate that Soviet diplomacy is not "Europeanized" that is, that it is not bourgeoisified and it sees in its refusal to bourgeoisify itself a basis some logic in that. But the Stalinist intervention; there is at least lists have nothing, except absurdities. The Whites hate the Soviets precisely because of that they look for arguments that have political meaning. It is an entirely different thing when an unpoliticized functionary defends a cause which is quite foreign to him; he throws into the same sack all the absurdities which come into his poor head.

The functionary receives his task for the day; connect Trotsky with the white empires in order by that to justify the repressions against Rakovsky and thousands of irrevocable Bolsheviks. Then how does the indifferent functionary act in the cause? He assuredly does not throw himself into a polemic with Trotsky or his comrades; such a polemic promises nothing good. He has neither facts nor arguments; where should he find such facts and arguments? The functionary finds two isolated quotations which have no relation with Trotsky and he sets his wits to work to identify these quotations with the point of view of the white guards which is directly contrary both in spirit and letter. In order to give proof of his zeal the functionary adds: "word for word" in slandering even an appearance of sense. No wonder if the advanced workers more and more turn their backs on the dishonest, ignorant and traitorous functionary.

—G. G.

Cuban Revolution Rising

Revolutionary unrest continues unabated in Cuba and the new regime which claims to be "anti-imperialist" but willing to fulfill all of its legitimate obligations is finding increasing difficulty in maintaining itself between the pressure from Wall Street and Washington on the one hand and the masses from the left on the other. While a hundred of the old army officers continue harried in the National Hotel, Colonel-Sergeant Batista, army chief of staff, is busy promoting enlisted men to replace his former officers. Fraternization between the soldiers and workers continues. This is what the capitalist press means when it complains of the breakdown of discipline.

The native bourgeoisie is already consistently sabotaging the Gran San Martin Government by withholding taxes due to the government, hoping in this way to force the government to default on the payment of interest on loans to Wall Street increase the pressure on it from that direction and turn the army against it consequent on its failure to pay the enlisted rank and file.

The workers and students, realizing the danger of counter-revolution and in order to be able to exert mass pressure on the bourgeoisie, are taking steps to fortify their present positions in an attempt to prevent the triumph of a counter-revolution, led by the Menocal conservatives or Mendiatas nationalists.

The strike wave continues unabated; the militancy of the workers and unwillingness of the soldiers to act against them being everywhere in evidence. On the banana plantations at Antilla, Oriente Province, the workers have

striking. . . . Dr. Moton—realized that with both races receiving the same wages for identical work the whites would gradually usurp the places held by Negroes."

The bourgeois Negroes' whole slant on economic and political questions (Dr. Moton is just one of these bourgeois Negroes) arises from and does not look beyond the segregation, discrimination, and subordination to which the caste system in these United States relegates the Negro workers.

—G. J. SAUL.

Once more the dock workers of Santiago are threatening to strike unless their latest demands are accepted within 72 hours. The strikes at the Mabay refinery in Santiago and on the coffee plantations of the same province continue.

In many points throughout the island the workers, especially those on the sugar plantations, are arming themselves. The first attempt of the present government or of the counter-revolution to oust them from the sugar mills and plantations, some of which they have already seized will undoubtedly be met by violent resistance.

At the same time camps for military instruction are being organized by the student organizations and authorized spokesmen for the students stated to the Associated Press representative:

"We are attempting to prevent a recurrence of those things which happened to these boys during the Machado regime. We want them to have a knowledge of military training so that they may be prepared to defend themselves whenever it may be necessary to do so."

The same Associated Press report goes on to note that the organizers of these military training camps take pains to explain that their movement is not of a fascist character.

Representatives of American capitalist interests, especially Ambassador Welles, are bargaining with the Gran San Martin Government as well as with the leaders of the other bourgeoisie political groups. By intelligently playing them against each other any one of them can be made to come to an agreement favorable to Wall Street. The pressure of the masses, however, as expressed concretely within the ranks of the army, by the seizures of the sugar mills and by the developments at the manganese mines in Cristó, Oriente Province, must be reckoned with before Yankee imperialism can hope to again establish the good old days of uninterrupted exploitation of Cuba.

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The Left Socialist Conference

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portant points of view, failed to pose the orientation of the new international. Where it speaks in the general abstract manner of re-creating the international unity of the working class, that will have as many and as distinct different interpretations as there were tendencies represented. Some of the delegates undoubtedly supported the resolution because it postponed the new regrouping of revolutionary force outside the two international, others because they did not yet consider it necessary to create a new international and finally there were those who interpreted the failure of the two international as proof of the necessity of unification of all workers organizations on the basis of concrete demands and without regard to divergent principles.

Summed up this conference nevertheless presents us a picture of the travail and the birth pangs of a movement. We recall the time of the rise of the Bolshevik revolution and the collapse of Social Democracy how important sections and groups within it were struggling to find their way to Communism and in most cases not without difficulties. Again this process is repeated, but as it appears, at an accelerated tempo. The lessons of Germany are sinking in deeply among several of these present groups and parties developing Leftward toward international Communism. This general development is the fact of monumental importance standing out above all difficulties and all the confusion still apparent.

The decadence and betrayal of Social Democracy became the compelling force driving many of these parties in a Leftward direction. Such new groups will still emerge. But the Stalinist control of the Comintern instead of facilitating has hindered this process, and that in a large measure accounts for the confusion still existing amongst them. In their further developments these parties will therefore find themselves ever more faced with the task of smashing the Stalinist barriers.

Before this conference the Left Opposition affirmed its break with Stalinist Centralism and its greater irreconcilability than before towards reformism. That position will in the coming period stand out the more impressively and win its way within the parties groping for an international revolutionary orientation. The firm kernel which has already emerged augurs well for the future.

It appears that the coal operators actually did get busy and are trying to reach a conclusion on their code discussion. When signed it will, we assume also carry the name of "fair competition", even with the company union clause retained. But what made them get busy was the fact that the workers got into action and struck the jobs.

New Left Wing Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

of "dual unionism" blurt us out of it. But just as truly we must refuse to accept the paper unions of the Stalinists as substitutes for genuine mass organizations. Independent unions have a very slim chance in the present situation. It is not because there is any law to this effect—as the Lovestone opportunists imply—but because a force capable of organizing them is lacking and because the trend of the masses toward the conservative unions cannot and should not be counteracted. (For Marxists independent unions are not a dogma or fetish any more than A. F. of L. unions are).

But not the least, and very probably the greatest, factor in the situation which excludes any widespread development of independent unions at the present time is the fact that the Stalinists, who have made a dogma of independent "class struggle" unions, have succeeded in discrediting the idea and alienating the workers who might have cooperated in building them in these industries where their existence had a certain justification and necessity. By their "bitchous" new trade union center, their stupid tactics, their arrogant bureaucracy, their hoodlump abuse and expulsions of critics and political opponents, their subordination of the unions to the narrow clique interests of the Stalin faction and the conversion of the dedicated organizations into mere appendages of the Stalin party—by their whole policy and regime, they have covered the idea of an independent union movement with their own disgrace.

The verdict of doom has already been pronounced on the so-called unions under their domination. As for the unorganized workers, they are passing them by and the non-Stalinist unions who have not been expelled are leaving them. Make no mistake about it. Unions that cannot grow now when new strata of workers are surging forward and seeking organization are dead beyond the possibility of resurrection. The Left wing militants who want to play a part in the new situation in the labor movement must turn their backs on the Stalinist paper unions and put a cross over the whole experiment.

THE NEW LEFT WING PROGRAM

To see the present strike wave as only the first stage of a resurgent class activity of the American workers and prepare to influence its further development; to call the workers to enter the trade unions and to go with them on this path; to struggle increasingly within the unions against the policy and leadership of the reactionaries; to break resolutely and completely with the Stalinist sectarian paper unions—these in our opinion, are the main points of the new trade union theses, which the Left wing requires.

But the new program, by itself, is not enough. The Left wing also requires a new leadership. Up till now the Stalinists have dominated the movement, disorganizing and

disrupting everything they could not control and silencing all critical voices with threats and expulsions. They had a monopoly on the leadership. Consequently, the responsibility for the results is also their monopoly. In the light of what happened in the past three months, on top of all that went before, it is possible now—it is absolutely necessary!—to draw the final balance of their trade union policy. The beginning of the strike wave was the great opportunity and test of the Left wing and its leadership. Given a correct policy and a competent leadership the Left wing in the labor movement could not fail to bound forward, to expand its influence and organization at the expense of the reactionaries. It happened differently, as everybody knows. In the trade union movement in America, as in every vital problem of the working class throughout the world, Stalinism remained true to its mission as the great organizer of defeats. The conclusion which the revolutionary workers throughout the world are drawing must also be drawn here. In the trade union question the necessity for a complete break with the Stalinist leadership is especially obvious and imperative. And their disastrous leadership in this field is only a particularly illuminating illustration of their leadership in general. The question brooks no delay. The liberation of the Left wing of the labor movement from the stranglehold grip of Stalinism is the key to the problem of planning and organizing the struggles of the American workers, of raising the elemental movement to new heights. This is today the crux of the trade union question.

—J. P. CANNON.

GET A SUB!

Our own Dr. Luttinger (name unknown) says that the best thing for a young and growing paper is a sub. All subs are good. They are of two kinds; new ones and renewals like the one that came with the letter reprinted below. Please read the letter carefully and draw the proper conclusions in the form of new subs and renewals. This is a favorite theme to which we will return in the near future.

Dear comrades,
It seems as if I will never get a dollar together again in my life. So I am sending you fifty cents herewith and beg you to extend my Militant sub for as far as that amount pays for. My Militant expires with No. 190. Very close now. In a money way times have been even harder than last year with no prospects of improvement for me. But I suppose it isn't much better anywhere else or with anybody else.

"Capitalism is simply played out and can no longer provide us with the bare necessities of life."
Yours for Communism
and the L. O.

Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

(Continued from Page 1)

revolution's aims with any form of American domination.

The Cuban workers and peasants, however, can rely only on their own strength, on their own popular organs of struggle, that is, the Soviets. In this respect, we have nothing in common with the Stalinist conception that Soviets are to be organized only at the moment of proletarian insurrection. That would only lead, as was so tragically demonstrated by the Stalinists in China, to the failure to organize Soviets in time as the revolutionary center and instrument of the workers and peasants, or else to the organization of caricature Soviets after the revolutionary wave had receded. Soviets are needed now, not merely as the future organs of the proletarian insurrection. They are needed in order effectively to mobilize the whole people of Cuba, in an elementary mass organ, for a successful struggle to kick out the American bandits and assure the integrity of Cuba. The time for the organization of Soviets in Cuba is now when the struggle for the demands of the masses against the vaultering "government" and against the domination and oppression of American imperialism, is unfolding and gaining in intensity.

The Cuban masses have already seized arms in their endeavor to defend and to advance the gains already made. To further that process is one of the main tasks of the Soviets. The masses of the people must be armed to the teeth in the elementary interests of the defense of Cuba against American imperialism.

The revolutionary problems of the Cuban masses are now posed in imposing magnitude. But these problems cannot be solved by the Cuban masses alone. They can count surely on the solidarity of the Latin American masses who also suffer under the domination and oppression of the same northern colossus. But above all they need the energetic and immediate support of the working class of the United States. The freedom of the Cuban people from the imperialist yoke is intimately linked up with the struggles of the American workers against the same exploiters.

The economy and politics of the U. S. are the dominant force in Cuba. The fate of the proletariat of Cuba and the United States is inseparably connected. The active support of the American working class in closest solidarity with the fighting Cuban masses, can defeat the American intervention in Cuba and secure the complete and unconditional independence of the Cuban people!

A heavy responsibility rests upon the American working class. There should be no delay in their sympathetic action. It is the duty of the Communist movement in the

Growing Strike Wave

(Continued from Page 1)

ers are concerned, but a section of them came out in response to the call of the National Textile Workers Union of TUUL.

Within a few days this mass movement may even be dwarfed by the new miners strike now looming on the horizon. Already 30,000 are in central and Western Pennsylvania. These miners are losing patience with the quagmire promises made to them before that President Roosevelt and the NRA code would soon remove all their depression misery. They are returning to reliance upon their own mass force as the prospects of a code bringing favors to the miners recedes into the background. The efforts of the UMW officials to hold them tied to their job until the advent of the code seems to be of little avail.

An effective strike of 1,000 miners in the state of Utah has been in progress now for some time with all the means at the disposal of the capitalist state institution massed against them. Clubbings and jailings are on the order of the day with military control in the field amounting to a state of martial law. This strike is under the leadership of the National Miners Union. In both the Eastern and Western Kentucky fields members of the UMW have begun strikes. Even the anthracite miners are striking. In Lackawanna county several shafts have been shut down and the "liberal" governor Pinchot has taken this occasion to instruct his sheriffs to prevent all mass picketing.

Outside of these two most important fields, mining and textile, innumerable strikes, some of considerable size are either in progress, or have just been settled or have so far reached the stage of a definite threat unless the workers' demands are met. Notable, however, is the fact that in practically every instance where settlements have already been arrived at, or the threats averted, some positive gains have been scored by the workers involved.

In New York City 10,000 cleaners and dyers have struck for shorter working hours and higher wages. The delivery truck drivers threaten to follow. 25,000 underwear workers have declared a strike. 4,000 button workers are already on strike. Several thousand embroidery workers scored important gains in their strike settlement just made. 25,000 millinery workers threaten to go on strike. 4,000 moving picture operators won against an attempted company union by the threat of a strike and picketing of many theaters.

An injunction against picketing has been issued against the New York bakery workers strike which is now running into several months duration. About 3,000 are still out. Similarly the Brooklyn Shoe workers strike, involving several thousand, is organizing this active support of the American toilers for the Cuban liberation struggle!

sand men is still in full force despite all the attempts to make it illegal under the charge of being a Communist strike.

From St. Louis comes the report that the city is in the grip of many strikes. In the main it is about the clothing shops which are hit, about 1,000 being out at the time of this writing. A total of 300 pickets have been arrested. In Cleveland a street car strike of 3,000 workers was narrowly averted by the company agreeing to recognize the union and to have the demands for wage increases settled by arbitration. In the Fresno, Calif. region a strike of 15,000 fruit pickers gained for them a 33 per cent wage increase. Fruit pickers in Jackman, Vt., are on strike for better wages and working conditions.

These are just a few examples, culled at random, of strikes going on at this moment. A glance will convince the most skeptical observer that there is today a strike wave constantly moving upward. This is not accidental. Moreover, it is indicative for the future. The extremely low standard of living to which the American workers have been reduced demands improvements and the workers are showing determination to get it. As the now rapidly upward moving cost of living really begins to make its effect felt, the workers will surge forward that much stronger.

The strikes in progress also prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the American workers do not rely merely upon the N. R. A., despite all its blarney, to accomplish this improvement. Generally speaking the masses still believe that it will be helpful, but they also believe in reinforcement by their own strike power to actually obtain its benefits. Apparently we will be justified in saying: in the main the workers are striking today with the NRA with some signs of taking action regardless of it. Tomorrow, when their illusions disappear, they will be striking against the chains imposed by the N. R. A. —A. S.

Walk Out in the Harverstraw Shop

After over three weeks of intensive organization work, the workers of the Spiewak plant in Harverstraw, N. Y., for years the open shop "grip" of the mens' garment market, unanimously voted to go out on strike against prevailing sweat shop conditions and for the recognition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Local 178. Mr. Spiewak is caught short with a mass of orders that he cannot fill. Not a garment can be produced. In turn the Linbrook plant whose cutters are on strike will now be tied up, since the cutting was all done at Harverstraw. News of the Spiewak strike has tremendously heartened Local 178 in New York, and has spurred it on towards a 100 percent organization of the industry.

All the preliminary organization work preparatory to the calling of the strike was handled by Sara Arvin in close collaboration with the New York office of the union.

Bosses and NRA Defeat Workers

The shipping department of the Geo. B. Hand Co., a paper house, went on strike, September 11, 1933 after being refused a minimum wage of \$20 per week which the shipping clerks demanded.

The tactics of the strikers were to spread the strike so as to include the machine girls and the other workers and so as to get the support of whatever union included shipping clerks.

The boss, knowing the raw conditions throughout the factory and the chances we had for spreading the strike, defeated our first tactic by immediately after our walk-out raising the wages of the employees on both the paperette and machine floors.

Our second tactic failed because there is no shipping clerks' union and because the shipping clerks' section of the Amalgamated Workers Union stated that because their "hands were full at present" they would not take up our strike.

The strike then decided to file complaint against the firm for gross violations of the NRA: working machine girls 14 hours a day, refusing to let the shipping clerks deal with him collectively, paying below the lowest level of the NRA.

The NRA investigated the firm and gave the boss a complete whitewash, thus showing which class it serves.

The strikers have experienced their first disillusionment. They have made their first move in the direction of organization. Conditions will force them to make moves which they will make more resolutely and with better planning.

—GEO. J. SAUL.

A CORRECTION
In our article on the Los Angeles Unemployed Movement, appearing in the issue of August 12, a mistake occurred to which our attention has been called by the Los Angeles comrades. In reference to the Mays Case, it recorded the vote as being against him. It should be the opposite. He won out 35 to 6.

Another section of the article discussed the sectarian, adventurist policy of the party group within

:BOOK REVIEW:

THE UNTIED CASE—By Herbert B. Ehrmann
Vanguard Press, \$2.00

It is six years since the two martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, were framed and murdered by the State powers of Massachusetts for a crime that a professional gang had committed. This gang was known as the Morrelli gang of Providence, R. I. According to the confession made by Castellino Madeciros, one of the gang who took part in the South Braintree hold-up on April 15th, 1920, where a paymaster and a guard were killed for which Sacco and Vanzetti, innocent victims, were executed.

On August 22, 1933, six years after the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti, Ehrmann, one of the defending counsels that were assigned to investigate the Madeciros confession, for the first time tells the real inside story of the South Braintree crime to the public. On reading this book that is full of so many facts, names, dates, names of gangsters, etc., pertaining to this gangster murder, one wonders why it is that the legal defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti, withheld the story from the international working class and intellectuals who demanded freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. The answer is, in Ehrmann's own words found on the last page of the preface, "Until Governor Fuller's decision was released on August 3, 1927, Mr. Thompson and I refrained from any public comment. We believed that it was contrary to the ethics of our profession to try our case in the newspapers. The legal aspect of the case, however, has been closed by death, and our duty now is to the record of history." This shows that Thompson and Ehrmann, although liberal lawyers, did not understand that the Sacco and Vanzetti case was a "class" case. Their clients understood it very well. The lawyers did not want any public demonstrations or protests. This, they imagined would hurt their clients' case.

This book, published last month, gives an interesting story of how the South Braintree murder was actually committed. From Madeciros' confession we see that the crime was committed by six professional gangsters. Their names are all given.

Mr. Ehrmann shows how Madeciros made his confession. It was in Dedham jail at the time together with Nicholas Sacco and he smuggled a note to Sacco on Nov. 15th, 1925 saying: "I hereby confess to being in the South Braintree Shoe Company crime and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not in the said crime." The same note was sent by Madeciros to the Boston American. The note reached deputy Sheriff Curtis but got no further. This note started a long and tortuous journey travelled by the defense attorneys, that led to the exposure of the Morrelli gang.

As soon as Ehrmann had established the facts of the murder, he telephoned to the assistant district attorney prosecuting the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Ehrmann continues "He had been a classmate of mine at college and I felt I could talk frankly to him. To my surprise he showed no interest in the news from New Bedford and Providence."

The author describes how Judge Webster Thayer "listened impassively to the arguments which lasted for five days. He was uniformly courteous and engaged in an occasional pleasant" it was the same judge who denied every motion for a new trial.

What does all this signify? That the whole State apparatus, Gov. Fuller and his Commission containing a Liberal Professor like Powell murdered two workers, not for a crime they committed but for their radical ideas. The only crime Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty of was that of being unreasonably loyal to their class. They were agitators. They did not believe in patriotism and war. They organized strikes. Sacco evaded the draft. They were also on defense committees for helping victims of the "red" raids and deportations. After our Liberal President Woodrow Wilson saved the world for Democracy.

Throughout the whole book there is no hint of a connection between this case and a thousand other frame-ups that have occurred in the day to day struggles against capitalism. It is evident that Ehrmann did not understand this frame-up of capitalism as Sacco and Vanzetti understood it.

The book, however, reads like a detective novel and is a useful document for future historians to refer to. It shows very simply how capitalist courts will reject every proof of innocence no matter how convincing. The book is full of facts and evidence that conclusively proves even to the intelligence of a child that Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered through innocent.

—SAM FISHER.

These are stirring times. The masses are getting into motion. Are the militants on the job? If not, then make the start the sooner the better. A very good beginning is to take hold of our literature and bring it to other workers. In this the Militant should be included.

This movement at the time of formation of the County Workers Protective Union. There was nothing incorrect about this characterization, but our Los Angeles comrades point out that despite this policy the Protective Union has since grown and acquired a broad basis. All militants are co-operating in activities within it.

Discussion on the N. R. A. and the Slogan "Nationalization of Industry"

This article introduces a subject which has not formerly been discussed in the Militant. It is therefore accepted explicitly as a discussion article. The views expressed are those of the writer. Other contributions in discussion on this subject are invited, but they should not exceed 100 words.—Ed.

The bourgeoisie is presenting the National Industrial Recovery Act as the answer to the Soviet's five year plan, as the "better road" of capitalist planned economy. The "plan" which is to solve the present crisis and bring capitalism out on the wide-open into the economic land, envisages the formation of trusts along the lines of European cartels on a semi-voluntary basis for the purpose of regulating competition, allocating production, setting standards of minimum wages and maximum hours of work. It includes the aim of raising prices and increasing the purchasing power of the masses.

Exposure of NRA Our Task

It is the obvious task of the Communist to expose this bourgeois method of solving the problems of the crisis solely for its own benefit with the most shameless and criminal disregard of the mode of existence of the working class. This exposure takes on a wide scope. What is here presented is part of a larger discussion on the new problems posed by NRA.

1. We must show that NRA is nothing but a scheme for reestablishing of profits for the capitalists and so ordering industry as to give the ruling class an all-the-more powerful grip on the means of production, the basis of exploitation.

2. It is an attempt to organize American capitalism on a stronger base for the purposes of imperialist expansion. Naturally this includes the possibility of quickly transferring economy to a war footing when the occasion arises. And in fact the present campaign to put over the NRA is but the prelude, the rehearsal for a war campaign. America is in desperate need of imperialist bases on the Asiatic mainland.

3. It permits more efficient and concentrated action against the working class in the event of workers' resistance. At the same time

by the demagoguery of fake wage increases and the recanting of the idea that the government stands above the classes ready to mediate in the interests of all, it tries to lead the workers into passive acceptance.

4. NRA is an organized method for untangling the crisis on the backs of the workers. It is the organized method under government auspices of setting the most wretched living standards for the proletariat. It is the nation-wide stagger plan which reduces hours of work at the same time throwing the sop to the workers of a nominal increase of hourly pay, the net result being that the workers lose about one week's pay a month. The wages thus saved, it is hoped, will be used by the bosses to hire extra hands.

5. NRA is the attempt to drag the workers either in company unions or under the leadership of the treacherous class collaborationists. It is a weapon drawn against resist the wiles of class collaboration, that the open shop will be put over on the entire American working class.

N. R. A. vs. Planned Economy

6. We must emphasize also that this "plan" is peculiarly unlike what we know as planned economy. For planned economy is the organizing of industry for ever greater production, for the increase of commodities, not for their restriction. This so-called plan is rather the organizing of waste, of sabotage of production, of restrictions of output—in short it is the organizing of hunger with the greatest ingenuity, simply and solely for profits. The allocation of production within the cartel means rendering idle and useless a large percentage of the machinery of production. It has even been proposed to tax such idle machinery out of existence. (Note Eastman's plan for scrapping old railroad equipment.) The plan supposedly involves the figuring of costs of production, but to engage in any real analyses of the capitalist mode of production would mean the exposure of its anarchy before the entire working class, would show up the serious disproportions of capitalism in the various sections of the country, would expose to full view the waste and inefficiency of

production under the present system, particularly as concerns the quantity of machinery left in complete idleness in the various large plants. Rather than attempt to set a uniform system of accounting which would virtually involve the determination of the socially-necessary labor entering into the production of a commodity, the administration has been forced to abandon this ambitious undertaking and to adopt a "blanket" code. The other codes being adopted imitate the generalities of this blanket code.

No, this is no planned economy; such an economy can only be set in motion by the proletariat who alone can see to it that not the workers exist for production but production for the workers, who alone can produce for use and not for profit.

7. The relation of NRA to inflation is worthy of closer attention than is here possible. Government inflation has become a necessity for the bourgeoisie as a class. NRA is one of the ways of preparing for the later stages of inflation and is itself, thru the price-fixing provision, an attempt to "control" the course of the "inevitable" inflation.

Aims of the Communists

Not alone does the Communist expose the real nature of this bourgeois attack on the working class, but he participates in all the immediate struggles of the workers—whether for higher wages, better conditions, the right to strike, the rights of unionism for the rights of the worker to democratic justice, etc.—for the purpose of guiding the immediate aims of the struggle so that they coincide with the interests of the class as a whole, and also for the purpose of gaining the confidence of the proletarians through correctness of policy, and through struggle as to make the worker politically conscious in his resistance to the ruling class.

Lenin states that "the workers can acquire political consciousness only from without, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers." Hence our task "is not merely to serve the labor movement at each of its separate stages, but to represent the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aims and its political basis, and to protect its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social Democracy (read Communism) the labor movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois: in conducting only the economic struggle

the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tool of other parties and runs counter to the great slogan: "The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves."

"To facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class is our principal and fundamental task. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and methods of the struggle, are straying on to the wrong path and cause serious harm to the movement."

Function of Intermediate Slogans

At each stage of development it becomes the task of the Communist to search for that particular and precise intermediate slogan which will perform best the service first of being of actual benefit to the workers; secondly, which will aid in rallying the workers for resistance to the ruling-class solution and in favor of its own solution to a serious social problem; in this case the problem of the crisis; thirdly, that will lead the workers along the path of class struggle towards our final goal of the seizure of power. Is there such a slogan that presents itself at this time in any given industries? I believe there is but a few words are necessary before stating it in its general terms first.

The Communist must be quite clear as to what constitutes progressive development of economic forces. For example, no Communist can be opposed to the process of trustification. On the contrary we look upon this process as inevitable. What we do oppose is bourgeois control of the vast power embodied in highly concentrated industry, and we propose to substitute our own class content in place of the capitalist class content of trusts. In similar fashion we are not opposed to unions, but we are opposed to company unions; that is, to unions permeated by capitalist influence. No institution or social instrument is sacrosanct to the working class on this very account. Thus in the struggle for power

Soviets arise. If these Soviets are captured by the bourgeoisie so that they become ruling-class instruments we stand opposed to them. Thus too we are against capitalist trusts, with the emphasis on capitalist. We assume no responsibility for the bourgeois mode of concentrating industry, but we intervene at all stages of the process to advance the working class movement along the path of revolutionary struggle.

The Slogan of Nationalization, For "Ripped" Industries

Speaking still in the narrow but perfectly clear sense of the terms, it is rare that an economic struggle presents itself at the same time as clearly a political struggle involving the government and the state. It takes enormous labor on the part of the Communist to transform the ordinary economic struggle of the workers into a political struggle. In the case of the NRA the government has been forced to take the initiative and has thereby presented us with a problem which is at the same time economic and political, involving state power. How can we take advantage of this fact? On the whole the workers incline to accept the pretences of the ruling-class, the demagoguery of Roosevelt that he actually desires to so organize the industries as to put the workers back on the job, and to increase their ability to buy goods. These illusions can be destroyed only by engaging the workers in a struggle which will put decisive tests and give decisive answers, which will lead the bluff of Roosevelt. Why not have the coal miners demand the nationalization of the mines, and the railroad workers that of the railroads? In the eyes of the workers could not the government then put the workers back to work at once? And why should not the workers participate in the control of production and in the administration of the industry? The problem of nationalization cannot of course be "imposed" on any industry at all from without. It must link up with the concrete fighting slogans and arise as a working class demand along with and from these narrower slogans. With this in view we will attempt to show the applicability of the slogan of nationalization to mining and the railroads in later articles.

(To be continued)

—JACK WEBER.

READ YOUNG SPARTACUS
OUR YOUTH ORGAN
OUT EVERY MONTH

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

G. Gourov

Left Socialist Conference

A Firm Nucleus for A New International Emerges

The conference is over. As yet we have neither the minutes nor the final text of the resolution. Nevertheless the principal conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions are entirely favorable to the Left Opposition. This can be seen best of all by the comparison of what we expected to obtain and what we obtained. In preliminary discussions and correspondence we all agreed that if we should succeed in getting four or even three signatures under a clear and precise document in favor of the new International, we would make an enormous step forward. We obtained the four signatures that we counted on (the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Socialist Labor Party of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland together with the International Left Opposition) under a document which is the only tangible result of the conference and which may and should become of historic importance.

We achieved this momentous result not by some chance combination or skillful maneuvers (on the contrary, in this field we made some errors) but due to the fact that the historic step made by us has fully matured. In spite of ten years of world wide baiting and slander of the Left Opposition; in spite of the fact that this slander left its trace even in the consciousness of the elements of Stalinism, among them in the ranks of the social-democratic workers; in spite of all this, three organizations which lead a few tens of thousands of workers found no other path but to unite with us on a common document which presupposes a long and stubborn struggle. A wide breach was made in the wall surrounding the Left Opposition. We can expect with certainty that new and more organizations and fractions which are pushed to the revolutionary path by the whole situation will with every passing month convince themselves that the only banner under which the proletarian vanguard can rally is the banner of Bolshevism-Leninism.

Only Serious Result

The Declaration of four is called above the only serious result of the Paris conference. As far as the vague decisions of the majority are concerned, they have no future. This will not be hard to understand if we should analyze the composition of the conference. If the delegates of the four organizations which signed the declaration made up its Left wing, then the Right wing was made up of the representatives of the Norwegian Workers party which aims at the creation of a Scandinavian "International" through an alliance with the Swedish and Dutch social-democracy and is afraid, therefore, to compromise itself by proximity to Communists. One must be a hopelessly naive person, or what is worse, an unprincipled schemer to hope for a union or collaboration with this, through and through, opportunistic party or with the small groups which gravitate to it like the French Pupils, the Italian Maximalists, the Catalan Federation of Maurin, the Polish group of Doctor Cruck, or the altogether humorous party of Steinberg (former "People's Communist").

Urbahns represented at the conference that little which remained of the Leninism. If, with all his best revolutionary intentions, Urbahns proved anything in the last years, it is his total incapacity for collective work, on one side, and for systematic thinking, on the other. Along his laughable theory of "state capitalism" which puts on the same level the U. S. R. the U. S. A., the Germany of Hitler and the Italy of Mussolini excludes the possibility of joint work with him in the creation of a new International.

The Swedish Ind. Communists

The Swedish Independent Communist party (Kilbom) and the British Independent Labor Party stand in a class by themselves. Both these organizations are at the crossroads. The Swedish party represents too solid a workers' organization to follow the policy of Brandler-Thälheimer, based entirely on the servile hope that, perhaps, Manulsky will pardon them and call them to power. On the other hand, the party of Kilbom is, apparently, as yet strongly infected with rightist tendencies and especially with distrust towards the Left Opposition. It cannot retain its present intermediary position. It must make a choice. We must help it make the right choice.

If the party of Kilbom vacillates between the Right and the Left Communist oppositions, the Independent Labor party vacillates between the Comintern and the new International. Maybe not at once, but inevitably the bureaucrats of the Comintern will push the Independent Labor Party on the road of the new International. Sooner or later this party, at least its revolutionary nucleus, and we shall meet. It is absolutely clear, that the de-

cisions adopted by such a heterogeneous majority can have only a platonic, decorative character. Not a few are all too willing to "condemn" the Second International, to shout about its bankruptcy, so as to carry on in practice a policy of opportunism. Not a few are willing to shout about the bankruptcy of the Third International so as to carry on in reality a policy of back-stage combinations which are in spirit very much akin to bureaucratic centrism. Not only are denunciations of the Second and Third Internationals insufficient to advanced workers but the bare admission of the necessity of a new International does not suffice either. It is necessary to say clearly what International we have in mind: the restoration of the miserable Two and a half International, or the nomination of the international proletarian vanguard on the basis of a revolutionary program really corresponding to the problems of our epoch. To elaborate such a program in the company of Tranmæ, Louis Selier, Maurin and others, or even to support the fiction of an international organization in common with them would mean to sow chaos and ideological demoralization instead of the necessary saving clarity.

The "Yesterday" and "Tomorrow" of the Movement

We cannot pass by the fact that two of our allies (the German S. A. P. and the Holland O. S. P., Independent Socialist Party) enter not

(Continued on Page 3)

Historic Words

The *Gazeta Polska*, official organ of the Polish government, writes on the reasons which determined the Soviet-Polish rapprochement:

"One of the reasons, and not the least, was the defeat of Trotsky's line and the triumph and strengthening of Stalin's line, the building of socialism in one country."

Gazeta Polska, Aug. 29, 1933

The Polish government like the world bourgeoisie knows who is the real revolutionist. And not alone the bourgeoisie. Millions of workers will note the reasoning of the Polish Government and draw the correct conclusions. Let the Stalinists rave—

Reichstag Fire Frame-Up Unmasked

The international commission of lawyers at London, which has just concluded its hearings of evidence connected with the German Reichstag fire, has exonerated the Communists framed-up by the Nazis. It accepted the alibis of these accused and found it physically impossible for them to have taken any active part in the fire. It has turned the accusation of the incendiary right back where it belongs—upon the Nazi themselves.

The commission says in its findings, that, "no connection whatever could be traced between the Communist party and the burning of the Reichstag." On the other hand it declares that, "grave grounds exist for suspecting that the Reichstag was set afire by or on behalf of leading personalities of the National Socialist Party."

There need not be the slightest doubt that the findings of this commission are entirely correct. Workers familiar with the Nazi terror and frame-up methods will entertain no such doubts. But what will happen at the trial of the frame-up victims at the Fascist controlled supreme court at Leipzig, Germany, which is now on, that is again a different matter. The accused are in reality denied all defense. The working class of Germany has no means of expression, it is entirely at the mercy of the blood thirsty brown-shirted executioners. Right along these bandits are staging new raids upon Communists and anti-Fascists to keep the demand for more blood alive. They are sharpening the axe.

Workers everywhere protect this outrageous frame-up!

Save these militant workers from the Nazi Axe!

NEWARK MASS MEETING

Comrade Arne Swaback will speak in Newark on Sept. 29th at the

ST. REGIS HOTEL
34 Park Place

on
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Audience: Newark Br. C. L. A. (O.)

Joint Declaration for New International

In full realization of the great historic responsibility which devolved upon them, the undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

1. The mortal crisis of imperialism which has taken the form of a new (Fourth) International. The undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

2. The problem of the proletarian revolution bears, by its very nature, an international character. The proletariat can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of the world division of labor and world cooperation. The undersigned organizations, therefore, reject the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines the very foundation of proletarian internationalism.

3. No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, centrists and left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country, delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism. A proletarian party which evades the seizure of power under the present historic conditions, commits the worst of betrayals. The victorious proletariat of one country must strengthen its national dictatorship by socialist construction, which remains of necessity incomplete and contradictory until the working class seizes political power in at least a few advanced capitalist countries. Simultaneously, the victorious working class of one country must direct all its efforts to the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. The contradiction between the national character of the seizure of power and the international character of socialist society can be resolved only by courageous revolutionary action.

4. The Third International which grew out of the October revolution laid down the principles of proletarian policy in the epoch of imperialism and gave the world proletariat the first lessons in the revolutionary struggle for power, fell victim of a chain of historical contradictions. The treacherous role of the social-democracy, the immaturity and inexperience of the Communist parties led to the breakdown of the post war revolutionary movements in the East and in the West. The isolated position of the proletarian dictatorship in a backward country gave an extraordinary power to the ever more conservative and nationally limited Soviet bureaucracy. The slavish dependence of the sections of the Comintern on the Soviet tops led, in its turn, to a new series of grave defeats, to bureaucratic degeneration of the theory and practice of the Communist parties, to their organizational weakening and more than that the Comintern proved not only incapable of fulfilling its historic role but became more and more of an obstacle in the way of the revolutionary movement.

5. The advance of Fascism in Germany put the organizations of the working class to a decisive test. The social-democracy once more confirmed the designation given it by Rosa Luxemburg and revealed itself for the second time as "the sinking corpse." The overcoming of the organizations, ideas and methods of reformism is the necessary prerequisite for the victory of the working class over capitalism.

6. The German events revealed with no less force the collapse of the Third International. Despite its fourteen year existence, despite the experience gained in gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state and the plentiful means for propaganda, the Communist party of Germany revealed under conditions of a grave economic, social and political crisis, conditions exceptionally favorable for a revolutionary party, an absolute revolutionary incapacity and had thereby shown conclusively that despite the heroism of many of its members it had become totally incapable of fulfilling its historic role.

7. The position of world capitalism; the frightful crisis which plunged the working masses into unheard of misery; the revolutionary movement of the oppressed colonial masses; the world danger of Fascism; the perspective of a new cycle of wars which threaten to destroy the whole human culture—these are the conditions which imperatively demand the welding to-

gether of the proletarian vanguard into a new (Fourth) International. The undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

8. While ready to co-operate with all the organizations, groups and factions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxism, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conception, or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy, but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the New International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrections, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc.

9. By its class basis, by its social foundations, by the incontestably prevailing forms of property, the U. S. S. R. remains also today a workers' state, that is an instrument for the building of a socialist society. The new International will inscribe on its banner as

(Continued on Page 4)

Civil War Looms in Cuba; Situation Tense

The situation in Cuba is developing into civil war. Soldiers have been sent against the striking sugar workers to recapture from them the plantations they have seized. The workers are armed and are determined to resist. Conflicting reports state that the soldiers fired on workers; that they fraternized with the workers. At any rate the struggles of the workers for increased pay, better working conditions, and against imperialism has brought them to the point where they are beginning to confront the army. Will the soldiers go over to the side of the workers? Or will the soldiers support the government, which it is leaning ever more heavily upon the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists? The next days will decide.

With the passing of each day the ground is being cut from under the feet of the San Martin government. On the one hand it is being subjected to enormous pressure from the Cuban bourgeoisie and the United States. The Menocal and Mendia factions together with the ABC are insistently demanding the resignation of the government. The financial sabotage continues unabatingly. Welles is busy convincing and plotting to replace the Martin government with an outright bourgeois regime.

The petty bourgeoisie, too, bringing pressure to bear on the government to drive it to the right, against the workers, on the ground that strikes are paralyzing business and ruining them. In Havana they threatened a 24 hour closure of all business houses "in protest against workers' acts of violence." Another report has it that they "threaten to close their doors unless the government compromises with the opposition (bourgeois factions) and agrees to a coalition cabinet that will satisfy all, win U. S. recognition and restore the country's economic life." Out of fear of the workers the petty bourgeoisie are asking the Cuban bourgeoisie and the U. S. imperialists, to suppress the workers.

The rising tide of workers' struggles is leaving the San Martin government suspended over an erupting volcano. The workers are seizing the sugar plantations and are attempting to operate them by workers' committees. They are arming themselves against the threat of the government to retake the plantations by force. The strike wave is spreading continuously. Santiago is threatened with a complete tie-up. The struggles of the workers to improve their economic condition is bringing them into more direct conflict with the bourgeoisie and with the American imperialists upon the fundamental issues of the Cuban revolution, the influence of Communism is growing.

Condemned to futility and extinction from its birth the government of the petty bourgeoisie, both as revolutionary junta and as its offspring, the San Martin government, has pursued a steady course toward the right, toward the bourgeoisie and American imperialism. Although it came into power as an anti-imperialist government it promised the payment of all foreign obligations, that is to say, of the enormous debt to Wall Street which can be paid only by the sweat and blood of the toiling masses. On the 14th of September it guaranteed the investments of the United States in its statutes: "No one shall be deprived of legitimate property except by competent authority and for verified reasons of public welfare after proper indemnification."

This regime which began to conciliate the workers by sending arbitrary

(Continued on Page 3)

Swaback National Tour Begins

The following is the schedule of dates:

Fri., Sept. 29th	Newark, N. J.
Sat., Oct. 1st	St. Regis Hotel—34 Park Place
Sun., Oct. 2nd	Berkeley, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 3rd	New Haven
Wed., Oct. 4th	Boston, Mass.
Thurs., Oct. 5th	Boston, Mass.
Fri., Oct. 6th	Boston, Mass.
Sat., Oct. 7th	Rochester, N. Y.
Sun., Oct. 8th	Buffalo, N. Y.
Tues., Oct. 9th	Toronto, Can.
Wed., Oct. 10th	Toronto, Can.
Thurs., Oct. 11th	Toronto, Can.
Fri., Oct. 12th	Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat., Oct. 13th	Pittsburgh Pa.
Sun., Oct. 14th	Pittsburgh Pa.
Mon., Oct. 15th	Pittsburgh Pa.
Tues., Oct. 16th	New Castle, Pa.
Wed., Oct. 17th	Youngstown, Pa.
Thurs., Oct. 18th	Youngstown, Pa.
Fri., Oct. 19th	Cleveland, O.
Sat., Oct. 20th	Cleveland, O.
Sun., Oct. 21st	Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 22nd	Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 23rd	Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 24th	Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 25th	Springfield, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 26th	Stanton, Ill.
Sat., Oct. 27th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 28th	St. Louis, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 29th	Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., Oct. 30th	Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd	Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd	Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th	Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th	Minneapolis
Mon., Nov. 6th	Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Nov. 7th	Davenport, Ia.
Thurs., Nov. 9th	Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th	Davenport, Ia.

Military Intervention by United States Imminent

business houses "in protest against workers' acts of violence." Another report has it that they "threaten to close their doors unless the government compromises with the opposition (bourgeois factions) and agrees to a coalition cabinet that will satisfy all, win U. S. recognition and restore the country's economic life." Out of fear of the workers the petty bourgeoisie are asking the Cuban bourgeoisie and the U. S. imperialists, to suppress the workers.

The rising tide of workers' struggles is leaving the San Martin government suspended over an erupting volcano. The workers are seizing the sugar plantations and are attempting to operate them by workers' committees. They are arming themselves against the threat of the government to retake the plantations by force. The strike wave is spreading continuously. Santiago is threatened with a complete tie-up. The struggles of the workers to improve their economic condition is bringing them into more direct conflict with the bourgeoisie and with the American imperialists upon the fundamental issues of the Cuban revolution, the influence of Communism is growing.

Condemned to futility and extinction from its birth the government of the petty bourgeoisie, both as revolutionary junta and as its offspring, the San Martin government, has pursued a steady course toward the right, toward the bourgeoisie and American imperialism. Although it came into power as an anti-imperialist government it promised the payment of all foreign obligations, that is to say, of the enormous debt to Wall Street which can be paid only by the sweat and blood of the toiling masses. On the 14th of September it guaranteed the investments of the United States in its statutes: "No one shall be deprived of legitimate property except by competent authority and for verified reasons of public welfare after proper indemnification."

This regime which began to conciliate the workers by sending arbitrary

(Continued on Page 3)

A.F. of L. Leaders Accept Company Union Clause

It is a well established fact that the A. F. of L. executives have always been heading the call of their accepted masters in the government administration regardless of what the exigencies of capitalist politics might require. Its stupidities they have fully shared without possessing any of its far sightedness. Where they have differed, they have usually been further to the right of the capitalist government.

Thus today, when the Roosevelt administration casts its eyes toward the Russian market and discusses possibilities of recognition of the Soviets, with closer trade relations and advancing of credits, the A. F. of L. executives have already come forward with their protest, exposing themselves as even more reactionary than the capitalist government. Perhaps this can be explained by their more ingrained hatred for the Soviets and their greater fear of revolutionary ideas. But how explain the very latest aerobatics of Bill Green and John L. Lewis in obedience to their masters' voice.

The final text of the coal code carried an interpretation of the "amons" section 7 (a) of the N. I. R. A. establishing the workers' rights of collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing. In this interpretation the following sentence occurs: "The law does not prohibit the existence of a local labor organization which may be called a company union and is composed only of the employees of one company". At first these two gentlemen made a lame protest but later signed the code with this interpretation included, but President Roosevelt, roled it out.

I would thus appear that Roosevelt is more progressive than Green and Lewis. But let us not be misled. President Roosevelt was only a little more farsighted and wanted to avoid the serious trouble which he anticipated with the company union clause remaining. Green and Lewis, on the other hand, showed themselves once more as the servile craven tools of the employers ready to render them service whenever required even at the cost of dealing a death blow to the organization they are supposed to represent.

Silk Strikers Hold Firm; Reject N. R. A. Truce

N. T. W. Forms Splitting Strike Committee; All Unions Must Unite in Associated Silk Workers

Despite all the efforts of the bosses the national silk strike still holds solid. Monday morning, September 18, the bosses of Paterson, the stronghold of the strike made a feeble attempt to open the mills after getting plenty of support from the local newspapers. Militant mass picketing by the workers quickly shut them again. Over 50,000 are on strike for \$36, a 30 hour week, two looms and the abolition of night work.

On Saturday the bosses had offered the workers a "temporary truce settlement" on the basis of a slight increase to four and a half cents for 100,000 picks (approximately \$22 a week) for weavers and slight increases for the auxiliary crafts until the adoption of a permanent code. At the membership meeting of the Associated Silk Workers—U. T. W., the strikers overwhelmingly rejected the bosses' truce and voted to continue the strike.

The National Strike Committee very correctly pointed out in a leaflet that this offer of only a slight increase by only a part of the silk manufacturers offered no guarantee that all the bosses would accept it. The only settlement acceptable to the strikers is a national agreement.

The strike was called by the American Federation of Silk Workers which is now a part of the United Textile Workers but having local

autonomy. The reactionary U. T. W. leaders, headed by MacMahon, did not sanction the strike but attempted from the outset to smash it by maneuvers in Washington with the Roosevelt arbitration board. MacMahon entered into and accepted the truce settlement for which he had no authority from the workers. This treacherous attempt received its proper reward in the unanimous repudiation of the truce settlement, but these maneuvers at MacMahon should serve as a serious warning for the striking workers to be on their guard against further attempts to sell them out. They must be on guard against his endeavors to prevent the Federation of Silk Workers from becoming a really representative organization.

The Jaquard bosses tried to split the ranks of the strikers by offering their workers, a skilled section of the trade, a separate settlement embodying a standard scale. This was a maneuver. The offer constituted a small wage increase for the workers in the lower paid shops and a wage cut of 1 and 2 cents per yard for the workers in the better paid shops. The Jaquard workers unanimously rejected this attempt to split the ranks of the strikers.

Along with the fierce struggle against the bosses and the disruptive tactics of MacMahon, the workers face the danger of disunity presented by the Stalinist controlled National Textile Workers Union. Last Sunday the NTWU arranged a conference of striking textile groups in Allentown, called by the Independent Allentown Silk Workers Union which is under Stalinist influence. Representatives from several independent groups met there and formed "one National Strike Committee". To the 40,000 militant workers following the real National Strike Committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers this dual strike committee can mean only disruption of the strike. Our fellow workers of the Independent Allentown Silk Workers Union have been confused and do not understand that their action leads to a division of the strike ranks.

Already the effects of the dual National Strike Committee are apparent. The *Daily Worker* of Sept. 14 carried a report of a telegram sent to Senator Wagner declaring that the NTWU does not represent the national silk strike nor the Allentown strikers and that only the "national strike committee" is authorized to represent the strikers.

These things bode no good for the silk workers. The false policy of the NTWU and its efforts to capture the leadership of the strike is not serving the best interests of the workers. The Allentown workers must be made fully aware of the danger that threatens from this direction. The American Federation of Silk Workers must make determined efforts to draw these workers into the main stream of the movement of the silk workers. The sentiment among the Allentown workers is completely favorable to the AFSW. The Allentown Independent workers want a place on the National Strike Committee of the AFSW. This the AFSW must grant to the Allentown workers. In this way can there be unity between the American Federation of Silk Workers—UTW in Allentown and the Allentown Independent Silk Workers.

Perhaps the clearest example of the maneuvering of the Stalinists is to be seen in their work among the warpers in the United Warpers League. This organization although started by the N. T. W. U. as a means to corral the unwilling workers into their paper union has long since got out of the hands of the local Stalinists. They have not abandoned hope of recapturing it. Saturday last a proposal was made that the United Warpers League of Paterson send two delegates to the Allentown Conference. Militant workers in the League got up and denounced the idea as an attempt on the part of the NTWU to lead the independent silk crafts away from the main stream of the silk workers. The proposal was voted down by the warpers by an overwhelming majority. After this conference, the warpers, who were not willing to follow this direct path of division, agreed to send two delegates to the committee formed at Allentown as observers only.

At a Joint Strike Committee meeting of the United Warpers League, the Independent Loomfixers League and the United Twisters Club, N. T. W. U. men on the committee brought forward a resolution correctly demanding that the Joint Strike Committee of these independent craft organizations be represented on the strike committee of the Associated. But it also demanded that other textile organizations

(Continued on Page 2)

William Green "Friend" of Cuba

"In 1927 Chester Wright, editor of the *Federation of Labor*, and English Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, brought to Washington the account of 147 assassinations committed by the Machado regime. This evidence was given much publicity. The New York port workers voted to sabotage Cuban sugar arriving in the port. Then something happened."

"Machado hastened to Washington and met Green in the Belgian legation. Green thereupon issued a public statement that from this date on the condition of Cuban workers 'would be improved'. After all a great labor leader must feel honored when a president calls upon him regardless of the fate of mere workers.

"Wright presently was out of his two jobs, and despite the fact that the conditions of Cuban workers has grown steadily worse, that as men then jailed are today in jail without trial, Green never once has lifted his voice in their behalf."

From *The Crime of Cuba* by Carleton Beals, page 247-8.

BOSTON MASS MEETING
ARNE SWABACK

on
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM
FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M.
SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL
28 Hayward Place (Off Washington St. near R. H. Whites)

(Continued on Page 2)

Declaration for a New Internat'l

(Continued From Page 1)

the party, freedom of criticism and a real inner unity between the leadership and the party majority. Having suppressed and crushed the will of the revolutionary workers, the reformist bureaucracy turned the social-democracy and the trade unions into impotent bodies despite their membership numbering millions. Having stifled inner democracy, the Stalinist bureaucracy stifled also the Comintern. The new international, as well as the parties adhering thereto, must build their entire inner life on the basis of democratic centralism.

11. The undersigned created a permanent commission of delegated representatives and assigned the following to it:

- The elaboration of a programmatic manifesto, as the charter of the new international;
- the preparation of a critical analysis of the organizations and tendencies of the present-day workers movement (theoretical commentary to the Manifesto);
- the elaboration of theses on all the fundamental questions of the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat;
- the representation of the undersigned organizations before the outside world.

SIGNED:

E. Bauer—International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)
J. Schwab—S. A. P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany)
J. P. Schmidt—O. S. P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)
K. Sneevliet—R. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland)

A. F. W. Extends Organization

New York.—In the September 2 issue of the *Militant* the united front mass meeting of the Amalgamated Food Workers and the Food Workers Industrial Union, controlled by the Stalinists, was briefly reported. As we predicted the united front was broken, principally on account of the half-heartedness of the Stalinists' participation. Our comrades and the Gitlowites proposed that a fusion of the two unions take place, because it was evident that an organization drive could not be sustained forever with two unions competing for membership within the industry, and that unavoidably confusion would be created in the ranks of the workers.

The result was that—last Thursday, September 14, the Industrial Union called a mass meeting of the hotel and restaurant workers. The attendance was so poor that the Stalinists were forced to postpone the meeting.

Following this action the Hotel Workers Section of the A. F. W. called a mass meeting for Tuesday, September 19, in the same hall at which about twelve hundred workers appeared. At this meeting several workers described the conditions in the industry, the miserably low wages and long hours prevailing. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Pick of the Mute organization, by Ben Gitlow, by comrades B. J. Field and by comrade Cannon of the Left Opposition.

Secretary Bourget, before adjourning the meeting, made it clear that the Hotel Workers Branch of the A. F. W. is a genuine industrial union, and accepts as members with full rights all workers employed in hotels, not only cooks and waiters, but also dishwashers, porters, elevator men, etc.

The hotel code has been delayed because so far the bosses have not been eager to sign it, since no pressure on them was exercised by organized labor. The first sign of the splendid organization by the A. F. W. of such big hotels as the Waldorf-Astoria, Astor, Pennsylvania and others have made the bosses uneasy and anxious to sign the shameful code with its provisions for a fifty hour week, a twenty cents an hour minimum wage and a whole network of treacherous ambiguities, which by no means will ameliorate the present miserable conditions, but on the contrary will worsen them.

Hundreds of workers are pouring into the offices of the union every day, join its ranks and engage actively in organizing their fellow workers. Daily the numbers increase and before long the entire hotel and restaurant industry of New York City and environs will be covered by this organization drive. This will obviously raise the question of a more decisive and wide scale action which will force the powerful hotel trust to recognize the union and accept its demands for decent standards.

—A. C.

BOSTON ANNOUNCEMENTS
VETCHERINKA—Saturday, Oct. 7 at 8 P. M.
FORUM—every Friday evening.
SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB meets every Monday evening at 8 P. M., starting October 9th.
MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB meets every Thursday 8 P. M.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Successful Meetings in Montreal

Montreal.—With the beginning of this fall the Left Opposition in Montreal has proceeded to turn to advantage the inevitable discontent which Stalinist bureaucracy and political stupidity arouse in the neophyte elements. Up to now our group has been very small, all young comrades. But the logic of the German events has more than doubled our sympathizers. Particularly the best youth elements, including YCLers are being won over to our side. We also have some contacts in the Party and the Jewish field is particularly ripe for our activity. We intend to proceed to the creation of a Spartacus Youth Club and an Unser Kampf Club.

On September 3, Comrade Krehm lectured before an audience of 100, including many YCLers and Party members, on the subject of a "New Communist Party in Germany." Sketching the history of the C. P. G., comrade Krehm explained its natural weakness (due to youth) in the November 1918 revolution; its fatal hesitation (thanks to Stalin-Brandler) in 1923, when it had the majority of the working class on its side; and its inability in the last few years to keep back the tide of Fascism due to the "theory" of "social fascism," "united front from below" and its market competition with the Nazis (its slogan of "national and social liberation, etc.).

In the discussion period the Stalinist spokesmen justified their stupidities by the treachery of the social democracy, accused us of concocting before the workers the revolutionary mass actions in Germany which they themselves trump up and repeated Heckert's falsified quotations from Trotsky in defense of parliamentary democracy. We challenged them to a debate which due to the pressure of the crowd, they accepted, intentionally choosing what these "practical" people consider the most academic topic, "Can Socialism Be Built in Russia Alone?"

On September 6th before an audience of 300 the Stalinist representative, Baker, repeated all the scholastic Bukharinist argument, viz., Trotsky has no faith in the inner power of the Russian proletariat in the revolution in Russia has already taken place, not so in other countries! If not socialism shall we build capitalism in Russia? etc., etc., ad nauseum.

In reply comrade Krehm pointed out that it was none other than the Left Opposition which for five years (1923-1928) demanded in vain a speedy tempo of collectivization and industrialization that the workers' republic can be merely the base (for a breathing space though prolonged) for the extension of the international proletarian revolution and not for the independent construction of an isolated socialist society.

Baker declared the very origin of "socialism" in one country to have been mistaken and subsequently to have changed his view! Baker deviated once again from the "general line" by denying that Stalin propounds the Messianic completion of the Russian revolution in one country in the whole world where a self-sufficient classless society can be constructed. The Stalinist spokesman took advantage of his being the last speaker by hurling abuse and making personal attacks.

On September 8th, comrade Krehm lectured before an audience of 100 on "The Foreign Policy of the U. S. S. R." This time M. Bhay, an old party leader, attempted to divert attention from the logic of the arguments made by the speaker adopting an all-wise attitude towards comrade Krehm: what right have you to laugh at Manilsky? The Soviet diplomats know what they're about with their "maneuvering," the very Friends of the Soviet Union and the Anti-Imperialist League show that the Comintern has the international revolution at heart (as if it were a question of good intentions rather than of false orientation), why bring in the question of socialism in one country? Bhay, further, instead of conceiving, as we do, of the Soviet

FROM THE RHINELAND.
Things are terrible in X. Many comrades have been arrested. The students belonging to our group have been expelled from the university. The leading comrade was brutally mistreated and lies in a serious condition in the hospital. At the present moment there is no opportunity for any broader political activity. A printed proletarian newspaper seems like a fairy tale.

In Y, on the other hand, the work is still going on fairly well. The comrades meet regularly, issue mimeographed material and have created new points of support in the big shops.

In general, however, the situation has become terribly sharper in the last three weeks. Difficulties in carrying out work are increasing on every side. In a few weeks the situation should be clearer, but the perspective is one of a long period of hard work. The comrades are almost exhausted.

The C. P. is no longer to be seen in this district. It is "supposed" to be still working in the Ruhr district, but nobody really believes that...

Red Army, as an auxiliary arm of the international revolution, virtually intimidated that only in case of an armed occupation by foreign imperialists of a country close to the Soviet Union with the view of an attack on the Soviet Union, is it permissible to send the Red Army into that country. He also wrongly stated that Trotsky had been for a revolutionary war during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and that Trotsky himself had favored the slogan of a Labor Party for America. Workers who look to Bhay with respect expressed surprise at his method of argument.

—J. G.

A Criticism of the Militant

To the Editor of the *Militant*:
Allow me to protest the printing of the article, "The Daily Worker Goes to the Masses"—in the *Militant* of September 16th.

There is absolutely no law in nature which says that a Communist paper should not take up the question of sports or even breakfast menus; on the contrary, it is obligatory for Communists to approach and penetrate into the sports clubs, social clubs, etc., and present the class point of view there, of course, and explain to the workers the class struggle from the angle with which they are most acquainted with and interested in.

Writing about workers sports or even submitting medical advice is very important and even necessary—in a workers' sports club magazine or the Bulletin of a Workers' Mutual Benefit Society.

For the central organ of the Communist party however, to emulate capitalist papers in their drive for circulation, devote columns of advice to the sick and the love-lorn and the well-dressed, and to waste pages in all sorts of nonsense and tomfoolery of that sort... that is absolutely impermissible. "A Bolshevik paper should be a Bolshevik paper." Its circulation and influence can only be increased by penetrating into the organizations of the workers, by becoming a leader of their struggles and by awakening to political life strata of indifferent and apathetic workers. It can only gain prestige and confidence by posing and answering the burning problems of the working class, providing leadership in workers' struggles and by working out correct slogans, to which the workers will inevitably be attracted. It can only be done in this way.

All this should have been explained simply; clearly; the purpose of a Bolshevik paper, its functions, etc., etc., but it is, either through inability or because he just didn't want to, splurged through a lot of stupidities accompanied by all sorts of "smart" asides worthy of college humor, with "brilliant" fanfaros and frills.

Such stuff does not belong in a Bolshevik paper.

Editorial Note.—It should be needless to say that we agree entirely with what comrade A. G. says about the duty of the central organ of the Communist party. But we cannot entirely accept his criticism of the last we made in our article in question. Moreover, sometimes we even feel a temptation to jest at the humor contained in the *Daily Worker* political articles and refrain only because it is too tragic. But when confronted with the silly bourgeois apings of these special *Daily Worker* departments, what else could we do. Sometimes ridicule becomes an effective means of correcting foolishness.

DANCE AND RANQUET
The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition is holding a celebration for the opening of its beautiful new headquarters at
2559 W. NORTH AVE.
ON
SATURDAY, OCT. 7th—8 P. M.
—Real Spaghetti Dinner—
—Poppy Orchestra—

Silk Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

not affiliated to the Associated given representation on the strike committee. This was defeated on the ground that representation on the strike committee "be restricted to those having no political affiliations."

Undoubtedly the rejection of this proposal by the NTW for representation on the strike committee was caused entirely by the suspicion which the disruptive maneuvering of its leadership has created in the minds of the workers. Nevertheless it is impossible to agree with the motivation. The fact that the NTW is under politically conscious direction should in no way disqualify it as a direct participant in a united strike leadership. The correct way to put the question would be, to demand from the NTW that it reenter the mass movement, that it make common cause with the majority organization in the strike and become an integral part of its ranks by joining the Associated Silk Workers.

The independent craft unions of Paterson are in a critical state today. On the one hand they have not yet been made a direct part of the Associated strike committee leading the largest section of the 22,000 striking textile workers in Paterson. On the other hand they are being sorely pressed by the

Painters Strike—Stalinist Union Delays

NEW YORK.—The general strike, called suddenly Monday, Sept. 18th by the New York Painters District Council, to take place the next day, has brought about 8,000 painters down from the jobs.

This strike was not entirely unexpected. Several weeks ago the Brotherhood called a strike for a day to check up on its membership, started an organizational campaign and taxed all working members fifty cents a day. These obvious preparations, the fact that the painting season is at its height, the terrible conditions in the trade, the wave of strikes throughout the country and the NRA gave the Left wing in the Brotherhood (such as it is), and the Alteration Painters Union TUUL, "revolutionary union" plenty of time to get ready for the strike. But as usual they were caught entirely unprepared.

At the meeting of the Bronx local of the A. P. U. the same Monday night the organizer reporting on the strike presented the proposals of the TUUL that we watch for developments in the coming week and to go out on strike next Monday.

This proposal brought protests from the rank and file, some of whom correctly stated that to remain at work would be scabbing and that we should go on strike right away. In the face of this protest chairman Weitz retreated and stated that the TUUL proposal was to go out on strike as soon as possible.

Follow worker Kitt took the floor and demanded that we strike the same time as the Brotherhood. He pointed out that the elementary duty of class conscious workers is to support their fellow workers in a strike situation. He said that remaining on the job, even if only for a day after the strike was declared would play into the hands of the bosses and the A. F. of L. fakers and that the rank and file of the Brotherhood would brand us as scabs and strikebreakers. This, he declared, would result in the complete discredit of the A. P. U.

In outlining the policy that the A. P. U. should follow he stated that the main task of the Left wing workers was to be with the masses and to influence them with the correct class struggle policies. Kitt explained that under the influence of the NRA and the pressure of conditions the workers at this stage are standing into the Right wing unions. This makes it necessary for the A. P. U. to enter as a block into the A. F. of L.

The leadership viciously attacked this point of view with the same line of tripe so characteristic of the Stalinist bureaucrats: "When the workers see through the treachery and fakery of the A. F. of L. they will come to us," said one of them. Others took the floor attempting to justify delaying strike action on the ground that time for preparation was needed, made similar arguments entirely evading the issue.

Attempting to crawl out of a bad hole Weitz amended Kitt's motion for an immediate strike to the effect that a strike committee be elected to decide on the date for the walkout. He succeeded in obtaining the support of the membership for this compromise.

At the meeting of the strike committee, the following evening, the TUUL leaders again succeeded in throwing confusion into the issue of an immediate strike in solidarity with the A. F. of L. painters. Weitz told the workers that if they "felt uneasy" they could stop work. This provoked an uproar, but the confusion remained despite the fact that most of the workers who spoke were for immediate action. Finally a motion prevailed, against the wishes of the leaders to leave the jobs immediately pending the official strike call for Monday the following week. It is therefore no wonder that the workers left this meeting discouraged and dissatisfied.

The Stalinist trade union policy has left the New York alteration painters in a blind alley. These leaders failed to steer a course toward unity with, and affiliation to the A. F. of L. They asked these men to remain on the job while the Brotherhood is on strike. Could there be any better proof that they have failed and failed miserably.

—BILL KIT.

NTW which is making feverish efforts to capture control of the strike and is attempting to use these groups for that purpose. The Associated in Paterson must prevent these craft unions from being drawn into the dual National Strike Committee. That would serve only to divide the workers instead of uniting them. It is absolutely essential for the victory of the strike that the Associated recognize the request of these groups for representation on the strike committee. This step can lead to the further strengthening of the American Federation of Silk Workers as a body embracing all silk workers.

—R. M.

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS
AKNE SWABECK will speak at
WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT
1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor
on
Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M.
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM
Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M.
THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

FROM THE MILITANTS

Brownsville Jobless Councils Collapse

Brooklyn, N. Y.—Nowhere has the ineptitude and bankruptcy of the Communist party manifested itself as graphically as in the Party controlled Unemployed Councils. Despite the fact that almost four years have passed since their formation; countless inner party meetings held, and thousands of proclamations issued by the party leadership, the membership and influence of the councils today constitute—zero. Since the inception of the councils, thousands of rank and file Communists have untiringly and courageously devoted entire weeks and months in the struggle to build up a mass unemployed movement. Their heroism and devotion were displayed in scores of battles with the police at evictions, demonstrations and Home Relief Bureaus. Yet all this has gone for naught. The failure that has marked every other project of the bureaucratic apparatus in the past, repeated itself tragically in the attempt to organize the millions of the unemployed.

For example: the Brownsville section of New York City supposedly had one of the best unemployed councils in the district. A few weeks ago the lessons of Brownsville were being discussed throughout the city and Brownsville was the base for the pep talks with which Winters and Sullivan sought to bolster up the flagging morale of the various other councils. The Bryan eviction—the embargo with the police at the Home Relief Bureau—the resulting shocking headlines in the yellow press were pointed out as real achievements of the unemployed. Winters, Sullivan and the other heads of the City Councils knew that while they are making these blatant speeches the Brownsville actions were not the result of any influence that the councils exerted over the unemployed—but rather to the bravery of a handful of Party and YCL members. Yet this was permitted to act as a gauge for carrying out future work. Nothing could serve better to give a true picture of the situation than that. Indeed the very moment that these speeches were being made, the Brownsville Unemployed Council had again relapsed into the oblivion that the sporadic and individual actions of a few comrades had lifted it out of.

Naturally enough, this artificial method of building up a movement has its resultant consequences. What really is the case in Brownsville today? Weeks if not months have passed without a single meeting of the executive, let alone the membership. The unvarnished truth is that neither the former or the latter exists. Entire days pass without a worker crossing the threshold of the council. Secunde and Sidie Berg, secretary and organizer, sit in the headquarters drawing up innumerable leaflets; while they wait for something to happen—and when it does they are helpless. Nothing does however.

Three years of ruinous leadership; three years of disappointments for the workers who come to the councils; three years of opportunistic and reformist policies, have served either to repel or demoralize the unemployed of the neighborhood. And the prestige of the council built up by flamboyant headlines and shrieking sensationalism has disappeared. The very Party and YCL members who are unemployed show that they know the futility of the councils accomplishing anything, by avoiding it as they would a plague.

It is no wonder then, that the Tammany administered Home Relief Bureau has taken advantage of the collapse of the Unemployed Council. The furniture littering the streets of Brownsville bears mute testimony to the havoc that the impotence of the councils has brought in its wake. Even the miserable amount of food that the bureaucrats are in danger of being cut down. Rumors have it and they are not without foundation considered that what is happening, that the Home Relief Bureau will shut down in the near future, this of course would condemn thousands of families in the neighborhood to starvation. Despite this, there is no resistance anywhere. To this dark and gloomy state of affairs have the dilettantists of Stalinism brought the unemployed. Apply this picture to every section of New York City and a true image of what really is happening in the unemployed movement can be gotten.

Why this inability to organize the unemployed, when years of the greatest destitution have presented an unparalleled opportunity to do so? Why after years of experience in working with the unemployed workers and having a virtual monopoly in the field are the unemployed councils shattered and annihilated? It is due, of course, to the incorrect and opportunist approach of the party, which flows out of the general incorrectness of the party line. From soup kitchens for the unemployed it ended with the mere granting and in most cases just asking for a food ticket (amounting to 18c per person per day). There was no prolongation of the fight for higher relief; no continuous struggle for the revolutionary demand of social insurance. Rarely if ever was it explained to the unemployed that to do away with the curse of unemployment—the capitalist state must be done away with. Can there then be any wonder that the unemployed councils have collapsed like a house of cards?

But the unemployed councils can be revived. A wave of regeneration can sweep through the working class drawing the millions of unemployed behind it. The disappointment which the NRA is sure to bring to the unemployed, makes the moment more propitious than ever. It is only necessary to cast behind the proven worthless policies of the City Council and the nihilistic directives of the party leadership. Instead of sectarian, isolated councils with paper membership, a federation of unemployed embracing the various unemployed movements must be formed. The struggle for immediate relief must not be isolated from the fight for social insurance and the ultimate abolition of capitalism. Let the Communist prove from within the ranks of the unemployed that they are correct and they will achieve their objective.

—A. Y. C. Let.

Youngstown Steel Workers Meet

Youngstown, O.—About six hundred enthusiastic steel workers attended a mass meeting of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers held in Youngstown on September 17. Gene Blair, local A. A. organizer, presided. Mike Lyden, one of the Youngstown, A. F. of L. leaders, was the first to speak; he made a good plea for organization but revealed himself to be little more than a typical enthusiastic trade unionist. Then Judge Beckenbaugh, so-called "friend of labor," was given the floor. After dealing in a lot of petty-political, vote-seeking flattery of the A. A. and its "great leaders" such as Gompers and Tighe, this good judge advised the workers to "organize and collaborate fairly with your employers."

Mike Tighe, president of the A. A. was the main speaker of the afternoon. What he said there revealed completely (to those who are able to understand the A. B. C. of politics) the principles and policies of the A. A. and its parent organization the A. F. of L. He said in words almost as plain as the "let be believed in the unity of capital and labor," that the workers who are associates in business with their employers should not try to deprive their bosses of their profit but only ask that the profit be shared between capital and labor.

He spoke frequently of the necessity of cooperation between employers and workers, and said that the workers should always deal fairly with their employers, that they should "organize" and then "discuss" their problems with the bosses, but that they should not "be led into strange pastures"—meaning strikes and other militant action. He echoed William Green in saying that the Amalgamated Association would "help Roosevelt to put over the Recovery Program." Unfortunately, however, the majority of the workers do not yet understand the real significance of Tighe's statements; they do not yet understand that he is only willing to "head" them as long as they do not threaten the interests of capital, that whenever they are forced to take really militant and determined action against the bosses and the government in order to defend their right to live that Green and Tighe and all their sort will be found on the side of the capitalists fighting tooth and nail to keep the workers down.

These workers, as a whole, still have faith and confidence in Tighe, the A. A., the A. F. of L., and they will follow Green and him until hard experience has convinced them that they must take more radical steps in order to better their conditions and solve their problems. They naturally and inevitably look for the easiest, the most conservative way out of their predicament, and they never take a step to the left, towards a more radical program, until they are convinced that this step is necessary and that anything less than this is futile. Many battles will have to transpire, before the workers finally lose confidence in these labor fakers.

Two possibilities then exist: (1) in the absence of workers who have proved their worth and who have a militant program to offer them, they will try one labor faker after another until they quit fighting in despair, helplessly enslaved to capitalism; (2) in the presence of co-workers who have been tried and tested in many skirmishes and trials and who have a practical, fighting program to offer, they will become dissatisfied with their old leadership, revolt, and placing revolutionaries at the helm forge ahead to victory. Consequently, it is our duty to help strengthen the unions that the workers accept, to fight side by side with them, in order that later we can help them to free themselves mentally and physically from the A. F. of L. misleaders and use their organizational strength to defend their interests against the bosses.

We must not make the mistake that the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union made at this mass meeting. Although many of the facts and criticisms of the A. A. it offers against this union are true and correct, its policy of competing with it is incorrect at this time under the present conditions. The fact that a few of the workers are ready to join a union with a more radical organizational and economic program does not prove that the majority of them are prepared to do so. And until the majority of the unorganized workers are ready to take these steps it is

Terzani United Front Meet

New York.—The Terzani United Front Conference was called for the alleged purpose of gaining mass pressure and financial support for the defense of Terzani, a young Italian student worker who is under a trumped up indictment of second degree murder for the murder of Pierro, a friend of his, who was killed by the Fascist Khaki shifts at their meeting in Astoria, L. I. The actual reason for calling the conference seems to be that the Socialist wanted to try to hand at stage managing a united front conference. The Socialists, by means of their blue with the I. W. W. and the anarchists and by means of packing the hall during the vote succeeded. That is about all that can be really said of this completely negative conference.

The conference was called by the Terzani General Defense Committee, upon which the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., the Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, and various Anarchist groups are represented. The Communist Party was not given representation on the ground that it was represented by the I. L. D.

But even less was accomplished than at the Stalinist affairs. This was a "genuine united front" that was based upon the principle of avoiding all points of dispute including particularly all common action. The Stalinist conference amount to the Party and its periphery meeting together and pretending that they represented the workers united. At least at such conference the Party can transact its own business, subject only to a little interruption from the Trotskyites who are naïve enough to believe that united fronts are made for the purpose of uniting all real working class organizations in common action.

At any rate, the Socialist majority passed a resolution putting the conference on record as demanding that Governor Lehman order the indictment against Terzani dropped and the Khaki Shift, who committed the murder, indicted. This was the sum total of the activity of the conference, the Socialist's answer to Norman Thomas's statement that mass pressure alone will save Terzani.

As for the Stalinist minority, they brought in a resolution which was a miniature Stalinist program, which stated the N. I. A. receives its main support from the Fascist bands, the need for united struggle of negro and white, Scottsboro, Tom Mooney, and Sacco and Vanzetti.

Only a Stalinist could support this document, as a whole. Even the Left Opposition could not sign its name to it, because of its monumental confusion on the relation between Fascism and the N. I. A. This minority resolution, did however, contain proposals of action, that are generally correct. These Stalinist proposals for enlarging the General Defense Committee, (of course to include the C. P.) formation of local Defense Committees local and city-wide demonstrations, were referred to the present General Defense Committee, where doubtless they will die a lingering death. We think that it is high time that these maneuvers and bickering when the fate of class war prisoners are at stake be made an end of. It is the duty of every class conscious worker to bring pressure to bear that the Terzani defense be taken seriously on the basis of a united struggle by all organizations willing to fight in his defense.

—P. M.

SUB NOTE

Not since comrade Caplan of Kansas City made sub history in the last drive has there been anything like the work comrade Newby of Youngstown has been doing of late. Within the last two weeks he has sent in sixteen subs. That, of course, is an evidence of the increasing interest of the workers in the ideas of the Left Opposition. But it is also and emphatically the result of comrade Newby's efforts to spread our paper.

That is the bright spot in otherwise unexciting routine of renewals of expiring subs and the steady trickle of new subs. A record like this is very encouraging.

There's a new sub drive coming. The details will appear in next week's issue. This is a sort of warning so that all our sub-getters can shake the dust of their sub getting abilities and warm them up for the contest. All the signs point to a good campaign with more comrades participating in it than in our previous drives.

necessary for the radical unionists to stay inside the conservative trade unions and there prepare the ground for someday competing for the leadership of the union or else a mass reorganization of it. The policy of the S. M. W. I. U. as put forth in its leaflet distributed at this meeting must be condemned for it plays into the hands of the conservative trade union leaders (by allowing them to have uncontested control inside the unions) and thereby indirectly into the hands of the bosses who like to see the radical workers isolated from the conservative ones.

—M. KOEHLER.

Whither the I.L.P. of Great Britain

The latest political decisions of the National Council of the British Independent Labor party show clearly that after its break with the reformists this party continues to move leftward. Similar processes are to be observed in other countries: a Left wing forms within the social democratic parties which splits off at the following stage from the party and tries with its own forces to pave for itself a revolutionary path. These processes reflect on one side the deep crisis of capitalism and of reformism which is inseparably bound up therewith, and on the other—the inability of the Comintern to group around itself revolutionary currents within the proletariat.

In England, however, the situation is further complicated by an unheard of combination. Whereas, in other countries, the Comintern continues to treat the Left socialist organizations as "Left social Fascists" and as "the most dangerous counter-revolutionists," a permanent collaboration has been established between the I. L. P. and the Communist party of Great Britain. The leaders of the Comintern combine this collaboration with the theory of "social Fascism" remains a mystery. In the July issue of the theoretical organ of the Comintern, Fenner Brockway, the newly appointed secretary of the I. L. P. is called a "counter-revolutionist" as heretofore. Why the British Communist party made a united front with this time not from below but from above, moreover, with leaders who prove to be "counter-revolutionists," and a united front made not for one single practical action but for collaboration in general—no mortal can solve these contradictions. But if the principles be left aside, the matter can be explained very simply: under the exceptionally favorable conditions of Great Britain the Comintern manages completely to isolate and weaken its British section by the ruinous policy of the Anglo-Russian committee, the "third period," "social-Fascism" and the rest; on the other hand, the deep social crisis of British capitalism pushed the I. L. P. sharply towards the Left; not heeding consistency or logic the totally discouraged Comintern this time grabbed the alliance proposed to it with both hands.

We could have and should have welcomed and heartily supported the collaboration of the I. L. P. with the Communist party had it not been based on evasiveness, suppressions and ambiguities on both sides.

Of the Communist party the National Council says that it is "revolutionary in outlook as ourselves." That is all that we learn with regard to the appraisal of the Communist party and of its policy. Every serious and thinking worker will inevitably ask: why are two parties necessary if they have both an equally revolutionary outlook. The worker will be more astonished upon learning that the leaders of one of the equally revolutionary parties consider the leaders of the other party as "counter-revolutionists" and "Left social-Fascists." Possibly from a critical estimation of its ally so as not to undermine the alliance itself? But an alliance of revolutionary organizations which is based not on open mutual criticism but on diplomacy will be thrown over by the first gust of the political storm, like a house of cards.

The theses of the National Council explain the bloc with the Communist party, first, as a step towards the united front, secondly as a stage in the creation of a mass revolutionary party. Each of these two arguments has its weight; but mechanically placed side by side they contradict each other. The theses repeat that the united front should embrace any and all organizations of the proletariat insofar as they wish to participate in the struggle: the Labor party, the trade-unions, even the Co-operatives. But we know well, and not from literature but from the tragic experience of the German catastrophe, that the Comintern rejects the united front with reformist ("social-Fascist") organizations. How does the I. L. P. intend to build a united front with reformist organizations in alliance with the Communist party: only from below and under the leadership of the Communist bureaucracy guaranteed in advance? To this question there is no answer.

Mentioning in passing that the bloc with the Communist party has pushed certain sections of the "official movement" to the Right, the National Council expresses the hope that these prejudices can be conquered by an active participation in daily struggles. The fact that the reactionary Labor party and the leaders of the General Council of trade-unions do not frighten the leaders of the I. L. P. only does the I. L. P. credit. Unfortunately, however, it is not only a question of prejudices. When the Communist bureaucracy declares that reformism and Fascism are twins, it not only criticizes the reformist leaders incorrectly, but it provokes the rightful indignation of the reformist workers. The theses, it is true, say that the criticism of reformism should correspond to actual facts and push the reformist workers forwards and not back; but the Communist party is not mentioned in this connection by one word. What can be made of the theory of "social Fascism"? And how can the policy of the united front be built on this theory? To pass such questions in silence in the resolution does not mean to remove them from life. An open discussion could possibly force the Comintern to adopt a correct position, diplomatic evasiveness can only pile up contradictions and prepare a new catastrophe for the next

Its Present Position and Perspectives by L. Trotsky

Without defining in principle their attitude to official Communism (Stalinism) the theses of the National Council stop midway in their relation to reformism. The reformists must be criticized as conservative democrats and not as Fascists, but the struggle with them must be no less irreconcilable because of it, since British reformism is the main hindrance now to the liberation not only of the British but also of the European proletariat. The policy of a united front with reformists is obligatory but it is of necessity limited to partial tasks. There can be no thought of making the socialist revolution in a united front with reformist organizations. The principal task of a revolutionary party consists in leading the working class from the influence of reformism. The error of the Comintern bureaucracy consists not in the fact that they see the most important condition for the victory of the proletariat in the leadership of a revolutionary party—that is entirely correct—but in that they are incapable of gaining the confidence of the working masses in daily struggle starting as a minority in modest roles, it demands this confidence in advance, prevents attempts to the working class and disarms attempts at a united front because other organizations are not willing to voluntarily hand it over the marshal's baton. This is not Marxian policy but bureaucratic sabotage. A second

Stalin Prepares Treacherous Blow

Soviet delegates, unable to muster any reasons for the justification of violence against comrades Rakovsky, Victor Serge and many others, declared at the conference of teachers which took place in Reims that a trial will soon be held in the U. S. S. R. which will show that Trotskyists have participated in sabotage and counter-revolutionary activities! This is the reserve argument with which Stalin's office supplied the delegate for his journey. Referring to a Moscow radio announcement, bourgeois newspapers afterwards carried the information that a few dozen "Trotskyists" were actually arrested in the Ukraine and charged with sabotage and state treason: they were

Cuban Situation

(Continued from Page 1)

tration commissions of students and soldiers to settle the disputes between the sugar workers and the plantation owners has yielded to the demand of the imperialists, and has sent troops against the workers. It has also resolved upon the dissolution of all political parties which means, not the bourgeois opposition parties whose supporters have organized armed revolts but the illegalization of the Communist party.

The final capitulation of the San Martin government to the combined pressure of American imperialism and the Cuban bourgeois is indicated by the reports of the discussion among the government, Welles, and the factions of the bourgeois opposition, and the ABC which are preparing a bourgeois coalition to supplant the present set-up.

But no bourgeois coalition cannot cope with the situation on the basis of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The bourgeoisie can reestablish their rule only by the armed suppression of the workers. If their own forces are insufficient for this purpose—if the army goes over to the workers—the bourgeois can and will call upon the armed might of U. S. imperialism.

For the Cuban workers there is only one road to travel. They have seized plantations, and have set up workers' committees to control and manage production. They are threatening to take over mines and fruit plantations. They must now begin to establish their Soviets as organs of struggle.

For this is necessary a Communist party in Cuba correctly oriented in the questions of revolutionary strategy and the IMMEDIATE and active assistance of the Latin American and, in the first instance, the American proletariat. If the Cuban workers are not to be bloodily suppressed and driven back into the yoke of slavery as frightful as that of the Chinese coolie the American workers must organize a movement against armed intervention in Cuba.

The solidarity of the American proletariat with the Cuban workers is not an abstract or a sentimental question. The worker in the Buffalo steel mills and the Cuban iron miner at Daiquiri work for the same boss, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. The exploiters and oppressors of the Cuban workers are the oppressors and exploiters of the American workers. They must unite their forces to overthrow their common enemy.

The Cuban proletariat which has entered upon the revolutionary road before the American proletariat cannot wait. The Cuban workers need help now. The American workers must be aroused to come to their aid. That is the immediate duty of the Communist movement.

—T. STAMM.

pure and firm victory of the proletarian revolution—we repeat it again—is possible only under the condition that a revolutionary, that is a truly Communist party, succeeds in gaining the firm confidence of the majority of the working class before the overthrow. This central question is not touched in the theses. Why? Out of "tact" with regard to the ally? Not only that. There are deeper causes. Insufficient clarity of the theses with regard to the united front flows from the incomplete realization of the methods of the proletarian revolution. The theses speak of the necessity "to wrest the control of the economic system and the State from the capitalist class and to transfer it to the working class." But how solve this gigantic problem? For this pivotal question of our epoch the theses reply with a naked phrase: "this can only be achieved through united action of the working class." The struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat remain abstract notions which can be easily dissolved in the amorphous perspectives of the united front.

In the realm of united-front revolutionary formulae the bureaucracy of the British Communist party is immeasurably better equipped. Precisely in this lies now its advantage over the leadership of the I. L. P. And it must be said openly: this superficial, purely formal advantage may under the present circumstances lead to the liquidation of the I. L. P. without any gain accruing to the Communist party and to the revolution. The objective conditions have more than once pushed tens and even hundreds of thousands of workers towards the British section of the Comintern, but the leadership of the Com-

intern was capable only of disillusioning them and of throwing them back. If the I. L. P. as a whole should enter today the ranks of the Communist party, within the next couple of months one third of the new members would return to the Labor Party, another third would be expelled for "conciliatory attitude towards Trotskyism" and for similar crimes, finally, the remaining third, disillusioned in all its expectations would fall into indifference. As a result of this experiment the Communist party would find itself weaker and more isolated than now.

The I. L. P. can save the workers' movement of England from this danger only by freeing itself from all uncertainty and haziness with regard to the ways and methods of the socialist revolution and by becoming a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat. There is no necessity of inventing anything new in this field: all has been said and said well by the first four congresses of the Comintern. Instead of feeding on bureaucratic substitutes of the epigones it is better to set all the members of the I. L. P. to the study of the resolutions of the first four congresses of the Comintern. But this alone does not suffice. It is necessary to open a discussion in the party on the lessons of the last decade which was marked by the struggle between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Left Opposition. The content of this struggle was made up of the most important stage of the world revolutionary movement; economic and political tasks of the U. S. S. R.; problems of the Chinese revolution; the policy of the Anglo-Russian committee; methods of the united front; problems of party democracy; the causes of the German catastrophe. This enormous cycle of problems cannot be passed by. These are not Russian but international problems.

In our epoch a revolutionary party cannot but be international. What is the position of the I. L. P. on this? Having entered into an alliance with the Communist party the I. L. P. has not determined its international position. It broke with the Second International and made an alliance with the Third, but it also enters into a labor alliance with Left socialist parties. This alliance, in its turn, is not homogeneous. There are elements in it which gravitate towards Bolshevism, but there are also elements which pull towards the Norwegian Workers Party, that is, in reality towards the social democracy. What position does the I. L. P. take on all these questions? Is it willing to share the fate of the already historically doomed Comintern, does it want to try to remain in an intermediary position (which means to return by round about ways to reformism), or is it ready to participate in the building of a new international on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin?

To the serious reader it is clear that our criticism is least of all inspired by animosity towards the I. L. P. On the contrary, we see too clearly that if this party should ingloriously disappear from the scene socialism would suffer a new blow. And this danger exists and it is not far removed. In our epoch it is impossible to remain long in intermediary positions. Only political clarity can save the I. L. P. for the proletarian revolution. The aim of these lines is to help revolutionary clarity to pave its way.

August 28, 1933.

L. TROTSKY.

* See the declaration of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) at the Paris conference.

Demand Freedom for Chen Du Siu

The life long fighter in the cause of the oppressed masses of China, Chen Du Siu, still lies in the dungeons of Chiang Kai-Shek. The International Labor Defense needs the Stalinist slander of Chen being a "counter-revolutionist" and renounces its duty to defend him. Yet they fail entirely to explain why Chen is imprisoned by the agents of world imperialism. Chen's long magnificent record in the Chinese movement is well known to these people. They are perfectly aware of his leading part in founding the party and his years of devoted service to it. Twice before he was imprisoned and the Chinese bourgeoisie paid Chen the tribute of arresting him on each occasion the workers brought about his liberation. And this time he is sentenced to thirteen years imprisonment. Arrested last October, after having been sought for by the police for many months, he made a magnificent stand at the trial and now lies in the death dungeon of Chiang Kai-Shek. Fifty-five years of age, a sentence of this kind, under the conditions existing in Chinese jails, means the slow death of our comrade.

Is this great old fighter to be left to his fate? Is the I. L. D. to be permitted to sacrifice the life of a revolutionist because of preservation of bureaucratic prestige of Stalinism? Was not the International Labor Defense organized for the defense of all class war prisoners? Is it not necessary for the working class to make common cause against the imperialist oppressor and his hangers-on? The I. L. D. falls to defend Chen Du Siu because he, after the disastrous experiences in China, adhered to the Left Opposition. He has remained a revolutionary fighter ever since and a fighter better equipped with the weapon of Marxism. The workers everywhere must demand that efforts be made by the I. L. D. for the liberation of Chen Du Siu.

—ONKEN.

READ YOUNG SPARTACUS OUR YOUTH ORGAN OUT EVERY MONTH

intern was capable only of disillusioning them and of throwing them back. If the I. L. P. as a whole should enter today the ranks of the Communist party, within the next couple of months one third of the new members would return to the Labor Party, another third would be expelled for "conciliatory attitude towards Trotskyism" and for similar crimes, finally, the remaining third, disillusioned in all its expectations would fall into indifference. As a result of this experiment the Communist party would find itself weaker and more isolated than now.

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only in the bloc of four which signed the Declaration but also in the Committee of the majority (together with two representatives of the I. L. P. and one representative of the Norwegian party). We, the Left Opposition, cannot expect and do not expect anything positive from this Committee. We consider the participation of two of our allies (S. A. P. and O. S. P.) in the Committee (the RSP, the party of Socialists does not enter in the Committee) as a glaring contradiction. We consider also the voting of the S. A. P. for the resolution of the majority as a grave political error which is capable of only sowing illusions and confusion. But it would be entirely wrong if we should on this basis renounce the honest attempt at collaboration with these two allies. Their participation in a bloc with us is the tomorrow. Their participation in the "Committee" is the yesterday.

Revolutionary irreconcilability consists not in demanding that our "leadership" be recognized a priori, not in presenting our allies at every occasion with ultimatums and threatening with a break, with the removal of signatures, etc. We leave such methods, on one hand, to the Stalinist bureaucrats, on the other—to some impatient allies. We realize full well that disagreements between us and our allies will arise more than once. But we hope, more than that, we are convinced, that the march of events will reveal in deeds the impossibility of participating simultaneously in the principled bloc of four and in the unprincipled bloc of the majority. Without resorting to any unbecoming "ultimatums" we retain, however, the full right not only to appear under our own banner, but also to tell our allies openly our opinion with regard to that which we consider their mistakes. We expect the same frankness from our allies. Our alliance will only be strengthened by this.

The elaboration of a programmatic document stands now on the order of the day. The Manifesto of the new International should give a general picture of the modern capitalist world (as well as of the Soviet Union), of its economic and political international relations. All the convulsions of our epoch (wars, crisis, fascist barbarism) should be explained as the result of the tardiness of the proletarian revolution. The responsibility for this tardiness must be placed on the Second and Third International. A special chapter of the Manifesto should be devoted to the picture of the decline of both Internationals. Conclusion: the problems of the proletarian revolution, as well as the problems of saving the U. S. S. R. demand the creation of a new International. The concluding chapters should outline the program of struggle of the new International.

The elaboration of such a document is the task of the coming two months. So responsible a task can be solved well only in a collective manner. Although it is a question of a document of an international character, the most important

Alignment of Forces in Mexico

The threatening clouds of approaching civil war once more discernible on the Mexican political horizon. The revolution, which since 1910 has cost that country more than half a million lives, with a minimum of benefit for the toiling masses, again shows signs of surging forward.

The attempt of the national bourgeoisie and the newly rich of the revolution, grouped together under the leadership of ex-president Plutarco Elias Calles, to firmly consolidate and perpetuate the one-party rule of the National Revolutionary Party (P. N. R.) at last seems to have encountered an obstacle that may upset their plans for strangling the revolution at its present bourgeois stage.

A strong Left wing led by Adalberto Tejeda, ex-Governor of Veracruz and calling itself the Left Socialist Party, representative of the radical petty bourgeoisie and various peasant groupings, has definitely split off from the dominant party, and has elaborated its platform, which in spite of demagoguery and confusion presents certain positive features. This new party has openly proclaimed its intentions to participate in the elections in opposition to the candidate of the official and heretofore almost omnipotent P. N. R. An election in Mexico, especially under such circumstances as those created by the profound economic crisis, can mean nothing but an armed struggle for power between the opposing groups. All the political forces of the nation are now aligning themselves for the impending clash.

The National Revolutionary Party (Calles-Portes Gil-Ortiz Rubio-Rodriguez) has moved constantly towards the Right since 1928, and

A New Revolt Is Growing Out of Split in Ruling Party

especially within the last two year period. While the demagoguery of the ruling clique has suffered little change unless it be to appear each time more radical in its phraseology, the government of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1910, turned counter-revolutionary, has been unable to satisfy the needs and demands of the masses. It has demonstrated its unwillingness and inability to solve the democratic tasks of the revolution, and the stage is being set for the next act.

During the period included roughly between the years 1924 and 1926, the revolutionary workers' movement, and especially the Communist Party, permeated with a national and peasant ideology, product of the soil of the country itself and strengthened by the opportunist colonial policy of the Comintern International, supported the "revolutionary" bourgeoisie personified in Calles-Obreros. The several counter-revolutionary uprisings of the clergy and feudal landlords, were suppressed by the government, thanks in large part to the collaboration of the peasant masses led by members and sympathizers of the Communist Party. Late in 1928 however, with the stabilization of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the adventurist turn in the Comintern International (third period) the relations between the party and the bourgeois politicians were rapidly altered.

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tant national problems must find reflection in it. The receipt of various political documents and in general of written or printed material that might help in the elaboration of this or that part of the Manifesto is most desirable.

September 1, 1933. —G. GOUROV.

ON THE DISCUSSION WITH COMRADES OF THE C. P.

(Correspondence from Berlin)

While in our discussions with S. P. and S. A. P. workers we are penetrating relatively easily with our arguments in the questions of the past and of the tasks of the future, we are even today encountering stubborn resistance in part among the comrades of the C. P. G. The superficial dogmatic education, so far as any education at all was received, the setting-up of ready-made "absolute truths" continue to exercise an evil influence, still paralyze the critical powers, and so it is understandable that the bureaucracy has succeeded, with the help of its illegal apparatus, which is again half-way functioning, in spreading new illusions among a part of its members and in temporarily strengthening its thoroughly shaken authority. The inevitable new disappointments, however, will hasten the process of disintegration; further large sections of the working class will fall into passivity, while precisely the best part will necessarily have to be driven to us.

The following conversation is typical:

"So you are of the opinion that precisely now, after the defeat, we must close ranks all the tighter around the only revolutionary party, in order to utilize the patently built-up organization. But how will you act when you receive instructions to distribute leaflets with slogans that are mere phrases, to distribute the 'Red Famine', whose stupid contents you recognize, and much more like this?"

"Naturally I and my comrades refuse such senseless work, which only puts us in danger without any purpose. We only carry out what seems right to us."

"But in this way you are breaking discipline, and if you have not yet been expelled from the party, you can simply thank the bad functioning of the apparatus. Like many of your comrades, you are of the opinion that our demand for the creation of a new party involves your immediate resignation from the party nucleus. But we believe that during this transition time you should carry on revolutionary work in your nucleus, by bringing before the eyes of your comrades, on the basis of the criticism of the past, the necessity of truly Marxist-Leninist policy, new from the ground up. You must recognize that the breach of discipline which is unconditionally necessary with regard to the bureaucracy already represents in fact the first step, which in its consequences contains our demand for the creation of a new party, in which the maintenance of the strictest discipline in action is no longer in contradiction with your political convictions."

—ROSALIO NEGRETTE.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1933 Vol. VI, No. 44 (Whole No. 191) Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

For several months the party worked with the perspective of an independent armed insurrection to take place simultaneously with the revolt of Generals Manzo, Aguirre and Escobar. When this rebellion finally materialized however, in March of 1929, the ultra-Leftist slogans of the "third period" were found not to have completely overcome the prejudices of the majority of the party's opportunistic central committee. What actually happened is that the "party" peasants again cooperated efficiently with the ruling bourgeois faction in putting down the reactionary militarist uprising.

Attempts to Crush the C. P. Before the last echos of the civil war in the north had died out, the government drove the Communist party and all of its auxiliaries underground. Several local Communist leaders, most prominent among them, Jose Guadalupe Rodriguez, agrarian leader of the state of Durango and member of the Central Committee of the party, were executed on charges of plotting revolt. Other Communist, trade union and agrarian leaders were murdered, almost all of the foreign comrades were deported and dozens of the best militants of the revolutionary organizations were imprisoned.

A definite period of reaction set in now that the ruling bourgeoisie felt sufficiently strong to no longer require the cooperation of the C. P. and its supporters.

The National Revolutionary Party was then formed in order to better regulate and coordinate the interests of the ruling class and to inaugurate "institutional" rule. Within this party, Calles, while remaining in the background, was enabled nevertheless to dominate the policies, and soon showed himself very adept at playing the different factions within his party against each other, thus assuring his own hegemony over the whole.

Through the enactment of the Federal Labor Code, against which the C. P. struggled valiantly, the labor organizations were placed in a decidedly subservient role in relation to the government.

The "Institutional" Regime and the Crisis

In every other field, the national bourgeoisie of the P. N. R. vaunting its "institutional" program, has attempted to consolidate its position in an attempt to interrupt the permanency of the Mexican revolution, and perpetuate their class rule.

Many enormous difficulties of an economic nature presented themselves. The world crisis has not spared Mexico. The collapse of the petroleum industry and the fall of the price of silver, would certainly have plunged the country into turmoil before now were it not for the agrarian base of the country. Large sections of the proletariat are scarcely a generation removed from the family corn and bean patch have managed somehow to weather the crisis. It is estimated that there are close to a million unemployed in the republic. Mass deportations of unemployed Mexicans from the United States has not helped matters.

Recovery Ballyhoo of the P. N. R.

Elaborate plans for public works, highways and irrigation projects, and schemes for colonization of the unemployed on farms, have been announced and in some cases commenced. The Mexican bourgeoisie has learned much from the ballyhoo methods of its North American counterpart. Dozens of plans, programs and campaigns have been launched, an enormous amount of money appropriated, most of which promptly disappears into the void.

As in other countries, attempts were made to solve the crisis by a national program of economic self-sufficiency, an idea which is of course inevitably doomed to failure because of the oneness of world economy.

The reactionary character of the government's program is becoming apparent to the whole nation. Mass discontent and radicalization grows apace, although the Communist party has been unable excepting in isolated cases to break through its shell of illegality, and take a decisive part in the growing struggles of the masses. The sectarian policies of the party with its splitting tactics on the trade union field, and its ultimattistic attitude towards all non-Communist workers, have hindered the party's growth.

The general sympathy towards the ideas of Communism is growing rapidly. This is expressed in a distorted form through the activities and program of Tejeda's "Left Socialist Party".

In the forthcoming issues of The Militant, an attempt will be made to analyze the Mexican agrarian problem and the character of the "Left Socialist Party" as well as the role that the Communists must play in the next stage, if they are to assume their proper place as the proletarian vanguard.

—ROSALIO NEGRETTE.

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Declaration of International Left Opposition to Left Socialist Conference

DECLARATION OF THE DELEGATION OF BOLSHIEV-LENINISTS AT THE CONFERENCE OF LEFT-SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS. THE COLLAPSE OF BOTH INTERNATIONALS

Despite the evident disintegration of world capitalism as an economic and social system, the workers' movement of the world is now passing through a deeper crisis than after the smashing of the Paris Commune, or during the imperialist war. Two working class parties of the most industrial country of Europe, the social-democratic and the Communist parties which led behind them 13 million voters, capitulated without a fight before the Fascist regime. Two internationals were subjected to a test and proved bankrupt.

The social-democratic bankruptcy of which became apparent in the imperialist war of 1914-1918, failed to reconstitute its ranks on the morrow of the world catastrophe thereby hindering the workers from going over to Communism and the defeat of the German social-democracy, which has brought the Second International to disaster can and could lead the workers only to new catastrophes. The social-democracy which held on to the end to the soil of rotting capitalism was itself drawn into the process of decay. However the Third International whose task it was to organize the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary rise against the bourgeoisie of all the countries and for the victory of socialism has also failed in its task. It fell victim to bureaucratic centrism which is based on the theory and practice of Socialism in one country; in a word, it was wrecked by a system of errors which entered into history under the name of Stalinism. At the time when capitalism, torn by world contradictions, placed the international revolution on the order of the day the Comintern became only a submissive and impotent chorus to the conservative and nationally limited bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

Thousands of Communists are now trying in Hitler's Germany to save the official party by continuing the old policy under the new conditions. With all our revolutionary sympathy for the self-sacrificing fighters we must tell them that wrongly directed efforts and sacrifices will be fruitless. Under the conditions of Fascist terror the Stalinist policy is doomed to a complete smash-up within a short time. An illegal revolutionary party in Germany must be built on new foundations.

After the living march of events had shown that Fascism and the social-democracy, the two polar tools of the bourgeois regime, exclude each other not only politically but physically, it was necessary to put the simple conclusion of this experience as the basis for all our international agitation pushing the social-democracy to the path of a united front with Communist parties. Despite all evidence, the bureaucracy of the Comintern proclaimed the firmness of the theory of social-fascism and having completely blocked itself thereby the approach to the proletarian mass organizations, it substituted a macabre block with impotent circles of pacifists and adventurists for the proletarian policy of the united front. If the lesson of the German catastrophe did not help the Stalinist bureaucracy, building will help it. New national parties and new internationals are necessary.

THE POSITION OF THE BOLSHIEV-LENINISTS

The participants to the present conference are of different political origin. Some split off in recent years from the parties of the Second International; there are finally some of a mixed or intermediary origin. Some acted as independent parties, others considered themselves and worked as fractions. If these organizations came together today for the first time at a common conference to try and find bases for joint work, all of them have by this very fact openly admitted the necessity for the welding together of the proletarian vanguard on new foundations.

With regard to Germany our international organization (Bolshevik-Leninists) has after serious and heated debates almost unanimously adopted this position. With regard to the Comintern as a whole, the question was formally placed by us for discussion only within the last couple of weeks. We are speaking here in the name of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists which has approved this declaration. Our national sections have not as yet had time to fully express themselves. But the question has been prepared to such an extent by the foregoing development of events as well as by the development of the Left Opposition itself; that we have no doubt as to the verdict of our organizations. At any rate the final word belongs to our sections.

Some participants of the present conference are probably of the opinion that we came to the break with the Stalinist bureaucracy with unnecessary belatedness. It is not the place here to return to the old disputes. The fact, however, is such that our policy having taken into consideration objective conditions and not subjective moods, has given us the possibility to form stable organizations of Bolshevik-Leninists in more than twenty countries. Although in their majority they are cadres and not mass organizations, their invaluable advantage lies in the fact that they are

based on an international scale by a unity of programmatic and strategic conception which has evolved gradually from the experiences of great events and from the struggles of the proletariat.

THE STRUGGLE WITH REFORMISM

From what has been said already, it is clear, that the break with the Stalinist bureaucracy by no means makes our attitude to reformism less sharp. On the contrary, it is more irreconcilable now than ever before. We see the chief historic crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely in that, that by its whole policy it renders an invaluable aid to social-democracy and hinders the proletariat from going over to the path of revolution.

For us, Bolshevik-Leninists, and we trust, also for all of you there can even be no thought of constant work in common with organizations which have not broken with the principle foundations of reformism, which continue to hope for the regeneration of the social democracy as a party or which consider the unification of the Second and Third Internationals as their mission. Groupings permeated by such tendencies can only pull the workers backwards. And we, basing ourselves on all the lessons of the past, we want to go forward.

The "21 conditions" for the acceptance to the Communist International elaborated in its time by Lenin for the purpose of a decisive separation from all types of

BOOK REVIEW:

U. S. S. R. and World Revolution, by M. T. Florinsky, MacMillan Co. \$2.50.

Somebody, sooner or later, was bound to write this book. To readers of the *Militant*, however, there will be little in it that he or she is not already acquainted with.

Written from a professorial objective (above the classes) point of view, the book does manage to give a fairly accurate picture of the attitude of the Soviet government, the party and the Communist International leadership to the question of World Revolution from the earliest days of the Dictatorship to the present. Mr. Florinsky has, in fact, confined his book to examining that one particular question...

As would be apparent, any effort at approaching the question of World Revolution would of necessity bring in the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky—or to express it in a less personal manner—between Socialism in One Country and the Permanent Revolution. The author used as his main sources of reference the theses and statutes of all the six congresses of the Comintern and comrade Trotsky's Permanent Revolution and the French edition of "The Communist International After Lenin." (The Criticism of the Draft Program, Strategy of the World Revolution).

After explaining and quoting with an air degree of accuracy from these documents, Mr. Florinsky comes to some conclusions: The first years of the Russian revolution he characterizes as the "heroic" period. It was a period when of a sudden a group of revolutionists—world revolutionists—had suddenly seized the reins of power in a country the size of one-sixth the earth's surface. Inspired by their sudden success and still mindful of the teachings of that "bearded German professor with a black frock coat" they saw the revolution as only one link in the chain forged for the inevitable world revolution.

The author looks back upon those early revolutionary utterances of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek with a relieved, if somewhat, superior and tolerant feeling. It was, at least, not without a certain "grandeur" and it was "heroic." True the Marxists of it was a little closer to the latter than the present day Stalinist brand. True enough the Communist International of those days was much more of a threat to the world bourgeoisie than the present edition of it. But, forgives Mr. Florinsky, those were "romantic" days in a "heroic" period. Let us not quibble with the author if he fails to see the whys and the wherefores of the events of 1923 in Germany. Or the raison d'être for the fascies in Hungary, Finland, etc. Others who make greater claim to being Communists have not been able to analyze the distinction between the objective and the subjective factors in the revolution as related to the party and the class.

What is important, however, is that the author is able to distinguish between a revolutionary utterance and a nationalist utopian one. Though he wouldn't call it utopian—but sober. With the decline of the "romantic" era, continues our author, an era of sober and responsible stock-taking took place. Stalin came forward with the theory (bless the mark!) of Socialism in One Country. Trotsky reaffirmed the vitality and moving force of the theory of Permanent Revolution. Mr. Florinsky recognizes that the latter theory has much more Marxian logic than the former, but—the former (Socialism in One Country) is more sound state policy. So far as the author is concerned, a shift from the policy of World Revolution (the U. S. S. R. as the first fortress of the world revolution) was bound to take place—and needless to say, he welcomes it. As Mr. Florinsky would have it, it was the necessity of keeping Russia in step with the progress and development akin to all nations, that is, finding a mar-

reformism and anarchism, acquire at this stage again an urgent character. It is of course not a question of the text of this document which should be radically changed in accordance with the conditions of the modern period but of its general spirit of revolutionary Marxist irreconcilability.

Only under the condition of irreconcilable separation from reformism is it possible and necessary to enter into friendly cooperation with all those proletarian organizations which are actually developing from reformism towards Communism. We condemn and reject categorically the mode of actions of the Stalinist bureaucracy which treats as "left social-Fascists" all revolutionary organizations which—by the fault of the Comintern—and themselves outside the Comintern, and on the morrow of a catastrophe next in turn touchingly invites them into the Comintern as "sympathizing" parties. The Comintern is capable only of decomposing and destroying proletarian organizations but not of strengthening and educating them. The cooperation which we have in mind presupposes an honest attitude to facts, ideas, mutual comradely criticism and respect for each other.

THE FIRST FOUR CONGRESSES OF THE COMINTERN.

Revolutionary policy is unthinkable without revolutionary theory. Here we need least of all to start from the beginning. We stand on the basis of Marx and Engels. The first congresses of the Communist International left us an invaluable programmatic heritage; the character of the modern epoch as an epoch of imperialism, that is, of capitalist decline; the nature of modern reformism and the methods of struggle with it; the relation between democracy and proletarian

dictatorship; the role of the party in the proletarian revolution; the relation between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie (especially the peasantry (agrarian question); the problem of nationalities and the liberation struggle of colonial peoples; work in the trade unions; the policy of parliamentarism, etc.—all these questions have been subjected to a principled analysis by the first four congresses which has remained unsurpassed until now.

One of the first, most urgent tasks of those organizations which have inscribed on their banners the regeneration of the revolutionary movement consists in separating from the general mass the principle decisions of the first four congresses, in bringing them in order and in subjecting them to a serious discussion in the light of the future tasks of the proletariat; the present conference must, in our opinion, indicate the ways and the first steps of this necessary work.

STRATEGIC LESSONS OF THE LAST DECADE. The political life of the proletariat vanguard did not stop at the first congresses of the Communist International. Under the influence of historic circumstances, that is, of the march of the class struggle, the apparatus of the Comintern has completely gone over from Marxism to Centrism, from internationalism to nationalism, limitedness. If the building of the Third International was impossible without cleansing the teachings of Marx from the layers of reformism, so now the creation of revolutionary parties of the proletariat is unthinkable without cleansing the principles and methods of Communism from the layers and falsifications of bureaucratic centrism.

The struggle of the Left Opposition against the oscillations of the Stalinist apparatus connected with numerous and heavy sacrifices is imprinted in a series of documents of a programmatic and strategic character. In accordance with the most important political stages of the last decade the following problems have been illuminated in these documents: the economic construction of the U. S. S. R.; the party regime; the policy of the united front (Anglo-Russian Committee, on one side, the German experience, on the other); the path of the Spanish revolution ("democratic dictatorship"); the fight against "Fascism"; the fight against "Fascism"; etc. The basic conclusions of a ten year struggle are given in a form of a synopsis in the "11 points" of the International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition. We are submitting this programmatic document here to your attention.

It is superfluous to say that on our part, we will consider with the greatest attention all the theses, resolutions and programmatic declarations in which other organizations represented here have expressed or may express their estimation of the tasks and perspectives. We do not want anything so much as the mutual exchange of experience and ideas. We wish to state with great satisfaction that the "Declaration of Principles" of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland concurs on all the basic questions with the platform of the International Left Opposition.

The present pre-conference cannot of course discuss with the necessary profundity the programmatic and strategic lessons of the world revolutionary struggle. But it is time to make a start. We permit ourselves to express the wish that each of the organizations represented here review our "11 points" in their press with the necessary commentaries, and that afterwards the possibility be given us to defend our theses in the same press in discussion order. On our part we obligate ourselves to publish for the information and discussion of our sections every programmatic

document which may be introduced by other organizations and shall willingly give to the defenders of the document corresponding space in our press.

THE U. S. S. R.

The question of the U. S. S. R. is of exceptional importance to the workers' movement of the world and therefore also to the correct orientation of the present conference. We, Bolshevik-Leninists, consider the U. S. S. R. even in its present form as a workers' State. This estimation needs no illusions or embellishment.

One cannot feel anything but contempt for those "friends" of the U. S. S. R. who declare every work of criticism against the Soviet bureaucracy as a counter-revolutionary act. If revolutionists had been guided by such rules of conduct, the October revolution would have never taken place.

We reject as a mockery of Marxism thought, the Brandlerian position according to which the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy represents a chain of errors in all other countries, but remains infallible in the U. S. S. R. Such a "theory" is based on the negation of the general principles of proletarian

ism and brings the international down to a mere sum total of national parties the leaders of which are always ready to close their eyes to mutual sins. A Marxian can have nothing in common with this social-democratic conception.

The policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R. is of the same principle nature as the policy of the Comintern. The dif-

ference lies not in methods but in objective conditions: in the U. S. S. R. the bureaucracy bases itself on the foundations laid by the proletarian revolution, and if in a decade it succeeded in squandering the capital of the Comintern, in the U. S. S. R. it has undermined but not liquidated the foundations of the socialist state. The Soviet proletariat, practically deprived of the party, trade unions and Soviets which were seized by the bureaucracy, defends by its revolutionary traditions the workers' state from a bourgeois overturn.

To identify the social order of the U. S. S. R. with "state capitalism" or German type, is to ignore the main question of the social order, namely the property character and to open the doors wide to false and dangerous conclusions. On this question there can be for us no ambiguities and no compromises. The defense of the workers' state from imperialism and counter-revolution remains as heretofore the duty of every revolutionary worker. But to serve this defense does not at all mean to become a tool of Soviet diplomacy.

The acts and declarations of Soviet diplomacy have provoked not only from the party but also from the trade unions radically or critically inclined workers. If they are not to be misled by bureaucratic positions; on the other hand, it frees its ministers, parliamentarians, journalists and propagandists from submitting to discipline with regard to the party. The combined methods of repression, betrayal and bribery permit the social-democracy to retain the semblance of discussions, elections, control etc., while remaining at the same time the apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the working class.

By means of the state apparatus, the Stalinist bureaucracy liquidated the party, Soviet and trade-union democracy not only in essence but also in form. The regime of personal dictatorship has been fully transmitted from the C. P. U. to all the parties of the capitalist countries. The party bureaucrats' sole aim is to interpret the supreme will. The party masses have only one right: to keep silence and to obey. Repressions, bribery are the usual methods for keeping "order" in the party. Such is the path of decay and ruin of the proletarian parties.

A revolutionist is brought up only in the atmosphere of criticism of all that exists, including also his own organization. A firm discipline can be attained only by conscious trust in the leadership. The trust can be gained not only by correct policy but also by an honest attitude to one's mistakes. The question of the inner regime acquires for us thus an extraordinary importance. The advanced workers must be given the possibility of a conscious and independent participation in the building of the party and in the direction of its whole policy. Young workers must be given the possibility to think, criticize, make mistakes and correct themselves.

It is clear, on the other hand, that the regime of party democracy can lead to the creation of a hardened and malicious army of proletarian fighters only in case our organizations basing themselves on the firm principles of Marxism, are ready to fight irreconcilably but with democratic methods, all opportunistic, centrism and adventurist influences.

The orientation towards a new international is dictated by the whole course of development. This does not mean, however, that we propose to proclaim a new international immediately. We would have introduced such a proposal without hesitation had the organizations represented here already been in actual, that is tested by experience, agreement with regard to the basic principles and methods of revolutionary struggle. But we have not got it. We can arrive at a principle unanimity and therefore on an international only through joint revolutionary work and serious mutual criticism.

A new international cannot be prepared without practical participation in the unfolding events. To compromise a programmatic declaration would of course be false. It is necessary to combine the two. We welcome the fact that the conference placed on the agenda urgent questions in connection with the fight against Fascism and against war, and in each of these fields we are ready, hand in hand with other organizations to make a real step forward.

Comrades! Without leadership, without international direction the world proletariat will be unable to free itself from the present oppression. The creation of a new international depends not only on the objective course of events but also on our own efforts. It is very likely that already now we are much stronger than it may seem to many of us. Not in vain does history show us how an organization possessing authority but having lost directly many for a long time keep on piling up errors seemingly unpunished; but finally the course of events brings the inevitable collapse. On the contrary, an organization which is armed with a reliable compass but has for a long period remained in an insignificant minority, can without the advance of a historic turn suddenly rise to a higher level. Under the condition of correct policy on our part, such a possibility opens up before us. With joint forces let us try not to miss this opportunity. Our revolutionary responsibility is immeasurably great. Let our creative work rise to the height of this responsibility.

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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 136 East 18th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, NO. 45 [WHOLE NO. 192] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

For a New Party and a New International!

After the ignominious collapse of both the Social Democracy and the Communist International in Germany, and the subsequent inability of both these organizations to draw any lessons from this historical catastrophe, it is impossible any longer to conceal the fact that a revolutionary organization of the proletariat capable of leading it to victory does not exist. It must be created anew.

The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is in complete agreement with the declaration issued to the Paris conference by the delegation of the International Left Opposition and approves its actions there. The N. C. likewise endorses the steps taken by the four organizations at the Paris conference toward the formation of a new Communist International and will devote its efforts henceforth, in cooperation with all other revolutionary groups and organizations willing to participate, to the task of directly assembling the forces for the creation of a new party, as the American section of the new (Fourth) International.

The entire membership of the League has unanimously endorsed this course after a thorough internal discussion of the question and has empowered the National Committee to proclaim its complete break with the Stalinist Comintern and its American section and to renounce the struggle to reform them. From this time onward the Communist League ceases to regard itself as a faction of the official Stalinist Party, which has become a direct brake on the development of the workers' movement, and invites the cooperation of all revolutionary workers, regardless of their present affiliation or non-affiliation, in common efforts leading to the construction of a genuine Communist Party in America.

Taking the necessity to create a new party as the point of departure, the Communist League proposes a frank and comradely discussion with other individuals, groups and organizations aiming toward the same goal and submits, for their consideration, the following points:

American Perspectives

Under the terrific pressure of the crisis years the conditions have been rapidly maturing for the class awakening of the American workers and for an enormous acceleration of the class struggle. In the next period the social contradictions will explode in a series of gigantic class battles in the course of which the workers can assimilate the revolutionary lessons in an abridged form and rapidly leap forward on the path toward revolutionary action. To assist and guide this process a new party, wresting the banner of Communism from the sabotaging bureaucratic clique of Stalinism, must be created. And, under the given conditions, this new party will have before it the possibility and prospect of expansion into a powerful mass organization within a comparatively short time.

Fundamental Principles

The new Communist Party, the necessity for which arises from the complete bankruptcy of reformism on the one side and of bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) on the other, cannot consist of an indiscriminate combination of reformist and centrist elements. On the contrary, the new party can come into existence, take shape and grow up to the requirements of its colossal historic task only if it stands on a firm programmatic foundation and tolerates no conciliation toward reformist and centrist currents. For this program no new revelation is needed. The revolutionary teachings

Declaration of the National Committee of the Communist League of America - Opposition

of Marx and Engels, cleansed once again of the reformist and centrist distortions and falsifications, are the fundamental principle guide for the new party.

The first four Congresses of the Comintern, conducted under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, have concretized these teachings and applied them, in a series of unsurpassed theses and resolutions, to the basic problems of our epoch. The ten-years' struggle of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), during which the guiding ideas of the first four Congresses of the Comintern were carried forward and counterposed on each and every important question of the living movement to the degenerating course of Stalinism, have been summarized in the "11 Points" adopted by the International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition. All these documents referred to above retain their fundamental validity and constitute, in our opinion, the programmatic basis for the new party.

For Revolutionary Internationalism - Against the Theory of Socialism in One Country

The theoretical source of the degeneration and final downfall of the Communist International and its national sections, including the American, was the rejection of the Marxist principle of revolutionary internationalism and its substitution by the theory of "socialism in one country". The Communist movement which has been destroyed by this reactionary-nationalist theory cannot arise again without a clear and categorical rejection of it.

Defense of the Soviet Union

The ten-year regime of Stalinism has strangled the party and the workers organizations in the Soviet Union and has facilitated enormously the danger of a counter-revolutionary capitalist overthrow. The Stalinist regime has undermined the foundations of the Soviet state and is leading it toward destruction. The social content of the October revolution, however, is still alive and, by its property character, which is the decisive criterion, the Soviet Union remains, even with the monstrous bureaucratic distortions, a workers' state.

The defense of the Soviet Union, encircled by a world of class enemies and systematically weakened from within by the Stalinist regime, is the unconditional duty of the international proletariat. The formation of new parties and a new international does not contradict this task but is necessitated by it. The reform of the Soviet workers' state in the U. S. S. R., and its defense against capitalist intervention and counter-revolution, now depend upon the formation of strong revolutionary organizations in the capitalist countries which will be capable of putting up a revolutionary resistance at home to capitalistic military ventures and of exerting a pressure on the internal regime in the U. S. S. R. and influencing the Soviet proletariat. Under the theory of "socialism in one country" the role of the Communist parties has been debased to the task of the pacifist "defense of the Soviet Union", and for this all kinds of dubious "Friends of the Soviet Union" have been recruited and hired

while the tested revolutionary militants have been persecuted, slandered and expelled.

But it is precisely in the task of defending the Soviet Union at the moment of danger that the present Stalinist parties are most completely impotent. The strongest party of the Comintern, the German C. P., capitulated without a sign of resistance to the Fascist bands before the latter were armed with state power. The possibility that the weakest of such parties can offer any resistance whatever to the military designs of the capitalist states must be dismissed altogether as the most dangerous phantasy. The internal reform and regeneration of the Soviet state and its defense against world imperialism is the joint task of the new parties in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union.

The United Front

From its inception, and also in the process of its formation which may be more or less prolonged, the new party will naturally take part in the living movement of the working class and employ therein the tactic of the united front. This tactic, which presupposes temporary agreements with reformist organizations for specific separate actions, requires the categorical rejection of the theory of "social Fascism" and the united front from below only. On the one hand, the new party should conduct negotiations and make temporary agreements with the official representatives of reformist organizations when they take a step forward under the pressure of the masses—a tactic which the Stalinists have rejected "in principle"—and on the other hand, it will reject any proposals for a "non-aggression pact" excluding criticism—which the Stalinists have accepted.

Trade Union Policy

The new party will find its road to the masses and gain influence over their movement only on the condition that it follows a Marxist policy on the trade union question, that is, the most important question of the American movement. Such a policy requires a penetration of the workers' mass organizations as they exist in reality, regardless of their form, and at the same time an irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist agents within them. The Stalinist dogma of "red" paper unions and the opportunist policy of "adaptation" to the reactionary leadership in the trade union movement are equally pernicious.

Against the Right Wing Apologists of Stalinism

The new party cannot represent a mechanical combination of "opposition" groups, but will be obliged to take a precise attitude toward each of them with respect to its platform and, especially, with respect to the general direction of its development. The Brandlerist clique (Lovestone, Wolfe & Co.) which effected a formal separation from the Stalinists with the dissolution of the Right-Center bloc in 1929, devotes itself to servile attempts to reestablish this bloc. It remains in fundamental unity with Stalinism on all the principle questions and shamefully justifies and apologizes for its systematic errors and crimes. The irreconcilable struggle of the new party against Stalinism presupposes and requires an equally unrelenting hostility to the Right wing camp followers of Stalinism.

Party Democracy

The new party must establish within its ranks a regime of democratic centralism which permits freedom of discussion and criticism on the one hand and unity of action on the other. The free election of officials from top to bottom, the control of the officials by the rank and file and the right of every member to express his opinions in an atmosphere free from baiting and threats of expulsion, must be combined with a clearly defined principle foundation for party membership and a disciplined unity of the entire organization in action before the outside world.

Forces for the New Party

The Communist League, as it is at present constituted, does not consider itself a party and has no intention of anticipating the real establishment of the new party by proclaiming itself as such. The task now is to recognize firmly that our role as a faction striving to reform the party of official Stalinism is exhausted, to strike out on a completely independent path, and to prepare, in cooperation with all other groups and organizations moving in the same direction, for the formation of a new party.

In the course of its struggle to reform the official party, as a faction of it, the Left Opposition worked out a program, consolidated a cadre of principled militants and formed the skeleton of a national organization. These accomplishments can be regarded now as part of the capital of the new movement; not all that is necessary for the formation of the party, but contributions to it.

What is needed now is the coming-together of the various groups of revolutionary workers who have broken, or who are in the process of breaking, with reformism and centrism as well as those dispersed individual revolutionists who have been repelled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and remain without affiliation. It is self-evident that the working out of a common program and the eventual concentration of these forces into a single party must be preceded by an exchange of opinion and discussion and, very probably, will involve a transition period of cooperation before the final fusion.

Whatever form the next development may take, the Left Opposition is ready now, to enter into open and comradely negotiations and discussions with other groups which seriously set for themselves the same goal. After its long and unrelenting struggle against the arrogant bureaucracy and ultimatic methods of Stalinism, the Left Opposition least of all can seek to impose anything on others or to demand the acceptance in advance of its proposals, its program or its "leadership". Submitting the foregoing points for discussion, we on our part are ready to give attentive and comradely consideration to any different proposals and to bring them to the attention of our members and supporters by publication in the *Militant*, together with our comments on them.

With this object in view the columns of the *Militant* will be open for a discussion of the question of a new Party and a new International.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
(OPPOSITION)

The Eleven Points - The Fundamental Principles of the International Left Opposition

We are republishing herewith the Eleven Points of the International Left Opposition Pre-Conference Thesis, as amended at the last International Plenum. The amendment is contained in Point 10. Formerly this point corresponded to our position as a faction working for the reform of the Comintern, for the victory within the Comintern of Marxism over the Right and Centrist currents. The present text contained in this point corresponds with our orientation for regroupings into a new International. This text is proposed for the ratification of the various International Left Opposition sections.—ED.

The International Left Opposition stands on the ground of the first four congresses of the Comintern. This does not mean that it bows before every letter of its decisions, of which many had a purely temporary character and in individual practical consequences have been refuted by subsequent practice. But all the essential principles (relation to imperialism and to the bourgeois state; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the re-

lation to the peasantry and to the oppressed nations; soviet; work in the trade unions; parliamentarism; the policy of the united front) remain even today the highest expression of proletarian strategy in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism.

The Left Opposition rejects the revisionist decisions of the 5th and 6th World Congresses and considers necessary a radical restatement of the program of the Comintern, in which the gold of Marxism has been rendered completely worthless by the Centrist alloy.

In accordance with the spirit and the sense of the decisions of the first 4 world congresses, and in continuation of these decisions, the Left Opposition sets up the following principles, develops them theoretically and carries them through practically:

1. The Independence of the proletarian party, always and under

- all conditions; condemnation of the Kuo Min Tang policy of 1924-1928; condemnation of the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee; condemnation of Stalin's theory of two-class (worker and peasant) parties and of the whole practice based on this theory; condemnation of the policy of the Amsterdam Congress in which the Communist party was dissolved in the pacifist swamp.
2. Recognition of the International character of the proletarian revolution; rejection of the theory of socialism in one country as well as of the policy of national bolshevism which complements it in Germany (platform of "National Liberation").
3. Recognition of the Soviet state as a workers' state in spite of the growing degeneration of the bureaucratic regime. Unconditional command that every worker defend the soviet state against imperialism and against internal counter-revolution.

4. Condemnation of the economic policy of the Stalinist faction both in its stage of economic opportunism in 1923 to 1928 (struggle against "overindustrialization" and staking all on the kulaks), as well as its stage of economic adventurism in 1928 to 1932 (over-stretched tempo of industrialization, thoroughgoing collectivization, administrative liquidation of the kulaks as a class). Condemnation of the criminal bureaucratic legend that "the soviet state has already entered into Socialism". Recognition of the necessity of a return to the realistic economic policies of Leninism.
5. Recognition of the necessity of systematic Communist work in the proletarian mass organizations, particularly in the reformist trade unions, condemnation of the theory and practice of the Red Trade Union organization in Germany and similar constructions in the other countries.

6. Rejection of the formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" as a separate regime distinguished from the dictatorship of the proletariat which carries along the peasant and the oppressed masses in general behind it, rejection of the anti-Marxist theory of the peaceful "growing over" of the democratic dictatorship into the socialist one.
7. Recognition of the necessity of mobilizing the masses under transitional slogans corresponding to the concrete situation in each country, and particularly under democratic slogans insofar as it is a question of struggle against feudal relations, national oppression or different varieties of open imperialistic dictatorship (Fascism, bonapartism, etc.).
8. Recognition of the necessity of a developed united front policy with respect to the mass organiza-

- tions of the working class, both of trade union and political character, including the social democracy as a party. Condemnation of the ultimatic slogan "only from below" which in practice means a refusal of the united front and consequently the refusal to create soviets. Condemnation of the opportunist application of the united front policy as in the Anglo-Russian Committee (bloc with the leaders without the masses and against the masses); double condemnation of the policy of the present German Central Committee, which combines the ultimatic slogan "only from below" with opportunist practice on the occasion of parliamentary pacts with the leaders of the Social Democracy.
9. Rejection of the theory of social-Fascism and of the whole practice bound up with it, as serving Fascism on the one hand and the Social Democracy on the other.

10. The struggle for the regrouping of the revolutionary forces of the world's working class under the banner of International Communism. Recognition of the necessity of the creation of a genuine Communist International capable of applying the principles enumerated above.
11. Recognition of Party democracy not only in words but also in fact; ruthless condemnation of the Stalinist plebiscitary regime (gagging the will and the thought of the party, the rule of the usurpers, deliberate suppression of information from the party, etc.).

The fundamental principles enumerated above, which are of basic importance for the strategy of the proletariat in the present period, place the Left Opposition in a position of irreconcilable hostility to the Stalinist faction which currently dominates the U. S. S. R. and the C. I. The recognition of these principles on the basis of the decisions of the first 4 congresses of the Comintern, is an indispensable condition for the acceptance of single organizations, groups and persons into the composition of the International Left Opposition.

mass
meeting

For a NEW INTERNATIONAL!
And a NEW COMMUNIST PARTY for AMERICA!

SPEAKERS

JAMES P. CANNON
MAX SHACHTMAN

Irving Plaza Hall
IRVING PLACE and 15th STREET
SATURDAY, SEPT. 30, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

60th Birthday of Rakovsky His Activities During War

The sixtieth birthday of Christian Georgievich Rakovsky (born September 1, 1873) brings to mind again some of the episodes in his life during that crucial period of the world war when the proletarian internationalism was breaking through the sea of depression, treachery and slander like new life surging out of the primeval slime.

Christian Rakovsky was the inspiring leader of the modern socialist movement in Rumania. The labor movement as such took shape there only in 1905, under the direct influence of the Russian revolution, and it bore an almost exclusive, slavish economic character. "Later on," writes one of the founders of the Rumanian Communist Party, Arbori-Tallu, "after the year 1907, when the government proceeded to mass deportations of Jewish, Hungarian and Transylvanian workers and banished the labor leader Rakovsky from the land, the movement took on a political coloring. In the spring of 1909, the arrest of Rakovsky on the border of Rumania, coinciding with the protest meeting on the occasion of Ferra's execution, produced the first significant collision between the working masses and the police."

The representative of the Rumanian social democracy in the Bureau of the Second International up to the outbreak of the war, was comrade Rakovsky. His Bulgarian origin, the rabid bourgeois press always referred to him contemptuously as the "Rumanian" Rakovsky, far from militating against his activity in Rumania, contributed to making him known as the most prominent internationalist in the Balkans, one of the leading proponents of the Balkan Federative Republic, the socialist who was equally at home in Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade, Athens or Constantinople. Of all the members of the doomed Bureau, Rakovsky was perhaps the only one who remained a genuine internationalist. The others flocked either to the standard of the Allies or of the Entente.

Delegate to Zimmerwald

The Rumanian party instantly took a position against the war and until the country was drawn into the European shambles, the party developed a systematic agitation against it. In February 1915 it was represented at the all-Balkan protest meeting against war organized in Sofia by the Bulgarian Left wing socialists (the "Narrows") inspired by Blagoev, Kolarov and others. At a conference which took place there at the same time, the Rumanians joined with the Left wing Bulgarians and the Serbs under Lapchevitch to break conclusively with the Right wing Bulgarians (the "Broad-minded"). In July of the same year, finally, with representatives attending from Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania (the Serbs were prevented from sending a delegate because of the war conditions), the social patriots of Europe were decisively condemned and with them, the policy of the Second International. At the same period, the Rumanian socialists associated themselves openly with the Zimmerwald Commission and delegated comrade Rakovsky to attend the first conference at Zimmerwald.

At Zimmerwald, Rakovsky found himself side by side with his life long friend and comrade, Trotsky. At that time, as is known, both Rakovsky and Trotsky were still engaged in that sharp dispute with Lenin which marked many of the pre-October years of the evolution of Bolshevism. The internationalists to the core though they were they did not eye to eye with Lenin on all the burning problems of the day. Trotsky, in particular, exerted his efforts towards arriving at a solution which would not only produce a unanimous manifesto out of the Zimmerwald Conference but would leave the true Left wing the opportunity of maintaining close contact with the millions of confused anti-war socialist workers who had not yet found the revolutionary path. Rakovsky, like Lenin, Kolarov, Varsky, Lazzari and a score of others appended their names to the compromise manifesto of Zimmerwald drafted by Trotsky.

In France, the internationalists, who had to be sought with lanterns, enlisted the aid not only of Trotsky, but also of Rakovsky. His polemic with the chauvinist Charles Dumas, was published as a brochure both in Bucharest and Paris, and circulated clandestinely throughout France by the first internationalist group of Rosmer and Monatte. The French chauvinist press denounced him as the grand chief of Austrian espionage in the Balkans, just as Trotsky was denounced as "the principal agent of Rakovsky" before the war!

"Rakovsky," wrote the Paris Matin at the end of 1917, "in order to establish a center of surveillance and propaganda, granted funds to Trotsky and the latter opened a little bookstore in Vienna where papers and pamphlets in the Slav language were put on sale. All those of Russian birth living in Vienna would come together in this bookstore which rapidly became their habitual meeting place. They were not alone to come there; they encountered Serbians, Bulgarians, Macedonians... A revolutionary circle, a laboratory of espionage, Trotsky's bookshop was still another thing: a mouse-trap, coming out of which certain revolutionists could be picked up by the Russian police..." Elsewhere, Rakovsky was attacked by the gutter press of the French bourgeoisie (itself heavily subsidized by the Czar's Foreign Office to support the Pan-Slavic

policy in the Balkans) as the man "elected by Swedenborg to assist in the Bolshevik maneuver in Rumania". (Perhaps it now becomes clear from what spiritual springs some zealous Stalinists have quaffed the inspiration for the attacks upon Trotsky and Rakovsky as agents of the Rumanian Siguranza, the Polish Schlyachts, etc., etc.)

Rakovsky Imprisoned

On August 16, 1916 Rumania finally declared war on the Dual Monarchy. The last public anti-war meeting of the Rumanian socialists, scheduled for the same day, was surrounded by troops; the masses were dispersed by cavalry charges. Two weeks later, the daily paper of the party, which Rakovsky helped so generously to maintain, was suppressed by the government. Almost all the party members were called to the front. All the members of the Central Committee, with two exceptions, were instantly arrested. Rakovsky himself met with the same fate and was interned as a dangerous enemy of the state. The two members of the Committee who had remained at liberty, were then also arrested after having sent a written protest to Bratislava, the president of the ministerial council, against the imprisonment of Rakovsky. The party itself was driven into virtual illegality.

Rakovsky, "the valiant leader of the Rumanian social democracy," as he was called by the attorney, Nicolau, remained imprisoned at Jassy for months. In March 1917, the proletariat of Rumania, despite the occupation of most of the country by the German troops, was brought to its feet again by the intoxicating news of the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia and the triumph of the insurrectionary masses. For the first time since war was declared, thousands of men and women appeared in half-spontaneous demonstrations on the streets, demanding bread and freedom. The Russian revolution was discussed on every hand and the outlawed socialists began to resume their activities. It seemed as if the release of Rakovsky would soon be effected.

Russian Troops Release Rakovsky
The German forces of occupation became alarmed at the ferment in the masses. Meetings were forbidden. The May Day demonstrations, for which permission had first been obtained, were ordered called off by the German officials. But in one part of Rumania, the May Day of international proletarian solidarity was celebrated nevertheless. The Russian revolutionary soldiers, stationed on the border which divided Rumania from the Ukraine, moved in upon Jassy, red flags at their head, and tore upon the prison doors which confined Rakovsky and his comrades. The internationalists were liberated and put at the head of a triumphal procession that went through the streets of the city.

Immediately thereafter, Rakovsky passed the frontier into turbulent Russia to put his magnificent talents at the disposal of Bolshevism and the proletarian revolution. A new epoch was commencing in his life. —MAX SHACHETMAN.

Doll Workers Strike Strong

The Doll and toy workers, 6,000 strong, are now in the fifth week of their strike. We now have one strong union, thanks to those workers who forced the shops controlled by the Stalinists to liquidate their paper union, join our A. F. of L. union and come down on strike. The Stalinists, matched their step forward with a corresponding step backward: they entered the A. F. of L. individually, not as a body. The workers are not in a position to offer organized resistance as a Left wing to the administration which is showing signs of capitulation.

Cannon and Farulla, the Right wing leaders of our union, are following a policy that will lead to defeat. They refused to let certain shops where scabs were working have a mass picket line. At a meeting of shop chairmen, workers from the Rosenberg Toy shop came in and asked for a mass picket line because scabs were working there. Farulla told them to do without mass picketing because the union had no money to get arrested picketers out of jail.

The Friendly Doll Shop pickets asked for mass picketing because of scabs. Again the leadership tried to talk the workers out of it, but they kept demanding until three days later, Tuesday, September 26, the leadership was forced to give in 400 strikers picketed the shop, and their militancy and solidarity struck fear into the hearts of the scabs. Only about 10 percent of them showed up for work Wednesday morning and even these didn't go up to work. Some of the scabs even picketed. No one was arrested, in spite of what the leaders told us. Workers we must fight for mass picket lines at those shops reporting scabs and we can win the strike.

Some of the scabs said that the reason they went back was because they have to eat. We must demand and fight for strike relief. The workers should be on guard and fight for the above demands. Regular and frequent meetings of all committees (shop, strike, settlement, etc.) must be had so that we can collectively work to win the strike. —A DOLL WORKER.

Brandler International Makes Overtures to Stalin

The Brandler-Lovestone "International", or whatever is left of it, held a plenary meeting, following right upon the heels of the gigantic German experiences, and once more demonstrated its incapacity to distinguish the face of the revolution from its rear. The sum total of its deliberations it crystallized into new efforts to pull the revolutionary movement backward to the Stalinist Right-Centrist bloc. A resolution adopted imposes this orientation as binding upon its affiliated groups. But hardly was the link on the signatures dry before the biggest affiliate, the Swedish (Kilbom) Communist party, which was not represented at the meeting, broke the binding decisions and attended the Paris conference of Left, Socialist and Communist parties. Meanwhile the split-off Giltrow group in the United States has come out openly against the Brandler policy and proclaims the collapse of the Brandler-Lovestone "International".

This is true; the "international" is collapsing. After Jilek and Hals of Czechoslovakia led their trade union following back to the social democracy in the Amsterdam International, the French P. U. P. started to tread the same ideological path. The Neurath group of Czechoslovakia took the opposite course to the Left Opposition, and the Swiss Brandler section is permeated with and learning from the ideas of the Left Opposition. Stagnant ideologically, this "international" is diminishing organizationally. With all its opportunistic practicality it neither embraced masses nor brought correct ideas into the movement. From the German experiences it has learned nothing. Its orientation to pull the movement backward becomes so much more distinctly fallacious in this epoch of deep going differentiations in which groups and parties, formerly social democratic, are groping their way toward Communism.

Right Wing Prepared the Ground For Bureaucratic Adventurism

The Brandler-Lovestone meeting brought forward a document which theoretically verifies what has been said above. This document is characteristic for its lamentations over the ultra-Leftism pervading the Comintern, for its fulminations against "Trotskyism" and for its overtures to the Stalin regime on the basis of life and let live.

But it is precisely these partners of the former Right-Centrist bloc who prepared the ground for the "ultra-Leftism"—it should be called by its correct name, bureaucratic adventurism—which they lament so much. It is their opportunism which prepared the algebras to the "Left" to adventurism by the fact of Centristism, having no consistent Marxian position. In pursuing its capricious outlook and methods it reverts from opportunism to adventurism when pressed by events and

the catastrophes resulting from its own policies. These Right wing lamentations have no complaints to make over the disastrously false and opportunist bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek in the Chinese revolution or the bloc with the strike-breaking bureaucrats in the Anglo-Russian Committee, or the many other similar combinations.

Their fulminations against "Trotskyism", that is, against the Left Opposition, are all borrowed from Stalin, and they have made no improvements upon them. It is quite natural that these people should find themselves at one with Stalin in this respect for today after the terrible German catastrophe, it has been demonstrated more clearly than ever that the Left Opposition, with its orientation for new national parties and for a new International, represents the main kernel of the progressive forces within the proletarian movement. Moreover, these people also know that it is only through such fulminations that the requirements can be met for application for re-entry into the Stalin bureaucracy.

The Anti-Trotsky Crusade

In essence this Right wing document, except for its lamentation over "ultra-Leftism", absolves Stalinism from any complicity in the German defeat. It says—we quote from the document published in the Workers Age, of September 15: "Especially is it necessary to expose all attempts to attribute the tactical mistakes of the C. I. and the C. P. G. and the defeat of the German working class to the alleged national interests of the Soviet Union. The assertion that the theory of the construction of socialism in one country has made the Russian Communists sacrifice the interests of the workers of other countries, must be branded as dangerous anti-bolshevism."

This is their type of crusade against so-called Trotskyism. But first of all this itself contains a politically dishonest distortion of the views of the Left Opposition in substituting the "national interests of the Soviet Union" for the bureaucratic interests of the Stalin regime. Between these a definite distinction must be made. Comrade Trotsky, more than anyone else has repeatedly pointed out that "between the interests of the Soviet

BOSTON ANNOUNCEMENTS
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FORUM—every Friday evening. SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB meets every Monday evening at 8 P. M., starting October 9th. MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB meets every Thursday 8 P. M.

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Stalinists Split Food Workers

About four weeks ago a leaflet signed by the Amalgamated Food Workers and the Food Workers Industrial Union was circulated among hotel, restaurant and cafeteria workers, calling for a united front mass meeting on August 22 against the intolerable conditions in the industry.

This leaflet said, "For the first time in the history of the Hotel and Restaurant workers, labor and fraternal organizations, representing workers in the industry, have united, set aside all differences, and are pulling together with one common purpose: to eliminate the inhuman, nerve-racking, miserable, working conditions in the industry. This is a great step forward. Only united action of all workers regardless of affiliation will be our mightiest weapon against the employers."

"The only way we can force the employers to live up to the code and even force better conditions out of them, is when we will organize and fight!"

"Now is the time, the NRA gives us the right to organize."

"Let us test this right."

Against One Union
In admitting that the proposed united front was a step forward, the Stalinists must have realized that their past action in splitting the A. F. W. and organizing a separate Industrial Union must have been a step backward.

What was the conclusion which we drew from the speeches of the Stalinist leaders at this mass meeting? The organizer of the cafeteria leaflet, comrade Kramberg, in his speech said nothing about the necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman, comrade Reich, in answer to the speeches of Giltrow and Lyons, representing the A. F. W. in which they emphasized the urgent need of one union in the industry, said that the urgent necessity now is not for one union in the industry, but for a united front against the bosses' code presented under the NRA.

Cut-Throat Competition
What has happened since then? Not a single step was taken toward even a united front, not to speak of unity. The two organizations held separate mass meetings in support of their separate organization drives. More than that—the leadership of the Industrial Union made a conscious attempt to sabotage the most recent mass meeting of the A. F. W. on Tuesday, Sept. 19, at

Palm Garden, by posting pickets and distributing leaflets in the neighborhood of the hall, to announce that the Tuesday meeting had been postponed until Wednesday at the same place—where their own meeting was scheduled!

Instead of engaging in such a low type of petty bourgeois cut-throat competition, splitting the forces of the working class, the Stalinist leaders should have emphasized the necessity of united action against the bosses, so as to concretize the slogan of the united front, and as Communists urged their membership to support this mass meeting. Such united action would have served as a first step toward unity.

The reformists and the reactionaries within the trade unions, as comrade Trotsky has pointed out, function to split the ranks of the workers. It is the task of the Communists to unite them. In this case the Stalinist leadership of the F. W. I. U. has assumed the splitting task of the reformists, and this under the title of "a step forward!"

Perspectives Under NRA

Under the NRA new perspectives are opened for the reformist organizations for rapid growth of forces, as has already been seen in the coal mines, needle trades, etc. Unless there is a powerful Left wing in these unions, the movement, though a progressive step compared with the conditions of the unorganized workers for the time being, will inevitably be led by the A. F. L. fakers toward degeneration in the direction of class-collaboration and company unions.

The food industry is by no means excluded from these perspectives. The Left wing must be ready to meet this situation. But the policies of Stalinism in the F. W. I. U. are an obstacle in the road.

We appeal to the rank and file of the party and the FWIU membership, to bring pressure to bear on their leadership and the TUUL leadership for an immediate and sharp change in the course which they have been pursuing up to this very day.

Concretely, the FWIU must take immediate steps toward reuniting with the A. F. W. With the A. F. W. in which a different situation prevails, on the other hand, it should propose a concrete program for united front action as a first step toward one union in the industry.

DANCE AND BANQUET
The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition is holding a celebration for the opening of its beautiful new headquarters at 2559 W. NORTH AVE. ON SATURDAY, OCT. 7th—8 P. M. —Real Spaghetti Dinner— —Peppy Orchestra—

State and those of the international proletariat there is and there can be no contradiction. But it is false to the roof to transfer this law over to the Stalinist bureaucracy." This is precisely what the authors of this opportunist document have done. By this they brand themselves as fakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy anxious to crawl back into its good graces.

Defenders of the Theory of Socialism in One Country

If it is not the theory of Socialism in one country, with its resulting reactionary national position which is bringing the Stalinist bureaucracy into contradiction with the interests of the Soviet Union as well as the interests of the world revolution, how then explain the Comintern responsibility in the German catastrophe? But with this the authors of the document were not concerned and hence they stated further: "The I. C. O. fights to liquidate the false tactics of the C. I., not, however, to oppose the policy of the C. P. S. U. in the Soviet Union." By this they only further reveal themselves, not as revolutionary theoreticians but as "practical" opportunists of give and take. You let us have our policies for our respective countries; we will let you have yours. For them as for the reformists the international situation is a sum of the national situations. But this is also what led the social reformists to their August 4.

To Reestablish the Right-Centrist Bloc

This "remarkable" document concludes with a proposal from the Brandler-Lovestone "International" to the Comintern for the "setting up of a working bloc, which... can establish joint action for carrying out united front tactics, for a common struggle against reformism, centristism and Trotskyism."

Here we come to the very crux of the issue: the reestablishment of the Right-Centrist bloc for a common struggle against the Left Opposition, against the progressive force within the revolutionary movement. The struggle against reformism and centristism is thrown in only for embellishment.

There need be no denial of the fact that much of the Brandler-Lovestone criticism of the Stalinist bureaucratic adventurism has been stated correctly; but it is animated by entirely different motives and is heading for an entirely different course from ours. From the German experiences they draw the conclusion for the practical abolishing of responsibility and for the further strengthening of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. We draw the conclusions leading to the creation of new national parties and a new International. There is the course toward the strengthening of reactionary nationalism as against revolutionary internationalism. —A. S.

British Labor Skates Have Own Way at Congress

EDINBURGH—

To outward appearances, capitalist Britain is coming through the prolonged crisis with no signs of depression. The large towns are managing to conceal their troubles under a veneer of seeming well-being. New buildings are being constructed everywhere and the gaudy new designs for shops, houses, and cinemas raise the enthusiasm of the local journalists who have developed the theme of a "brighter Britain". The theatres and cinemas are crowded and the masses roll along in their thousands to roar themselves hoarse at football matches and greyhound meetings.

The speed-up in industry and the spectre of unemployment has created a lust for entertainments and sports; anything to detract the mind from the reality of impending disaster. The financial journals have not let this phenomenon pass without notice and they advise their get-rich-quick readers to invest in cinema and greyhound enterprises. The small investor has already been crushed out here and it is computed that several thousand American dollars have found their way into the British entertainment industry where fortunes are being made upon the exploitation of sweated labor. In this connection the attitude toward the invasion of American capital is a new one of hostility and in line with the present diplomatic policy of the ruling class, a definite anti-American tone pervades the press.

Despite this, however, there is a sneaking admiration for America. Especially is this so among the small business people of the middle-class who greedily devour the sensational stories of the yellow press and the motion pictures, where young men arrive on Wall Street and become millionaires as if by magic. To emulate America is the secret dream of every British "Babbitt". In this category belong the thousands of well-paid trade union officials who have been raised by their former workmates into a new world of ease and comfort. Traveling the country on union business or sitting in conference with the bosses in some palatial hotel, these gentlemen soon develop a new outlook on life. They begin to see certain good points in the capitalist system which they formerly vigorously denounced in their trade union branches.

Strikes are now frowned upon as tending to drain the union funds and the unemployed are also looked upon as being a source of trouble to the union. Is it not much easier to negotiate wage-cuts with a pleasant employer than to reason with angry strikers or discontented unemployed? Thus reasons the

trade union bureaucrat and in this frame of mind he arrived at the annual Trade Union Congress. The full-time officials usually manage to gain election as delegates to these congresses and as a consequence the official policy as formulated by the General Council is well guarded from the thrusts of any militant elements who might upset the bureaucracy if elected in sufficient numbers by the branches.

No Opposition to Bureaucrats
This year, at Brighton, the bureaucrats had it all their own way and when the President of the Congress, Mr. Walsden, made the opening speech there were no interruptions or no ill-mannered attempts to find fault with his carefully prepared outline of policy. His address was a model of bankruptcy but it acted like soothing syrup on the bureaucrats. Before the Great War, former presidents of the congress extolled the great industrial system and social legislation of Germany. The fatherland was the pattern to be copied.

Since the war the T. U. C. has found a new model in America. A few years ago it was Henry Ford who was their hero. Not only did his system of mass production stagger the minds of these glibble ones but they actually thought that at last they had found the weapon with which to destroy Marx. Today, Ford is replaced by Roosevelt and "the policy of the American President," declares Walsden, "is one which organized Labor has long advocated as a solution to the present crisis." In America thousands of workers strike against the Roosevelt policy but here in Britain the T. U. C. finds time to praise Roosevelt.

How to American Plutocrats
Not a message of fraternity and encouragement to the scarred fighters in the ranks of the American working class but a mock bow to the plutocrats of Wall Street and Tammany Hall. Not one voice was raised at the Congress against this monstrosity. Likewise upon the question of war. The old formula of the general strike was brought forth and then quietly laid upon the shelf and when a lone delegate rose to protest against this travesty he was promptly steam-rolled by the chairman.

On Fascism, Mr. Citrine delivered a well-documented speech exposing the horrors of Hitlerism. According to his admirers, Mr. Citrine's speech "will become historic", but upon the question of how to fight Fascism the speech is strangely vague if not completely silent. According to Citrine, the real reason for the advent of Hitler was the huge army of unemployed which made the calling of a general strike impossible and if here in Britain the unemployed continue to increase then Mr. Citrine will not be responsible for what will happen, which all sounds very much like saying that Fascism is inevitable and that so long as there is an unemployed army then the trade unions cannot fight.

Unemployed Refused Hearing
A "left" M. P. protested against this speech without obtaining much support. As for a band of unemployed who had marched all the way from London in order to place their demands before the Congress, they were refused a hearing, which does not look as though the bureaucracy is really greatly concerned about the unemployed. Everything in connection with unemployment was shelved and the Government has now a clear field when launching its next attack upon the unemployed.

A much-advertized debate upon workers' control proved a complete muddle as the delegates were not clear upon whether workers' control is possible under capitalism or only after the latter system has been overthrown. The Congress ended on a note of pessimism which even the well-oiled bureaucratic machine could not conceal. From the point of view of the militant trade unionist, the main feature of the Congress was the lack any opposition to the feeble policy of the General Council. The main issues of war, the general strike, Fascism, workers' control, simply cried aloud for a Communist interpretation but, alas, there was not one Leninist there.

C. P. Conspicuous by Absence

Where was the Communist Party? A year ago, the Party announced a drive back to the unions. From time to time, great successes have been claimed for the new trade union line but here we arrive at the Brighton Trade Union Congress and the Party representation has reached rock bottom. The reason is not hard to find. The majority of the 4,000 Party members are unemployed and are not members of trade unions while the trade union members of the Party are not consistent in their trade union work. The leaders of the Party have neglected to train the trade unionists for work in the unions and as a consequence the reformist officials can easily out maneuver the new Communist recruits whose passion for propaganda speeches bores the rank and file and plays into the hands of the bureaucrats.

The I. L. P. is in much the same plight although they at least admit their weakness and are now calling for an attempt to hammer out a trade union policy. If the Brighton Congress brings home to the militants the need for a fresh start in the building up of a strong trade union opposition based upon sound principles and free from sectarianism then it may have been a blessing in disguise. —T. C., September 17, 1933.

CHICAGO LECTURE

The Friends of the Militant Club announces the opening of the season with a lecture on

"THE SPLIT IN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"

by Comrade Albert Giotzer
On Sunday, Oct. 8th at 8:30 P. M. at the Scholem Aleichem School 1214 North Washtenaw

New York Strikes Alarm N.R.A.

New York.—With strikes in New York City spreading and sharpening the NRA here is rapidly stripping itself of all working class coloration and nakedly manifesting itself as the bosses' weapon for strike-breaking.

This is brought to our attention by an article in the New York Times, Sept. 22, 1933, written by the NRA's chairman of the Labor Mediation Committee, Henry W. Wolff, who points an accusing finger of the most wide awake workers as he publishes the following list of strikers:

"Underwear workers—25,000; painters—15,000; toy makers—5,000; tailors—2,500; metal workers—3,000; shoe and slipper workers—8,000; waist and blouse makers—5,000; bakers—2,500; neckwear workers—2,000; belt and leather workers—800; mirror makers—200; knitted goods—3,000."

With deep concern he looks upon the mood and organization of the city's 35,000 transportation workers and its longshoremen who will strike or get a raise in pay and exclaims with anger, "the time has come to call a halt to industrial strife!"

Wolff refers to the President's no-strike treaty concluded with Wm. Green of the A. F. of L. some weeks ago and observes that "their program has not worked.... Industrial warfare is sweeping over the city to such an extent that the machinery set up to handle these emergencies has proved insufficient."

He proposes measures through which the NRA, and more especially its committee which he heads, can hope to break the worker's strikes—getting the public to condemn the strikers—forcing the workers to go to the NRA slaughterers of their efforts to raise their wages or better their conditions. The speech of Mr. Wolff reveals the purpose for which the NRA is designed—deceiving the workers with "concessions" and strike-breaking when they try to gain real concessions. —GEORGE J. SAUL.

SUB NOTE

Subs are coming in a very encouraging way. Here is what a comrade from Guelph says: "I value this paper very highly, both for its news and for its theoretical articles. The articles on the NRA are very enlightening...."

From Montreal comes the following: "We wish to receive twenty-five copies every week instead of ten as heretofore. Sympathy for the I. O. in Montreal is growing as never before." End of the country to the other. If that is how it goes from one all our sub gettters will take the full advantage of the opportunity that presents itself we know that our mailing list can be increased many times over in a comparatively short time.

The Cuban Challenge to U. S. Imperialism

Reports from Cuba, no matter from what political source, indicate that the revolution has passed beyond the stage of a simple political revolution and has entered the first stage of a social revolution. The ruling classes and exploiting class are in confusion. The crisis and economic conditions had reached a breaking point. The American imperialists, facing the coming Pan American conference, pressed upon all sides by the new measures adopted to surmount the mounting world contradictions, was forced to delay open armed intervention. In place America uses a new form of intervention, a method of bottling up the island with the Atlantic fleet and secretly aiding counter-revolution within, and at the same time endeavoring to further worsen the economic and political situation to either force a surrender or hasten the downfall of the present petty-bourgeois revolutionary government, headed by Grau San Martín.

Communist Activity in Cuba

The New York Times of September 20th, reports: "Communist seizure of mills approaching Havana with no government curb." "Workers hold 15 mills." "Communist leaders have been very active since Senator Machado's fall." "Cuba is now at the cross road and must go right or left." "The Cuban labor trouble began with the spontaneous seizure of sugar mills by syndicalist unions and is now taking the form of an organized Communist movement that is sweeping the interior of the island from end to end and is daily approaching closer to Havana." Other papers report Soviets are being set up in Cuba.

The revolution in Cuba is the most important political event of the day. It overshadows the NRA in importance. In spite of the profound effect the Blue Eagle will have on the lives of the American people and the class relations. The NRA in all its magnitude is a stop-gap and capitalist attempt to stem the tide—while the revolution in Cuba is a wave of the social tide breaking through the world structure of American imperialism. This means that the Cuban revolution must be studied in detail, especially by the American revolutionists, because it foreshadows and confronts America with all that the capitalist defenders said was impossible. That is, the first steps toward a social revolution on American soil, in one of America's most important colonies.

At Gates of U. S. Imperialism Most significant is the fact that while American hegemony is spreading to a greater degree over the earth and desperate steps are being taken internally and internationally to hold the dominating position in the downward curve of decay capitalism—America finds that she is confronted with the menace of Soviets at the gates of her 48 states. Her world struggle since 1917 to prevent the spread of the October revolution, can be revealed by the events in Cuba and its implications for America as a futile struggle in spite of Stalinism and its aid to capitalism as a leader of proletarian defeats.

The Cuban revolution comes at a most difficult period in world politics. The Cuban revolution as the first stage of a social revolution takes place on American soil, on the heels of the victory of Fascism in Germany and when the world proletariat has just passed through the most disastrous defeat, and in a period when reaction flows from it. It is logical to face world wide repercussions from the victorious October Revolution. And it is not a surprise, yet seemingly a contradiction, to be confronted with the Cuban situation after the German event.

Trotsky's Prediction

It was almost ten years ago that comrade Trotsky started many when he pointed out that the economic center of the world was shifting from Europe to America. Since then the forces making up the international Left Opposition and its American section have pointed out that with the shifts in world relations goes increased class conflicts and revolutions. In this case Cuba, even at this stage, is a certain raiser, informing the world that America will have its share of the red menace that haunts the capitalist world—the proletarian revolution. The NRA stop-gap and the special struggles America is conducting a gigantic scale with Europe, Latin America and Japan, (on three different fronts), all indicate that conditions and class relations within the United States are going to shift rapidly forward to struggles that will take on a revolutionary scope.

The Cuban revolution, under proper guidance and cooperation from the American Communists, could be the spark to start a more rapid shift of the American workers to the Left. Will that be its direction? This question will be answered within the next few months or sooner. However, at the very least, if we consider the worse variant—that reaction triumphs and American imperialism gains its objectives (as well as the fact that one must take into consideration the position of Stalinism)—nevertheless, the importance of Soviets on American soil, in Cuba, must not be underestimated.

Marxian Communist Party Vital

A significant fact is revealed when one studies the economic and social forces of Cuba. The objective conditions in Cuba are in favor of the task of carrying the revolution beyond the present stage. The spontaneous action of the workers in strike struggle and united front

developed to its highest stage—Soviets. A major shortcoming is the fact that we have a Stalinist Communist Party in Cuba and not a Marxian Communist Party. Without a leadership, without a program there can be no successful revolution regardless of the revolutionary struggles of the masses. Worse yet, we do not have a Marxian Communist Party in the United States. It is our task to hurry and build one. The revolutionary struggle in Cuba shows the importance and the speed required.

Must Abrogate Platt Amendment

The Cuban people must abrogate the Platt Amendment. The present petty-bourgeois government cannot carry out this task nor will it be able to stand the pressure of the class struggle between the national capitalists and the American imperialists against the workers and peasants. The workers must fight for a free and democratic constituent assembly. The workers must demand that the election be called while the revolution is still on the upgrade. This can only be accomplished if the organs of Soviets are functioning to protect workers' democracy, to beat down the head of counter-revolution, to further develop the revolution, and to thereby confine the Constituent Assembly to its proper place.

In the United States united front mass meetings must be called throughout the country. The fact that the Stalinists with their huge apparatus have not started this struggle now "seriously" they take the Cuban situation. The A. F. of L. unions must be drawn into this protest. Financial aid must be forwarded to Cuba. Petty bourgeois and anti-imperialist forces must be organized behind Cuba's struggle against American imperialism.

The workers and liberal forces in every Latin America country must bring pressure upon their governments to protest and demand that the United States withdraw the ships and Marines from Cuban waters. Cuba must have the right of self-determination. Such a move in all of the Latin American countries, connected with the struggle of the American workers against American imperialism, will have powerful pressure. It will also make a distinction between warring and deeds of many so-called anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and expose the puppet governments to a greater degree before the eyes of the workers and peasants.

The argument that the Communists of Cuba cannot establish a Soviet Government at this stage and therefore must be satisfied with more modest demands has no place in the plans of the revolutionist and the Left Opposition. No doubt Soviets are very difficult to establish. But once the fires of the social revolution are started in this decay stage of capitalism it can sweep beyond Cuba, providing there is a Communist party, and a leadership with a program. It is up to the American workers to come to the aid of the struggles of the Latin American workers just as it was the duty of the European workers to come to the aid of the Russian workers after the October days. The Cuban revolution must be used as a lever against American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLEK

Before the Court of the Fascists

Four men are on trial for their lives, at the Leipzig supreme court in Germany, together with the Nazi dupe Van der Lubbe. The charge is high treason and whatever the monstrously farcical court procedure may reveal the accused are in advance condemned to the executioner's axe. That is, if the Nazis are permitted to pursue their prey unhindered.

It is the aftermath of a drama of two world forces at grips—Fascism and Communism. But the fascists, drunk with victory, are tightening their stranglehold upon the throat of their victims. They demand their blood to the very last drop. What an insolent challenge is this trial, not only to the Communist movement, not only to the working class, but to all that bears the name justice within this capitalist world.

Communists Meet Challenge

The Communists, who are before the bar at Leipzig, have met this challenge and stood up manly as only soldiers of the proletarian army can do. They did not disavow their creed or hide their convictions, but proudly asserted their Communist aims. And the official Communist

St. Louis Strike Briefs

St. Louis.—Six thousand workers on strike in St. Louis and the bosses build an organization to kill the organization of the working class. The purpose of the St. Louis League for Industrial Peace, to quote one of the big open shop clothing manufacturers, S. H. Curle, is to "combat the epidemic of strikes which is disturbing and preventing industrial recovery in St. Louis."

With 1500 silk dress workers returning to work there is great danger that the remaining 1000 cotton dress workers will lose their strike. The silk dress workers had been the most militant (over 300 arrested in one week) and their going back to work will leave the arena more open for the expounding of the L. G. W. U. leadership's circus talk about the new Messiah Roosevelt. The local leaders do not believe that honesty is the best policy. They are strict advocates of class collaboration policies. The Left wing of the silk dress workers must continue to fight against the leaders of the ILGWU lest one-half of their union membership is sold out.

The strike of the 2,000 hat and cap workers, settled by Max Zaritsky's arbitration powers under the banner of the NRA, may again be resumed tomorrow. The open shop manufacturers are refusing to recognize the union strikers, as they agreed to when the strike was "settled". The hat and cap workers are still as disgusted with their "union" conditions as they were with their "open shop" conditions. "The only difference," as one striker expressed it, is, "that now the windows are slightly closed." Hell's winds will blow here in St. Louis this winter unless the bosses and their Judas' gold agents give the under-paid and over-worked hat and cap workers some concessions. There can be no cheering of pay day when "union" workers get \$10 checks. —MARTIN PAYER.

movement, which has for its leadership the Stalin clique, what has it done in this situation? Vociferous protests have been heard against the Nazi attempt to railroad the accused. But these protests have come almost exclusively from the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Even sections of the reactionary capitalist press find the nauseating stench from this "travesty on justice" too revolting. In other words whatever comfort and help has reached these victims of a dastardly frame-up has come from these quarters and not from the official Communist movement.

The party and the Comintern capitulated to Fascism without attempting to strike a blow. That fact has burned itself deeply into our conscience. But have they then abdicated the right of protest against the Nazi hangman's work which is now cloaked in a court procedure? Almost the entire western world is aroused by this hangman's work. Even the A. F. of L. officials give vent to their condemnation. What is the so-called anti-Fascist united front movement doing about it? The truth is that it remains as dead and meaningless as intended by its Stalinist initiators. But what is the Comintern doing about it? What are the official parties doing about it? Around this issue was another opportunity to actually set a powerful protest movement on foot. And the official party in the United States when it proclaimed its demonstration in New York mobilized about a thousand workers; less than the party membership itself.

No Protest in Soviet Union

From the Soviet Union, from the proletarian stronghold, has come no protest. The Pravda has confined itself to the demand for an apology because its reporter was molested by the Nazis, in the city of the trial and it remained satisfied with the explanation that this was a mistake. Such are the depths to which Lenin's Pravda has sunk.

But the working class cannot remain satisfied with such explanations. They cannot remain satisfied with the Comintern abdication of the right of protest. The Fascist executioners are hanging over their heads and they will rightfully demand that this menace be fought every inch of its way. In this there is not a minute to lose.

Int'l. Workers School—Fall Term

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Before the A.F. of L. Convention

Reactionaries Plan to Harness Labor at Momentous Gathering Opening Oct. 2

President William Green is advancing claims for the coming A. F. of L. convention, to begin October 2, to become the most momentous gathering of this body in sixteen years. This comparison refers to the wartime convention held in Buffalo, in 1917, at which Samuel Gompers, together with his whole staff, made their "heroic" efforts to harness the American Federation of Labor as an auxiliary machinery to serve the interests of the imperialist war mongers. The comparison is ominously sinister in its implication.

No doubts need exist of this gathering becoming a momentous one. It will be so, not by virtue of what the skilled pickard artists in attendance can be expected to do, but by the special period and exceptional conditions under which it takes place. In the first place this convention gathers under the sign of another "heroic" effort to harness the American working masses

in the chains of the brand new NRA machinery of regulating class relations and reinforcing the means of keeping them in subjection as a class. But on the other hand, the very developments growing out of this, already indicate that the A. F. of L. is arriving at its crossroads with a speed which is truly American. How it will attempt to, or rather how it will fail to, with this new situation will be of decisive importance for the future.

The Growth of the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. executive claim at least 500,000 new members. There is no reason to doubt this figure, the accurate arithmetic of Stachel—the "head" of the TUUL—notwithstanding. In a Daily Worker article, of September 19, by the process of deducting from the A. F. of L. claims and padding the TUUL claims, all on paper, he succeeded in proving, apparently to his own satisfaction that the latter has made gains amounting to al-

most fifty percent of that of the former. Despite this juggling the truth remains that the overwhelming trend of labor organization flows at this moment, toward the A. F. of L. while the TUUL unions, in making certain gains in isolated cases, are being wiped out elsewhere; and precisely in those cases where the A. F. of L. has growth to record. Once more, and by the process of life itself, this proves the fact that the official party TUUL policy runs in violent contradiction to the curve development of the living movement.

The present record growth of the A. F. of L. almost amounts to a stampede with genuine mass strikes everywhere for recognition of its unions. In such cases where the party unions exist alongside of them the former are, by their radically false policy, forced to trail behind. In many cases they are even more conservative in their demands, and impotent to influence the workers where they are not entirely eliminated. These are salient facts of which the reactionaries do not fail to take notice. Revolutionists, above all, must take notice and act accordingly.

It would be idle to speculate on what the reactionary A. F. of L. capitalist agents will do at this convention. First of all they will endeavor to strengthen their own positions and strengthen their own relations with capitalism, by correspondingly reinforcing the means of holding the working masses in subjection. It is in this sense, and distinctly in this sense, that they have embraced the NRA. The A. F. of L. will demand adequate representation in the machinery created under the codes, says Green. Will this be for the purpose of advancing the ideas of workers' control of production? Will these leaders demand that the books of the industrial enterprises be thrown open for the inspection of labor's representatives and by this method begin to give labor a say in the matter of control of production? Of course not. The A. F. of L. demand will be advanced with the purpose of strengthening the relations with capital for more effective class collaboration under the new conditions.

But there are also other trends indicated for the coming convention. The Metal Trades Department is now about to propose the industrial form of organization for the basic industries. This shows the pressure to which the A. F. of L. will likely feel itself compelled to yield, if not now, then later. This pressure will increase under the new conditions. Most significant, however, is the statement made by Green that the A. F. of L. "is going to be the recognized all-embracing spokesman for American labor." That means there is no room in the United States for any other labor movement.

That no efforts will be spared to make good on this threat is certain. To that the convention will unquestionably be keyed up. That is one of the duties which American capitalism imposes upon its agents within labor's ranks to be carried out with the assistance of the NRA. Its intention is to crush any and all militant or progressive unions outside of the A. F. of L. and, in this manner, help to head off and forestall the development of working class militancy finding organizational expression. For the moment this may be comparatively easy; but it will begin to really bring to the fore the contradictions of the A. F. of L. position because it implies a more open suppression of the militancy bound to develop within its own ranks. In this lies the prospects for revolts from within.

The A. F. of L. officialdom is entering upon its thorny road. The reconstitution of a Left wing is now more essential than ever. —A. S.

NEW SPLIT IN CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Each day the disintegration of the official C. P. of Chile (Lafertist group) becomes more accentuated to the point where the few Bolsheviks still in its ranks find themselves obliged to openly unmask the adventurist bureaucracy in the leadership. In the last national conference of the party, which took place recently, with the participation of only those closest to the leadership, and absolutely without the knowledge of three of the members of the Central Committee these latter were accused of being opportunists and were summarily expelled. Until recently all three of these comrades were considered loyal Bolsheviks and now for having protested against, and criticized the party policies, they have been expelled and branded as traitors. Their "treason" consisted in demanding a discussion of the past errors of the party.

The Political Bulletin of the Chilean Communist Left reports that the units to which the three expelled Central Committee members belonged are also to be expelled en masse.

BRONX MASS MEETING

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL

New Hollywood Gardens 886 Prospect Ave. (Nr 102nd St.) Speakers: Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon

Friday, October 6, 1933

Auspices: Bronx branch of the Communists League of America (O.)

A Letter from Shanghai

Shanghai.—About Huang Ping, whose capitulation the New York Stalinists deny as an Opposition "slander," I am in a position to give you direct information supplied by Madame Sun Yat-sen. Notwithstanding her close connections with the League Against Imperialism and the Paris Anti-War Committee she is a genuine protagonist of the workers' cause. In China, she has played a prominent part in a hedge-podge organization of liberal intellectuals known as the China League for Civil Rights, which has been agitating for better treatment of the Kuo Min Tang's political prisoners. The organization is now practically defunct—it bumped up against too many matters involving class issues, which, because of its composition it was incapable of handling. It tried to be "non-political" and inevitably failed. When its secretary, Yang Chen, was assassinated recently by "Blue Shirt" (Fascist) agents employed by Chiang Kai-shek, most of its more prominent adherents decided it would be healthier if they became even more respectable than they had been.

Interview with Huang Ping But to get on with the story, Madame Sun had occasion to visit Nanjing shortly after Huang Ping's arrest, in connection with her work in the China League for Civil Rights. At the time Huang Ping's fate was unknown, beyond the fact that he had been tortured and that a recantation had appeared under his name in the People's Tribune, Wang Chin-Wei's organ. Madame Sun determined to find out what had happened to Huang Ping. Due to her personal influence, she managed to persuade the Kuo Min Tang authorities to allow her to interview Huang. She challenged them to produce him and prove that he had not been murdered, as had been rumored.

Huang was brought to her at the Yangtze Hotel, accompanied by a guard who remained throughout the interview—such as it was. In Madame Sun's words, Huang had

Torture of Huang

Questioning was obviously useless, and Madame Sun's last question to Huang Ping was: "Did you write or give your name to the article in the People's Tribune containing a recantation of your past?" Huang hung his head and gave no reply. His father answered, "Yes, of course Mr. Huang wrote it—didn't you Mr. Huang?"

That was all. Huang failed to repudiate the article when given the opportunity of doing so. All that could be done to a man but take away the spark of life had obviously been done to him. On the verge of the grave he refused the opportunity of vindicating himself before his comrades.

Rumor has it that Huang Ping has since been done to death, his jailers finding him an unnecessary burden on their hands, but it is not possible to obtain confirmation. From the time of his arrest the only one interested in his fate who managed to see him was Madame Sun, and she seems satisfied that the recantation attributed to Huang by the Kuo Min Tang was dragged from him in the anguish of physical torture, when his wracked body could endure no more and live.

"Blue Shirts" in North China

Chiang Kai-shek's "Blue Shirts," who commenced their activities in Shanghai in a big way, working through the local police organizations, and succeeding in arresting many Communists and Communist "suspects", have now invaded North China. Scores of Communists have been arrested in Peiping (now known as Peking) in the past few months. Each Communist arrested, we learn, is offered his liberty if he will renounce his principles and sign a declaration to that effect. "Torture is employed, of course, to 'induce' prisoners to make these declarations, which are immediately used as propaganda against Communism. Many of these recantations have lately been published in the press of the north. In one instance, only last week, a group of Communist renegades were brought by the Kuo Min Tang officials to a public park in Peiping where they addressed large crowds, attacking the principles they had renounced.

The Communist party organ in North China, I learned this week, circulates about 100 copies. Completely disoriented, it fails to voice the urgent needs of the masses and is entirely unpopular. One party member expressed to a friend of mine who has just returned from the North his disappointment with party activity. Outright lying and exaggeration are the chief characteristics of the party newspaper. As this man remarked: "We read in the party organ things we know are not true." Voicing what was, probably, an unwittingly devastating criticism of this organ, he said: "My idea of good propaganda is presentation of the facts, however unpleasant, and their correct interpretation. A good cause has no need to resort to lying and exaggeration. On the contrary, it harms the cause."

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS

ARNE SWABECK will speak at

WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT

1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor

on

Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

at

The September issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS is out. It contains news of the youth movement and articles on the current working class issues.

seizure of power.

We must not expect that the slogans will appear in America under the same set of conditions as elsewhere. We work with conditions as we find them and not as we would like to have them. It is not at all necessary that a labor party or a reformist movement exist to advance such slogans, nor that a labor party arise as the direct result of their advancement. If in advanced countries the period of preparation for the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be more prolonged than the actual seizure of power will be much forestalled, then these intermediate slogans will live their brief existence for the purpose of crystallizing the struggle, only to be quickly transformed in the course of the struggle.

Roosevelt is acting as the spearhead of the bourgeois attack on the working class, on its former standards of livelihood. The workers think at the moment that he is actually encouraging unionization and many are flocking into the A. F. of L. It is our plain duty to go with them and to form a Left wing in the unions. We must help set up workers' codes of action leading towards workers' control and nationalization. We must help set up permanent shop (grievance) committees at first ostensibly for the purpose of disclosing violations of the NRA, later gradually reaching out for the closed shop and for ever greater workers' control of production. Through the shop committees we must propagandize the workers' codes of action. Unless we prepare now we cannot hope to win the masses in time when, through its inner contradictions, the capitalist program falls through and the question of power becomes the order of the day.

—JACK WEBER.

NEW HAVEN MASS MEETING

"The Future of International Communism"

Speaker: Arne Swaback

at

Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave., (Opposite Dwight St.)

Tuesday Evening, October 3rd, 1933

at 8 P. M.

Admission 10 cents

Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

Discussion on the NRA - The Slogan of Nationalization

The following article is a contribution to the discussion on the NRA. It represents the views of the author.

Other articles are invited but should not exceed 700 words.

(Continued from last week)

The slogan of nationalization of industries is at the present stage not one of immediate agitation but rather a propaganda slogan laying the basis and setting directives for the movement in the period of upheaval which lies ahead. Even with American economic development taking the most favorable course for the capitalist class—even, that is, with a coinciding of the NRA and a real expansion of production resulting in the temporary liquidation of the crisis,—the class struggle will necessarily take on new forms owing to the trend of development towards state capitalism. The "new" capitalism will be militantly imperialistic. The violent struggle for control of markets will base itself at home on the ever more oppressive exploitation of the working class. For the moment the stream of mass pressure follows the Roosevelt, but as events (the progress of inflation for example) clarify the situation the stream will over the confining walls.

We cannot wait expectantly for well and become a flood breaking the period of open struggle to "educate" the workers. We must set forth our views and a corresponding plan of action now, correcting in the light of events those errors that will naturally adhere to our rough draft as we go along. Meantime we patiently answer the queries and objections raised by the serious workers looking for a solution to their problems.

Compensation or No Compensation?

In the mind of the worker the question of compensation naturally arises when nationalization is under consideration. Losovsky, in approving of the slogan at the 15th C. P. U. Congress in 1927, thought that the fight for "no compensation" serves to distinguish the Communist from the socialist. But to Trotsky, viewing the slogan as opposed to the formation of a labor mass of engaging the workers in a gigantic struggle with the bour-

geoisie, the question of compensation is entirely secondary, if not irrelevant. It is entirely a matter of objective conditions and not a matter of principle, as is indicated in the work "Whither England?"

Besides the financial side of the question is of secondary importance. The principal task is to create the political conditions for nationalization, whether by purchase or without purchase, that is of no importance. In the last instance it is a matter of life and death for the bourgeoisie. Revolution is inevitable for the reason that the bourgeoisie will never permit itself to be strangled by Fabian banking operations. Even a partial nationalization can be undertaken by bourgeois society in its present form, only by surrounding it with such conditions as would render the success of these measures extremely doubtful, thus compromising the principle of nationalization and with it the Labor Party. The bourgeoisie would oppose as a class every straightforward attempt at even a partial nationalization. The other branches of industry would resort to lockouts, to sabotage, to a boycott of the national industry; i. e., bring about a life and death struggle. However guarded the first steps might be, the task will nevertheless lead to the necessity of breaking the opposition of the exploiters." Here we have clearly given the dialectic nature of the struggle for nationalization.

Nationalization and the Labor Party

The U. M. W. of a Committee on Nationalization stated in their report in 1924 that the struggle for nationalization would build up a labor party. We Communists are party. Why then propose nationalization? It might be conceded, for exam-

BOSTON MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABECK

on

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M.

SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL

28 Hayward Place (Off Washington St. near E. H. Whites)



General Silk Strike Sweeps the Industry!

Workers Hold Battle Line Firm as the Great Struggle Enters Sixth Week

Union Organizations in the Silk Workers' Strike

The silk workers have not lacked union organizations in the past. Due to the highly competitive condition of the industry, the relatively high degree of skill required, and the varied division of crafts the workers have been divided into many unions and they have not enjoyed the benefits of an all-embracing union that organized without regard to craft and which included a large number of workers. Such a union existed in the great 1913 strike and has come to the fore again in the present battle in the form of the American Federation of Silk Workers, and its Paterson section, the Associated Silk Workers.

The Associated Silk Workers was born in struggle against the reactionary leadership of the U. T. W. in 1919. For winning conditions in the strike of 1919 which the manufacturers and the U. T. W. didn't think they deserved the notorious officials of the A. F. of L. expelled 300 hat band weavers who formed the Associated Silk Workers.

This organization was a fighting militant union from its very inception. In 1924 it again had the honor to incur the wrath of the U. T. W. which advised all A. F. of L. unions not to support the strike conducted by the Associated, calling it an outlaw organization.

Record of the Associated
The Associated Silk Workers was permeated with a radical outlook. On its Executive Board the Left wing had a majority. A member of the Communist party was one of the organizers. The officials of the union looked to the militants for leadership and policy. A better field for the Left wing and its class education, a higher type of class struggle union could be found nowhere in the country. In spite of all of these meritorious qualities the stupid Stalinists, in pursuance of their blind and disruptive policy, split the Associated Silk Workers in 1928 and formed the National Textile Workers Union.

It is ridiculous to oppose a split under all conditions. When a union becomes the creature of reactionary officials who make the sell-out to the bosses their only policy and prevent the rank and file of the union from using its democratic rights to change the course and leadership of the union then a split is often unavoidable. But the Stalinists had no such grievances against the Associated. They split the union because they could not fetter it with their mechanical control.

Approximately 500 broad silk weavers followed the National union on its ruinous course. Both the Associated and the National entered the 1931 strike about equal in strength. The strike of that time was only a shadow of what it is today but here again the National union revealed a glaring incompetence and an unwillingness to face facts. Instead of a genuine offer of common action with the Associated they sabotaged all real moves

toward unity. Instead of cementing the solidarity of the workers, as was their elementary duty, they pulled rabbits out of the hat, such as arbitrarily advancing the date set by the Associated for the strike. The National, as a Left wing, was unable to exert any influence on the then timid leadership of the Associated. It was shortly before this strike that the Associated affiliated with the U. T. W. The National emerged from the strike only a shell of what it had been at the outset.

Decline of the N. T. W.
The story of what happened in the N. T. W. from 1931 to date has already been told in the *Militant*. The lack of freedom of expression for the workers within the union, the selection of officials from above, the formation of craft organizations, the carrying criticism of the Associated for not calling the present strike sooner than they did and then the right-about-face proposal to delay the strike after it had been called by the Associated, the formation of a rival national strike committee, the unbridled reports of the offer by the National union of individual strike settlements and a lower wage scale—all of this has made the workers bitter against the N. T. W. Its leading militants in Paterson have left it and joined the Associated where they play a prominent part.

On the other hand, the Associated Silk Workers, barring minor errors here and there, has done itself proud in the present strike situation. Through its militant actions it has enlisted the great majority of the silk workers. It has earned and properly deserves the support of the entire labor movement.

Independent Craft Unions in Strike

The strike in Paterson and throughout the Eastern states includes within its ranks every nationality of workers and every craft in the industry. A strong spirit of solidarity pervades the whole scene of battle. Fighting shoulder to shoulder are the unskilled, low paid dye workers and the highly skilled, relatively well paid warpers, twist-ers and loomfixers. The situation among the skilled crafts is extremely important for the strike and the silk workers union in the future.

For some time three A. F. of L. craft unions of warpers, loomfixers and twist-ers have existed in Paterson which failed even to organize an appreciable section of the trade in these unions. As in other categories of the silk industry the workers, tired of the exclusive, over-cautious tactics of the U. T. W.

(Continued on Page 4)

The Record of McMahon as a Misleader of Labor; Bosses' Agent in the Ranks of the Working Class

Labor can fight the bosses out in the open giving blow for blow. Far more dangerous, however, is the enemy that pretends to be a friend and under the cover of his "friendship" stabs the workers in the back. Such is McMahon, the president of the United Textile Workers of America.

Consider the deeds of this man, the highest officer in an organization that sets out to improve the lot of the worker:

McMahon commenced his double-dealing, treacherous tricks even before the strike got under way. Prior to the outbreak of the silk strike McMahon urged the strike committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers not to strike until the code was settled, promising that if the latter were unsatisfactory he would tie up the whole south. What happened?

Tired of waiting for the endless hickories in Washington to bring counts, and fully aware that the hearings in Washington were deliberately intended to paralyze the fighting will of the workers, the strike committee of the Associated called the workers out.

Unofficially McMahon endorsed the strike by sending a telegram to the Port Jervis local of the U. T. W. to walk out together with the A. F. S. W. and by representing that union and its strike demands in conferences with the manufacturers at Washington.

But McMahon quickly revealed where his real sympathies lay. He accepted with open arms the strike-breaking proposal of the manufacturers for a truce, a five week "cooling down" period during which the strikers were to return to work, and tried to ram it down the workers' throats. The workers would have none of it—the strike began in real earnest, spreading over the nation.

Frustrated in this slick, under-cover maneuver to drive the workers back into the mills McMahon stripped the tactics of all camouflage. He called a meeting of the national executive board of the U. T. W. where they voted not to endorse the strike of the silk workers.

In other words, this miserable creature of the manufacturers "outlawed" the greatest strike in the long history of the silk workers' struggle by refusing to recognize the walk-out of 50,000 men as "legitimate".

But if McMahon and his no less treacherous lieutenants would not "recognize" the strike officially they proceeded at once to recognize it in reality by trying to herd the workers under the jurisdiction of the U. T. W. back to work. In the Rhode Island shops, in Strouds-on, Hazleton, Pa. and elsewhere McMahon gave orders that the strike be called off and the workers return to work.

Sabotage at Hazleton
In Hazleton, Thomson, a member

of the Executive Board of the U. T. W., working hand in glove with the local police and the state troopers, sabotaged the striking of its largest shop, the Duplant. It was only against his disruption that six shops in that city were pulled down by the A. F. S. W.

Far from making good on his promise to strike the south if the code was unsatisfactory—and that was the opinion of the majority of the silk workers if not of McMahon—he is doing everything in his power to knife the strike at the very time when the silk workers need the most assistance. And on top of it all McMahon is attempting to starve the workers back to the shops by refusing to sanction appeals for strike relief by the Paterson strike committee.

Old Friend of the Bosses

The employers could hope for no better friend than McMahon. He is of far more service to the bosses against the strike than all the cops and all the forces of "law and order."

But McMahon's services did not begin with yesterday. The treacherous record of the reactionary U. T. W. machine, of which he was long a part, runs back for more than 20 years.

As far back as 1912 the United Textile Workers furnished strike-breakers in an attempt to smash the Lawrence strike led by the I. W. W.

In 1913, one of the greatest strikes in the history of Paterson's struggles, when the strike was solidly conducted by the I. W. W. under Big Bill Haywood, John Golden and Sara Conboy, the then leaders of the U. T. W. made a separate agreement with the bosses without the workers' knowledge and support, deliberately trying in that way to sell-out the workers.

In 1919 a strike was called by the Paterson ribbon weavers for the 44 hour week. This was sabotaged by the U. T. W. The U. T. W. was for compromising on the 48 hour week even while the War Labor Board was for giving the men the 42 1-2 hour week. In a short time they sold out completely, agreeing with the manufacturers to postpone (indefinitely) the shortening of hours.

But the ribbon weavers remained stubbornly on strike and won the strike. And for this 300 were expelled from the U. T. W.

During the 1924 strike of the Associated in Paterson, Sara Conboy of the U. T. W. sent a letter to the A. F. L. unions telling them that the Associated was an outlaw organization and advising them not to support the strike.

The U. T. W. under McMahon publicly denounced and attacked the great Passaic strike of 1926. Its local leaders tried to call off the strike and force the workers back into mills and urged all A. F. of L. unions to refuse to give relief to this strike.

McMahon's real philosophy is expressed in a statement made during the "campaign" of the A. F. of L. to organize the south in 1929: "We aren't talking higher wages. We aren't talking shorter hours. You can't express our objectives in those terms. We want to sit down with the mill owners, we want to take up their problems as our problems, we want the mill owners, ourselves, and the general public to sit down and diagnose the industry's ills and seek mutually a means to heal them."

There stands McMahon, revealed by his own statement as well as by his actions as an agent of the bosses, serving as president of a labor organization only to be in a better position to betray and sell-out the workers.

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th Street
New York City

With this issue the *Militant* begins to reflect the new course of the Communist League toward the building of a new party of Communism in America. Our aim is to transform the *Militant* from a propaganda organ intended mainly for Communists into a popular agitation paper appealing directly to the mass of American workers. To facilitate this transformation, and double our circulation as the first step, we are cutting the subscription rates to \$1.00 per year and 50 cents for six months. The prices of single copies are cut to two cents, bundle rates to one cent a copy.

We intended to tell you all about it, and our new action program connected with it, in this issue. But the silk strike material, which represents—as a beginning—what we mean by an agitation paper, crowded out the explanation, so we will have to let it go over till next week.

Meantime, one urgent word: We are undertaking this project solely on our nerve. The new price of the *Militant* is below the cost of production. It requires a subsidy. We have none, not even the cost of next week's issue. We need your help and count on it. If you see the need of a Communist paper that appeals directly to the mass of American workers, records their struggles, and talks their language, there is a practical way for you to help. Send a donation to

IMPORTANT NOTICE

67

Solidarity Welds Ranks; N. R. A. Truce Rejected

Fifty thousand silk workers are entering their sixth week of strike with their ranks bigger and more solid than ever. The mills remain closed, the looms idle and every attempt of the bosses to reopen has been frustrated by huge picket lines of angry workers.

The strike is spreading with seven league hoots to every silk mill, large or small in the United States. Strikers travel hundreds of miles to pull down shops that have not yet joined the ranks. The National Strike Committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers voted at its last meeting to close every U. T. W. shop that is still at work—to bring the New England sector of the silk industry to a complete standstill.

As testimony to the fighting spirit that is catching on everywhere under the impetus of the silk strike is the decision of the silk truck drivers not to handle scab silk.

The monster demonstration of more than 20,000 silk dye workers on Monday, October 2, in the Lincoln City Stadium marks the high point of the great textile battle. By their enthusiastic singing and cheering the embattled silk and dye workers gave an unassailable evidence to the bosses that they had clenched their fists and gritted their teeth in firm determination to remain out until their demands are won. By this great demonstration the silk workers of Paterson and vicinity have given heart and hope to the workers everywhere. The silk workers are showing the way.

The American Federation of Silk

Historic Strike of 20 Years Ago

Never-to-be-forgotten by those who took part in it, or those who have heard its story told, the tradition of the great silk strike of 1913 in Paterson is the inspiration behind the powerful struggle that has brought the fabric of the industry to a standstill today.

Those were stirring days. For 22 long weeks the silk workers of Paterson maintained the battle lines unbroken. Workers were clubbed and shot by policemen and detectives. Upwards of 800 strikers were thrown into jails unfit for dogs. The organizers were persecuted. The strike was vilified by a lying press which screamed with rage at the revolting slaves, and demanded that the leaders be tarred and feathered and driven out of town. The pulpit thundered denunciation at the men and women who wanted a better life in this world. But with grim determination

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers have become a great magnet of attraction for the independent, scattered and craft unions that are flocking to its banner from every silk center in the nation. The Allentown workers have affiliated to the national strike committee of the A. F. S. W. The United Warpers League of Paterson and vicinity have followed their lead. The A. F. S. W. has come forward as a uniting force consolidating the energies of all the silk workers under one common direction.

Again the A. F. S. W. has affirmed its unshakable will not to return to work under anything but a national agreement. The disruptive role of the N. T. W., which had issued a public statement declaring its readiness to sign separate shop agreements on a lower scale than the one demanded by the A. F. S. W., has so discredited this organization that it was compelled to issue a "denial" in an evasive statement issued by John J. Italian.

The demands of the strikers, refusing to compromise, have remained the same as at the outset of the strike—\$36 for weavers, the thirty hour week and the two loom system. A test of the strikers' militancy in obtaining these demands took place at the Crow Dye plant where the strikers clashed with the strikebreakers. Several workers were arrested.

N. R. A. "Truce"

Senator Wagner, of the NRA, has come to bring "industrial peace" to the strike-bound silk areas. Not so long ago the silk workers learned what the industrial peace of the NRA meant for them in reality—calling off the strike in a five weeks "truce" during which time the government and the bosses would impose the slave silk code on the workers. In spite of the treacherous agreement of McMahon to this "truce" the strikers voted it down as a man. They must be just as wary of the new maneuvers of the NRA and any of its agents in labor's ranks.

The answer of the strikers to every attempt to lure them back into the mills under promises of "adjustments" under NRA protection has been to strengthen the picket lines and to spread the strike to other silk centers.

The silk workers' strike started after the NRA machinery had already shown how it functioned in other strikes, in collusion with the reactionary labor leaders, to muffle the revolt of the workers and break their fighting ranks with deceitful promises and threats. The tragic experience of the Pennsylvania miners has not been lost on the silk workers.

With such vigilance as the strikers have exhibited to date, with the mass picketing and the sterling militancy that has animated the silk workers they are bound straight for victory!

One Hundred Years of Trade Union Struggles in the Silk Industry

Paterson was the cradle of the class struggle in the United States just as Lyons a great silk center, was in France. Paterson has been the storm center in the battles of the silk workers for more than 100 years. Innumerable strikes, some that ended in victory, and some in utter rout, some that were bloody, and others that were peaceful, some by crafts and others by the entire industry, have been fought by the Paterson workers. These battles were the road-pavers for the great conflict that shakes the textile industry today.

THE PATERSON STRIKE OF 1828
The first strike of factory workers in this country occurred in Paterson in 1826 among the men, women and children cotton operatives. (Silk as a fabric did not make its appearance till twelve years later). These slaves had been toiling from sunrise to sunset. They lived in company-owned tenements. They were striking against the attempt of the bosses to change the lunch hour from twelve o'clock to one and for the ten hour day. Marking the first act of solidarity, the building trades and machinists struck in sympathy. Marking the first act of government terror against striking workers, the militia was called out to drive the workers back to the shops. The

strike was lost and the leaders discharged. However the bosses later conceded on the non-hour dispute.

PATERSON—1835
The next strike in Paterson did not come until 1835 when 2,000 cotton mill workers struck for the eleven hour day, the abolition of the store-order system and excessive fines. The workers were led by an organization called the Paterson Association for the Protection of the Laboring Class, Etc. They were aided by the Newark working-men who sent in \$20. for relief and the New York workers who appointed committees for the same purpose. The workers of Paterson held out for six long weeks and then their ranks were broken through a compromise offered by the bosses in which two-thirds of the workers returned under a five days in the week and nine hours on Sunday. The merciful bosses had yielded one and one-half hours. The workers remaining out for the 11 hour day were blacklisted as were the children of the leaders.

"ORGANIZE THE UNSKILLED"
In 1879 the International Labor Union waged an eight months battle in Paterson against a reduction in wages. The workers were star-

ved back into submission. Significant about this strike was the appearance of an outstanding leader, P. J. McDonnell who was a staunch advocate of industrial unionism and whose slogan was "organize the unskilled". Under his guidance huge strikes of many months took place in Fall River in 1879 and again in 1884. Strikebreakers smashed the strikes in both these cases.

SLAVE WAGES—1894
The silk operatives of Paterson, driven to desperation by the wretchedly low wages, which, according to the *Daily Guardian* of the time, were "insufficient to buy the commonest kind of food and purchase coal and wood", walked from mill to mill pulling down the shops. The New York ribbon weavers joined the strike and the Paterson strikers trudged all the way to New York to visit their fellow strikers. The workers returned the visit. But if the strikers were united, so were the bosses of Paterson and New York who had a binding compact to break the strike. Many a striker received a free permanent wave from a policeman's nightstick. The strike was neither won nor lost—some of the mills granted the raise in pay and others did not.

Out of this strike emerged three craft unions—the Horizontal Warpers Association, the Ribbon Weavers Union, the Loomfixers and Twist-ers Union and also two unions that cut across craft lines—the Broad Silk Weavers Union and the Silk Workers Union.

INCH BY INCH

For a while things simmered in Paterson, only for hell to break loose again around the period of 1899, 1900 and 1902. Picketing, police clanking, arrests, denunciation from the press and the pulpit ran through the last years of the last century and the opening of this one. In 1899 after an eight months siege during which time strikers were jailed for calling strikebreakers "scabs", the United Ribbon Weavers Union won a one-cent-a-yard increase on the piece rate.

The United Textile Workers began its career in 1901. Soon after the Paterson craft unions affiliated to it.

Picket lines again in 1902. Led by the Ribbon Weavers Union against which an injunction was invoked, standing the union \$5,000 for fines in picketing cases, the broad silk weavers and the dyers won an increase of one and one-half cents on a yard.

LIVING CONDITIONS

The wretched conditions of the years following the turbulent opening of the twentieth century prepared the way for the great battles of 1912, 1913. According to the Silk Association the average wage of the worker was less than \$10 weekly and in that period the cost of living rose by 60%.

I. W. W.—1912

The Detroit faction of the I. W. W. headed by Rudolf Katz conducted an unsuccessful struggle against the four loom system. This strike proved to the sceptics that the English speaking and the foreign born workers could stand together and fight side by side. The story of the 1913 strike is told in another column of the *Militant*, as is the Associated Silk Workers strike of 1919.

AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

From May 1919 to November 1922 a militant, class struggle union, whose creed was "one big union for the textile industry" swept the field, winning big battles in Lawrence, Paterson, Allentown, Pawtucket Valley, West Hoboken. It had 50,000 members. This was the Amalgamated Textile Workers. Bad leadership, adverse conditions, a

few lost strikes were the cause of its disbanding in 1923.

The crisis of 1921 hit the Paterson broad silk workers local of the United Textile Workers a mortal blow and it passed out of existence.

8 HOUR DAY SLOGAN IN 1924

In 1924 the Associated Silk Workers led 13,000 broad silk workers of Paterson in a strike for the 8 hour day, to offset the 3-4 loom system, a 15% wage increase and union recognition. They won a partial victory, many of the shops recognizing the union and granting wage increases.

THE PASSAIC STRIKE—1926

Clubbed and tear-gassed by cops, slugged by gunmen the silk dye workers of Passaic, Garfield and Lodi, New Jersey held out valiantly against a 10% wage cut and for union recognition under the Left wing United Front Committee of Textile Workers. They lost the strike after a long and memorable struggle.

SOLO OUT

The U. T. W. betrayers of New Bedford sold out many silk workers after a stubborn battle of 22

weeks, in 1928. In the same year the Associated conducted a strike for a wage increase and union recognition. But the strike was not solid. Many crafts remained at work, the union was split in the midst of the strike and it was lost. The 1931 strike is also reported in another column.

IN CONCLUSION

A great tradition belongs to the silk workers, and great lessons are to be learned from it. In the silk workers' struggles stretching over one hundred years many victories have come and gone. The silk workers have had to cope with betrayals on the one hand and craft division on the other. Sometimes they have won and many times they had to return to the mills—vanquished. But the amazing vitality of the struggle of the working class is attested by the present strike—the greatest in the history of the silk workers. This struggle will not cease with the conclusion of the present strike. It will become fiercer and more relentless until that day comes when the working class by its united strength will build a new system where strikes will become memories of a past age of slavery and oppression.

Notes of the Week

MR. REVERE REVEALS

If you're in the working class or if you're bound to get a headache wading through the boss press, especially now—under NRA. The high pressure salesmanship methods of the recovery administration—always professing with their great, passionate love for the laboring masses—are simply overwhelming.

When you're lucky enough to survive the intoxicating bullhym of the front page and the stultifying hypocrisy of the editorials, you will, however, find a good sobering bromide in the financial columns. They usually tell the unadorned truth. They're got to. Because they constitute the only part of the paper that's actually written for the boss—minus the bullhym and minus the embellishments.

And here is what we found on the financial sheet of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune recently:

"With the strong arm of government around the wage earner," says a certain C. T. Revere (of the firm of Munds, Winslow, and Potter), "the labor unions are displaced as guardians of the toiler.... The basic reason for the labor union as we have known it in the past no longer prevails."

This is Mr. Revere's government. He speaks of it knowingly. And he is addressing his kind, on the form of his class. He has no need for camouflage and subterfuges here.

The Herald-Tribune, appropriately enough, sums up his remarks in the headline, "How to Unions Seen by Ievers in NRA Plans." That tells the whole story in a nutshell.

And as if he were anticipating the argument of the recent strikes and the big, successful unionization drive, the gentleman from Wall St. adds:

"Economic forces (?) work out their solution in inexorable fashion even against the infatuation of the working masses."

If we know anything at all of economic forces (sic) and if the present widespread and far-flung testimonial of strike militancy mean anything, Mr. Revere may yet discover that there is nothing quite so inexorable as the workers' march to power, as the economic solution of the working masses.

We might add...even against all the pious "class peace" wishes of the labor fakery and all their persistent servility.

Mr. Revere knows what his class wants and needs, and so does the awakening worker.

The proof? The first plank of nearly every strike action in the growing working class upsurge and the major objective of nine tenths of them has been—union recognition!

That's what the workers think of the "strong arm of government!"

LET HIM WHISTLE

"In Pittsburgh, 3,000 to 5,000 miners, singing as they go, request Carnegie steel workers to join a 'holiday movement' with 85,000 other steel and mine workers in three states."

"Carlyle said: 'Give me the man who sings at his work!'"

"A strike seems, hardly a thing to sing about!"

—ARTHUR BRISBANE.

For all of our sympathy with Mr. Brisbane's outraged...esthetics, and in spite of his rather impressive appeal to Carlyle's authority, we cannot nevertheless understand why he should begrudge the workers a "holiday"—the bankers only had one of their own not so long ago.

It is only just, and even Carlyle had a warm spot for justice.

Still, if the eminent sage of Haverford finds strike holidays "hardly a thing to sing about" in his capacity as major shareholder of a profit-mad enterprise, he ought to compose himself as a member of the Fourth Estate.

We can well understand that he cannot sing over a strike. Just let him whistle....

THERE'S GOLD IN THEM THAR HILLS

"Green Backs Plan for U. S. to Assist Jobless Mine Gold"—Newspaper Headline.

Having clasp the employed working class in codes of ermine and led them into the promised land of the New Deal, the great American Labor Leader prepares to bring down a shower of gold manna (or are we getting it mixed up with NRA?) upon their less fortunate brethren, left behind in the wilderness of unemployment.

—G....n.

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS

ARNE SWABECK will speak at WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT 1330 Center Ave., 2nd Floor on Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M. THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M. THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

FROM THE MILITANTS

St. Louis Needle Trades Strike

St. Louis.—On August 10th 3,000 needle trades workers went on strike in protest against the sweatshop conditions prevailing in St. Louis and their low wage standards of \$5 and \$6 a week. The strikers rallied under the banner of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union because of the impression of strength and support it could give them in their struggles against the bosses.

The ILGWU, although in the A. F. of L. for 25 years, boasts of one of the most progressive preambles of any A. F. of L. union. "The preamble to the constitution recognizes the fact that the workers must organize industrially as well as politically in order to effect 'the abolition of the capitalist society' before the workers will be in a position to 'secure their rights as producers'."

Accordingly the garment workers were under the impression that the ILGWU leadership, nationally as well as locally, would give them all the moral and financial support possible, in order to enable them to win their strike. These hopes were soon shattered. The local leadership attempted to settle the strike three times without any concessions from the capitalists. Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, said that the national union was "off the gold standard" and would be able to give "normal support" to the strikers, but "not much financially." The small amounts of strike relief finally paid out were gained as the result of continual and vicious demands by the rank and file.

The only reason the silk dress workers didn't get as good a contract in St. Louis as elsewhere was because the local union didn't get funds enough to hold out for our demands. It was due to the militancy of the rank and file and the support given by Balis, national vice-president, AND NOT THE LOCAL OFFICIALS, that we finally gained the following demands: shop committee in each factory; 10 percent increase in wages; no discrimination in re-employment of strikers; equal distribution of work; no attrition of all discharges. Although the contract doesn't call for a closed union shop, this demand could have also been gained, if the St. Louis local had the right kind of union leadership fighting militantly in their behalf.

—ROSE CASANO.

Organizing the Greek Painters

New York.—The most exploited section of the American working-class is that of the unorganized. This section is largely composed of foreign workers, and especially of those that come from countries industrially backward. The Greek painters undoubtedly belong to this section. Although their trade is skilled they remained outside of their trade organizations, with the exception of a few who are in the A. F. of L. because of the fact that they have no tradition of any sort of trade unionism. Another reason could be that workers when coming to this country intended to leave as soon as they made a few dollars. The long years of the crisis however has taught them to realize the idea of returning home rich was an illusion, and they had to remain here as a part of the American working class. As a result of all this they began to see the necessity of organization.

About four weeks ago a few of the more progressive ones assembled in the cellar of the Santa Barbara Greek Church to discuss their problems. They elected a committee which decided to call a meeting the following Sunday at the same place. More than 350 were present at this meeting. Several Greek Stalinists were mobilized from the Greek Spartacus for this meeting. When their spokesman (Hargolis) (Harrison) was presented to address the meeting as a representative of the TUUL the crowd arose en masse and shouted, "We don't want him!" "No Communists here, he's a Communist." (How clearly it could be seen how the Stalinist bureaucrats have discredited the name of Communism).

This however did not prevent Hargolis, when finally given the floor, from giving orders as though he were in a unit meeting of the Communist party. He stated that unless they remove from their temporary committee the "disrupters" (Katsikis, Poulos) the movement cannot go forward. He said the Greek painters must organize themselves independently as a Greek Club, and that later they could decide where to affiliate.

Undoubtedly he meant to take them into the TUUL. But why didn't he clearly state this and point out facts to convince the workers of the advisability of such a step instead of maneuvering with the proposal to form a club? Simply because the TUUL is no less discredited in the eyes of the workers than the official Communist party.

The policy of the Left Opposition

proposed by the writers, was that as soon as they are organized the Greek painters immediately ask for a charter from the A. F. of L. painters' union, as one of its locals, with provisions suitable for the organization of the Greek workers. We took the stand that the Greek painters needed union organization in direct association with the other workers of the trade, not isolation from them in a club.

But due to the Stalinists' maneuvers in dragging out the meeting points of order, etc., more than two-thirds had left the hall when a vote was taken as to whether they should remain independent as a club or go to the A. F. of L. In spite of that 77 voted for our proposal and 54 for that of the Stalinists. They then authorized the committee to investigate the ways and means of getting into the A. F. of L. and present a concrete program.

The following meeting, however, the Stalinists mobilized twice as many of their supporters as were present at the previous meeting and, instead of bringing a program according to the previous decision of the members, they presented their old program. The workers present protested and, although less were present than at the previous meeting, they walked out in protest and only about 80 Stalinists and about 15 workers remained. The remaining voted anew whether to go to the AFL or remain independent, 25 voted for the Stalinists and 15 against.

Once more the Stalinist policy helped to disorganize the awakening Greek painters. But we will not allow them to carry out their policy of "Rule or Ruin". There are more than 200 Greek painters in various A. F. of L. locals who are willing to support our program in organizing the Greek unorganized painters. With their help we will carry out this plan.

—KATSIKIS. POULOS.

The "United Front" in California

OAKLAND, CALIF.—

On September 25, 1933 a meeting of the United Front Conference to aid the victims of German Fascism was held in Oakland, Calif. 12 people were present. Outside of one delegate representing an unemployed organization, one observer from the Sheet Metal Workers' Union and two delegates from the Communist League, the other eight people represented the Communist Party and such independent organizations as the "Friends of the Soviet Union". The majority of them represented nothing even of this sort. This was the result of several months of muddling on the issue, of muddling on the united front tactics, of putting up a paper screen of paper organizations.

That this result was considered by party people as fully representative of their "leadership" is the fact that this meeting of the "united front" Conference considered it perfectly in order to expel the Communist League of America as an organization from the Conference. The motion for expulsion was not motivated in a new way. It called for expulsion of these "disrupters, counter-revolutionary Trotskyites". Otherwise, the "conference" looked more like a unit meeting of the Communist party turned inside out than a meeting of a genuine united front.

One thing in this Stalinist united front was genuine. This was the fanatical, blind hatred for the Communist League of these militants adhering to the official C. P. and who are misled by their bureaucratic, bankrupt leadership. The method used by these people can be illustrated by the following. At the previous meeting comrade Moss of the Communist League, who succeeded in putting through several motions, was elected on the arrangements committee which had to meet in the Carpenter's Hall. When comrade Moss came there at the appointed time he did not find anybody there. The reason is that in order to escape him the C. P. people met in a pool room where only Stalinists who had been "tipped off" could find them. Still that

printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y.

Editor: Arne Swaback Managing Editor: Arne Swaback Business Manager: Thomas Stamm Post Office Address: 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of

"absence" of comrade Moss was given as a proof of the "disruptive tactics" of the Communist League. The rude, mechanical expulsion of an organization from the mock united front, by people loyal to the corrupt Stalinist machinery, who shamefully play with the issue involving the victims of Fascist gangs, and their inability to organize a movement which, at the first stage, promised a better result judging by the first response, obliges the Communist League of America to organize a genuine, representative movement of working class organizations to fight against Fascism.

It must be clearly stated that only one genuine attempt to put life in this still born "united front" was made and it was made by the Communist League, in the way of Jimmy Higgins work and in an attempt to present a program of action. The Communist League of America became active here lately. A branch was organized and good forces are rallying around it.

L. LOGAN.

Mirror Workers Strike Ended

NEW YORK.—

The general strike of the novelty mirror workers, is now definitely and tragically at an end. The strike that was declared on September 12th with so much enthusiasm and hope for the establishment of some decent working conditions, and involved some three hundred and more workers, with the most militant determination to struggle and "stick it out to the end" has been allowed to peter out without the least fault of the workers themselves.

The organization of the union that was originally begun by a number of young but energetic workers, was steered away from its correct path, from the moment it came in contact with the stupid Stalinist bureaucrats in the shape of the T. U. U. L. At one point, when the general strike was still solid, the bosses' Association offered to grant most of the demands if the union affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Stalinists, concerned far more about the fortunes of the T. U. U. L. than about the interests of the workers, stood out for a "revolutionary" union. Caught in between the two forces, the bosses and the TUUL, the consequence result was, as was forewarned by the original organizers, the workers got no union at all, notwithstanding the victory scored by the settlement of two shops upon more or less favorable terms.

The Left Oppositionists, sensing the mood of the workers, seeing that they were beginning to lose hope and their former determination, tried to bring the strike to a speedy settlement, by demanding affiliation to the A. F. of L. But Sam Nesson would hear nothing of it. Instead he violently attacked the worker who made the proposal, calling him all sorts of names in the best Stalinist manner, even going so far as to call him a spy for the bosses. It is interesting to note that not one worker believed that, and later they conformed in the Oppositionist that they believe all of Nesson's slander holds for Nesson himself. The workers seeing that victory was almost within their reach, and yet not being able to obtain it, became demoralized and began to go back to work, at first singly then doubly, until there was literally a stampede to rescue whatever was possible.

The stupid Stalinist can explain the loss of the strike very easily. If it had not been for a couple of "skunks" going back to work all might have been well yet. The bureaucrat does not realize that it was precisely because of his blind leadership that several "skunks" went back to work. Needless to say many workers are totally disgusted with Nesson, the TUUL, the Party and everything else that is "red". The Stalinist contribution in the mirror workers' strike, as elsewhere, was demoralization and defeat.

—MIRROR WORKER.

PUBLIC LECTURE

YORKVILLE LABOR TEMPLE

(8th St., bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves.)

Thursday, October 12 at 8 P. M.

ROOM 16

Subject:

CAN THE N. R. A. SUCCEED?

Lecture by CARL COWL

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Swaback Opens Tour at Newark

At the meeting of the Left Opposition on the 20th of September, the workers of Newark had an opportunity to hear comrade Swaback give the first lecture on his national tour. He spoke of the cause of the down consequences of which forced the Left Opposition to change its policy and concentrate its forces and activities towards the establishment of a new party and a new International.

The degeneration and final collapse of the Communist International and its national sections facilitated the danger of a counter-revolutionary overthrow of the Soviet Union. Our hope as a faction to reform the party and the International is completely exhausted, leaving the only other road: the formation of a new party and a new International.

The meeting impressed the workers gravely. Queries penetrating the smallest particle of the vital question were launched at the speaker, the answers to which made a increasingly clear, that the Left Oppositions path is the only positive one.

So great was the demand for our literature that our supply was exhausted before all those eager to receive it could be satisfied. This will be remedied at our next meeting in the near future, to which we shall go well equipped. Workers crowded around comrade Swaback after the meeting and were eager to have him explain the things to which they received no satisfactory answer at the meetings held by the official party. We gained a few new members and numerous sympathizers thus making us stronger for the gigantic task ahead of us, which we shall not shrink but continue on unflinchingly in the interest of the world proletariat.

—LOUIS NAGY.

Other meetings on comrade Swaback's tour are as follows:

- Sun., Oct. 8th....Rochester, N. Y.
- Mon., Oct. 9th....Buffalo, N. Y.
- Tues., Oct. 10th....Toronto, Can.
- Wed., Oct. 11th....Toronto, Can.
- Fri., Oct. 13th....Pittsburgh Pa.
- Weinstein's Restaurant 1830 Center Ave., 2nd Fl.
- Sat., Oct. 14th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Sun., Oct. 15th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Mon., Oct. 16th....New Castle, Pa.
- Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown
- Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown
- Thurs., Oct. 19th....Cleveland, O.
- Fri., Oct. 20th....Cleveland, O.
- Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.
- Sun., Oct. 22nd....Chicago, Ill.
- Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.
- Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.
- Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill.
- Thurs., Oct. 26th....Stanton, Ill.
- Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.
- Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.
- Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.
- Mon., Oct. 30th....Kansas City, Mo.
- Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis
- Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis
- Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis
- Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis
- Thurs., Nov. 8th....Davenport, Ia.
- Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.
- Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.

With the 'Militant' Builders

NEW PRICE

Beginning with this issue the new price of the Militant will be 2c a copy. The idea behind this reduction in price is to give the paper a wider circulation.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATE.

At the same time and for the same reason the subscription rates have been reduced as follows: 1 year, \$1. (Canada and foreign, \$1.50); 6 months, 50c (Canada and foreign, 75c).

TO NOVEMBER 15th.

The sub drive which opens with this announcement will run until the 15th of November. That gives us about 5 weeks in which to materially increase the number of subscribers on our list.

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

In the three Militant builders getting the most subs from now till November 15th we offer the following (or equivalents in other books): First place—the three volumes of

each individual member, must be holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

THOMAS STAMM, Business Mgr. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of October 1933.

RITA M. WOLF, Notary Public (My Commission expires March 30, 1935).

the history of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; second place—two volumes of the History; third place, one volume of the History.

DOUBLE THE CIRCULATION.

We are so confident that the new orientation of the League and the more popular price of the Militant makes it possible to extend the circulation that we have set as our goal a 100% increase in the number of subscribers. If you are a laborer, you can do your share by getting a sub from a fellow worker. If every subscriber sets that as his minimum goal it will be no job at all to double the circulation.

Then, there are some irrepressible comrades who go out and gather in anywhere from 6 to 30 subs. So all in all the work we have set is not beyond our abilities.

Shachtman Speaks at Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.—The discussion on our new course was met in Philadelphia by the largest turnout for an Opposition meeting here. Comrade Arne Shachtman spoke on "The Second and Third Internationals after Hitler's Victory" before an audience of over 100, most of them Communist workers.

Our speaker analyzed the traitorous role and second breakdown of the Social Democracy. He followed by tracing the tragic course of the C. I. leadership, capped by the German capitulation and a cowardly whitewash of the whole policy of defeat. Forces of regeneration for a new Communist movement are marshalling. This movement will have a really revolutionary defense of the workers' state. This movement bases itself on the Lenin Congresses of the C. I. and Marxism. The cadres, the policy of the Left Opposition is its guide.

Comrade Tom Holmes, a young militant whom the Young Communist League expelled a week ago for "Trotskyism" was chairman. He spoke on the YCL practice of "party democracy." Sol Thomas, whom the C. P. also expelled for the same crime of holding views favorable to the Left Opposition and who openly demanded that the Party recognize its errors on Germany and the trade union policy, spoke on his experience in and defense of our trade union policy.

A lively discussion followed; about ten people taking the floor. Most of the discussion was from Stalinists present, who tried in their argumentatively weak but nevertheless less logical manner to defend the "leadership" and the "line". Against us they prepared to quote the N. Y. Times; to tell us they were not responsible for not calling the 7th World Congress of the Comintern because they weren't in USSR; and insinuations and outright slander to the point of trying to incite members of a union against a comrade on a trade basis. A member of the C. P. district Euro who was present took the floor but evaded an offer of equal time with our speaker—a debate.

The clarity and boldness of our revolutionary position put forward by our speaker's brilliant speech made a deep impression on the crowd. They remained till after midnight, contributed generously to a collection (after paying admission), asked many questions, and among the youth asked for information about the "Spartacus Youth Club" which was organized the following Wednesday.

This meeting is the latest series of meetings the Philadelphia L. O. branch has been holding, revolving around the world shaking events in Germany. In early August comrade Arne Swaback soon after his return from abroad, came here and spoke on "Germany Under Hitler" to a good audience.

The Philadelphia branch has rented 524 W. Thompson Street which will become a center for our activities. Those interested in our activities, study classes and the Spartacus Youth Club communicate with the Secretary at the address given. The branch is experiencing a steady growth and strengthening of its work. New contacts, particularly C. P., Y. C. L. and Y. P. S. L. members, and workers attracted by our street meetings, are being made continually.

—L. G.

Labor Fakery at Work

Roosevelt, General Johnson, the U. S. Steel and Lewis, Murray, and Co. of the United Mine Workers are united in a typical N. R. A. victory. The victims, as usual, are the workers, in this case the strikers at the Frick mines of the Steel Trust. The mutual triumph of all parties concerned (except, of course, the workers) had been recorded by the signing of an agreement, promising "union conditions" in the captive mines, by Thomas Moses, for the Frick Coke Co. and by Philip Murray, vice-president of the UMW.

The business smells to heaven with the hypocrisy of the labor fakery and with the bullhym of the NIRA in operation. What have the workers gotten in this settlement of the strike? A minimum wage for inside miners in Pennsylvania of \$4.60 for an eight hour day. If the miracle happens of the miners getting five days a week of work and having no deductions from their wages made for powder, etc., they will get \$23. In the face of a dollar that is down 1.3 this comes to less than \$16. When the mine company is through making its deductions, the rest will be swallowed up by the rent for company houses and the robbery prices at the company stores, leaving the miners in their usual state of penury, and debt to the company. And in the captive mines, where the workers have already fought through two bloody strikes, the union will not be recognized.

No Union Recognition

Although the New York Times calls it "recognition in everything but name" the operators of the captive mines have already indicated during the strike, that is now raging, that they had no intention of dealing with any union representatives. And they mean what they say. Thus the workers are left with conditions almost as before, with every assurance in the world that the bosses will brutally crush their union as soon as the strike is ended.

Some very significant statements have been made by General Johnson and Murray about the settlement. On Oct. 2nd Johnson came out with a statement that he had practically ordered the UMW to accept the settlement. Already the cold steel, hidden behind the NRA bullhym, begins to show itself. We can be certain that General Johnson's order was a very real order. And did the bureaucrats of the Union protest? Far from it. Gracefully taking their cue, like the well trained capitalist flunkies they are, they obediently signed on the dotted line, and now are busy trying to break the strike.

Says Murray in calling the miners back to work:

"The President then said to me, 'Philip, I want you to get these men back to work.' I replied 'If there is anything in God's world that I can do for you, I will be glad to try.'"

—N. Y. Times.

And while you were engaged in this loving conversation with the President, Mr. Murray, what about the workers on the picket lines of Pennsylvania and Kentucky? But Murray did think of them. Concerning the President's command he states: "Any union or union officials who refuse to obey their command will not live long." Thus Murray assumes his masters that the UMW gangsters will be ready to help the bosses in killing off rebellious workers.

The Miners Are Fighting For A Union

And yet with all of this treachery among the leadership, the workers are fighting for their union, and their union is still the United Mine Workers. Although Martin Ryan, the Pennsylvania strike leader, asks when were Lewis and Murray on the picket lines, at the same time he calls upon the workers to get every mine under their union, the UMW. The workers who are fighting in the mine fields are beginning to realize that the leadership is rotten with corruption.

The workers know that the "settlement" is a sell-out. They are still fighting. Martin Ryan calls upon them to continue the strike until the L. C. Frick Company recognizes the union and signs the code. And now if this revolt is not to be crushed as so many revolts have been in the past, there is the greatest need for a real, organized Left wing in the UMW.

—PETER MORTON.

NEW SUPPLY OF "MY LIFE"

Pioneer Publishers has obtained an additional supply of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky, which it is offering at \$2.50 (publisher's price—\$5.00). It is also offering the German edition of "Fontana", by E. Silone, a novel of Italian peasant rebellion against Fascism, highly praised by comrade Trotsky in a recent book review in the Militant—Price \$1.50.

YOUNGSTOWN MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABECK

on

"THE N. R. A. and the WORKERS"

CENTRAL AUDITORIUM

225 West Boardman St.

TUESDAY, OCT. 17, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION TEN CENTS

Unemployed Free

Discussion Articles

On the National Recovery Act

I. To interpret correctly the NRA one must understand bourgeois democracy in its full form and base his analysis on the uneven development of capitalism.

Bourgeois democracy, symbolically speaking, is an elastic substance—in countries where it exists, the ruling class attempts to stretch the democratic concept to an extent necessary to meet the conditions and reactions of the masses, to cover up the shortcomings of capitalism.

President Roosevelt, in speaking about the dictatorial power invested in him by Congress, said that it was done within the bounds of democracy. He was correct. The boundaries of democracy reach out far. The ruling class outlines these boundaries and moves them whenever necessary.

Only in the event of the ruling class contending with ever-widening conditions and a revolutionary proletariat who threaten the existence of their state, will they change their form of rule. When bourgeois democracy in its most extended form fails to cover up the discrepancies of capitalism (if the workers are not ready to take over power themselves) the democratic form of that capitalist government dies in the struggle between the two classes and is replaced by capitalism with open tyranny against the masses' fascism.

II. To say that the NRA is a step toward state capitalism would be incorrect. What we understand by state capitalism is that when business in a country disintegrates to the extent that it no longer pays profit on investments, the state takes over these industries to save whatever it can for the capitalists of their system of exploitation. It is not inevitable, however, that capitalism of a country when finding itself in such a position must necessarily develop into state capitalism.

We know that when aggravated conditions arose in other countries the ruling class used violence and open suppression of the workers in order to maintain themselves in power.

Furthermore, we do not know just what form state capitalism would assume if it was to come about. This would depend upon the general economic conditions and the sharpness of the class struggle in the country at that period.

Measures of the NRA alone without the required conditions could not lead the country into state capitalism. Its attempt to bring about class collaboration does not necessarily carry such germs. As to the monopoly in industries that the NRA tends to this with a great speed than before. We must know that monopoly is part of imperialism.

In predicting the transition to state capitalism there lies the danger of mistaking centralization of wealth, accelerated by the crisis, for the final breakdown of the economy of the country and the transition to state capitalism.

Even in the event that the railroads and a few other industries are taken over by the government, it would not mean that we entered the period of state capitalism. This has been done by governments under different conditions before.

Outlining state capitalism as a possible phase of capitalist development, it would be incorrect to assume that the former can begin before the crisis threatens to wipe out the top layer of the ruling class. It would also be incorrect to assume that the capitalists will without a struggle, give up the phase of competition in their system in a way that it will curtail their profits. Similarly it would be incorrect to say that the capitalists can use the machine of bourgeois democracy to move gradually into state capitalism. The greed that exists in capitalism and the dissatisfaction of the masses that grows proportionally with such conditions, point to conflict instead.

The mistaking of the NRA with state capitalism creates the danger of confusing the workers as to what the stage of the struggle they are in and bringing them to the false conclusion that capitalism solves its own problems by the process of evolution and will eventually change into some form more beneficial to mankind.

At the present stage of development a section of the American masses retain their false concept that the capitalist state operates for the benefit of the people. To expose the NRA as a step toward state capitalism is neither correct nor would it react favorably for the revolutionary movement. Many workers who are not class conscious would welcome the idea of state control as a way out.

III.

The United States, being a country of vast natural resources and having entered the capitalist phase at a later period, developed industrially on such a tremendously large scale that together with its imperialism it was able to keep its so-called equilibrium until the beginning of 1929. Because of that, the crisis came to this country upon different conditions from those in Europe without finding a strongly organized working class.

The past opportunities of the country actually monopolized by the few, but interpreted generally in application, created in the United States a bourgeois ideology within its working class. Unlike the European workers who passed through scores of years toward crystalliza-

tion as a class, the American worker, with his individualistic psychology remained separated from his fellows, going through year after year of the crisis under severe hardships with hopes for better times returning.

The ruling class in the United States has hardly a solidified proletariat to contend with, but the condition of the country and the 17 millions unemployed in themselves constitute a threatening force against the system. As the reaction of things always are in accord with the conditions that bring them about, the NRA is the logical outcome, reflecting American conditions and therefore the American way of doing things.

On the one hand this is an extreme move to stop unemployment and on the other, the execution of the plan is left mostly to the employers. As such the NRA can have very little success in a system based upon rugged individualism.

The NRA is meant to have one other function for the ruling class and that is, an institution through which they will try to shape the ideology of the American working class in such a way as to check their dissatisfaction from flowing into revolutionary channels.

Through clever maneuvering the NRA characterizes itself as a labor agency, pretending to take the part of the workers. It thereby aims to give the impression that all differences can be met by the NRA. This gives it the form of an American institution for the collaboration of both classes meaning to instill into the minds of the workers that such a thing is possible.

The NRA is a desperate attempt on the part of the ruling class within the works of bourgeois democracy to prolong their system of exploitation.

—HARRY BRAND.

Conclusions from German Defeat

Modern history will record no greater crime than the defeat of the German working class and the rise of fascism under conditions which were favorable for a far different result. The German proletariat, the flower of the international working class, was defeated without a struggle.

The dialectic of the whole historical process was toward the Bonapartist regime of Von Schleicher—Von Papen. Not only was this unforeseen but the Bonapartist regime itself which posed the whole question on the point of a needle—Fascism or Communism—was not understood and the Stalinists continued to play with the treacherous theory of "social fascism" and the isolationist theory of the united front from below. The enemies of the revolutionary proletariat could ask for nothing better.

Incidentally, the defeat of the German working class does not stop there but becomes a defeat for the world working class. In Hitler is to be perceived the super-Wrangler of the world imperialist bourgeoisie. Not only has the world revolution been set back by decades but at the same time a way has been opened up for an attack on the Soviet Union through the destruction of its most powerful ally, the organized German proletariat. Nor is this all. From a potential ally possessing the revolutionary state—rifles, artillery, cannon, etc.—which it could have brought forward in the struggle for the defense of its sister republic.

Lenin and Trotsky saw in the Russian revolution a stage in the world revolution. Since 1917, the basic contradiction of capitalism, next to the antagonism between the productive forces and the national boundaries which points to the inconsistency of the national state, has been the existence of the workers' republic on the one hand and the capitalist encirclement on the other. The eclecticism of Stalin-Bucharin, which combines the reactionary non-Marxist theory of socialism in one country with a hypocritical lip-service to the slogan of world revolution, is a denial and a renunciation of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

From such a hopelessly narrow, theoretical departure there follows basically the blunders of tactics and strategy from which—and from which alone—can be explained the terrible tragedies of the Chinese and the German revolutions.

The Marxist theory of the Permanent Revolution is, in its essence, the only theory that follows logically from the Leninist formula of imperialism as the last, the decay stage of capitalism—an epoch which will be marked by wars and revolutions. The rotting structure of imperialism—capitalism weighed down by the contradictions which are inherent in its now outgrown property relationships threaten its death crash to smother the whole of mankind's technical and cultural accomplishments. The next stage in the evolution of society is Communism. The next and only historically progressive class to become conscious and to carry out the tasks imposed upon it by history is the proletariat. Hence the epoch of revolutions which follow in the path of decaying capital-

ism are proletarian revolutions. Upon the recognition of this depends the tactics of the revolutionary party.

Are the Stalinists capable of meeting the test? Germany, China and to an extent England show that they have not been equal to it in the past. History shows that the Comintern has been transformed from the organizing center of the world revolution into the organizer of gigantic defeats. But what are the perspectives for the rebirth, the regeneration of the International of Lenin and Trotsky? Drugged by the poisonous theory of socialism in one country, weighed down by the oppression of the bureaucracy the perspectives are dim and few. The Stalinist International is incapable of making a revolution anywhere. It has met its 4th of August. If its betrayal was unconscionable it was nevertheless fatal and disastrous. Its well-meaning and its good intentions can be pointed to only with a feeling of remorse and shame. The road to hell is paved with good intentions.

Never before has history imposed such a gigantic task as that which faces a small group of revolutionists today. The capitalists are in a murderous offensive and the workers in retreat or at best in a weak defense—such is the picture when we look at the situation at large. The Second International is

an international only in the sense of the international betrayal of labor; the Third International is, as incapable of rousing and leading the workers as the Second International is unwilling—what can be expected of them? It is necessary to face the facts. In Germany and China new parties are needed. The deceitful and lying accounts about Soviets in China and "revolutionary upsurge" in Germany proved to us that these people are not revolutionists but miserable clowns who play and play badly at the "game" of revolution.

The German working class will live to travel the road of revolution again. Upon the wreckage of its cruel and senseless defeat, of its blasted hopes, out of the dead ashes of its burned out illusions will spring its regeneration, its rebirth. But these will not be blotting out the hideous nightmare of the past. The dialectic of the situation lies in the fact that out of the recognition of its weaknesses the cautious selection of its leadership. When it travels the road of revolution again it will do so under the leadership of tried and seasoned revolutionists, those who have led revolutions before, the heroes and butchers of the victorious Bolshevik October.

—G. ROBERTS.

Nationalization and the N.R.A.

The initial stage of the "new relations" of capital and labor under the Blue Eagle has given rise to new hopes and illusions on the part of all shades of reformists. This is due to the fact that, in working out the slave codes for the different industries, the trap was baited with "concessions" to the workers. This enabled the capitalist to put through their plan with a minimum of "labor strife." Many of the old working class problems have been presented in a new light by the N.R.A. One of these problems is the question of nationalization of the industries. Therefore, it is essential to understand this question and to explain the relation of nationalization to reaction, reform and revolution.

Complete nationalization of industry cannot exist under capitalism, but nationalization of different industries in different forms is an essential part of capitalist development. In the period of decay capitalism, the question of nationalization is often a life and death question of capitalism. This is also true in times of war. Either class can use the slogan of nationalization of the industries. The application, reaction, reform or revolution, depending on conditions and class relations and on how the slogan will materialize in life. Fascist reaction, reformist social democracy, laborist or revolutionary communism—each of these, at certain stages of the class struggle, require a program of nationalization. The slogan must apply to that requirement.

A Slogan of Reform To begin with, one can say that under capitalism the use of the slogan of nationalization, by itself, is a slogan of reformism and nothing else. Even if one adds to this slogan the demand for worker's participation in the nationalization, it is still confined within the realm of reformism. Take for example, the NRA. It represents the first steps toward partial nationalization of industry. It is the embryo. The capitalists of the coal and railroad industries are divided on the question. Some are urging nationalization, with compensation, in order to be relieved of a bad investment. If the NRA does not bring the desired results, through the organization of a form of cartels and the elimination of the small producers, steps toward nationalization of the steel industries will be taken by a section of the capitalists and reformers. They will enact "temporary emergency measures" which will become "permanent" until the industries again pay dividends.

To issue the slogan of nationalization of the industries, such as the "Humb Plan", etc., in relation to the NRA, would be to render service to reformism as well as to reaction. Does this mean that we close the door to the use of the slogan of nationalization? As an isolated, separate, propaganda slogan, yes. But not if it is pro-

perly coordinated with other slogans and actions suitable for the objective conditions.

The NRA brings this question to the fore. But present conditions require that we place the other slogans and actions first and the slogan of nationalization as secondary, and as an auxiliary slogan to the other.

The Working Class Approach

Since the capitalists and the workers can both use the slogan of nationalization one must answer the question of how it will be possible to distinguish the class content of the one from the other. The coordinating slogans must deal with the question of workers' control. This is the working class approach to the question. The working class action must be in the direction of working class control. Slogans serving this aim must be applied.

It is time to allow must be applied, and action in the trade union control of production, open book-keeping in the capitalist industries and nationalization without compensation. The main emphasis must be placed on propaganda and action dealing with the question of workers' control of the industries. The most important action today, toward this end, deals with the trade union question. This has been pointed out in the Militant, week in and week out. Without a strong left wing in the trade unions, armed with a correct policy, the revolutionary Communist cannot even consider the question of nationalization and workers' control in any concrete sense.

The working class content of the slogan of nationalization is distinguished from the enemy class content on the question of propaganda and action toward workers' control. The question of workers' control includes the question of nationalization, but the nationalization does not of itself include or imply workers' control. It is up to the workers to decide this question. To grab the problem at the wrong end will play into the hands of the reformists. The revolutionists must guard against loose talk on the question of nationalization.

The best way to insure the proper application of the slogan of nationalization and workers' control is to speed up the work and activity of the present stage which deals with our trade union policy and trade union work. Once the revolutionary Communist is entrenched in the trade unions this slogan will become a living issue in this stage of American capitalism.

—HUGO OEHLE.

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THE DEVIL'S GRANDMOTHER AGAIN

About the United Front with Grzeszinsky.

L'Humanite of September 19th reproduces the photograph of Grzeszinsky, the former social-democratic chief of police of Berlin, in the role of witness before the London counter-trial in the case of the burning of the Reichstag. It is clear that the poor editors of L'Humanite did not think about the significance of their printing this photograph. Otherwise, they would have resigned with shame, admitting that they have no right to be in charge of a workers' newspaper.

The London counter-trial which attempts to establish the truth in the matter of the burning of the Reichstag is an act of political struggle against fascism. The judges, witnesses, experts make their appearance at this trial not through compulsion but in order to achieve a definite political aim: the struggle with the hands of Hitler. Grzeszinsky detests Communism; he proved it in deeds, having shot down Communist workers. However, the same Grzeszinsky voluntarily appears at the London counter-trial to testify in favor of the Communists: Torgler, Dimitrov and others against the Fascist Goering and Co. By publishing the report

of the London counter-trial and in particular the photograph of the witness Grzeszinsky, L'Humanite participates in a united front with Grzeszinsky against Goering. Is this not clear?

More than two years ago we wrote that in the struggle against Hitler we are ready to make a united front not only with the devil and his grandmother but even with Grzeszinsky himself. The unfortunate editors of L'Humanite and the "Cahiers de Bolchevisme" spilled not a little ink then, trying to prove our complete adherence to social fascism. Truly fate is unmerciful to these people. Grzeszinsky could have died in time, or could have gone over to fascism so as to lighten somewhat the lot of the ill-fated editors of L'Humanite. But Grzeszinsky lived through, emigrated, appeared at the trial in favor of the tried Communists and thereby forced L'Humanite to print his photograph as an ally in the united front.

The London counter-trial, no matter how modest its political significance, is nevertheless very much worthwhile. Perhaps the readers of L'Humanite—the editors are

When President Roosevelt signed the National Industrial Recovery Act he expressed the belief that history would record it as the most important and far reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress. "It represents," he said, "a supreme effort to stabilize for all time the many factors which make for the prosperity of the nation and the preservation of the American standard of living."

To stabilize for all time—this is not possible in a world of flux, of constant motion, in which economic equilibriums are established to be shattered again. Least of all is it possible in a capitalist world—and still less so during its period of decline and decay. Nevertheless Roosevelt knew his ritual. He knew that the NRA would form the foundation upon which American imperialism hoped to make new advances and new conquests in the world market. Today the administrators are impatient to get this whole machinery in complete working shape in order to start seriously upon this advance. But today such an advance is also a problem much more complicated than before.

Results of Early Expansion

American capitalism in its early period of development had at hand all the prerequisites for monopoly capital within its own borders. When centered within the industrialized northeastern states, it found, by pushing westward, a mighty field of expansion for export of capital and export of means of production. But the resulting powerfully developed national economy, the vastly expanded productive forces and surplus of capital available produced also its opposite—growing interdependence upon world economy. American capitalism extended its structure throughout the world and acquired a world basis. Up to this point the law of uneven development of capitalism by which the various countries pass through their development in different forms and different tempi, has acted as a lever favoring the United States.

Through this uneven development,

Strike Wave Points the Way of the Future Development

which, as comrade Trotsky reminds us, is more of a historical reality than a law, the United States reached its stage of combined development. This took on the form of a highly advanced industrial system alongside of a backward political ideology which is most directly reflected within the working class. The internal colonization, or rather the seemingly limitless expansion of the home market is, of course, the main factor and forms the basis for this retarded consciousness. Enormous capitalist profits and super profits allowed for a wide margin available for the maintenance of a higher standard of living for the labor aristocracy. Class collaboration unfolded to almost perfection and thereby reinforced the means of keeping the working class as a whole in subjection. Upon such a foundation the super structure of bourgeois democracy could attain its greatest triumphs and secure for itself a long lease of life.

American Capitalism Depending Upon World Equilibrium

But speaking in historical terms American imperialism arrived belatedly upon the world arena. It was therefore deprived of the luxury of floating leisurely with the upward current of growing capitalism as was enjoyed by British imperialism for an extensive period of time. The American counterparty was compelled to make a forced march at dramatic speed to acquire a world base. But its emergence coincided with the period when the capitalist system on a world scale was passing its peak and was heading in a downward direction. That its own inner contradictions have become vastly intensified by this process has already been proved by the crisis reaching its greatest proportions precisely in the highly advanced United States.

During the period of growing capitalism the unevenness of development of the various countries was far greater than now. Today the world has become more uniform. The backward countries have supplemented their backwardness with the latest industrial advances. Capitalist economy is world economy extending beyond the legal boundaries and intertwined among nations. Its outstanding feature is the interdependence of the various national economies. Each of the contending powers are dependent upon the world equilibrium and subject to all of its shocks and turns. Most of all is that the case of the United States because of its far flung interests. It should, therefore, not be necessary to reiterate the indisputable fact that when the United States penetrates further into the world market the mighty barriers of conflicting imperialist interests arise in all their imposing magnitude.

Future Trends Within the Country

But this is only one side of the problem. Within the United States itself, its new world advance will impose a terrific strain upon the class relationship existing at present. This relationship can by no means be held within its present bounds even with the assistance of the NRA machinery, which is designed primarily for such a purpose. The slightly favorable turn in the economic conjuncture which is now in evidence tends by itself to spur the workers on to make increasing demands and thereby bring more to the surface and make more acute the conflicts engendered by the capitalist mode of production. With the NRA institutions attempting to check these conflicts they will assume more of a political character. At present the heavy crop of strikes which are spreading like wildfire everywhere indicates the future trend of developments.

In this country we are moving no longer within the orbit of conditions of the past. The margin of capitalist profits formerly available for the maintenance of a higher level for the labor aristocracy has become seriously narrowed. American capitalism, in order to effectively pursue its furious onslaught upon the world market, and to be prepared for the competition it meets, needs above all a low wage level throughout its industrial enterprises. To maintain the tranquility of class relationships of the past on this basis is not possible. We must therefore visualize the immediate future in the United States as one of sharply intensified struggles with the added phenomenon of disturbances reaching revolutionary proportions not at all out of the question.

No one can as yet predict whether a real and substantially favorable change in the economic conjuncture can be accomplished in the United States. But the conflicts and disturbances which will grow out of the efforts for its accomplishment can be foreseen. The formerly favorable lever for the United States constituted by the uneven development of capitalism has been turned into its opposite and is reacting against the United States. It is now compelled to seek the new roads of advance within a decaying world system. It is compelled to assume the major responsibility for checking further class disturbances and, if possible, for the crushing of further proletarian revolutions inevitably growing out of the more intense world exploitation. If to this is to be added the possibility of failure to arrive at a favorable change of economic conjuncture, then it is necessary to say that the perspectives for the United States assume a much more directly revolutionary character.

The relations of world economic forces have changed with the rise of American imperialism. With the shifting of the world economic center to the United States this change became more definite and more direct. But with this shift, there is also a corresponding shift—at first only slowly but sure to gain momentum—of the revolutionary center from Europe to America. In a general sense we formerly counted upon the revolution to be accomplished in Europe first and upon the victorious European proletariat to light to hold its own against reactionary America. It is now possible to say, still speaking in a general sense, that this outlook has been reversed by the dialectics of the relation of forces. Revolutionary struggles here move up to the very top of the agenda of historically immediate possibilities.

It is said in informed quarters that a reporter of an important capitalist paper ventured the prediction to Roosevelt: "If you do not succeed with the New Deal you will be known to posterity as the worst President the United States ever had." Roosevelt answered ironically: "If I do not succeed with the New Deal I will be known to posterity as the last President of the United States."

—AKNE SWABECK.

Resolution on the Paris Conference Adopted by the Int'l Left Opposition

(Resolution of the Plenum of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) on the conference of left socialist and Communist opposition organizations held at Paris, August 27-28, 1933.)

1. The very fact of a conference of 14 parties, organizations and groups of most heterogeneous character and tendencies was the result of a very deep crisis of the socialist and communist movements, or more exactly the fruit of the collapse not only of the Second but also—on another historical level and due to other causes—of the Third International.

2. There can be, it is clear, no thought of the building of a new international by organizations which have profoundly different and even opposite principle bases. The Left Opposition participated in this conference under its own banner with the aim of assisting in the principled separation from reformists and centrists and of drawing together truly homogeneous revolutionary organizations.

3. The only real result of the conference, but an exceptionally important one, is the declaration signed by four organizations (L.O., S. A. P., two Holland parties: R. S. P. and O. S. P.) which represented the first deliberate step in the direction of the building of the new foundations of Marx and Engels.

4. The Plenum clearly realizes that the four named organizations of different political origin cannot attain complete unity on fundamental principles, tactical and organizational methods within a few days. At any rate, the attained result creates sufficient basis to believe that the future work of the organizations on the programmatic Manifesto and tactical documents will make it possible not only to assure the necessary unity of conceptions, but also to attract under

the banner of the new International a number of other revolutionary organizations and fractions.

5. The Plenum considers it necessary immediately to begin the elaboration of the programmatic documents and to create a technical secretariat which could, while yet in the process of editing the Manifesto and the resolutions, enter into contact with sympathizing organizations so that their opinions, suggestions and criticisms may find a reflection in the text of the programmatic documents.

6. The Plenum instructs its representative in the programmatic commission to be guided by the basic ideas expressed in the Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists and made public at the Paris conference of August 27-28th.

7. With regard to the decisions adopted by the heterogeneous majority of the conference and permeated through and through by this heterogeneity, the Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists does not find it possible to take political responsibility for these decisions. Insofar as the adopted decisions may lead to this or that practical action (for example boycott of Hitler Germany) the Left Opposition is ready according to circumstances, to take part in actions which correspond to its general principles.

On the basis of practical activities the Left Opposition will always aim at a closer drawing together with parties and organizations nearest to it. Only under this condition can a broad and courageous policy of the united front for immediate political aims help the work of the building of the new Communist International.

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The Plenum calls upon all sections of the International Left Opposition to realize fully the historic importance of the step made. A task of immediate urgency now consists in giving the "Declaration of Four" the widest possible publicity in Communist, Socialist, trade-union, and especially, youth ranks. Through newspapers, leaflets, posters, in speeches and discussion it is necessary to popularize and to interpret the meaning of the Declaration. Without sparing any effort it is necessary to rouse the proletarian vanguard to the building of the new International.

The declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists made public at the conference ends with the words: "Our revolutionary responsibility is immeasurably great. Let our creative work rise to the height of this responsibility." Let us fully realize that these words refer first of all to the Bolshevik-Leninists themselves.

—PLENUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

Sept. 13 1933.

In taking this position the Plenum only makes use of the right which the Conference granted until October 15th to all the participating parties, namely: to ratify, or on the contrary, to reject the resolutions of the conference.

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THE MILITANT
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EDITORIAL

The Silk Workers' Battle

In the general resurgence of labor militancy which has greeted the inauguration of the NRA the general strike of the silk workers holds today a place of outstanding prominence and significance. The spirit of 1913 is abroad again. The strike, now in its fifth week, presents a solid battle line of 50,000 workers which extends throughout the main centers of the industry. In its numbers and scope the present strike is the greatest in the long and stormy history of the silk workers' struggles. It deserves the closest attention of the workers everywhere. The silk strike has a meaning for the entire labor movement.

So far the strikers have stood solid. More, they have steadily spread out the strike over a wider area while frustrating all maneuvers to induce them to return to work without a satisfactory settlement. This has been made possible by the fusion of the rank and file mass with a broad group of experienced and tested trade union militants who have been through the mill and know what they want. Paterson is the heart of the industry, and the Paterson militants, heirs of a great tradition, are naturally the main driving force of the present strike. What was done and what was attempted in the epic struggle of 20 years ago in Haywood's time is not without influence even today. The Paterson strike of 1913 awakened and inspired the progressive elements of the working class. It lives in their memory. The strike of 1933 may very well exert a similar influence. If they keep to the line they have pursued up till now, if they do not falter and, above all, if they keep a sharp eye on McMahon and the NRA sharks, the militants waging the present battle will write a page worthy of the old tradition.

THE UNIONS IN THE STRIKE

The trade union situation in the silk strike is an especially interesting example of how a mass revolt can surmount old divisions, and make its way through the most complicated forms. The A. F. of L. union in the textile industry—the United Textile Workers—is one of the most reactionary and incompetent organizations in the country. It has a long and malodorous record of betrayal which has driven the textile workers to independent unionism, in one form or another, for decades. The best militants in the industry have grown up in incessant struggle against the U. T. W. treacheries and have been steeled in hatred against it. Many of the leading militants in this strike are veterans of various independent movements. There are former I. W. W. men among them. Not a few were once active in the National Textile Workers Union (the Stalinist organization).

The main directing force in the strike comes from the Associated Silk Workers. This organization came into existence and remained for years as an independent union. Now it belongs to the American Federation of Silk Workers which, in turn, is affiliated, as an autonomous section, with the U. T. W. and through that, with the A. F. of L. Thus, the forces of the strikers have been unified under official A. F. of L. auspices by a strike committee whose most aggressive and militant members are hostile to the reactionary philosophy and practices of the U. T. W. on the one side and to the stupid, bureaucratic and disruptive methods of the Stalinist N. T. W. on the other. Under these peculiar and complicated conditions the silk workers have been welded together for the greatest strike in the history of the trade. In this achievement there is to be seen the most convincing proof that the form of trade union organization is subordinate to the substance of the movement. Trade union militants everywhere can learn an important lesson in tactics from the silk workers in this respect.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE STRIKE

The strike has been distinguished by several other important features. It is national in scope—practically all the silk-producing centers are tied up—and from this the strike derives much of its exceptional power. The Paterson militants displayed magnificent energy in despatching committees by the truck-load to spread the strike to other points. They didn't fall into the NRA trap and go back to work under a deceptive "truce" on the promise of "adjustments" later. They reject all negotiations for separate shop or craft settlements. They stood out, and are still standing out, for a satisfactory national settlement. To secure this they rely on the picket line more than on the NRA conferences at Washington.

A black spot in the strike situation is the activity of the National Textile Workers Union. This organization, due to bad leadership, lost its opportunity in the industry. It forfeited the confidence of the best militants who once belonged to it, drove out others who raised the voice of criticism, dwindled down to a paper shell and came to the crucial test of the strike without membership, leadership or policy. The main tide of the silk workers movement was already flowing strongly in the channel of the American Federation of Silk Workers. This should have been the cue for the N. T. W. to eliminate itself and merge with the mass movement. Instead of that the attempt has been made to split the ranks and set up a rival strike committee.

This dangerous game, which incensed the conscientious militants who concerned themselves with the interests of the workers and who desired a united struggle in their behalf, only added further discredit to the people whose light-hearted adventures in the trade union movement had brought them a bad enough name already. And worse may follow, if latest reports are true. Frustrated in their efforts to make a deep split in the strikers ranks, and isolated to a section of the dye workers who are new to organization, the N. T. W. is reported in the Paterson papers to be offering separate shop settlements below the demands of the official general strike committee. They had better beware of this kind of "competition". The disavowal of such intentions in the Paterson papers of October 3 didn't come too soon.

The composition of the silk strike leadership, and the course it has followed up till now, give promise of a successful outcome of the struggle which will lay the ground for a big revival and development of progressive unionism in the textile industry. The silk workers themselves are conducting their own strike. Warding off the treacherous interference of McMahon & Co. on the one hand, and dispensing with individual "stars" on the other, the actual direction of the strike has been taken over by a broad

collective group of militants, actual silk workers, who are rooted in the industry and experienced in its union struggles.

STRIKE POLICY

The strike policy that will yield the best results is clear enough:

Systematic exposure of the strike-breaking machinations of the NRA administration. No illusions about it. No confidence in it. The workers can rely only on their own strength. Their strength is manifested in their solidarity, in their strike. Therefore, no "disarming", no "truce", no return to the shops without a definite and satisfactory settlement. This is point one in a realistic and militant strike policy. Struggle to the end for a national settlement. No trifling with the solidarity of the strikers by individual shop settlements or dickerings in regard to them.

Work for a single union as well as for a single strike committee. Tighten the bonds between the striking units in the various silk centers in a single strike committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers. Persuade all the local organizations of strikers now independent, and the independent craft organizations, to affiliate with the Federation as well as with the strike committee.

In addition to the above line of policy, which flows logically out of the whole situation, a couple of additional suggestions may be offered. The first relates to the necessary preparations for the possible prospect of a drawn-out battle. The second, to the liquidation of the struggle of rival unions.

With every passing day the meager resources of the strikers dwindle and the bosses will count on breaking their ranks with the club of hunger. To meet this danger the efficient organization of relief machinery is a pressing necessity. The silk workers, who are selling an example to the workers everywhere, have every right to appeal to the entire labor movement for financial aid. They should do so without delay. What they do, or fail to do, in this respect now may easily prove decisive at a later stage of developments.

The Federation strike committee has been perfectly right in its head-on struggle against the disorganizing activities of the N. T. W. and in rejecting its maneuvers for a joint strike committee. The N. T. W. has long since lost its real basis as a union and the time for such proposals is past. What is needed in the strike now is a single union, not a joint strike committee of rival unions. The Federation of Silk Workers has already established its overwhelming supremacy. The task now is to make its organization complete as the sole union representing all the workers. To that end, the Federation would have nothing to lose, and much to gain, by offering to take the N. T. W. strikers into the union as a body. This would deprive the N. T. W. leaders of any justification before the strikers for maintaining a separate organization. Regardless of their attitude toward the proposal itself, if sincerely put forward, and made known to the strikers would exert a powerful influence for the consolidation of the strikers movement in a single union. The strike would thereby gain in strength.

THE REAL TEST AHEAD

The real test of the silk strike is still ahead. It has been a comparatively peaceful affair so far while the attempt was being made to suffocate the revolt quietly with the poison gas generated by the NRA. But the class struggle has not been eliminated. The bosses have not ceased to be the ruthless cunning and exploiters of the workers. The police and all other agencies of government remain the tool of the bosses for the suppression of the workers. Even while the oily game of negotiation and maneuver goes on the weapons of force are being made ready. They may be turned on the workers in full force at any moment. Then will come the real test of the strike and of the quality of its leadership. The less illusions are entertained, the less the blunt truth of the class struggle and all its implications are concealed, the better the preparation for the coming developments.

The strike wave now sweeping over the country, of which the silk workers movement is a part, represents the beginning of a great class awakening of the American workers. The path they are entering on now, will lead them far from the place where they have stood before and from the ideas and illusions—inculcated by the propaganda of the bosses—which they have held. In the strikes they will learn by experience what the government is. They will see it in action against them every time. They will have to fight bitterly for every inch of ground they gain, only to lose it again the moment they relax their vigilance and slacken their struggle. The workers will be forced to learn that the "new deal" they need is a new social system without exploiters and without slaves. Nothing less. The strike leadership that understands this, explains it to the workers and leads them toward it is the leadership that really represents the interests of the workers.

LOOK TO PATERSON

The silk workers, who stand today in the forefront of embattled labor, have a great responsibility. The workers throughout the country, noting their stubborn struggle and remembering many of them, the glory of the past, will turn again to Paterson for inspiration and perhaps for leadership in the difficult and complicated task of building unions and making them really serve the interests of the workers.

The militants conducting the silk strike have shown how to make an A. F. of L. union function as an instrument of struggle. It is up to them also to demonstrate that affiliation to the United Textile Workers does not mean reconciliation with the reactionary philosophy and treacherous practices of the leadership of this organization. In the present strike such tendencies are to be observed on the part of certain individuals. Let them watch such people and warn them of the old proverb: he who gives the devil a finger will soon have to give his whole hand.

If the silk strike has already attracted national attention, its continuance to a victory will invest its organizers with a national authority. The progressive forces in the labor movement, now scattered and demoralized, need a reorganization. This is the most imperative task of the hour. If the militant elements of the silk strikers persevere with their efforts and live up to their opportunity they can play a responsible part in its fulfillment.

Two American Congresses «Against War»

The "historic Anti-War Congress" has adjourned, and as was to be expected, it has left absolutely no positive residue, save a bitter taste in the mouth of every revolutionist, and illusions in the minds of those workers duped by the macabre masquerade of the Stalinists.

More than once in these columns we have submitted the whole Stalin-Barbusse (in the United States: Browder-Sinclair-Dreiser) movement to a thorough criticism which laid it bare as a burlesque of a genuine united front movement against fascism and the danger of imperialist war, as a pericious pacifist deception calculated to cover up the impotence of the international Stalin apparatus. The just concluded New York congress merely remained true to smug tradition of the Amsterdam assembly last August and the Paris gathering that followed it. It represented nothing but the Stalinist organizations plus a few handfuls of pacifists and confusionists serving as a "respectable front". Like its predecessors—the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Kuo Min T'ang alliance, the "World League Against Imperialism"—it is part of the Great Illusion of Stalinism.

The Stalinist Theory About War

The official Stalinist theory of international socialism leads directly to the conception that the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, requires, or permits, policies and practices from those pursued in the general strategy of the proletarian vanguard. A revolutionary policy must be followed "in general" in the struggle of the British working class against the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants. But in the struggle against the war danger, the British Communists must subordinate themselves to the Churchill and Cawks. The proletarian in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must conduct an independent struggle against its ruling class. But in the alleged interests of the defense of the Soviet Union, it must be tied to the chariot of Arabian princes, reactionary Hindu mystics, Balkan "peasant" leaders or demagogic office seekers from Catalonia to Cathay.

In essence, this course resulted

The New York Barbusse Movement and The «People's Council» of 1917

In the blowing up of the Second International when the crucial test confronted it. The international is an instrument of peace, and not of war, was the Kautskyan explanation in 1914. If there is any difference between that and the conduct of the Stalinists, it is that the latter half conceal themselves behind the thin mask of Messrs. Munzenberg, Barbusse and their similars. Nevertheless, this does not eliminate the fact that at bottom we are dealing here with a semi-pacifist, semi-social patriotic conception, which has led to the August Fourth of both internationalisms.

A Striking Comparison

The New York congress affords us the opportunity of making a most striking comparison between it and a similar movement in this country in 1917—the "People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace". If a few names and terms are changed as they have to be for the period of time that has elapsed, it will be difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Or, if there is a distinction, it lies only in the fact that the Barbusse movement and its proponents have been deteriorating and collapsing at a speedier rate.

The "People's Council" was as much a cover organization for the Socialist party as the Barbusse movement is for the Stalinists. It too had as its aim the struggle against war and the preservation of peace. It too proclaimed itself a "friend of the Russian revolution" and demanded that the peace terms of the "Russian democracy" be universally accepted. It too held its "historic conventions", represented itself as the 1917 equivalent of the "real united front", and at its constituent assembly in Chicago in September 1917 declared itself to be "representing in all over two million members" (American Labor Yearbook, 1920).

Among its founders and spokesmen could be found almost exactly

the same organizations, the same individuals—at all events, the same types—as those that composed the New York congress a few days ago. If the Barbusse movement has Mrs. Annie M. Gray of the Women's Peace Society, the 1917 movement had the equally well-intentioned Harriet Park Thomas, of the Women's Peace Party. For the Barbusse actress, Mrs. Alla Nazimova, the People's Council had the actress Miss Lola LaPollette. Mr. Leopold Stokowski's place was occupied in 1917 by the sculptor Frank Stephens. Rabbi Israel Goldstein had his counterpart sixteen years ago in Rabbi Judah I. Magnes, just as the present secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mr. J. B. Matthews was at that time represented by its then secretary, Mr. Edmund C. Evans. The People's Council had its J. B. Salustius then, and the Barbusse Committee has him now. Both movements had more than their quota of ministers, pastors, priests and other gentlemen of the gospel. The official party representatives in 1917 were J. Hillquit, Lee Panken and Berger; today they are Browder, Minor, Hathiway and Bedacht.

The "Peoples Council" was, as is quite well known today, a miscarriage. It organized no real movement against the war, nor could it. It even proclaimed that "We are not discouraging enlistments. We are not obstructing the conduct of the war". Its belly caved in completely and there was no backbone to hold it up. The pacifists, as before 1917 and ever since, proved to be against war until... it broke out.

A Superficial Distinction

Al, but you forget that it was the social patriotic Socialist party that inspired and maneuvered the People's Council; whereas now it is the revolutionary Communist party that is behind the Barbusse movement. The objection is based upon a superficial distinction in this case, for the difference is less real than apparent.

The Communist party does, it is

true, adopt revolutionary theses on how to fight the war danger; it speaks and writes incessantly of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, of the struggle against pacifism, and more of the same.

But—and this is the nub of the question—the Socialist party of 1917, in its own conventions and press, also paid formal homage to the revolutionary phase. At its St. Louis emergency convention in 1917, it declared (majority resolution on war): "We particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity.... The acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action: 1. Continuous, active and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power." Radical enough, wasn't it? Among its signatories were not only the revolutionist Ruthenberg, but also the Centrist Hillquit and the social imperialist Berger. So much for their words. In action however, the St. Louis resolution did not prevent Hillquit and Berger from dissolving the Socialist party and its anti-war work in the wispy-washy pacifist morass of the People's Council, which served American imperialism so well, in its own way, while the war was actually on.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

(To be continued)

OPEN FORUM

CUBA—Towards Workers' Revolution or Wall Street Puppet Government?

Speaker: Joe Carter

Friday night, October 13th, 1933

at International Workers School

126 East 16th Street

Audience: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America

(Opposition)

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Historic Strike of 20 Years Ago

(Continued from Page 1)

the strikers gave a lesson in proletarian unity to the whole country.

Beginning with the Henry Doherty mill the strike spread like wildfire embracing all the silk slaves of Paterson who left their looms in open revolt against the introduction of the 3 and 4 loom system and for the eight hour day. The workers had toiled and starved long enough for a wage that averaged six to seven dollars a week during the year. The strikers now voiced their hitherto inarticulate demands for a 25 percent increase in wages and a minimum of twelve dollars a week for dye workers.

At the helm of the strike stood the heroic I. W. W., fanning the discontent, inspiring the faltering, guiding the militants, braving the terror, teaching the rudiments of the class struggle to countless thousands and writing a page of labor history in letters of red. The names of Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca will long be remembered for their unflinching devotion as leaders of the strike of 1913.

Thousands of strikers, men and women, thronged the picket line in the grey hours of the morning where the police beat them mercilessly. Hundreds were taken in black Marias to filthy jails. But they were not swayed from their goal. John Reed, who reported the strike, recounted an incident where a group of nine strikers were held for more than 22 hours without food, water or bedding in a jail meant for one. And that during this whole time they never ceased cheering or singing.

Several workers were shot and killed by hired assassins during the strike. Phillips Russell wrote in the August 1913 International Socialist Review of an incident that typified the magnificent spirit that animated the workers in the strike. A striker named Madonna was killed by an armed thug doing scab work in the mill. A crowd of workers gathered at the burial of Madonna.

"By her husband's open grave Madonna's wife turned and faced the thug. In broken halting English she began to speak.

"I do not cry," she said. "Madonna is dead, but still I can cry. They have killed my man, but I shed not one tear. After you win the strike, then maybe I cry. I do not ask help from you, though my man is dead. I ask only that you win the strike."

Is it any wonder that the memory of this strike has survived for more than 20 years?

The local press raised the red scare. The bosses were quite ready to deal with a "scab" union. They brought the J. T. W. and its misleaders Sara Conboy and John Golden, to Paterson, made a private agreement with them behind the backs of the workers and then hired the army, guarded it with policemen, firemen, with bosses ready to cool off the workers and an army of thugs, and proposed to sell the betrayal to the workers. But the strikers would have none of it. They stormed out of the meet-

ing stronger for the I. W. W. than ever.

This did not convince the bosses yet. So they tried shop conferences with the workers and secret ballots but the strikers would not be intimidated back to work. The authorities arrested Haywood and the other strike leaders several times on all sorts of trumped-up charges, but to no avail. The kept press of Paterson, the Call and the Star, set up a holler that Haywood and the others were defaming the strike Spangled Banner and substituting the Red Flag. The workers however did not fall victim to this propaganda. That they understood what was really involved was revealed by Bill Haywood who told of a meeting where the following happened:

"Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was on the platform at a big strike meeting one day explaining the significance of the red flag when a striking dyer sprang up from the middle of the audience crying:

"I know! Here is the red flag!"

"And aloft he held his right hand—stained a permanent bloody crimson, gnarled from years of toil, and corroded by the scarlet dye which it was his business to put into the fabrics worn by the dainty lady as well as the fawning prostitute.

"For an instant there was silence and then the hall was rent by cries from the husky throats as all realized this humble dyer indeed knew the meaning of the red badge of his class."

Good reason that the strikers held out, grimly determined, for almost five months, their children sent to New York to sympathetic workers, and their own stomachs empty. Take as an instance the great parent in Madison Square Garden the like of which has never been seen before or since, in which 1,029 strikers gave a graphic portrayal of their great battle before a crowded house. This thrilling, unforgettable spectacle before a packed house was just one of the ways the I. W. W. dramatized the strike and roused the support of labor to it.

All of the grandiose efforts of the bosses and their local agents were frustrated by the strikers and their leadership. Here is a clipping of the rabid Paterson Star of the time which relates the failure of one of these incidents:

"With flags flying and the city decked out in gala garb, the great silk mills of Paterson reopened their doors to welcome back 35,000 men and women operatives.

"The ending of the gigantic labor war was beautifully planned. The factory owners were going to forgive their erring workmen. Mayor McBride and the police saw the end of their troubles approaching. The ministers who had urged the workers to return understood their exhortations were to be obeyed.

"It was a very successful end of the strike, marred by only one thing—none of the strikers went back."

No, it was not any stunt of the work. It was economic pressure—bosses that forced the men back to sheer hunger—that began to tell after 22 weeks of strike. The strike was lost.

Because of its cost, because of the travail, the sacrifices, the heroic militancy, the Paterson strike of 1913 has gone down into the annals of labor never to be eradicated.

Independent Craft Unions in Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

tinuous, formed clubs of the warpers and the other trades, independent of any of the existing unions in the city.

What is most interesting, however, is the fact that the National Textile Workers Union, which is committed to a policy of industrial unionism, was instrumental in the organization of the United Warpers' League and the clubs of loomfixers and twisters. Members and sympathizers of the N. T. W. were the most active figures, the creators of these organizations. There is no doubt they worked under the guidance and sanction of the leading body of the N. T. W. Why weren't these crafts amalgamated into the National Textile Workers Union? Why were they organized without any official connection with it?

So discredited had the National Union (Stalinist) become in the eyes of the workers that recruitment of experienced workers into it was wellnigh impossible. In other words, the National Union ceased to possess any vitality which would make growth possible. Instead of recognizing this fact as honest and progressive unionists, and sending these workers into the ranks of the Associated, the leaders of the N. T. W., hoping later—should better times come—to corral the skilled crafts into their paper union, followed the traditional A. F. of L. policy of separating the skilled workers from the broad mass.

But if the N. T. W. could not organize the workers directly into their own union neither could they hold them under their influence. For more than five weeks now the National Union, which has sympathizers on the Executive Board of the United Warpers' League, have been exerting every effort to get the latter organization to send representatives to the national strike committee run by the N. T. W. Except for one incident of recent date, where the full membership was not present, the warpers have every time overwhelmingly

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THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Marlin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 46 (Whole No. 193)

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per copy

\$1.50 for six months

Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

Bundle rates 1 cent per copy

Foreign 2 cents per copy

refused to be aligned with this splitting national strike committee. And when the membership had discovered that the National Union people had jammed through a motion to send five delegates to Albiontown they immediately rescinded the motion and voted to withdraw the delegates. The workers saw very clearly what the N. T. W. was unable to understand.

From the beginning of the strike the warpers have made overtures to the Associated towards obtaining representatives on the strike committee of the latter organization. This move was consummated within the last few days, and the United Warpers have elected two militant workers to the Associated strike committee where they were well-received.

In the course of the earlier attempts for a common strike committee one of the conditions put by the Associated, before this could take place, was for the United Warpers League to come to some agreement with the A. F. of L. Horizontal Warpers League. In characteristic A. F. of L. style the latter refused to come to any kind of an agreement until the United Warpers League would liquidate and its members join their union as individuals. This was refused by the membership. And for several weeks the negotiations dragged along until the rank and file of the Associated Strike Committee voted to send a letter to the Warpers League inviting the warpers to elect two delegates to the strike committee on the single condition that the elected delegates be subject to the approval of the Associated strike committee.

Bill Keller, under instructions to send the said letter, composed it in such bureaucratic fashion that the warpers rejected it. Then a declaration of the Associated strike committee, incensed at Keller's action, came to the warpers and asked that the old letter be returned and read a new invitation which was unanimously accepted by the membership.

Before the warpers live the big job of completely organizing the craft, of amalgamating with the loomfixers and the twisters, who are already represented on the Associated strike committee, and of laying the ground for the end of separate craft unionism in Paterson by ultimately affiliating with the American Federation of Silk Workers.

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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 47 [WHOLE NO. 194] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1933 PRICE 2 CENTS

'The Evil Genius of the American Labor Movement' A Monument to Gompers

"It is fitting that in the capital of the nation a statue should stand through the ages to remind future generations of the services to that nation of a patriot who served his country well."

These are President Roosevelt's words of tribute in dedicating a monument not to a general, an admiral or an imperialist free-booter but to a labor leader—Samuel Gompers, the deceased president of the American Federation of Labor. The president of the United States is so lavish with his praise for Gompers because he feels a deep admiration for the man whom he rightly considers not a tribute of the oppressed or a warrior for a new society but a staunch pillar of the powers-that-be, a "patriot."

We have no argument with Roosevelt when he says that Gompers "served his country well." Indeed Wilson's eulogy of Gompers, quoted by Roosevelt, reveals how deeply the masters are indebted to Samuel Gompers.

"If I may be permitted to do so," said Wilson in 1917, "I want to express my admiration for his patriotic courage, his large vision and his statesmanlike sense."

Khaki Shirts Get Medals

New York City.—Silver medals for "bravery in action" have lately been bestowed upon several members of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America who took part in the clash with anti-Fascists in Astoria, N. Y., on July 14, when Anthony Fierro, anti-Fascist student, was killed. It is for Fierro's death that his comrade Athos Terzani faces trial here solely on the basis of an accusation by "General" Art J. Smith, commander-in-chief of the Khaki Shirts.

Eight of those who were in the Astoria affair, including Smith, were decorated recently in Khaki Shirts headquarters in Philadelphia. This was done with pretentious ceremony. The silver medal is described as "the American Fascist meritorious service cross."

After "General" Smith received this honor from the general staff of his organization, he bestowed a like decoration on Adjutant General J. E. Monaghan, Col. Pasquale Rogliano, Emilio Torres, Frank Moffer, Mario Martin, Albert L. Agostino, and Algisso De Felice.

At the same time a silver cross was pinned upon Mrs. Domenico Sica, widow of an Italian character, who was killed in the Astoria affair. Sica was killed in South Philadelphia in June, and press reports said that he met his death during an attempt of the Khaki Shirts to break up an anti-Fascist meeting in a hall. Investigation indicates, however, that Sica was not injured during the break-up of that meeting, but was stabbed afterward on the sidewalk outside, evidently by some private enemy.

New Inquiry Into Killing

District Attorney Charles S. Cadden of Queens County, who agreed on August 28 to make a new inquiry into the Fierro killing, has before him the declarations of Terzani and another eyewitness, Nicholangelo Palumbo, made on the night of the tragedy, that Fierro actually was shot down by "General" Art Smith's associates in the Khaki Shirts.

Mr. Cadden is running for Borough President of Queens on the Democratic ticket next month, and his office voiced no objection when the Terzani defense asked recently for two months postponement of the trial. It is now set for November 27.

So far no brief has been filed by the prosecution in support of Assistant District Attorney Joseph Loscalzo's resistance of the defense demand for photographs of all finger-prints on the murder-gun. Just what tangible reasons Mr. Loscalzo can offer for withholding those finger-prints remain to be seen. It is believed by observing lawyers here that the prosecution will have difficulty in justifying its position that it should not be obliged to disclose the finger-prints on the gun in advance of trial.

Terzani's four-page affidavit which accompanied the petition for the finger-prints, contends that he cannot have a fair trial unless he is permitted to show by expert testimony that the finger-prints on the pistol are not his. He challenges the state to produce those prints in open court.

Money is needed urgently for Terzani's defense. Contributions should be sent to Herbert Mahlor, treasurer of the United-Front Terzani Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

"In Harness"—For the Bosses
From the outset of his career as a labor leader, Gompers caused the capitalist class little worry. He knew how to pull in harness—not for the workers. The bosses resented a lucrative harvest from the plasticity of Samuel Gompers who traded the fighting battalions of the proletariat for the Judas gold of respectability.

Gompers founded the American Federation of Labor; he was its president until his death in 1924. For this activity he has not suffered the storm of abuse, calumny and vilification with which the ruling class so profusely showers the protagonists of the labor movement. On the contrary he is glorified in a monument erected to his memory in the citadel of American imperialism. A curse at the death of "Big Bill" Haywood, a sigh of relief at the passing of Debs and a monument for Gompers! The oligarchy of capital knows how to estimate the work of labor's leaders.

It never could be said of Mr. Gompers that he "kicked over the traces." His kick was at the working class. His long years of service, earning him such profuse praise from Roosevelt, began with renegacy from the socialist movement whose ideas he assimilated as a young cigar maker. He deserted socialism for the respectability of a "pure and simple" craft union movement whose motto was "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

He wanted no connection with the socialists because they preached a doctrine of "class hatred and violence." No connection with the socialists or the mass of unskilled workers who might be contaminated with radical ideas—this was his credo in founding the A. F. of L. in 1881. The great mass of exploited workers standing outside of the sequestered cloister of the aristocracy of labor were also outside the concern of Gompers.

A Bulwark Against Radicalism
The whole career of Samuel Gompers was predicated on currying the favor of the master class, of showing them by deeds that the labor movement that he led was good 100% American—a bulwark against radicalism. In 1904 the memorable strike led by the American Labor Union and its great industrial force, Eugene Victor Debs, dared the power of the railway magnates. The government sent the militia against the strikers. On the other side the railroad men were supported by the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance which promised to feed the strikers. The country was in an uproar, the class lines were drawn taut and the unions were clamoring for action—for support of the Pullman workers.

Gompers called a meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and refused to call either general or local strikes in support of the beleaguered railroad workers. Debs was charged with contempt of court for violating the injunction. Gompers seized this opportunity to prove to the master class that the labor organization associated with his name would have no part in radical action. The strike was lost in no small degree because of the treachery of Gompers. Debs went to jail; Gompers won the good graces of Wall Street. Gompers was learning the lesson of solidarity—with the ruling class.

National Civic Federation
It was as president of the National Civic Federation that Gompers earned his spurs as a trusted lieutenant of the capitalists within the ranks of labor. An organization composed of notorious labor haters like Ralph Easley and labor

(Continued on Page 4)

New Issues Disturb 53rd A. F. of L. Convention

Mass Movement Surges against Old Forms; Roosevelt Threatens Strikers

The fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in Washington, D. C., marks the largest gathering of this body representing more workers, than any time since its conclave in Buffalo in 1917. Its attitude towards the NRA, the rising strike wave and the burning problem of craft or industrial unionism are up for decision at this meeting.

The convention is infused with the ballyhoo spirit of the "New Deal." President William Green told the assembled delegates of the blessings of the NRA, saying that the "tide has turned" for labor and, further, that "the president himself will rely upon the hosts of labor to see this thing satisfactorily through." Exactly what this reliance on the president will mean the delegates were not long in finding out. Senator Wagner came before the gathering and bewailed the fact that the working class, which had so patiently suffered during the four years of crisis, "should resort so largely to extreme methods after revival has begun and when further revival depends upon the success of the program of cooperation." The strikes are plainly disturbing the Roosevelt administration.

Johnson Threatens Strikers

Much sharper, much blunter, and far more threatening was the warning of Roosevelt's man Friday, General Johnson, Green had complained that the wages set in the codes were not adequate. Others had urged that the organized workers use their power to gain what they thought was so generously offered under the NRA. This was manifested in the great strike wave that has been the almost automatic response of the working class. Not so with General Johnson who attempted to persuade the delegates that their rights were "effectively" protected under the NRA administration. And if the workers would not believe this, if their conditions

of life belie it, then Johnson has this to say: "The plain stark truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike." If, in spite of this threat, the workers have recourse to the strike weapon then Johnson has the following threat to make: "Public opinion is the essential power in this country. In the end it will break down and destroy every subversive influence."

It is unnecessary to write that the delegates did not accept the challenge and fling it back into his teeth. As has been the case for years the Left wing was conspicuously by its absence. The fat salaried office holders are monopolizing the stage. The Greens and Lewises, for whom Johnson has words of praise as against the rebellious coal miners, are running this show. The Stalinist party, which has consistently robbed the A. F. of L. of any organized Left wing, sent its "A. F. of L. Committee on Unemployed Insurance" to the convention. It was refused admittance on the grounds that the unions it claimed to represent were already seated at the convention and it was peremptorily thrown out by the police. No word of protest was raised in the convention.

A "Family" Faction Fight

It is true that there is a faction fight in the Federation. But this is only a family quarrel over the spoils. John L. Lewis is making a bid for power. Green is solidly entrenched. It appears that Green and his lieutenants will retain the honor of being the outstanding official servants of the capitalist class in the labor movement.

These squabbles for place and sinews give a picture of unreality to the convention of an organization that is a tidal wave of unionization sweeping the country. 500 federal unions, some in basic industries, have been added to the A. F. of L. in the recent period. Whether they liked it or no, the bureaucrats of the Federation were forced to wrestle with this problem.

The sending of armed detachments against the workers and the forcible suppression of the Communist Party in Havana and other cities marks the end of the Martin government's development to the left on the basis of the struggle against imperialism, and its evolution to the right out of fear of the workers and the pressure of the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists. This change of direction, which is characteristic of the whole course of the petty bourgeoisie and was to be foreseen, is inherent in the position of the petty bourgeoisie in Cuban society.

The social structure of Cuba is cast in the capitalist mold: bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and the working class. But for the bourgeoisie it is a distorted one. The bourgeoisie is not master in its own house. The almost total concentration of the economic resources of the country in the hands of American capital leaves little room and very few avenues of development for the Cuban bourgeoisie except in the service of Yankee imperialism. Thus, Machado on the road to power became the vice-president of several American corporations in Cuba.

But the petty bourgeoisie cannot aspire even to vice-presidencies. The student in the university who studied law knew that nearly all of the legal practice of the country was in the hands of large American law firms. The colon, who rented land from the large American owned mills and corporations, on which he raised sugar cane, the only market for which these same mills and corporations, was hopelessly enmeshed in the net of American property and finance. Across the road of development into big bourgeoisie in Cuba stands the American imperialist colossus.

The Impoverishment of the Petty Bourgeoisie

On the other hand, the crisis in sugar, which began years before the present world crisis of capitalism, impoverished not only the workers but also the petty bourgeoisie. To pay the interest and principal on Machado's loans from Wall Street, his extravagant public works program, and his army, he levied upon the petty bourgeoisie with crushing force. Out of their decreasing income the petty bourgeoisie had to

pay the exorbitant rates of the American owned utility companies. In New York City, which has a high rate, the cost of domestic electricity is six and five cents per kilowatt hour. In Havana it is as high as twenty. Although they were equipped to use these necessities, whole towns are forced to do without gas and electricity.

Under the pressure of the increasing difficulties of his rule, Machado reduced the public services. All high schools were closed in 1932. This economy program was also extended to a lesser degree to the low schools. Practically a whole generation was condemned to illiteracy. The appropriation for army mules was thirty-two cents a day; for hospital patients, before the hospitals ceased to function, twelve cents.

The Pressure of the Crisis
The merciless pressure of the crisis, the domination of the country's life by American capitalism and the tyrannical rule of Machado drove the petty bourgeoisie on to the path of revolution. The same factors pushed the workers along the same road. All the efforts of the petty bourgeoisie to remove Machado were unavailing until the workers intervened with a general strike. The continuing struggles of the workers provided the Left petty bourgeoisie with their opportunity to remove the servile De Cespedes government.

Government Turns to Right

force their demands for higher wages and better conditions.

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Government Turns to Right

force their demands for higher wages and better conditions.

pay the exorbitant rates of the American owned utility companies. In New York City, which has a high rate, the cost of domestic electricity is six and five cents per kilowatt hour. In Havana it is as high as twenty. Although they were equipped to use these necessities, whole towns are forced to do without gas and electricity.

Under the pressure of the increasing difficulties of his rule, Machado reduced the public services. All high schools were closed in 1932. This economy program was also extended to a lesser degree to the low schools. Practically a whole generation was condemned to illiteracy. The appropriation for army mules was thirty-two cents a day; for hospital patients, before the hospitals ceased to function, twelve cents.

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Striking Silk Workers Protest New NRA Code

The Paterson silk strikers have met the latest intervention of the government in its attempt to impose a code containing lower wages than those obtaining before the strike. They have rejected it to a man. The battle lines stand solid.

It is this institution that is supposed to raise wages and improve conditions—the NRA—which has made the proposal to the striking silk workers that they return to work under a minimum wage of \$12-\$13. The thin veneer of the Roosevelt New Deal is beginning to peel off—for the Paterson workers at least. The first intimation that such a raw deal was being put over by Roosevelt and his crew brought a delegation of strikers from Paterson to Washington to make it clear that the silk workers would not countenance this step backward to slave conditions—that they would fight the battle to the end and get a settlement on the picket line where they make the greatest challenge to the bosses' lie.

So flagrant was the proposed code, such an outright concession to the rayon bosses, that a peculiar form of united front took place in Washington. Not only the delegation of silk workers, but preachers, businessmen, politicians and silk bosses went to the capital to protest the proposed code. The bosses are making the most of this coincidence.

The Paterson Evening News purrs with unconcealed delight over what it considers a demonstration of class collaboration.

Paterson is Making History

"The trek to Washington, which brought several hundred Paterson silk strikers, manufacturers, dyers, businessmen and clergymen together fighting as one in the common cause, is an epochal demonstration of the civic consciousness of this city."

"When all shades of labor and employing thought can join hand in hand and, forgetting their basic differences of wages and hours, stand shoulder to shoulder with their proverbial enemies, the bosses, then there is some powerful moving force which is welding together so solidified and impressive a movement."

This statement is calculated to deceive the workers. The interests of the bosses and the workers are far from identical. The Paterson silk bosses are opposed to the present code because it would be disastrous to their business, their profits, in the struggle with competitors. The silk workers can rest assured that the bosses will fight for a strike settlement at rock bottom level. Just wait: tear gas and policemen's clubs will dispel all this pretty idyll of class collaboration.

'Rev.' Green Preaches

The President of the American Federation of Labor besides being a great "friend" of Labor and a still greater friend of the bosses is also a magnificent preacher. If anybody has any doubt of the labor "leaders" preaching abilities, he has only to read his sermon delivered last Saturday at Washington Cathedral. In his heart-rending appeal to the bosses to banish poverty from our sinful earth Father Green said:

"Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

"Instill in those who have made possible your success the power to continue living a good life. Among them let your blessing be shown in the form of adequate and steady wages."

Bill Green, as we see, is not only a faithful servant of his earthly bosses but also a devoted preacher of the Gospel of the Big Boss in heaven.

—D. MARCUS.

(Continued on Page 4)

At the present time a hearing is in progress in N. Y. for a silk code. What will emerge from this hearing is still a matter for conjecture. But this much is certain: if the silk workers relax their vigilance in regard to the conviving of the NRA and the officials of the U. T. W., represented by Panken at the hearing, then the outcome of the strike will be far from favorable for the strikers.

The extension of the strike, the maintenance of the picket lines—only on this condition can the Paterson workers wrest a victorious settlement from the bosses.

OPEN FORUM

THE NEW YORK ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday Night, October 20th, 1933

at International Workers School

126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Miners' Strike Bucks N.R.A.

In spite of Senator Wagner, and all the big and little flunkies of the A. F. of L., the striking miners in Pennsylvania have not accepted this wisdom. When the "magnificent policies" of the NRA were revealed to them last week by a "settlement" that did not recognize the United Mine Workers in the captive mines of the Steel Trust, the miners remained on strike. Roosevelt and Johnson had ordered them to go back to work, vice-president Murray of the NMWA had rushed head over heels to accept the settlement, Murray had promised that any miner who did not return to work "would not live long", and still the miners stayed out.

Even if Lewis, Murray and Co., try to pass off a sell-out "settlement" the miners understand the difference. After all the money which such sellouts put into the purses of Lewis and Murray is sweated out of the hides of the miners who remain in peonage and slavery. Even when the UMWA misleaders threatened to outlaw the strike, the ranks held firm.

The Miners Force A "Reconsideration"

Result: President Roosevelt is now almost talking in union recognition. Murray is again rushing headlong to open new negotiations. The U. S. Steel Trust has finally consented to confer with the U.M.W.A. In short, the miners have forced Roosevelt, the U. S. Steel, and the C. M. W. A. bureaucrats to begin all over again in their attempt to swindle the strikers out of the gains of their strike. If, instead, the miners had accepted Senator Wagner's recovery philosophy, they would be back at work with nothing gained except bullets and deaths from its steel Trust's gunmen.

The strike is far from won. Although Roosevelt is talking bravely about "collective bargaining", he is still the same man who a week ago accepted the agreement that did not recognize the union. The Murray, who is now lacking the hand of the steel bosses, is the same man who threatened death to all miners who did not accept the sell out. From such people the miners can expect nothing but treachery. If the strike demands are to be won, it will not be won through Roosevelt's promises or through the negotiations of Murray. They will be won only through the militant struggle of the workers themselves. And only through a militant policy in the U. M. W. A. will these demands, once won, be maintained. For that policy to exist, there must be an organized Left wing in the union.

PETER MORTON.

CHICAGO MEETING ARNE SWABECK

on

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

at

International Labor Lyceum

2557 W. North Ave.

Sunday, October 22-3 P. M.

ST. LOUIS MEETING ARNE SWABECK

at

CRUNDELL LIBRARY

14th and Cass Avenues

Friday, October 27, 8 P. M.

BANQUET

at

7119 Lafayette Avenue

Saturday, October 28, 8 P. M.

Too Much Coffee!

Workers who have trouble these days getting a nickel for a cup of coffee ought to have their loyalty to the capitalist system strengthened by the following article from the New York Times of October 7, 1933:

"Since July 1931, the National Coffee Department of Brazil has destroyed 3,050,124,000 pounds of coffee, having a value of approximately \$200,000,000, according to reports to the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange. The program of destruction so far has eliminated the equivalent of a full year's world consumption.

"In the last few months the Brazilian Government agency has been speeding up the destruction. In September 1933, 196,430,000 pounds, or 1,511,000 bags, were destroyed,

while in the three months ended on Sept. 30, 621,660,000 pounds, or 4,782,000 bags, were destroyed, either by burning or by dumping into the ocean.

"About 15,500,000 bags of coffee are held in the Brazilian warehouses now, against 25,048,000 a year ago and 27,999,000 two years ago."

If you go without coffee now you know the reason. There is too much of it.

CHICKEN DINNER

Saturday, October 14th at 8 P. M.

by

PROTOMAOIA

Speech by

DIEGO RIVERA

ADMISSION 50c

International Workers School
126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

Too Much Butter!

The recent advice of the government to the farmers to plow up at least 10 million acres of cotton, while a large section of the population is clad in the shoddies of rags, was not enough. The insanity of insanity that has hit the starving American proletariat square in the face is the news that there is too much butter! The solution? Well, there are many. But one and all are directed toward one end, to cut the existing supply of butter. To bring this about the dairy companies say that it is necessary to kill a large number of the cows now on hand. But this will not of course solve the question of the "surplus" butter which is already on hand. For this they need money and they have already asked the RFC for a fund of 30 million dollars to buy up

this "surplus". It will then be turned over to the tender mercies of the big hearted dairy bosses who are not a bit squeamish about saying what they are going to do with it. They say openly they will destroy it, if necessary.

In the land where millions walk the streets and starve; where hunger stalks the country like some gaunt wolf, leaving a train of death, disease, prostitution and crime in its wake; where 8 million unlearned school children try to learn on empty stomachs that George Washington was a great man; where infant mortality and suicide present a steadily rising percentage, where demonstrations of starving workers are common, and frequent, in this land there is, if you please, too much butter!

Sabotaging the Mooney Front

Sept. 9 was the date set for a huge Mooney demonstration on Boston Common. In preparation for this demonstration the preceding Sunday, Sept. 3, was designated as Mooney Sunday. All organizations regularly holding meetings on Boston Common Sundays were called upon to disperse with their own meetings and participate in the Mooney meeting. The C. P. was approached and promised to open the meeting from its platform and then turn the platform over to the Mooney meeting.

C. P. Fails to Appear

Sunday, Sept. 3, came. No organization held a meeting of its own. Some organizations turned out to the Mooney meeting. And the C. P.? They were nowhere to be found. It was after waiting for some time in hopeless expectation for the party to appear that the Left Opposition produced its platform and the meeting was opened, not by the C. P. as promised, but by the committee itself.

This, as we remember, was the campaign meeting to prepare the masses for the great demonstration scheduled for September 9 at which we were to hear the best speakers; those speakers capable of stirring the masses to action. And it was not an easy matter for the committee to come to a conclusion as to who should be the main speaker. For a brief two weeks before the date of the demonstration it was reported that the national office of the Tom Mooney Council of Action had made no reply to the request for a speaker. The delegate of the Communist League then proposed comrade Cannon as the speaker for Sept. 9.

It must be said at this point that if the Stalinist party had been conspicuous by its absence up till now, it became more conspicuous by its presence—by proxy—as soon as our speaker was proposed. Experience has taught us to distinguish between the attacks that come from a party member and those from a party member who is trying hard to make good. And so the party "sympathizer" proceeded to point out that by no means must the Communist League delegate "who wants to disrupt the united front" be permitted to bring her political interests here and build prestige for her organization. Under no circumstances must Cannon speak because "that would give a face to the meeting." The support to this attack came from other such "supporters" of Communism who stated that they would be satisfied with local speakers for the sake of helping peace in the committee. Thus the Stalinists won a victory: the Mooney demonstration had no face.

However, when the day of the demonstration arrived, when the "impartial" chairman lauded the N. R. A. as a revolutionary movement and urged the workers to support it; and when the "dynamic" Palmer, whom the National office sent, posed Mooney to the audience not as an outstanding labor leader but as a poor victim of frame-up which might befall anybody it became evident, even to the staunch supporters of the Stalinist party, that the Mooney meeting without a face was not very attractive.

Campaign Speech for the C. P.

Out of the audience, therefore, was picked a leading party member who was to make repairs. And he did. From this speaker we got a variety of subjects. He traveled extensively, from Tom Mooney to Cuba and then to the U. S. S. R. and ended up with a campaign speech for the party. The heart of his master would have throbbed with joy if only he could have heard the concluding sentences as they fell from the lips of his best disciple: "Three cheers for the C. P.!" "Join the ranks of the C. P.!"—All at a Mooney united front meeting!

But those who work sincerely for Mooney gave serious consideration to the meaning of united front. To them a united front meant neither the exclusion of Communist speakers nor a loose, undisciplined organization where each political representative can speak for his own organization. To them it meant further that each participant in open meetings must confine himself to the subject at issue. In this case, Tom Mooney. Consequently, at the following meeting of the committee charges were brought by the most active delegates that the C. P. speakers had violated the united front. The delegates demanded action or they would withdraw.

This, which would have meant the destruction of the council of Action, was averted, at least for the time being, by a decision to put these charges in writing to the party. The argument in defense of the party that the speaker only "subbed" can merely imply that one cannot find among the party's best those who know and can take a position whenever necessary. Such is the training that endures receive under Stalinism. Let those who shield and support such miserable action reflect for a moment. They who refused to let the workers listen to comrade Cannon for fear that his speech might draw the attention of the masses sacrificed another Mooney demonstration and made a mockery of the united front. Let them take responsibility for such failures. The interests of Tom Mooney demand an answer: Why did the Stalinists sabotage and then flagrantly violate the discipline of the united front?

—CHARLOTTE SHECHET, ated when it was launched, have,

FROM THE MILITANTS

In the Pocketbook Makers Union

It is three months since the strike of the Pocketbook Workers was settled. To date, however, the "Fraternal Club" administration has not called a membership meeting to report about conditions in the shop or whether the agreement is enforced. Meanwhile the employers don't live up to the agreement, in many shops workers do not get the scale. The administration is not doing a thing to see to it that the employers live up to the agreement. Although the cost of living has gone up the wages of the pocketbook workers have remained the same. Yet even the old wage scale is not enforced. In many shops overtime is permitted at a time when unemployment is so serious in our industry.

Moreover, Charles Goldman, the despot, the czar of our union, is misusing the employment office for his clique. Only his henchmen are given jobs. Workers who have been idle for two or three years have no chance of getting a job and are condemned to starve with their women and children. Is it any wonder why the misleaders have not called a meeting for the last three months? Yes, they did call two sections meetings to fill vacancies in the two sections. What happened? At the pocketbook section meeting a few weeks ago the entire office staff came and terrorized the membership in order to smuggle through their candidate for the Joint Council. When they could not succeed the manager, Steu, broke up the meeting.

Two weeks later the operators' section meeting was called. Again they tried the same scheme of terrorizing, bulldozing, watching how members voted. In spite of all this the operators elected all the rank and file candidates. The "Fraternal Club" candidates were defeated. In conservative unions, even, we never hear that officers should interfere in section affairs, but in our union the "Fraternal Club" gang want to rule and dictate even at section meetings.

Furthermore, the "Fraternal Club" and the fake "Progressives", the Matlins, the Ladermaus, the David Myers; they, together with the union administration forced a tax of ten percent on the workers without a membership meeting. They also put on a staff of organizers and business agents without the approval of the membership. The entire needle trades are worlding at the present time 35 hours a week. We in the pocketbook industry, who have so much unemployment, are still working 40 hours a week. In the meantime, according to rumors, the union officials are negotiating with the employers the terms of a Code. Have they called any membership meeting to discuss the terms of the code or to report on the negotiations? No. And why not? The answer is that the "Fraternal Club" and the "Progressives" say this union is a democratic organization and a socialist union; we are not like the Left wing who try to capture the union for the Communist Party; we are not Left wingers. So they divided the union among themselves. The right wing has always looked upon the union as its private property. This is in accordance with Socialist Party democracy in the trade unions.

We warn the pocketbook workers in time and we urge them to come to the next membership meeting and demand an account from our misleaders for all these outrages they are committing daily against the workers.

Pocketbook workers, now is the time to unite all our forces against the bosses and against all cliques. For a union by and for the workers. —N. D. F.

Discussing «Trotskyism» in Brownsville

After ten years of repression the platform of the Left Opposition is penetrating the wall of falsehoods and silence that the mental enforcers of Stalinism built around the Communist movement. In Brownsville, for example, no longer suffices to dismiss "Trotskyism" with a contemptuous shrug or sneering string of epithets. The ceaseless hammerings of the Left Opposition have brought results. The party members and YCLers demand clarity.

Particularly in the last several weeks the most discussed subject has been that of "Trotskyism". The lessons of the German debacle have left their inevitable imprints. There is frightful demoralization and indifference within the ranks of the party and mass organizations. The Unemployment Council is no factor in the lives of the workers of the locality. Almost as bad off is the International Labor Defense. Notwithstanding its supposed membership of over 300, the district records show that there was not one single dues payment made last month. It would be interesting to ask Shifter and Dresslin, the Stalinists in charge, why not one of the leaders calling upon the workers to demonstrate against the Nazi Reichstag fireman, was distributed.

In the Workers' Clubs

An even worse condition, if possible, prevails in the workers' clubs. The American Youth Club, once referred to as the cream of working class organizations, has degenerated under party leadership to almost the same level as any petty-bourgeois social club. The revolutionary policies to which it was dedicated when it was launched, have,

in actual fact, been relegated to the limbo of the forgotten. The main activity of its membership at present is in making the Sunday night dances a financial success. The Student Forum exists in name only. Its doom was sealed when the members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition were expelled. And Joe Ross, the League bureaucrat, who rose to the highest position in the club because of his scandalous mongering against the Oppositionists, has long since deserted it. Like most others who live on slanders, the first signs that he would have to participate in rank and file activity, sent him scurrying.

The logical outcome of all this is an air of pessimism and gloom pervading the Left wing movement in the neighborhood. The most glowing eulogies about the correctness of the party line and the great possibilities for organization, leave the rank and file cold. Certainly the office leadership of Sklar and Gilbert will not lift the morose and gloomy atmosphere of the stupor and lassitude that exists within the ranks.

Discussing «Trotskyism»

Although there is at present a general strike of painters taking place, it is not this that is worrying the party leaders. The discussion on "Trotskyism" in the party headquarters, the open reading of the Militant, the fact that a resolution demanding a debate was passed at an open air meeting at Pitkin and Bristol Streets has them frantic. They know that an accounting will soon be asked for from the district, if it already has not been done. Among the active and clear-thinking party and league members there is a growing belief that the C. P. is unable to live up to its blustering and boisterous rhetoric. Defeat after defeat on every field is driving home the painful lesson of the bankruptcy of Stalinism. With ever-growing force the conviction that the principles of the Left Opposition are correct, is asserting itself. There can be no doubt that within a short space of time the best forces of the party will renounce the organizers of defeat and take their rightful places with the inheritors of October—THE BOLSHIEVIK-LENINISTS.

—Y. C. L. MEMBER.

The Left Opposition in Australia

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA—

August 10, 1933.

Comrades:

The back numbers of the Militant etc., arrived safely and satisfied a long-felt want. We cannot thank you too much for the assistance you have given us in getting a clear perspective of the situation, and we hope to be able to go ahead in the future strong in the knowledge that we have a sound international connection. It is unfortunate that we had not got contact with you before our conference, otherwise we could have improved considerably our general political line. However, we are rather elated to realize that despite our lack of knowledge regarding the international situation as a whole, we more or less arrived at a correct estimation of the situation.

We are enclosing a copy of our first pamphlet which is creating quite a sensation here. When you realize that the revolutionary movement in this country, has been spoon-fed with the sophistry of Stalinism for many years, and that a work by comrade Leon Trotsky is as rare as water in the Sahara Desert, you will comprehend what difficulties lie ahead of us. But we have every confidence. The leadership of the Stalinists here is in the hands of a very mediocre set of individuals, who follow faithfully and blindly in the tortuous wake of the Comintern's zig-zags. So great is their faith in the infallibility of the Stalinist leadership that they have given up any attempt even, to apply the alleged "line" to the conditions in Australia (which is not on the verge of a revolution, any situation, but mechanically repeat every tactic and even every word that emanates from the Seats of the Mighty in Moscow. They have created a new "heaven" and a new "God" and taken unto themselves the mantle of the "chosen race". The result is funny, and, as comrade Trotsky says "anything funny is fatal—in the revolutionary movement."

Bankruptcy of Australian C. P.

The sectarianism of the C. P. of A. In the past, which has now developed into Right opportunism, is responsible for the fact that the Australian Labour Party (under Lang) has been able to ban, not only the Communist Party, but all of the fraternal organizations without even a protest from the workers. No member of the A. L. P. is allowed to belong to a fraternal organization, the result is that those organizations have dwindled to a few party members and supporters, and in many cases have gone completely out of existence. The influence of the party is getting smaller every day, but owing to our present inability to widely disseminate the line of the Left Opposition, the members that are leaving the party in disgust are not turning to us, but are falling into inactivity and apathy. We are making our chief task the solving of the literature problem. Without a weekly organ our propaganda is necessarily limited and we are doing our best to overcome this difficulty. There is a wonderful market for the works of comrade Trotsky available, and we propose to reprint as many as possible in pamphlet form directly funds are available.

Yours for Communism,

For the Secretariat.

Wrecking Crew

at Work in the Chicago I.L.D.

When the International Labor Defense was organized in 1925, it answered a long-felt need in the American labor movement. Here at last was a workers' defense organization which had as its primary task the defense of any worker, irrespective of his political beliefs or organizational connections. It was because of this united front character that the I.L.D. succeeded in rallying to its support representatives of almost every section of the organized labor and political movements. Thus the occasion of the 1st conference to establish this organization, was indeed a step toward the I. L. D. experienced a rapid growth on the basis of its non-sectarian and class policy. Particularly during the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the organization rallied new sections of the working class to it and succeeded in building a genuine mass defense movement.

The I. L. D. traveled a new road when the organization was subordinated to the factional interests of the Stalinists. It became sectarian. It defended only those workers who were members of the Party or belonged to organizations affiliated to it. Non-party organizations successively withdrew from the I. L. D. until the leadership was concentrated wholly in the hands of the Party, without being able to draw to its support those many non-party elements who were affiliated to the I. L. D. at its birth. Members of the Left Opposition, arrested, either at Party demonstrations or in non-party activities, were refused aid from the I. L. D., only because they were members of the Left Opposition. Sympathizers of the Left Opposition who were victims of the capitalist state, were promised defense only if they would renounce their support of the "Trotskyites". Similarly with the Lovestones. Or else, the I. L. D. bureaucracy carried on an expulsion campaign to drive out of the organization all those members who belonged to the Left Opposition, the Lovestone group, or who did not agree with the Party or its policies.

Recent events in Chicago testify that the I. L. D. has not only not changed its inner policies but, quite the contrary, continues to pursue that ruinous course notwithstanding its disastrous effect upon the organization. The following incidents are deserving of consideration.

Up until about a year ago, the I. L. D. in Chicago, had for all practical purposes, two lawyers who handled all the cases for the organization. These were Albert Goldman and D. J. Bentall. Due to various causes, the I. L. D. attracted to it a number of lawyers who offered their services, without charge, to the I. L. D. and who, by and large were moving closer and closer to Communism.

This relationship was shaken with the development of the German situation and when the question of the united front was discussed in certain sections of the Party. The discussion on the German situation and the united front began last fall in the Workers School at which comrades Beidel, Goldman, Francis Heisler and Jack Scher were instructors. The latter three were lawyers for the I. L. D. In the course of these discussions, comrades Beidel and Goldman who were Party members, continued to press for their point of view which coincided with the standpoint of the Left Opposition. They were subsequently expelled from the Party. While organizational measures were taken against Goldman, for the time being comrades Heisler and Scher who were not members of the Party, were allowed to continue their work in the I. L. D.

Against comrade Goldman the leadership of the local I. L. D. began a campaign of slander and finally decided not to use him any longer as a lawyer for the organization. He was no longer assigned to cases, although considered by everyone as the outstanding lawyer of the I. L. D. The local I. L. D. evidently decided to allow him to finish up on one serious case involving six comrades, 5 Negroes and one white arrested at a demonstration, on the serious charge of assault with intent to kill and conspiracy to kill, carrying with it a possible sentence of 14 years. When Goldman spoke at a Negro forum on the south side of the city, defended himself against the slanders of the Party and explained the position he took which led to his expulsion from the Party, he was then removed also from this case. This action of the I. L. D. aroused the resentment of a number of the comrades facing the charges in this case.

With respect to comrades Heisler and Scher who were not members of the Party but very close sympathizers, the I. L. D. pursued a more "lenient" policy until these comrades identified themselves with the Marxian Educational Center as instructors. From that time on they were given no cases to handle. Though no decision of such a character was formally made, the attitude of the I.L.D. to these comrades is tantamount to their removal as attorneys of the I. L. D. They are being replaced by entirely inexperienced lawyers who are prepared to accept every dictum of the Party without question.

Through it all the membership remains in a state of ignorance because none of the actions of the I. L. D. bureaucracy are made public. All of these "decisions" are made at the top without any ex-

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Rousing Meetings Greet Swaback

At New Haven

New Haven.—On Tuesday, Oct. 3, before an audience of fully 100 workers, comrade Swaback gave a lecture in the Workers' Circle, Center, New Haven on the "Future of International Communism". The listeners were mostly S. P. members and sympathizers with a sprinkling of Yipsels and a few C. P. members and sympathizers.

The spirit was excellent as all listened attentively to comrade Swaback's words. This was probably the first revolutionary speech most of the Socialists had ever heard. It also gave them an opportunity to compare our unmitigated criticism of the social-democracy with the Stalinist repelling and usually slanderous attacks.

In the discussion period there were some questions on the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communist tactics in general. One Socialist condemned the Third International for forgetting the words of Marx, "Workers of the world, unite". He wanted us to enter the social democracy, which, he claimed, would be revolutionary in a crisis. He was effectively answered by comrade Swaback who reminded him that the social democracy had itself broken Marx's advice in 1914 by sending working-class brothers to fight each other.

One Stalinist demanded the floor for 15 minutes and when the audience voted that no discussion should be more than 5 minutes, he refused to speak. Another more sincere C. P. member stated that the C. P. had called for a united front with the Socialists. He defended the trade-union policy of the American Socialists. Comrade Swaback proved decisively that the comrades was in error in both instances.

After the meeting about twelve of the youth comrades went to the home of the comrade where Swaback was staying and a long discussion was held on the prospects of our youth work.

—M. G.

At Boston

Boston.—The Boston branch formally opened its headquarters Friday, Oct. 6 with the lecture by comrade Swaback on "The Future of International Communism".

The hall was packed to capacity with an audience of excellent composition and deep interest. Comrade Swaback traced the development of the labor movement. He presented the life of the Second International, its collapse and final transformation to national reformism. The Third International, comrade Swaback pointed out, came on the scene of the Second and out of necessity to carry on the work of international Communism. He described the life of the Third International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and its retreat from internationalism since Lenin's death, under the leadership of Stalin and his theory of Socialism in one country leading to its collapse in 1933.

Comrade Swaback gave a vivid picture of the German events to which he was an eyewitness, and which were decisive in the collapse of the Third International. He pointed out the dangers facing the Soviet Union because of the wrong policies; the danger of Thermidor within the Stalinist regime. Comrade Swaback sketched the work of the I. L. D. as a faction of the C. P. throughout the last ten years endeavoring to bring it back to the Leninist path and brought forth its present task imposed by history, to build the forces for a new, a Fourth International to again raise high the banner of international Communism.

The questions and discussion which followed comrade Swaback's lecture were very interesting and important. A number of questions came regarding the Soviet Union. The workers again and again took the floor in discussion and comrade Swaback took up fully each question raised. The workers' influence-

planations being made to the ranks. This dangerous practice of eliminating anyone who is not in agreement with every policy and viewpoint of the Stalinized Party, has led and continues to lead to only one result: further stifling of the I. L. D., prevention of its growth and freedom of existence, and its subordination to the bureaucratic leadership of the Communist party. In order to function in the I. L. D. you must be ready to give up all independent thought. You must be prepared to accept, and more than that, you must agree with the policies of the Party. Otherwise there is no place for you in the I. L. D. That is why the I. L. D. is a mere shell of its former self. That is why it cannot grow and no more resembles the organization of its early years. The united front policy which made possible the birth of this organization has been overthrown for a stupid policy of sectarianism. Lawyers identified with the revolutionary movement for decades, or those sympathetic to Communism cannot be used by the I. L. D. because they have views that differ from the Party leadership, while the I. L. D. finds it "expedient" and correct to employ Tammany criminal lawyers (Liebowitz) in cases involving workers persecuted by the capitalist state. In reality there is nothing strange in this practice. It is the result of the line pursued by the Party in the I. L. D. which can have no other results.

—G. M. A.

«Spiritual Values»

for Hungry Men

Those unemployed workers who still believe that they will be helped out of their present intolerable situation by folding their hands and letting the President take care of them, would do well to read over again a speech which he made Thursday night before the Federation of Catholic Charities. Especially three statements which he made there, taken together, give the whole gist of the unemployed program of the Roosevelt administration.

First the usual sugar-coated promises: "It is for us to redouble our efforts to care for those who must still depend upon relief, to prevent the disintegration of home life, and to stand by the victims of the depression until it is definitely over". This goes along with the redoubing of the propaganda spread by the government, that it is about to spend 700 million dollars for relief, that it will buy 75 millions of farm products to be worked up into food and clothing for the unemployed, etc.

What Does It Actually Mean?

There is no question that 700 millions is a great deal of money, whether to an unemployed worker or to J. P. Morgan. But what does it actually mean, even if the spend money were actually to be spent without deductions for costs of administration, honest and not-honest graft, profits, etc.? With 12 million workers out of jobs at the very least even after the so-called recovery, it means that for the whole coming winter the government proposes to provide about \$80 for each unemployed worker, whether a single man or the head of a family. This means all of 8 to 9 dollars a month, or 2 dollars a week. On this amount the unemployed worker is expected to keep his family together, provide food and clothing, etc. This is supposed to keep him contented and prevent him from demanding real unemployment insurance, let alone a change in the whole social system from top to bottom!

More than this, experience has shown that the Roosevelt administration is not likely to spend even the 700 millions about which all the propaganda is being made. Early this year they appropriated 500 millions for unemployment relief. In nine months' time they have succeeded in spending \$182,500,000 out of this sum; it is being very economically administered, since they still have two-thirds of it left. They can find 2-1/2 billions to spend in loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to support bankrupt corporations and banks, 3,300 millions for a so-called public works program which turns out to be batheously construction to prepare for the next war, 2 billions for the saving of the small homeowner (in reality for the saving of the mortgage sharks)—but even when they do get money appropriated for unemployment relief, they find it is very hard to spend it.

«Spiritual Values» for the Hungry

No wonder Roosevelt went on to say, right after his sweet promises of help to the "victims of the depression": "The Federal Government has inaugurated new measures of relief on a vast scale, but the Federal Government cannot, and does not intend to, take over the whole job."

Notice with what art he raises the workers' expectations, then keeps them suspended with the carefully-worded warning that the Federal Government refuses to assume full responsibility for the unemployment question.

After this, it is quite logical that he should dispose of the whole matter by stating, "The people of the United States still recognize, and I believe, recognize with firmer faith than ever before, that spiritual values count in the long run more than material values."

This is nothing but a translation into the language of evening dress and formal banquets of the old phrase, "You'll have pie in the sky when you die."

And what gives special point to it is the fact that he used this piece of sickening hypocrisy to show how superior the American system of "spiritual values—not grub" is to the Russian system, where they are doing away with religion but are intensely interested in such things as wheat and steel.

The Roosevelt program comes to this, then: first feed the worker with promises, then shove the responsibility off to others—the state, the city, private charity; finally, when the worker realizes he has gotten nothing at the end of it all, tell him to be resigned to his fate and to think of all the "spiritual values" which he is accumulating as he starves.

All the agencies of the State—the government itself, the newspapers, the radio, the church, all try to make him swallow these ideas, which are so profitable to them because they prevent the worker from realizing what the situation is and from putting up a fight for his demands. The first step is for him to clear away these cobwebs if they have found a place unconsciously in his own mind. Then he will be ready to think of how to organize to get what he wants, and what he must have if he is to survive as a decent human being.

—B. J. F.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

Other meetings on comrade Swaback's tour are as follows:

Mon., Oct. 16th....	New Castle, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 17th....	Youngstown
Wed., Oct. 18th....	Youngstown
Thurs., Oct. 19th....	Cleveland, O.
Fri., Oct. 20th....	Cleveland, O.
Sat., Oct. 21st....	Chicago, Ill.
Sun., Oct. 22nd....	Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 23rd....	Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 24th....	Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 25th....	Springfield, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 26th....	Stanton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th....	St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th....	St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th....	Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30....	Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd....	Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd....	Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th....	Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th....	Minneapolis
Thurs., Nov. 9th....	Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th....	Davenport, Ia.
Tues., Nov. 7th....	Chicago, Ill.

YOUNGSTOWN MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABACK
on
"THE N. R. A. and the WORKERS"
CENTRAL AUDITORIUM
225 West Boardman St.
TUESDAY, OCT. 17, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION TEN CENTS
Unemployed Free

Militant Builders

WE BEGIN

Our new sub drive is under way. The first week's results are encouraging. Our out-of-town sub getters have started off with a rush. The list below tells the story:

M. K., Youngstown	8
V. R. Dunne, Minn.	5
J. Fruitman, Toronto	3
H. Ross, Manhattan	1

This is only a beginning. Time must be allowed for returns to come in from the cities west of Minneapolis. Next week's report will show that they too are in the field after subs.

CARRY ON

Remember that the drive closes on November 15. There is still time to overtake these fast starters. But that means work. Our goal is a 100% increase in our paid circulation. We can do it—if every friend of the Militant puts his back into it.

IST—2ND—3RD.

For the one who heads the list on November 15 there is waiting the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; second—two volumes; and third—one volume. That should make every one bustle.

Int'l. Workers School—Fall Term

Registration—Oct. 1-15 every eve.
Announcement of Courses

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—M. ABERN.

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—B. J. FIELD.

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—J. WEBER.

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—J. G. WRIGHT.

Write or phone School Headquarters for information:

120 East 16th Street

Tel.—GRAMercy 5—9524

EDITORIAL

The A. F. of L. Convention, the Strike Wave and Trade Union Perspectives

The 53rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convened at a turning point in the life of the labor movement when the resurgent forces of new life, thrust forward by the powerful impulsion of the class struggle, are beginning to push their way through the dry crust and restraining forms of conservative trade unionism.

The new masses who are sweeping into the trade union movement, heralding their arrival by tumultuous struggles, are without any direct representation at the convention. The strike wave, the great, new, vital and determining factor in the labor movement, lacks an authentic spokesman there. But this dread spectre is present all the time and dominates the proceedings. The strike wave is the unofficial delegate which disturbs the dead calm of self-satisfied conservatism so familiar at all A. F. of L. gatherings in recent years. All the important speeches and deliberations were made as if in reply to the thunderous arguments of this new force which is speaking in terms of class battles, of strikes and picket lines.

The forces of resurgent life, represented by the strike wave, which have not yet found formal expression in official representation, did not record their real strength in the convention proceedings. They only recorded their presence in the situation and served notice of a future participation. That alone was sufficient—so ominous is the new power—to make it the axis around which all the proceedings and discussion revolved. The stormy and irrepressible forces of the new labor militancy, clamoring their demands in the nation-wide strike movement, evoked the terrified concern of the labor lieutenants of capital gathered in solemn convention, and of the political spokesmen of capital, including the president of the U. S. and his general, Johnson, who addressed them.

The Real Program of Roosevelt

The real design behind the benevolence of the Roosevelt administration towards union organization was brought out more sharply and clearly at the convention. They want a trade union movement that will be an instrument to restrain the workers, to prevent strikes and to suppress and outlaw the strikes that do occur. Only a few months have gone by since the NIRA was hailed as the liberator of the workers, and already the iron fist is coming out of the velvet glove. Roosevelt's threat to put the recalcitrant horses in a corral; General Johnson's blunter declaration, "You cannot tolerate the strike," and his appeal to public opinion "to destroy every subversive influence"; the glorification of Gompers and the reminder of his role in dragging the American workers into the war—in these expressions of the authentic spokesmen of the capitalist exploiters the Roosevelt program was given a plainer and more easily read translation than before.

The appearance of Green in a Washington church pulpit, with his pitiful appeal in biblical language to the "masters" to be good to their "servants", unspeakably contemptible and servile as it was, only served to demonstrate how neatly the A. F. of L. leaders have fitted themselves into the NIRA scheme to harness the insurgent movement of the American workers through the official trade union movement. There is no doubt where they stand, nor where the convention which they dominate stands.

The New Factor in the Labor Movement

But the outward manifestations at Washington are by no means an accurate reflection of the situation within the A. F. of L., and still less of the present-day labor movement in its broader aspects. Against the policy and intentions of the capitalist politicians and their labor allies, as revealed at the Washington convention, the new outstanding developments must be considered—the influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers into the unions, the formation within a few months' time of 500 new federal unions, the insistent demand for the industrial union form of organization to meet the needs of the newly organized masses. These factors, counterbalanced to the formal official decisions and pronouncements, require consideration in a rounded view of the actual situation.

They are an essential part of the "proceedings" of the 53rd convention of the A. F. of L. And in addition to that, the thunder of the strike wave outside the door also belongs in the record. An appreciation of the present situation in the trade union movement, and of the A. F. of L. convention as a distorted reflection of it, is possible only if these factors are taken into account and given due weight and importance. In that case the one-sided picture of the Washington gathering, as just another expression of hide-bound conservatism, fades away and we see the actual movement as it is in reality, fermenting with new life and on the verge of great convulsions which will upset all the schemes and plans.

Nothing was firmly settled or decided for the labor movement at the Washington convention. The new elements at work in the trade unions registered themselves and served notice, so to speak, of a further participation later on. The contending forces in the trade union movement, which will clash with increasing fury from this time forward, met in a preliminary skirmish at Washington. From there the conflict will be transferred back to the field of class struggle—to the strikes, the picket lines, the battles with the state forces and armed thugs, and the forthcoming internal struggles within the trade union organizations.

All of this is projected on the basis of a strike wave of such dimensions as has not been seen in recent times and which, in our judgment, is only a curtain raiser of what is to follow. The bosses and their political and trade union agents apparently have the same opinion. They have enunciated their program at the A. F. of L. convention. The labor movement itself, that is, the real movement of the masses, has not yet worked out an estimation of the perspective and a program of its own. This is the big task and need of the present time. Its solution devolves naturally on the class conscious elements.

The strike wave is the first reply that the American workers have made to the frightful conditions and standards imposed upon them during the crisis and which the NIRA mechanism is seeking to stabilize and make permanent. The present scope and

insurgent militancy of the strike wave are especially portentous as to what is to follow if the workers fail to get satisfaction of their demands.

Trade Unionism - - After the Collapse of the NRA

And this, in our opinion, is precisely what is going to happen. The attempt of the Roosevelt administration to "plan" industry on a basis of capitalist private ownership is inevitably doomed to a resounding collapse, and that very probably in the near future. With that, and with the failure also to satisfy the expectations of the workers which were aroused by the ballyhoo campaign of the NIRA, will come a tremendous disillusionment of the workers and a rapidly increasing tendency, on their part, to resort to more aggressive struggles; to rely on their own strength and organization. Trade unionism, which was held out to them in the first stages of the NIRA as a device to restrain their independent movement, will become for the workers the medium for its expression on a colossal scale. The workers will turn to trade unionism in real earnest, and they will be bent on making the unions serve as instruments of struggle against the exploiters.

Then, as has already been clearly intimated in the threatening speeches of Roosevelt and Johnson at the Washington convention, the benevolent mask of the Roosevelt administration will be taken off. The unions they encouraged, and even coddled, as long as they thought they could serve as "harness" will meet open opposition from the government. All the forces at its command, from systematic anti-union and anti-strike propaganda to police and military force, will be brought to bear. The unions, insofar as they really fight—and that is the function which the conditions of the times impose upon them—will have to fight for their existence against the government itself.

The capitalist attack against the trade unions as organs of struggle will be carried inside the unions. Green, Lewis & Co. will be called upon to purge the organizations of their militant elements and restore the unions to conservative and respectable docility. The prompt response of these treacherous agents of capital to this demand is assured in advance; their attitude at Washington, in harmony with all their previous conduct, signifies this first of all.

New Struggles within the Unions

The trade unions, swelling into larger proportions by the influx of new members on one side, will witness wholesale expulsions and splits, engendered by the reactionary bureaucracy, on the other. Insurgent workers who insist on striking—the "horses" that "refuse to work in harness"—will meet the condemnation of the labor bureaucracy. Their strikes will be outlawed and denounced as Communist plots. A campaign of red baiting will be inaugurated against revolutionaries and Communists. Where these do not exist they will be invented. Every worker who wants to fight for his rights and wants to make the union fight for them will be branded as a "red". The next developments of the trade union movement will unfold in a seething tide of labor rebellion—"outlaw" strikes, clashes with the authorities, fierce internal struggles in the unions, expulsions and splits.

The fact that already today hundreds of thousands of workers are streaming into the trade unions is in itself a fact of incalculable significance. The workers are on the move. That is what is new, that is what is important in the situation. The trade union is the first and most elementary form of working class organization, for which no substitute has ever been invented. The workers take their first steps on the path of class development through that door. Hundreds of thousands are taking this step already today, a large percentage of them for the first time. Millions of others will follow them tomorrow. No matter how conservative the unions may be, no matter how reactionary their present leadership, and regardless of what the real purposes of the Roosevelt administration were in giving a certain encouragement and impetus to this trade union revival—in spite of all of this, the movement itself represents an elemental force, a power which, properly influenced at the right time by the class conscious vanguard, can break through all the absolute forms and frustrate all the reactionary schemes.

The Task of the Militants

This movement of the masses into the trade unions can be seriously influenced only from within. From this it follows: Get into the unions. Stay there. Work within.

Before any serious development of a revolutionary organization can be expected in America this penetration of the trade unions must begin in earnest. The militants who undertake this task now, after all the discredit brought to the name of Communism by the Stalinists, will labor under a double handicap. The complete and unchallenged supremacy of the reactionaries in the trade union leadership; the weight of the government and of all capitalist propaganda and repressive forces on their side; the popular hostility to Communism and the relationship of forces in general—these circumstances alone will constitute huge obstacles at the beginning. Besides that, the new Left wing movement will have to pay for the sins and failures of the old.

The labor fakers will start new expulsion campaigns against the radicals the movement their influence is felt again in the mass movement. It is folly to think that the task of penetrating the mass trade unions, under the given conditions, and of reconstituting a vigorous Left wing within them can be accomplished with brass bands playing and banners flying. Quiet and persistent work, and loyal cooperation with all progressive-minded workers who want to build fighting unions—this simple prescription stands first in order. The rest will follow.

We give no pledge to refrain from revolutionary activity in the unions or to turn our backs on "outlaw" strikes. We leave such trade union tactics to opportunists and traitors. It is our aim, on the contrary, to be with the masses, especially at the moment of their sharpest collisions with the capitalists, whatever form these collisions may take. In order that this association with the revolting masses can have a fruitful revolutionary influence, it has to begin now by an entrenchment of the militant and class conscious elements in the A. F. of L. unions and the formation of a Left wing within them.

Notes of the Week

SAID THE MAD HATTER

When you hear about the great need of killing 1,000,000 hogs to help the Drive toward Prosperity, you will, no doubt, look up and wonder. A sneaking suspicion will grow within you that there is something cockeyed with a system that requires such waste to keep going.

You look around you. Eleven million hungry men are still pounding the pavements, unemployed. The bright fellows in the government's brain trust keep on tinkering up all kinds of plans to keep the grain crop down, to curtail the live stock. They have to. The leaders of our system that we call capitalism tell them we have too much.

That's the big trouble with us. We have too much. That is why eleven million men must starve.

Odd enough, every worker will admit to himself, and keep wondering. But sometimes the mad hatters of capitalism carry their crazy talk and topsy-turvy ideas so far that the worker can't just stop with mere wondering.

The other day, for instance, Mr. Gerard Swope, a big bun among the boss class, the head of General Electric and a member of the NIRA board, was caught thinking aloud. He was comparing the NIRA with the Russian five year plan. Said Mr. Swope:

"The Soviets started from scratch. They had no industry, no financial structure, no problems of overproduction such as we had to deal with.... Their economic problem is comparatively easy."

The Soviets, under Lenin and Trotsky, took over a country riven, neglected and backward, the ruins of an empire misruled by medieval despots. Its industry lay in ruins and devastated, the wreckage of a criminally futile and disastrous war. A hostile capitalist world surrounded Workers' Russia. When that world could not put it down by force of sword, the international boss class tried to cut off Russia's credits, its sources of economic life. It was still another attempt to throttle it. In the cockeyed world of Mr. Swope.... "Their economic problem is comparatively simple", but....

"But over here we have an overdeveloped economic and industrial pattern.... That has been a colossal task with which Russia never had to be bothered."

The United States entered the world war a debtor nation. It came out of it the outstanding creditor nation, the dominant world power. Its industries surpassed in wealth and technical progress those of all other countries. Its rulers became the real dictators in a war-ridden Europe. Its resources—unlimited. A whole world stood ready to do its bidding. It had everything. "That has been a colossal task with which Russia never had to be bothered."

Help! We've got too much, cries this lion. And you've got to do more than just wonder this time. Because there is some reason in his madness this time. Says Mr. Swope—of the Soviets:

"When they need more coal they expand their mines, put more men in them and produce. The same is true of mills and other industrial structures. They do the job."

But over here, in NIRA America, "with all the natural (?) human jealousies that go with it," "different groups strive for different advantages, and in many cases with little regard for the general good."

Here you can't do the job. You've got all the tools and all the materials, but you can't do the job. "Different groups strive for different advantages, and in many cases with little regard for the general good."

Mr. Swope knows his capitalistic system, the system of profit and greed, of wasteful competition and industrial anarchy.

That is the big difficulty over here. That is what stands in the way of solving the problem in the U. S. A. And Mr. Swope tells you—that's the only thing that stands in the way. In so many words.

—G. A. N.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 47 (Whole No. 194)
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
\$5.00 for six months
Foreign \$1.50 a yr. 75 for 6 Mos.
Bundle rates 1 cent per copy

Two Congresses «Against War»

The New York Barbusse Movement and the «People's Council» of 1917

(Continued from last issue)

But the final resolution of the New York convention—is that a pacifist document? Merely to ask such a question is to display a vast gullibility. What do the words of this cooked-up resolution matter? Those who voted for it include not only the Stalinists, but persons whose avowed policy is to "promote peace between religious, classes and races" or "who are opposed to every kind of war"—and similar class collaborationist, reactionary pacifist clap-trap. What possible resolution can be adopted jointly by such elements and genuinely revolutionary elements? Nothing but a document of deceit, of sham, a mere collection of words strung together on a Stalinist string to serve as a noose for the militant proletariat and its fight against imperialist war.

The United Front and War

So you are opposed to the united front? Not at all. In the first place, a genuine united front, and not an indecent burlesque, would start off with an open appeal by the Communist International for a conference with the Second International, the Amsterdam International, the syndicalists and the International Left Opposition, to discuss a minimum program—and not to set up a special organization. In the second place, a united front with sincerely pacifist elements can never be organized to fight war in general, or even imperialist war as such. The pacifists are totally incapable of even starting such a fight, and the duty of the Communists is to say so plainly. A united front, with such groups can be confined to nothing more than concrete questions of the moment, can be

maintained only for a brief time, and cannot, must not, take the form of a united organization. Anything else means a bastardized "anti-war" movement, a cruel misrepresentation, a deliberate fraud, a wax figure that melts as soon as events warm up a little.

Hasn't that already been demonstrated in less than a year? What did the Amsterdam movement do to halt the progress of Fascism in Germany? NOT A THING! What genuine, virile mass movement is setting in motion now to ward off the insolent attacks upon the Soviet Union by Japanese imperialism? NONE AT ALL! The truth is that it is as bankrupt, as impotent, as misleading as the Stalinist which brought it into being.

The Left Opposition does not conceal for an instant its attitude towards this monstrously perpetrated upon the militant working class. Our position towards it is not a new one. It is identical with that of the Left wing a generation ago, which had to combat similar manifestations of opportunism treachery and bureaucracy in the Socialist parties of that time. We can therefore do nothing better here than to quote with approval the views of the Left wing in the Socialist party with regard to the People's Council sixteen years ago, expressed in the official organ of the Left, *The Class Struggle* (Sept.-Oct., 1917). With hardly the change of a phrase, it applies word for word to the problem in hand.

The Left Wing in 1917

"The Socialist party in its support of the People's Council has again made a tactical error of the first importance. Indeed, the tragedy of the situation is seen in the circumstance that our party has

practically lost its identity nationally as a force against the war. All its anti-war activity is virtually centered in the People's Council, an organization that does not accept revolutionary action, and the conversation of which, moreover, is strengthened by the party bureaucrats dominant in its management. The People's Council is being used by the Socialist party officials to make votes for the party. This may succeed, temporarily, but its ultimate effect will be to make recruits for the Gompers-Sjorgo party of 'practical' social reform.... It is easy to enthusiastically accept the People's Council. The more difficult task, indispensable, is to cleave to fundamentals and express our own independent action in our own revolutionary way as adherents of international socialism."

Let the fate of the Socialist party and its "People's Council" serve as a grisly warning! The August 4th of the Comintern in Germany already indicates the fate to which the Barbusse movement has been doomed from its inception. M. S.

P. S.—The call for the New York conference started out by welcoming "the step taken by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair." Not one of these three dragon slayers was even present at the congress! Sinclair is running for governor of California on the Democratic ticket. Dreiser has endorsed the Roosevelt program. Anderson follows in his footsteps. Shouldn't it begin to be clear now where the "heads" of the "historic congress" have been pulling its "body"—to say nothing of its Stalinist posterior?

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

On Gompers

(Continued from Page 1)

misleaders like Gompers and Mitchell, this Civic Federation was an open class-collaboration agency consecrated to the idea of "the partnership of labor and capital," to the settling of strikes at the expense of the workers and to blocking the road to organization of the unorganized.

Through this organization and together with the kings and barons of finance and industry Gompers waged a bitter struggle against socialism within and without the American Federation of Labor. As president of this organization he was instrumental in betraying the steel strike of 1901 and numerous strikes thereafter. The membership of Gompers in this capitalist organization and his concurrent presidency of the American Federation of Labor is the keystone of his role of the guardian, the watchdog of the interests of the capitalist class in the labor movement.

Against the I. W. W., this evil genius of labor unleashed the virus of his hatred. That the I. W. W. was championing the cause of the oppressed and challenging the strongholds of trusted capital meant nothing for Gompers. They were reds, "against the government" and he was out to destroy the I. W. W. When the U. S. W. officials acted as strikebreakers at Lawrence in 1912 to stamp out the militant battle led by the I. W. W., Gompers condoned the act. The same at Paterson in 1913 by a backdoor agreement with the bosses. With remarkable indifference Gompers ignored the bloody massacre of the striking coal miners in Ludlow Colorado by the Rockefeller interests. Similarly with the St. Bartholomew's night in the copper strike in Calumet, Michigan.

Against Industrial Unionism.... Gompers detested the I. W. W. as much for their industrial form of organization, which cut across the lines of craft and encompassed the mass of unskilled, as for their burning creed of class struggle. The consistent policy of Gompers was to divide the organized workers into innumerable segments, to rip the labor movement asunder with wasteful jurisdictional disputes. To this every day the American Federation of Labor is torn by fruitless jurisdictional bickering—the seed sown by Gompers is still sprouting its rotten fruits.

"Non-Partisan" Politics

In politics as in the trade unions, Gompers earned the statue erected to him in Washington. Here he chained labor to the political chariot of the capitalist class—the Republican and Democratic Gold-Dust twins of Big business. By the slogan of "Reward your friends" Gompers made labor the groveling lick-spittle of the bosses. He shied away from a party for the workers like Trotsky, only to maintain a corps of toadying lobbyists who crawled on all fours for favors

from the standpat parties of the master class.

A Recruiting Sergeant For Capitalist War

It was quite appropriate that Gompers should be the recruiting sergeant for the American imperialist plunderbund holding the American workers in line for the slaughter for profits they were prosecuting in Europe. The capitalists made certain there would be no trouble from the workers when they entered the war by immediately enlisting the only too-willing services of Gompers. He secured a declaration from the A. F. of L. pledging its support of the government in the war in the event of United States' participation. Gompers was a member of the Council of National Defense created in 1916, and was influential in priming American public opinion to war consciousness.

Prior to and even after the outbreak of the war to make the world safe for bigger and better profits there was a large pacifist sentiment in this country and in the labor organization. This would never do for Gompers who put his whole heart into the patriotic campaign into driving the workers into the Morgans' carnage. He was the father of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy which enlisted the social-patriots like Sjorgo and Russell and spread war propaganda from one end of the country to the other.

If the war was to be a success there must be a docile, rebellious, hard working proletariat in the home country and Gompers was the man for that. A member of the War Labor Board he watched hawklike that there be no strikes during the war; and if such broke loose in spite of him, Gompers had a machine to hamstring the workers' struggle for whom exploitation knew no more intense in lines of war. And for this service Roosevelt is not stingy in his plaudits when he says that "it was his (Gompers) patriotic leadership for the unanimous mobilization of the workers in every part of the union which supplemented the mobilization of the men who went to the front". A monument to Gompers in Washington—little crosses on the battlefields of France for the workers who fought for Wall Street's gold.

In His Dotage—Fighting the "Reds"

For Gompers the war did not end with the declaration of the armistice in November 1918—not the class war, to be sure; he had long ceased to recognize that. Under the cry that the war was still on Gompers and Lewis, frightened white by the invocation of the Lever Act declaring the coal strike outlaw, drove 425,000 coal miners back to the pits. Gompers did everything in his power to sabotage the great steel strike of 1919 and he finally succeeded in putting the rebellious steel workers "in the corral".

Samuel Gompers spent his dotage in a fitting manner—fighting reds. Here he was the fury of old age incarnated. Part and parcel of the post-war red hysteria, Gompers did his "bit" to preserve "American institutions" from the Bolsheviks. Heounded the Communists and expelled the Left wingers from the A. F. of L.

The American workers will remember this labor lieutenant of the capitalist class with an oath of hate on their lips. After the proletariat of this country crosses the pinnacle of power it will write this inscription under the monument in Washington:

"Samuel Gompers—the Evil Genius of the American Labor Movement."
—GEORGE CLARKE.

Cuban Gov't

(Continued from Page 1)

But this victory and the failure of the workers to raise their struggle to the plane of the contest for state power placed the Left wing of the petty bourgeoisie in power. There, of course, they cannot long remain. Below, the workers refuse to be satisfied with programmatic promises which supplement pledges to the imperialist wolves that their loans and property will be respected. The workers are taking over mills and mines as guarantees of their demands for higher pay and better conditions, setting up workers' committees to run them and here and there they are setting up Soviets and organizing a Red Guard. All this constitutes a potential threat to the whole capitalist-imperialist system in Cuba.

This threat has driven the petty bourgeoisie to the right, toward the American "mediators". This is covered up by the protest that the workers are provoking armed intervention. The anti-imperialism of the petty bourgeoisie is not the revolutionary, international anti-capitalist program of the workers; it is the futile, nationalist, hodgepodge of the desperate middle class without a social program and without the resource and ability to guide the destinies of modern society.

In the first period following its assumption of governmental power the petty bourgeoisie made concessions to the workers. The arbitration of strikes which they instituted granted the workers' demands. At this stage of the revolution the petty bourgeoisie saw in the workers allies against the imperialists, levers with which to force concessions for themselves.

But when the workers refused any longer to follow the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie and conducted independent struggles in their own interests the petty bourgeoisie became terrified at the rising spectre of the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, the swift development of the workers' struggles and their increasingly revolutionary character frightened the bourgeoisie who, dissatisfied with the "liberalism" of the government, made and are making attempts at armed insurrection to overthrow the government of the petty bourgeoisie after which they hope to put down the workers. In this they are encouraged by American imperialism.

The fear of the bourgeoisie and the imperialist on the one hand, and the fear of the workers on the other, and the vacillations between these giants reflect the contradictory position of the Cuban petty bourgeoisie. Today, as was inevitable from the beginning, it is swinging to the right against the workers. That is the meaning of the shooting of the Communist demonstrators in Havana and in the interior. That is the meaning, of the sacking of the Left trade union center. That is the meaning of the organization of the Caribbean Army and the illegalization, in practice, of the Communist Party. It remains to be seen whether the workers will not drive off the armed students who are moving against the seized mills and mines; and whether the workers confronting the soldiers cannot win them over. What they need most for that is a correct program and leadership. The influence of Communism is growing. But the failure of the workers to put forward political demands signifies that the Communist Party, haled by Stalinism, is not measuring up to the great tasks that the situation has thrust upon it. —T. STAMM.

= Banquet =

To Celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the American Opposition and the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution
on Saturday, Nov. 4th, 1933, 8 P. M.
AT STUYVESANT CASINO
9th Street and Second Avenue
ADMISSION 50c
Auspices: Local N. Y. Communist League of America (Opposition)
126 East 16th Street

PRICE
2
CENTS

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 48 [WHOLE NO. 195] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1933 PRICE 2 CENTS

Strike Wave Hits Canada Struggles Show Labor Revival

Toronto.—

During the past several months there has been developing in Canada a strike movement of portentous moment. Parallel to the movement in the United States although much smaller in size, the strike wave in Canada is sweeping across the country, gathering momentum with each victory and giving the urge to increasingly greater struggles of the masses.

Theoretically, the situation here is of very broad significance, especially in the contrast it presents to the American situation. The question of the immediate source of the strike wave is somewhat simplified because of the absence of an N. R. A. to incite; but this immediate source is the cyclical upturn can be concretely illustrated by reference to the specific instances composing the movement—for example, the strike of the workers of Hallman and Sahle took place at a time when the firm was doing its heaviest business in four years; the upholsterers struck under the condition of a similar industrial pick-up; and the strike of the furniture workers also occurred at a time when new orders were bringing the workers back to their jobs.

Radical Term of Movement

Because of the absence of an N. R. A., however, the movement here has taken a more radical direction. In Canada, even more than in the United States, the great masses of the workers are still unorganized and therefore more bitterly oppressed by the crisis. The growth of the depression gave rise to a process of gradual liquidation of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie; and now that the industrial revival is returning the workers to the factories they are finding themselves integrated into larger and more organized economic units—which in itself would produce an urge to unionize.

Rise of the Strike Wave

It is of interest to trace the progressive development of the movement over the course of the past few months. Beginning with June there have been the following strikes:

Strike of 1000 mine workers of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia—in the face of a lockout when they refused to accept a pay-cut.

Strike of 2000 lumbermen of the Thunder Bay region for an increase of thirteen cents per cord.

Strike of 350 fur-workers in Toronto—which won for them a 20% increase and reduction in hours.

Strike of 100 canning factory workers in St. Catharines—against wages of 10 and 15c per hour. Successful.

Strike of 700 workers of the Mercury Mills in Hamilton. Concessions won.

Strike of 1400 miners in Est. Coulee, Alta. Successful.

Strike of 250 upholsterers in Toronto under the leadership of the W. U. L. Large wage increases won.

Joint strike of 700 furniture workers in five factories, and 80 workers of the Swift Co. in the town of Stratford. This can truly be called the crest of the strike wave, from the point of view of its militancy, the proportions it has taken on, and its potential after-effects. This Canadian strike of 17,000 people has been witnessing events of really international-Bolshevik portent.

Mass Movement in Stratford

The strike of the furniture workers was called on Sept. 14. The strike of the Swift workers took place in an entirely spontaneous manner on the Monday following. It was quickly taken in hand by the W. U. L. and almost instantly the two strikes became knitted into a solid mass movement. Returned soldiers served as buglers to summons the men from one factory to another whenever help was needed. The whole town is behind the strike—employed and unemployed, returned men and militia men. When it was suggested in the city council that the militia be called upon to maintain order, it was discovered that the entire militia was out on the line with the strikers. In desperation the mayor appealed to the government who promptly sent him 120 troops and four tanks from other towns. This action raised a storm of protest throughout the country. The A. F. of L. locals in Stratford formed a united front with the W. U. L. on this issue. Tremendous demonstrations were staged at one of which 8,000 people—more than half the town—turned out.

In normal times strikes occur in a sporadic manner and have value almost entirely as individual economic struggles. The present strike wave, on the other hand, is a definitely organic process, a

growing movement of the masses; and as such it assumes a constantly more definite political character. In Canada its political character has been brought clearly into the open by the intervention of the military in Stratford. Much depends on the outcome of the Stratford situation. A victory here would spur the vacillating furniture workers throughout the province forward. It would set the spark to the Canadian railway workers who have been on the verge of strike for several months now...and these strikes in turn would give an impetus to other struggles.

—I. LEVINE.

Order Bellusi to Be Deported

Philadelphia.—Antonio Bellusi, a militant Italian worker, has been ordered deported to Fascist Italy. The deportation proceedings against him, which have been pending for some time, resulted in this decision. Comrade Bellusi was arrested in Wilkes Barre on the charge of distributing the Militant. He has been in Gloucester immigration station for several months. We want all workers sympathetic to Communism to write to comrade Bellusi there.

Comrade Bellusi has been active in the labor movement in Italy and America since 1918. In that year he joined the Italian Socialist Party. Later he joined the Communist Party of Italy founded by Bordigha. If we do not stop this deportation comrade Bellusi will be delivered over to Mussolini's fascist murderers.

So far we have had very little assistance from the I. L. D. in Philadelphia. The I. L. D. Committee Against Deportation failed to hold a meeting week after week. Three mass meetings which had been arranged were postponed. Something will have to be done to organize the support of the workers for comrade Bellusi.

—L. R.

OPEN FORUM

THE N. R. A. AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

Speaker:

JACK WEBER

Friday, October 27th, 1933

8 P. M.

at International Workers School
126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Hitler's "Bombshell" at Geneva

German Fascism Bids for Arms Independence

Nazi Maneuvering for Free Hand in Military Adventure. Prepare for Drive against the Soviet Union; Seek French Aid.

Last Saturday Hitlerite Germany bolted the League of Nations and the Geneva Disarmament Conference in a precipitant action which the press universally describes as a bombshell. Insofar as the Hitlerist maneuver contributes to a more complete and accelerated decomposition of the farce of capitalist "internationalism," the bombshell has no doubt hit its mark.

After the departure of Japan last year, the German "Austro-Prussian" as the Nazi diplomats express it—leaves little more of the League of Nations than its bare name.

The sudden and startling move of the Reich followed repeated and increasingly difficult attempts, of the former allies on the one hand, to hold the lines of the status quo achieved by their robbers' treaty of Versailles; and of National Socialist Germany, on the other hand, to achieve "arms equality" and a free hand in war preparations. The desperate internal and external economic situation of post-war Germany brought into its leadership a clique of political adventurers prepared for any gamble. It was only to be expected that the latter would, the moment they felt themselves to any degree masters of their own house, initiate drastic action on the foreign front.

The Adventurism of Despair

The men whom the agonizing Reich bourgeoisie brought into power are destined to extend their adventurism of despair beyond the national borders. Under the camouflage of a "pacifist" and "disarmament" propaganda which has characterized the inter-European diplomatic maneuvers ever since the World War, Hitler attempted to get universal approval for his plan to reestablish Prussian militarism within the framework of the League of Nations. Facing, as he had always expected to face, an immovable aversion on part of the former allies powers to give up any of gains they achieved over Germany by the Versailles pact, he has from the first sought to bring about a showdown by an open break which would clearly be of advantage to him.

He merely seized the opportunity offered by the British-French stubbornness at Geneva last week. The pacifist Hitler throws the onus for the failure to disarm right into the face of the British and the French, and their dilatory tactics. Winning sympathy thereby for his "sincere desire for peace and disarmament" from all sorts of neutral nations,

he makes the "just" demand: on that basis to be allowed an equal opportunity to arm up to the standards of the rest.

Fascism Seeks Military Independence

Fascist Germany is out to get a free hand in girding itself for its next, external attack. The unkind eye cast by the United States upon the British-French hegemony on the continent, its "disinterested" and "neutral" stand, the aloof position of Mussolini, growing out of Italy's special interests—undoubtedly aids Hitler's strategy. France and England are faced with a fait accompli in the German move for military independence. The hope for allied control over German armaments—arising less from fear of an immediate war, than from a view to more distant advantages—has been badly shaken by the Nazi "bombshell."

The Reich government, on its part, has made clear that in striking out for armaments independence it in no way gives up the idea of cooperation with the governments of France, Great Britain, et al. On the contrary. In his radio speech explaining Germany's latest step is not at all intended as an affront to the above two nations. He goes further than that. The Nationalist Hitler makes a direct gesture, to the French, to bury the hatchet with the Erbfeind (the "hereditary enemy" who takes up such an important place in the Nazi ideology of the Nazis).

"It would be a tremendous event," said Hitler, "if the two peoples could once and for all ban force from their common life....After the return of Saar to the Reich, only a madman could believe in the possibility of war between the two states."

A French-German Alliance?

Inclination to accept this overture was not lacking among French ruling circles, immediately after it was made. After all, the independent stand of Germany was an accomplished fact. The question arose of how to deal with the new reality. French-German cooperation, on a new, separate basis, was a possibility in any case. The sentiment in this direction grew with the publication of the Fascist chancellor's speech in full. A striking passage therein reads:

"When, however, the French premier asks why the German youth is marching and falling in line, I reply, it is not to demonstrate against France, but

to evince that political determination that was necessary for throwing down Communism and that will be necessary to hold it down."

In the same speech, the Nazi leader alludes further to the aims of Germany's newly gained independence of action:

"It is not immaterial whether on the Rhine or on the North Sea the outposts of the spirit, the revolutionary and expansive Asiatic world empire stand watch....when the National Socialist movement snatched Germany back from the brink of this threatening catastrophe; it not only saved the German people, but also rendered a historical service to the rest of Europe."

Hitler's "Eastern Orientation"

On the basis of extending this "historical service," by a transition from the defensive to the offensive (for which full armament freedom is needed), the French ruling class sees more than an even chance for a German rapprochement. It demands that Hitler explain himself more fully. But it already knows clearly his motive. He has made his "Eastern orientation"—the Drang Nach Osten—more than sufficiently clear.

What is involved is an attempt to crush the workers' state in Russia and the colonization of the Ukraine. To this end the French bourgeoisie is prepared to talk business, even to consider the question of the Saar.

It is generally known that such a direction of Nazi foreign aggression is more immediate than a war against France. It is known that in such a case, the aid of other powers, financial and otherwise, is imperative for Germany. A representative French paper writes:

"We cannot understand why anyone should unreasonably remain attached to a type of procedure and international mechanism which has missed its aim. Hitler's appeal has created a new situation. In a new fashion conversation seems possible."—Le Jour, October 17.

French Munitions for Germany

France is preparing to bow before the inevitable and to try for new gains, new advantages on a different basis. From the appearance of things, the new French orientation already has taken roots. The French arm of munition manufacture, Schneider-Creusot, was recently accused of furnishing 400 (Continued on Page 4)

Trial Exposes Nazis' Guilt Frame-up Victims Face Death

Every day raises in bolder relief before the entire world what a gruesome farce is taking place in Leipzig. Even the wretched travesty upon justice conducted by the Nazi savages has heralded to the world that the scorch of guilt is singled on the brow not of the accused, the brave Communists in the dock, but inevitably on the Hitlerite rascals.

The evidence that appears before the "court," the evidence that has leaked into the trial, the testimony of any of those that have been able

to tear away the gag, sends shivers of fear down the spines of the ingrates. A more patent frame-up has not been known in this crooked capitalist world. The spectre of the denunciation of the whole world sits in the trial like Banquo's ghost. It has driven the Fascist persecutors frantic.

The contradictory evidence of the Nazi dupe, Van Der Lubbe, threw the first monkey-wrench into the well-oiled plan to place the hands of the Communists on the hangman's block. The solemn verdict of the International Commission of Jurists that set in London confounded the executioners. The thundering indictment of Torgler and Dimitroff, tortured and mauled for months by the Nazi beast, has announced to the wide world that the diabolic scheme of intimidation could not silence the voice of the revolutionaries. And now the "Brown Book of Hitler Terror" looms ominously before the drum head court martial. For the time being the German Fascists have been diverted from the attempt to place the onus of guilt for the Reichstag fire on the Communist victims. They are busily preoccupied with exonerating Goering and his accomplices, who are the real incendiaries.

Unemployed Die in L. A. Fire

Los Angeles.—

Capitalism's cruelty and stupidity have taken a toll of 88 unemployed in Los Angeles' Griffith Park fire of October 17. All that remained of 61 "missing" men were handfuls of ashes. Twenty-seven charred bodies have been identified. Several hundreds are in the hospitals. A number of the injured will die.

The work at which the unemployed are put consists of building roads, camp sites, bridge paths, fire breaks—to make Los Angeles more attractive to the parasites of the country. At work in Griffith Park were 3400 men. Political appointees (not forest rangers or experienced fire fighters) were in charge. A blaze started in one of the blind canyons.

The day had been hot and the brush burned like oil. At quitting time the 3400 men were told not to go home but remain to put out the fire. The more rebellious spirits, who refused, were threatened with withdrawal of work orders, and with clubs.

Who were these unemployed? Aged and youthful laborers and white-collar workers—all poorly fed, poorly clothed and poorly clothed. They had just finished a full day's work underneath the hot California sun. They were totally ignorant of fire fighting.

Down the steep canyon walls the men rushed, impatient to put the fire out, anxious to get home. But the flames flared, the men attempted to climb the canyon only to fall into the flames like scorched flies.

"Lumpers" (unemployed) are not eligible for State Workmen's Compensation. Barring an underpayment of but trivial sum of county insurance the families of these men are to be complete objects of the most miserly charity. The blood spots of murder of the unemployed will not come off the hands of the capitalist class. The working class has indicted them. Into the collective consciousness of the masses the guilt of capitalism has been branded.

The curtain has been lifted. Nothing the Hitlerites may do will blind the world as to who is the real perpetrator of the heinous deed. The secret passage from the Reichstag to Goering's offices, the deliberate absence of the Berlin fire department until after the fire had done its intended damage, is blinding proof that the spark was ignited by the brown hordes to provide the excuse for the proscription of the German Communist Party.

Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff stand in the shadow of the Fascist guillotine! The bourgeois gentlemen of motley "liberal" shadings have agreed to their innocence. But that is not enough to stay the hand of the Fascist butcher. Only the mighty power of the international proletariat can shatter the plans of the Hitler, Goering and Co. to fragments. This protest has not been heard. The working class must not be silent. In its protest it must show the capitalists that international solidarity is not dead. Let this cry resound throughout the four corners of the globe; let it be thundered forth in huge demonstrations and strikes: "Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff must be freed!"

CHICAGO MEETING ARNE SWABECK

on
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

at
International Labor Lyceum
2557 W. North Ave.
Sunday, October 22—3 P. M.

The Organizing Campaign of the New York Food Workers

The Hotel workers of New York City and vicinity are responding to the organizing call of the Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. The response is so enthusiastic that it surpasses the most optimistic expectations of those workers who devoted themselves to the great task of building the union again to its former strength. This splendid response is not at all accidental; but on the contrary has a justification in the fact that this union has shown the workers in the past that it can defend its interests in an effective way.

Twenty-one years ago, in 1912 the Hotel Men's Association through their chefs and head-waiters exercised a virtual terror over the workers in order to exploit them more effectively. Conditions became so intolerable that the workers determined to end them organizing themselves into a union. The A. F. of L. union, with its craft divisions did not inspire the Hotel and Restaurant Workers. Therefore, they preferred to organize themselves into an industrial union, accepting in its ranks every worker of the shop. The 1912 strike is still remembered by many old-timers in the industry as the first militant attempt of the workers to enforce humane conditions of work. Although this strike failed to organize the workers, still it succeeded in bringing home the determination of the Hotel and Restaurant workers to put an end to the humiliating conditions.

The Strike of 1918

In 1918, another attempt at organizing the Hotel workers was undertaken by this union, this time of a far wider scope. More than

18,000 workers participated in this strike. The main hotels of the city of New York could not open their dining rooms, because not only the waiters were on strike but the bus boys and the cooks with their assistants and dishwashers. The Hotel Men's association refused very stubbornly to recognize the union although they were forced to grant almost all its demands, that is, higher wages, the establishment of eight hours work, day off and sanitary conditions (lockers, washing-rooms, and the rest). They employed negroes as strike-breakers and this fact alone must teach us how necessary it is to recognize the negro as workers with equal rights in our ranks. Already many negro workers are coming to the headquarters inquiring about our drive. The bosses also organized a central employment office with a black list carrying the names of the militant Hotel workers.

Because our union did not succeed in forcing the Hotel Men's Association to recognize it and thus to secure the closed shop, the union lost many of its members, retaining a few who were devoted and willing to keep the organization alive. The next effective struggle took place in 1924 when the Union had as closed shops the entire Procurement Corporation, that is, the main Broadway cabarets. But when these cabarets were closed the union was reduced to four closed shops comprising in all not more than six hundred workers.

The 1929 Strike and Split

In 1929 this same union undertook the organization of the Cafeteria workers and succeeded splendidly in mobilizing more than three thousand workers in a militant

strike that won the admiration of every unionist. This success, instead of serving as a basis for further struggles, led to the weakening of the union. This was not, on account of any blows from the bosses but from the very people whom were bragging about revolutionary devotion and the rest. The Stalinists split the union in order to build a sectarian organization under their exclusive control.

It must be said openly that this organization, the Food Workers' Industrial Union, did the worst service to the Hotel workers of our city. While accepting participation last August in a united front, its leaders, in a mass meeting for union agitation, attempted to confuse the workers by distributing cards, bearing the address of their own organization. Their spokesman, Gromber, evaded the question of fusion of the two unions and spoke the worn-out phrases of trade unionism. Comrade G. low, speaking as the representative

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of the Hotel and Restaurant workers branch of the A. F. W., pointed out that now, more than ever, the workers must undertake seriously the establishment of one union in the industry. These remarks of comrade G. low were received enthusiastically by the workers present. The Stalinists could not accept such a proposal because their high priest, Browder, told them plainly in the columns of the Daily Worker that "many trade union functionaries of the Party while working in other unions must at the same time try to build the 'Revolutionary unions'." In other words, go out and smash the other unions. Such is the policy of the elements who destroy whatever they are unable to rule.

The following meeting took place under the auspices of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union because the Stalinists violated the united front by not only withdrawing themselves from it but also by evading the fusion of the two unions into one.

They resorted to such debasing and degrading methods as for instance the carrying of huge signs around the streets that were leading to the Palm Garden where the mass meeting took place informing the workers that the mass meeting would take place the next day. In spite of this sabotage the hall was packed and was addressed by comrades Cannon, G. low and Field and others. The union has succeeded in organizing more than 2,000 workers in more than 25 hotels, some of which rank as the biggest in New York City.

Bosses Prepare to Fight Union
The bosses, in anticipation of the pending militant fight of our union, already are putting into motion,

the mobilization of all the Fraternal Societies of cooks and waiters. The outstanding organization of this nature is the Geneva, Rumors are widely circulating that already its leaders have received a fat portion of the sum that the Hotel Men's Association have raised in order to combat the efforts of the workers to organize into a powerful union.

In other words, the bosses are already preparing certain scabbing machinery to defeat our efforts. It is necessary to follow carefully our elementary duties in to approach the members of the Geneva and the like and convince them to join our Union and at the same time, to expose the scabbing character of their leaders who, as it is plainly known to all, are nothing but agents of the bosses. The Geneva especially always aims to serve one purpose, namely, the interests of the headwaiters and Captains. Only our Union is in a position to serve effectively the interests of the Hotel and Restaurant workers. The 54 hours a week and the apprentice system, which are discussed quite extensively in another article in this issue, would have been inserted in the code if our Union as well as the other unions did not undertake their organizational drives. Very soon the hearing will be held in Washington, D. C. and the stronger we are the easier it will be for us to enforce our demands in the code.

The Fight for Union Recognition
As could be expected this rapid growth of the Union created quite a great problem to be handled by a few workers. The form of its constitution fortunately, is an ideal one. But as the form of the A.

F. of L. Unions is subordinated many times to the substance of the movement, so the industrial form of our union is not always a guarantee of its automatic application. Therefore the workers themselves, who join our Industrial Union, must be educated to understand our union thoroughly and must be encouraged to participate in its leading committees and especially in its organization committee. Then and only then will we be able to fulfill our great task of organizing the Hotel and Restaurant industry as thoroughly as to insure the recognition of the union by the mighty Hotel Men's Association. Otherwise, even if the bosses will be forced to recognize the demands of the workers they will do so only temporarily, under the pressure of the drive. In order to assure permanent gains, and not permit the bosses to throw overboard all these concessions it is necessary to force this recognition of the union and the closed shop.

Let all of us redouble our efforts and bring into the union more fellow workers in order to force our bosses to recognize our union. Thus we can put a stop to the miserable wages and long hours. We can also end the humiliation that we, the Hotel and Restaurant workers, are forced to undergo, not only from the guests of the hotels, but also from the militaristic commands of our head-waiters and chefs. We must always bear in mind that besides the kitchen and the dining-room departments we can also organize the other workers of the hotels who are equally exploited by our bosses, that is, chamber-maids, laundry-workers, elevator operators and the rest.

—ARIST. CALDIS.

Trotsky Writes To the British "New Leader"

October 2, 1933
Editors "New Leader"
Dear Comrades:
In the *Daily Worker* of September 14th I found the letter of comrade S. A. Smith who defends the I. L. P. from the accusation that its delegates have participated in Paris in the building of a Two and one half International. I have no basis whatsoever to interfere in the essence of this polemic. I must point out, however, that from the letter of comrade Smith the conclusion might be drawn that in Paris there was actually laid the foundation for a Two and One Half International, although without the participation of the I. L. P. I consider it necessary to dispel any misunderstandings that readers of the "New Leader" might have on this score.

It is true, that certain organizations which occupy an intermediary position between the Second and the Third International, such as the Norwegian Workers Party, the French P. U. P., the Italian Maximalists and others, have participated in the Paris conference. But precisely all these organizations expressed themselves against the new International. For the creation of the new International, not a Two and one half, but a Fourth International, were the following organizations: The International Left Opposition, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Germany and two Italian Socialist parties, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party. I urge the readers of the *New Leader*, as however, also the readers of the *Daily Worker* to acquaint themselves with the Declaration of the named organizations "On the Necessity and Principles of a new International". Here I shall quote only one paragraph (No. 8) out of eleven.

"While ready to co-operate with all the organizations, groups and fractions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxian policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism, or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions, or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationalisms. To remain equal to its task the new International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the questions of insurrection, proletarian dictatorship, Soviet form of the State, etc.

In conclusion I allow myself to say that the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) is much further removed from centrism (No. 2-12) than the present Barbussovian Comintern.

With revolutionary greetings,
L. TROTSKY.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

C.L.A. Activities in New York

REORGANIZATION.—The New York branch having grown beyond the size within which effective functioning is possible, the membership, decided to reorganize on the basis of borough units. Working branches are now operating in the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn, enjoying the full autonomy of branches in any other part of the country, each with its own executive committee, while having the work centralized and guided by a City Executive Committee. Enthusiasm is running high and each of the branches is working out plans for concentration on its own territory.

All three branches now have their own headquarters. In this way, there will not only be a center in each of these boroughs for mass meetings, classes, but also a gathering place for all friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

New York's headquarters remain as before at 126 East 16th Street and are open all day long. The headquarters of the Bronx branch have just been opened at 535 East 146th Street. George Saul is the branch organizer. The headquarters of the Brooklyn branch are 354 Watkins Avenue corner of Belmont, with Joseph Carter as local organizer. All three branches meet on Tuesday at 8 o'clock in the evening.

OUR MEETINGS.—The first two mass meetings in the series organized "For a New Communist International! For a New Communist Party in America!" proved to be highly successful. The Manhattan meeting at Irving Plaza had the hall full to overflowing. The speakers of comrades Cannon and Shachtman, and participating actively in the question and discussion period. In the Bronx, some 200 workers turned out to attend the Hollywood Garden meetings.

Plans are being made by all the branches now to follow up the initial meetings with others dealing with the same subject.

SCHOOL AND FORUM.—The fall term of the International Workers School began in Manhattan last Monday, October 15th, with two of the courses: The State and Revolution given by Jack Weber, and Fundamentals of Marxism given by John G. Wright. Both of these courses are given from 8 to 10 P. M. Monday evenings. Two other courses are given at the same hour on Wednesday: Organization Principles by Martin Abern and Applied Economics by B. J. Field. The admission to each session is twenty cents, and the fee for an entire course, ranging from ten to twelve sessions, is \$1.50. Registrations are still being accepted at the headquarters of the school, 126 East 16th Street, all day long and in the evenings up to 10 P. M. Complete outlines for the courses are to be made available to registrants at ten cents a copy, and twenty-five cents to others, not students, who are interested in them.

The forum session is also getting under way. Each of our three branches plans to have its own local forum in its own quarters. Manhattan has already begun, and its forums will take place every Friday evening at 8 P. M. sharp. Last Friday, October 13, Joseph Carter spoke on the significance of the revolution in Cuba. The week following, on October 20, Max Shachtman will speak on the municipal elections in New York and put forward the standpoint of the Left Opposition, discussing at the same time the problem of what ticket revolutionary workers should vote for in the coming elections. Bronx and Brooklyn forum meetings will be announced in the coming issues of the *Militant*. All workers are invited to attend and participate in the question and discussion period from the floor.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS.—All efforts are now being concentrated in the New York organization to make every member an active militant in the trade union movement. As the work is being systematized more and more, it is being seen that to this point no unionized members join the union of their craft or industry. Several of our comrades are now very active in the organization campaign being conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. Others are leading the movement to organize the Greek-speaking painters, of whom there are upwards of 2,000 in New York City, into a local of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of the A. F. of L. One of our comrades is the most active militant among the newly mirror workers who are now seeking to establish a local of the American Federation of Labor following their strike. The Stalinists, in this field, are engaged in their customary work of disruption and are fighting with the idea of a "red union" for these workers. Another one of our comrades has just returned from an organization drive among the clothing workers of Haverstraw, New Jersey, which took the form of a militant strike lasting several weeks. Our young comrades have been active in the recently concluded strike of the Doll and Toy workers union. Others have been in the front line of the strike of the New York upholsterers. There, by the way, as a result of the work carried on by us, the Stalinists have been pounced upon one of their own militants in the Upholstery Workers industrial union, comrade Arthur Brandmark, who has now joined the Opposition.

To continue the work of clarification of trade union policy, the City Committee has called a joint membership meeting of all three branches to be held Sunday, October 22nd, at the New York headquarters, for a discussion of our trade union line, to be led by comrade J. P. Cannon. The meeting is to start at 1 P. M. sharp. All comrades are required to attend and participate.

THE BANQUET.—Attention is called to all friends and sympathizers of the Opposition to hold open the date of Saturday, November 4, so as to attend the banquet of the Left Opposition arranged by the New York local. The banquet will take place on that day, 8 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue, with music, entertainment, a dinner and brief speeches. Admission: 50 cents. Further announcements in coming issues.

—CITY COMMITTEE.

Successful Meet in Brownsville

The third meeting in the series organized throughout the boroughs of New York on the New Communist International and the New Communist Party in America, was successfully held in Brownsville at the Premier Palace last week, with a sounder trouncing of Stalinism and the Stalinists than either they or we had calculated on. More than one hundred and fifty workers were assembled, listening attentively to the presentation of our point of view by Max Shachtman when an organized group of Young Communist League and Communist Party members gathered outside the hall and were finally admitted. After the remarks of the two Opposition speakers—comrade James Cannon having followed Shachtman—the floor was thrown open for questions and discussion.

The first speaker in the discussion, was the representative of the Section committee of the official party, a Stalinist named John Morris, who was granted 10 minutes in which to present his apology for the criminal course of his leadership. Despite the courteous extension of his time by chairman Carter, Morris tried to speak for more than half an hour, standing on the presumptuousness and insolence of hooliganism. In order to bring the meeting to an end then and there and prevent further discussion or summary, Morris impudently announced that he would take up a collection for the *Daily Worker* on the spot. Together with his supporters, he succeeded in throwing the meeting into momentary turmoil, until he was gently heaved off the platform and his milling companions escorted back to their chairs. The pitiful attempt at thuggism and intimidation did not, of course, make any serious headway and during his denunciation of the Stalinist tactics in the summary, com. Shachtman

was vigorously applauded by the workers present.

Comrades throughout the country should take note of this incident, which marks the recurrence of the Stalinist policy of breaking up meetings and seeking to disrupt the Opposition gatherings with the only means at their disposal: violence, rudeness, hooliganism. Such a reactionary course can be met with only one reply and the Opposition everywhere has been prepared to make that reply. We have not the slightest intention of allowing our meetings to be dispersed by the flying squadrons of Stalinist workers misled by the bureaucrats who comfortably occupy their office chairs during these frays. Oppositionists, defend your meetings and beat down all hooliganism in the labor movement!

700 Hear Swaback in Toronto

Toronto, Canada.—A huge meeting was held for comrade Arne Swaback in this city. 700 workers turned out to hear his analysis of the international situation and the tasks of the Communists. The size of this meeting is so much more gratifying in view of the counter meeting held the same evening by the Stalinists and several trade union meetings in progress the same evening. A fuller report of this meeting will be given in a subsequent issue of the *Militant*.

Phila. School Starts Classes

The Philadelphia Section of the International Workers School opens its Fall term, Tuesday, October 17th, at 524 Thompson St. The classes will be held on Tuesday and Friday of each week on the following schedule:

SUBJECT INSTRUCTOR
Tuesday
A. B. C. of Marxism—T. Holmes
7:30 to 9 P. M.
Labor in America—J. Carey
History—9 to 10:30
P. M.
Friday
Communist Manifesto—J. Hardy
7:30 to 9 P. M.
History of the Left
Opposition—9 to 10:30 P. M.
B. Morgenstern.

The duration of the term will be ten weeks. In the elementary class registration must be made within a period of three weeks at a fee of 25c.

In advanced classes registration can be made at any time on payment of 50c, single classes 10c. These classes mark the beginning of intensive educational activities in Philadelphia by the Left Opposition.

Our Open Forum, under the auspices of the International Workers School, will hold its first meeting, Sunday, October 22 at 8 P. M.

SUBJECT: LABOR AND THE N. R. A.
Speaker: B. Morgenstern.
Your attendance at these classes and cooperation in the Open Forum, and other important work of the Left Opposition is sincerely desired.

Swaback Lecture in Rochester

Rochester, N. Y.—The following is a report of comrade Swaback's lecture here in Rochester. The meeting was orderly and nobody interrupted Swaback. The audience was composed of about 20 members of the Stalinist party, 20 of the proletariat and about 10 of our sympathizers. About 25 others were there.

After Swaback had spoken, Sam Essman, one of the Stalinist leaders here, arose, and commenced to speak. He admitted that the Stalinists made many mistakes but that nobody was perfect. He said that they welcomed criticism within the party and that the Trotskyites were trying to demoralize the party. He forgot that Trotsky was in the party when he criticized and we know what happened to him. The party welcomes criticism of other but not of its policies. When someone criticizes its policies they expel him, and then they don't have to listen to his criticism because he is not within the party any more. Very intelligent tactics! I'll say! When Essman finished his spiel, instead of giving Swaback a change to answer him, he gathered his lambs around him and adjourned to their meeting room where, I suppose, he gave them an explanation of Swaback's criticism. Their party alone left the room. The remainder of the meeting was orderly with questions being asked and answered within the room.

—A COMRADE.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

Other meetings on comrade Swaback's tour are as follows:

Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.
Sun., Oct. 22nd....Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 26th....Stanton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30th....Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis
Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.

PARIS CONFERENCE

Ed. Note: For the information of our readers who wish to follow all the important international developments step by step, we are reprinting here, with the general resolution which was adopted by a majority vote at the Paris conference of Left socialists and independent Communist organizations. As stated in the resolution, of the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition (*Militant*, Oct. 7th) our delegation did not accept this resolution. It is reprinted here however as a document of information.

RESOLUTION OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE

The International Struggle of the Working Class.

1. Since the publication of the public manifesto at the beginning of February of this year by the seven independent revolutionary socialist parties, events have developed with a terrifying force.

2. The world crisis has shaken the capitalist system of production to the point of chaos and ruin and has forced capitalism to apply the most extreme measures in order to maintain the position of the ruling classes.

3. World unemployment increases from day to day and the attacks on the standard of life and on the political rights of the working classes grows in brutality everywhere.

4. The danger of war has reached the critical point and the militarist and nationalist passions are developing from one and of the world to the other.

5. At the same time Fascism, the terrorist force of capitalism in agony, with the single aim of destroying the workers organizations and plunging the workers into wage slavery and under tyranny will march rapidly with the aid of violence and armed forces.

6. The Hitlerite regime has completely destroyed the workers' organizations which were engaged in safeguarding the interests and the rights of the workers.

7. The victory of Fascism in Germany has shown the entire world the bankruptcy of the social democracy and the Communist Party. The Social Democracy was the strongest pillar of the Second International. Its policy in the capitalist state, its collaboration with the parties of the middle classes, its participation in governmental coalition, its toleration of reactionary governments (policy of the "lesser evil"), has led it to abandon the defense of the inter-

nationalist movement of the working class and retrieving the international unity of this class on a revolutionary socialist basis. The first step should be made by convening a world congress and re-presenting all organizations which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the realization of socialism. This world congress should have as its principle task the studying of a general expose of the principles and policies for effective revolution action which will be prepared and submitted to the parties by the independent socialist parties. These parties will take the initiative for the meeting of the congress at a date which will be determined later and they will make an appeal for this congress to all workers organizations.

12. The independent socialist parties will be convinced that this appeal will be listened to by millions of workers whose admirable courage and perseverance has not been shaken by the policy of bankruptcy which has led from one catastrophe to another.

Militant Builders

As our comrades and friends all over the country in the sub drive the list of subs is shooting up. Look at the list:

Branch Youngstown 14
V. R. Dunne Minneapolis 5
M. Abern Bronx 4
C. Hedlund Minneapolis 4
S. Hardy Philadelphia 4
J. Frutman Toronto 3
C. Schecht Boston 3
L. Goodman Philadelphia 2
Eckelberger New Castle, Pa. 2

The following comrades got one apiece: H. Ross, Manhattan; M. Kent, Brooklyn; R. Schapp, Brooklyn; A. A. Buehler, Kansas City; J. Carter, Brooklyn; H. Capelis, Manhattan; O. Coover, Minneapolis; M. Gottlieb, Minneapolis.

Add them up; that makes 49 new subs since the opening of the drive. And there are still a little less than four weeks to go. We expect the drive to gather still greater momentum as it goes along.

THREE FACTS.
Three facts stand out from the above list: The branch is showing the field a clean pair of heels. Number two: Notice the number of comrades and cities that are figuring in the list. That is one of the brightest things about the drive. And three: Minneapolis and the New York units are dotting the list which means that if you take it from the point of view of collective, organized activity they are doing a fine job bolstering up the list.

QUOTAS.
A number of cities have set quotas for themselves in the drive. New York has undertaken to raise a hundred dollars in subs divided as follows: Manhattan—fifty; Bronx and Brooklyn—twenty-five each. Berkeley has set a goal of twenty-five subs. So has Philadelphia. How about Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and the other cities not yet heard from?

ON THE "HISTORY."
We forgot to say in our previous announcements that wherever there is a tie on November 15 when the drive closes the prize for that place will be given to both the tying contestants. This makes it an even greater inducement. The prizes are: for first place—the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; for second place—two volumes; for third place—one volume. That is a prize worth shooting for.

FROM THE WEST COAST:
"The Paterson strike issue of the *Militant* is a dandy, and if I'm any judge it should win for us many new friends. The new character of the *Militant* will appeal more to the workers."

ests of the proletariat and consequently to ruin the German workers' movement as is to be seen during the Hitlerite era. The policy of the social democracy was essentially that of the Second International. Even after the complete failure of this policy, neither the Second International nor any of the parties which comprise it have drawn the lesson of the terrible events in Germany.

8. On the other hand, the German Communist Party has existed for fourteen years. It had the great moral support which was given to it by the presence of the Soviet Union; it obtained the vast material assistance for its propaganda and it worked in favorable conditions created by a world crisis of unprecedented proportions. By its mistakes, it also demonstrated its complete bankruptcy.

9. The Third International cannot escape its heavy responsibility for the bankruptcy of the German Communist Party whose pseudo-revolutionary policy was ordered by this Third International and the latter has completely assumed the responsibility for the mistakes by rejecting its own ideology. This degeneration of the Third International, dominated by the Russian Communist Party, and the results of the absence of a revolutionary movement in other countries through the formula of socialism in one country, the bureaucracy of the Third International has betrayed the interests of the world revolution. It introduced the struggle of the Russian Party into the parties of the other countries. It has strangled internal democracy. It has persecuted the critical spirits as heretics.

10. We have appealed for unity of action. This appeal has received no effective response from the two Internationals.

11. Considering the bankruptcy of the policies and the organization of the second and third Internationals, the socialist workers of the world are more than ever faced with the enormous task and the necessary task of regenerating the international movement of the working class and retrieving the international unity of this class on a revolutionary socialist basis. The first step should be made by convening a world congress and re-presenting all organizations which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the realization of socialism. This world congress should have as its principle task the studying of a general expose of the principles and policies for effective revolution action which will be prepared and submitted to the parties by the independent socialist parties. These parties will take the initiative for the meeting of the congress at a date which will be determined later and they will make an appeal for this congress to all workers organizations.

12. The independent socialist parties will be convinced that this appeal will be listened to by millions of workers whose admirable courage and perseverance has not been shaken by the policy of bankruptcy which has led from one catastrophe to another.

The Stalinists are bankrupt. If the Stalin party can be said to exist at all it is only as a bureaucratic apparatus with a diminishing number of workers. Politically the Stalin party is dead. As events and the class struggle are drawing a balance under the policies of the Stalinists and the Left Opposition, the Stalinists who began as a party are retrogressing to an ineffectual opportunist propaganda group while the Left Opposition which began as a Marxian propaganda group is moving toward the creation of a new and genuine Communist party on the unshakable foundations of Marxism and Leninism.

Exploitation of Farm Laborers

The economy of the United States has undergone such deepening change in the last decade and a half that what was formerly an avenue of escape from wage slavery for the industrial and agricultural proletariat (home-owning or tenant farming) has become a closed alley or an irreparably broken ladder.

As wage workers, though inarticulate and practically isolated from political or any kind of class guidance, America's agricultural proletariat is in desperation and restlessness. They are moving about or planning to move, knowing the far-reaching influences of the present economic system.

Just today I received the following request from my brother Robert, a beet worker in the state of Colorado:

"Try and let us know if you think that there will be any chance of getting a job in New York this winter, as there will be nothing going on here. I am quite sure that I shall not stay here after beet harvest; and maybe Richard will go with me too, but he talks about going to Idaho or Oregon. I imagine that the economic system is about as cruel toward the proletariat class most any other place as it is here, but there is not much industry in this part of the country: the beets are about the only industry here, while Oregon and Washington have beets, fruit, lumbering, hop-raising, ship work, and stock raising. Another great handicap here is that you have no chance to learn much of anything and there is no entertainment afforded, which amounts to anything. Life is very monotonous and lonesome here."

In the same letter we are given the experiences back of this conclusion, this state of mind. For blocking, thinning, hoeing, and topping the sugar beets the agricultural workers have received \$11.50 per acre this year. "Food, clothing, and rent are about the same as when they paid \$30.00 per acre; some things are higher and some cheaper."

Children under sixteen years of age are worked in almost all of the beet fields. "There is supposed to be a child labor law here, but it is not enforced because the Sugar Co. wants their labor done as cheap as possible. About three-fourths of the school children in the agricultural districts are kept out of school for the beets for from a month to six weeks each fall."

Where are the Stalinists Today?

The Stalinists boast that they are the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. But are they? Let us see.

Today the workers in the United States are in motion as they have not been since the crisis set in. The six hundred thousand miners are stirring with unrest. Thousands have struck for recognition of their union. Thousands are still striking for recognition of the U. M. W. A. This is the largest group of workers in a single industry in the United States. This is a basic industry. The miners are a decisive section of the proletariat. In traditions of struggle, in organization, in fighting quality they belong to the most advanced section of the American working class. How much influence have the Stalinists who once led the Left wing insurgent miners got among them today? Almost none. How many of the recent and present struggles have they led or influenced? Very few; certainly not the larger struggles.

In New York City almost a hundred thousand workers have struck for better wages and conditions. Thousands more are threatening to go on strike for essentially the same demands. Where were the Stalinists? How many of these struggles did they lead? Almost none. How many of these workers are following them? Very few.

Where are the "revolutionary" trade unions of the TUUL? Viewed organizationally and in the columns of the *Daily Worker* they lead a certain existence. They hold conferences and pass resolutions. But they have no influence on the struggles of the workers who are streaming into the A. F. of L. They are shells. And they cannot be revived. It is hopeless to think that the future course of the workers' struggles will lead through these paper shells.

The capitalist press admits there are close to a million unemployed in New York City and says there is no prospect of improvement this winter. Relief has been curtailed. Where are the Stalinists? What are the unemployed councils doing? Nothing. They have no real existence. There is no movement of the unemployed in New York City. And the Stalinists are out of the picture.

The Stalinists are bankrupt. If the Stalin party can be said to exist at all it is only as a bureaucratic apparatus with a diminishing number of workers. Politically the Stalin party is dead. As events and the class struggle are drawing a balance under the policies of the Stalinists and the Left Opposition, the Stalinists who began as a party are retrogressing to an ineffectual opportunist propaganda group while the Left Opposition which began as a Marxian propaganda group is moving toward the creation of a new and genuine Communist party on the unshakable foundations of Marxism and Leninism.

Left Wing in Teachers Union

The continued attacks on their living and teaching conditions and the attacks now pending are awakening the rank and file of the Teachers Union of New York City to the need of action to protect their interests. Their alarm and their desire to resist is making itself felt on the conservative union administration. Under this pressure the administration is moving toward the left. It now demands unemployment insurance for unemployed teachers and speaks of holding mass meetings of the teachers and is engaged in organizing them, whereas formerly it preached the gospel of reliance on the state legislature and condemned the Left wing for insisting on mass actions of the teachers themselves.

It goes without saying that we have no faith in the administration. It sold out the teachers in the fight against salary cuts a year ago. And if it gets the chance it will do it again. But what is important for the teachers in this new "turn" of the union administration is that it has been forced to move in the correct direction. By this "turn" it opens up possibilities that may well sweep beyond the limits which it sets for the fight.

Left Wing's Opportunity

An alert and correctly oriented Left wing can play a decisive part in this movement. This is the opportunity for which it has been working and preparing. In this period and in the period to come its influence and strength should grow.

But this new perspective finds the Left wing unable to realize the opportunities that are presented to it. The Left wing is divided into two groups that are as hostile to each other as they are to the union administration. The Progressive Group which carries out a Lovestonite trade union policy thunders against the administration in its literature and speeches but supports it against the rank and file, the other Left wing group. Their orientation was reform of the administration. They condemned in principle any independent activity on the part of the Left wing. They branded as dual unionist any such attempt. That they themselves organized some of the unemployed teachers outside the union and did not until a few

weeks ago bring them to the union did not prevent them from denouncing as dual unionist the other organization of the unemployed by the rank and file. In short they supported the administration from the left.

The rank and file have carried out a policy which is now contradicted by the new developments in the union. Their thesis was that the union was hopeless; that the administration had a stranglehold grip on it; that it could not be reformed into an instrument of struggle in the interests of the teachers. Readers of the *Militant* will recognize this thesis as one of the elements of the Stalinist trade union line. It is the A. F. of L. company union idea applied to the Teachers Union.

Errors of Left Groups

The consequences that have flowed from the false policies of these two groups have been ruinous for the Left wing and have not helped the union. Now after a fight of years the Left wing is in a worse position than it was and the administration is firmly in the saddle.

Even now they are more interested in preserving their factional differences and justifying themselves to their own members than they are in building a united Left wing. That is the task that the progressive teachers in the union face. They can, if they make the attempt, penetrate both groups with the idea of one united Left wing. For this they need a program. Whatever program they work out cannot include the false policies and conceptions of the Stalinist and Lovestonite trade union lines. The teachers need instruction in how to find their way to the trade union movement. The way to do it is not in the secret domination of the Left wing by factional cliques but in the open formulation of policies on the basis of trade union democracy. How can the Left wing fight the union administration which has destroyed trade union democracy if it violates it in its own house?

When the Left wing is united it can press the fight for a militant union representative of the interests of all the teachers in the system, steering toward the working class movement.

—T. STAMM.

It Is Impossible to Remain in the Same International with Stalin, Manuilsky, Losovsky and Company -- (A Conversation)

A.—It is time to break with the caricature of an International which is in Moscow. It is impossible to bear even a shadow of political responsibility for the Stalinists. We have been very prudent and very patient with regard to the Comintern; but there is a limit to everything; now that, before the eyes of the entire world, we see on the one hand, Stalin on the other, have placed Hitler in the saddle, now that the Comintern despite the catastrophe has proclaimed its policy infallible—no man of judgment will any longer hope that this clique can be "reformed".

The Comintern "As A Whole"

B.—The clique certainly out, but the Comintern taken as a whole? A.—One must not be deceived by general phrases. The "Comintern as a whole" is an abstraction, not to say, an empty expression. The control is in the hands of the Stalinist clique. For six years now, there has been no Congress. Who has trampled the statutes underfoot? The clique. By what right? By the right of usurpation. No one section, not even a local organization, not one paper has dared to breathe a word about the necessity of an International Congress. This means that in fact, the fate of the "Comintern as a whole" lies in the hands of an irresponsible clique.

B.—That is incontestable, but isn't that just how the matter stood a year ago, when we had not yet withdrawn the slogan of the reform of the Comintern?

A.—No. That is not how the matter stood. A year ago one could still hope to save the situation in Germany. We did everything in our power to throw light on the logic of the situation. If the Comintern were a responsible organization, its leadership could not have failed to hear the voice of events. It is absolutely impossible to expect a more powerful voice. And if the Comintern remained deaf this time, it means that it is a corpse. In still another respect a decisive change has taken place. Last year the German Communist Party still existed. In the whirlpool of great events, it still had to reckon with the working masses. One was able to hope with a certain right—up to the hour of the verification—that the development of the struggle of the masses would not only make Thaelmann's Central Committee turn about, but also the Praesidium of Stalin-Manuilsky. That did not take place. Of the German Communist Party nothing has remained but an apparatus which grows weaker every day and becomes increasingly alienated from the masses. The point has been reached where the Central Committee prohibits the illegal local organizations from publishing their own articles and appeals; the duty of the local committees is but to reprint the revelations of the Manuilsky and the Heckerts. Every movement of thought represents a mortal danger for these people. The victory of Hitler is not really a "defeat" for them; it has freed them from all control from below....but now that the strongest party of the Comintern has left the stage there is decidedly no means, no channel and no lever, left by which to act upon the clique that rules the Comintern.

The German Party

B.—Can the German Communist Party be spoken of as the strongest party of the Comintern? You seem to forget the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

A.—No, I have not forgotten. Even if one recognizes that the C. P. S. U. is a party (in reality, within the administrative cadres of the C. P. S. U., which change according to the will of the clique, several parties are conducting a covert struggle against each other), this party is, in any case, not an active section of the Comintern. The Soviet workers have no idea of what is happening to the proletarian movement in the west: nothing is communicated to them, or still worse they are ignominiously deceived. Within the Political Bureau itself, with its present composition, there is not a single person who knows the life and the tendencies of the workers movement in the capitalist countries.

The slogan of the "reform" of the Comintern was, for us, never a hollow phrase. We counted on reform as on a reality. Developments followed the worst road. That is precisely why we are compelled to declare that the policy of reform is exhausted to the very end.

B.—Is it then possible for us to leave the centrist bureaucracy the banner of the Comintern?

A.—One should not be misled by ambiguous formula. What is understood by a banner? A program? But it is long, since we have rejected the program adopted by the VII Congress as a pernicious admixture of opportunism and adventurism. In the course of several years, basing ourselves on the lessons of events, we counted upon changing the program of the Comintern by internal means. Now this possibility has disappeared at the same time as the possibility of "reform". To the miserable eclectic program of the Comintern, we must oppose our Marxist program.

The First Four Congresses

B.—And the first four congresses of the Comintern?

A.—Naturally, we do not abandon them. All the more so as the Stalinists have long since renounced them and given them over to us. Our program will build up on the foundations established by the

first four congresses; it is an irreproachable Marxist foundation, it is our foundation. The lessons of the recent years—only the Left Opposition has translated them into the language of Marxism. Our International Pre-Conference has drawn the balance of these lessons in its eleven points. There is, however, a gap in this balance. The Pre-Conference met on the eve of the decisive examination to which the history submitted the Comintern. The complete and conclusive collapse of the Comintern is not recorded in the decisions of the Pre-Conference. It must be done by the Conference. As far as everything else goes, the decisions of the Pre-Conference retain all their force. The principal documents of the first four congresses plus the "eleven points" of the Left Opposition—these are the fundamental elements of the true program of the Communist International.

B.—The opponents will, in spite of everything, say that we are renouncing the banner of Lenin.

A.—The opponents have been shouting that for some time, and all the more loudly, the more they trample in the mud the heritage of Bolshevism. As for us, we shall say to the workers of the entire world that we are taking upon ourselves the defense of the banner of Marx and of Lenin, the continuation and the development of their work in the intransigent struggle not only against the reformist traitors—that goes without saying—but also against the centrist falsifications of Bolshevism. The usurpers of the banner of Lenin, organizers of the defeats and the capitulations, the corrupters of the proletarian vanguard, the Stalinists.

The C. P. S. U.

B.—Then what is to be done about the C. P. S. U.? What is to be done about the U. S. S. R.? The opponents will not say that we consider as lost the achievements of the workers' state and that we are preparing the armed insurrection against the Soviet Government?

A.—Certainly they will say it. They have been saying it for some time now. What else can they say to justify their ignominious persecutions of the Bolshevik-Leninists? But we are guided not by the clamor of the opponents, but by the actual course of the class struggle. The October Revolution, with the Bolshevik party at its head, created the workers' state. Now the Bolshevik party no longer exists. But the fundamental social content of the October revolution is still alive. The bureaucratic dictatorship, in spite of the technical successes acquired under its reign (against itself), enormously facilitates the possibility of the capitalist restoration. But luckily, the point of a restoration has not yet been reached. With favorable internal, and above all international, conditions, the edifice of the workers' state can be regenerated on the foundations of the Soviet state, without a new revolution. For a long time we have reckoned that we would succeed in reforming the C. P. S. U. itself, and through it the C. P. S. U. in regenerating the Soviet regime. But the present official party now bears much less of a resemblance to a party than two or even one year ago. The party congress has not taken place for more than three years and nobody talks about it. The Stalinist clique is now whitewashing down and reconstructing its "party", as if it were a disciplinary battalion. The aim of the purging and of the expulsions was first of all to disorganize the party, to deprive it of the possibility of thinking and of acting; now the repressions have as their aim to prevent the reorganization of the party. Yet the proletarian party is indispensable if the Soviet state is not to perish. There are many elements for it, but it is only in the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy that they can be brought to the surface and united.

To speak now of the reform of the C. P. S. U. would mean to look backward and not forward, to suggest one's own mind with empty formulae. In the U. S. S. R. it is necessary to build a Bolshevik party again.

The Road of Civil War

B.—But isn't that the road of civil war?

A.—The Stalinist bureaucracy conducted the struggle against the Left Opposition even in the period when we were quite sincerely and with conviction for the reform of the C. P. S. U. The arrests, the deportations, the fusillades—what are these if not the civil war, at least in embryo? In the struggle against the Left Opposition, the Stalinist bureaucracy was an instrument of the counter-revolutionary forces and by that fact, it isolated itself from the masses. Now the civil war is placed on the order of the day along another line, between the counter-revolution going over to the offensive, and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the defensive. In the struggle with the counter-revolution the Bolshevik-Leninists will obviously be the left flank of the Soviet front. The fighting bloc in coalition with the Stalinists will flow here from the whole situation. It should not, however, be thought that in this struggle the Stalinist bureaucracy will be unanimous. At the decisive moment, it will break up into fragments and its component elements will meet again in the two opposing camps.

B.—So the civil war is inevitable?

A.—Right at the present moment it is taking place. By maintaining the present course, it can only become more acute. With the further impotence of the Comintern, with the paralysis of the international proletarian vanguard and under the conditions of the inevitable growth of world fascism, the victory of the counter-revolution in the U. S. S. R. would be inevitable. Naturally, the Bolshevik-Leninists will continue their work in the U. S. S. R. regardless of the conditions. But the saving of the workers' state can be effected only by the intermediary of the world revolutionary movement. In all of human history, the objective conditions for the regeneration and its rise have never been

so favorable as now. What is lacking is the revolutionary party. The Stalinist clique can rule only by destroying the party, in the U. S. S. R. as in the rest of the world. One can tear himself away from this vicious circle only by breaking with the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is necessary to build a party on a fresh spot, under a clean banner.

Pressure on the Bureaucracy

B.—And how will the revolutionary parties of the capitalist world be able to act upon the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R.?

A.—The whole question lies in the genuine strength. We have seen how the Stalinist bureaucracy crawled before the Kuo Min Tang, before the British trade unions. We have seen how it is crawling now, even before petty bourgeois pacifists. Strong revolutionary parties, truly capable of fighting against imperialism, and consequently of defending the U. S. S. R. will compel the Stalinist bureaucracy to reckon with them. Much more important is the fact that these organizations will acquire an enormous authority in the eyes of the Soviet workers and will thus finally create favorable conditions for the rebirth of a genuine Bolshevik party. It is only on this road that the reform of the Soviet state is possible without a new proletarian revolution.

B.—So then: we abandon the slogan of the reform of the C. P. S. U. and we build up the new party as the instrument for the reform of the Soviet Union.

A.—Perfectly correct.

B.—Is this tremendous task commensurate with our forces?

A.—The question is put erroneously. First of all, it is necessary to formulate clearly and courageously the historical task and then to assemble the forces for its resolution. Certainly we are still weak today, but that does not at all signify that history will grant us a delay. One of the psychological sources of opportunism is the fear of great tasks, that is, the lack of

faith in revolutionary possibilities. However, great tasks do not fall from the sky; they emerge from the course of the class struggle. It is in these same conditions that we must seek the forces for the resolution of the great tasks.

Danger of Adventurism

B.—But doesn't the overestimation of one's own forces often lead to adventurism?

A.—That is absolutely correct. It would be pure adventurism if we were to "proclaim" that our present organization is the Communist International or if, under this name, we were to unite ourselves mechanically with the various other opposition organizations. The new International cannot be "proclaimed": it still has to be built. But one can, and one should, from today onward, proclaim the necessity to create a new International.

Ferdinand Lasalle, who was no stranger to opportunism, nor to adventurism, nevertheless expressed the fundamental requirements of revolutionary politics: "Every great action begins by the assertion of what is." Before replying practically to the questions: How is a new International to be built, what methods are to be applied, what delays are to be fixed—it is necessary to assert openly what is. The Comintern is dead for the revolution.

B.—On this point, in your opinion, there can be no longer be any doubts?

A.—Not a shadow. The whole course of the struggle against National Socialism, the conclusion of this struggle and the lessons of this conclusion—equally indicate not only the complete revolutionary absence of the Comintern but also its organic incapacity to learn, to mend its ways, that is, "to reform" itself. The German lesson would not be so crushing and so unimpeachable, if it were not the crowning piece of ten years of the history of centrist blundering, of pernicious errors, of ever more frightful defeats, of increasingly fruitless sacrifices and losses, and, in connection with that, of a complete theoretical debacle.

tion, of a bureaucratic degeneration, of parasitism, of demoralization, of duping the masses, of interrupted falsifications, of the banishment of revolutionists, of the selection of functionaries, mercenaries and pure lackies. The present Comintern is an expensive apparatus for the weakening of the proletarian vanguard. That is all! It is not capable of doing more.

Muenzenberg a Symbol

Wherever the conditions of bourgeois democracy open up a certain space, the Stalinists, thanks to the apparatus and the cash box, simulate a political activity. Muenzenberg has now become a symbolical figure of the Comintern. But who is Muenzenberg? He is an Ousek on the "proletarian" arena. Empty slogans, which engage one to nothing, a little bit of liberalism, a stock exchange of journalists, literary drawing rooms where friendship for the U. S. S. R. has its price, a theatrical hostility towards the reformists, changing easily into a friendship for them (Barbusse) and, what is important, a well-adorned cash box, independent of the working masses,—that is what Muenzenberg is. Living politically on the aims of the bourgeois democracy, the Stalinists still demand of it the crowning point—that is strike down the Bolshevik-Leninists. Can one sink lower?... Yet, let but the bourgeoisie seriously lift the fascist, or the simple police, fist, and Stalinism draws its tail between its legs and retreats docilely into the void. The Comintern in agony can give nothing to the world proletariat, absolutely nothing, save evil.

The Comintern a Brake on the Revolutionary Movement

B.—That the Comintern, as the central apparatus, has become a brake on the revolutionary movement, it is impossible not to acknowledge, just as it must be agreed that a reform of the apparatus, independent of the masses, is absolutely unrealizable. But what about the national sections? Are all of them in the same stage of degeneration and decadence?

A.—After the German catastrophe, we have seen, in Austria as well as in Bulgaria, how the Stalinist parties were liquidated without resistance on the part of the masses. If the situation is more favorable in some countries than in others, the difference, despite everything is not very great. But let us even admit that one section of the Comintern or another is conquered by the Left Opposition: the morning after this fact, if not on the eve, it will be expelled from the Comintern and it will have to seek for itself a new international (something of that sort happened in Chile). Cases of that sort took place also during the appearance of the Third International: thus, the French Socialist Party, transformed itself officially into the Communist Party. But that did not change the general direction of our policy with regard to the Second International.

B.—Don't you think that thousands of "Stalinists" sympathetic to us will move away from us in fright when they learn that we are breaking finally with the Comintern?

The Axis of the New Crystallization

A.—It is possible. It is even absolutely likely. But it is with all the greater decision that they will join with us at the following stage. It must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that in every country there are thousands of revolutionists who have abandoned the official party, or who were expelled from it, and who did not join us in large measure because, in their eyes, we were only a faction of that same party with which they were disgusted. An even greater number of workers are right now separating from reformism and seeking a revolutionary leadership. Finally, in this situation of putrefaction of the Social Democracy and the collapse of Stalinism, a young generation of workers is rising for whom a stainless banner is needed. The Bolshevik-Leninists can and should form the axis of crystallization of all these numerous elements. Then all that is of a living nature in the Stalinist "International" will shake off its last doubts and will join us.

B.—Are you not afraid that the new orientation will encounter an opposition within our own ranks?

A.—In the first stage, it is absolutely inevitable. In many countries, the Left Opposition is linked up by all its work, more than anything else, if not exclusively, to the official party. It has penetrated very little into the trade unions and had hardly interested itself at all in what is happening in the ranks of Social Democracy. It is high time an end were put to narrow propaganda. The turn should be preceded by a broad and serious discussion. It is necessary that each member of our organization reflect to the very bottom of the problem. The events will help: every day will bring irrefutable arguments on the necessity of the new international. I do not doubt that the turn, realized together and with discussion, will open up before us a broad historical perspective. July 20, 1933.

—G. G.

* Ostric: Notorious French financier, industrialist, shady stock speculator, trust magnate, intimate of politicians in all camps swindler. Finally proposed to trial and condemned—Trans.

British Lord and Ex-War Minister Leads Stalinist Anti-War Junkie in Shanghai

SHANGHAI—

Long heralded by advance press notices, the delegation sent out by the Paris Committee of the World Congress Against Imperialist War to organize and take part in a Far Eastern Anti-War Congress, arrived in Shanghai on August 18.

In all, five delegates arrived. They are Lord Marley, who was under-secretary for war in the MacDonald government in 1930-1931, and who describes himself as the "independent chairman" of the delegation; Paul Vaillant-Couturier, editor of the French Communist Party organ, *L'Humanite*; Georges Poupy, member of a Left Socialist grouping in France; Dr. Jean Marleux, Belgian social democrat and deputy-mayor of Brussels; Gerald Hamilton, of the British Committee of the World Congress Against Imperialist War.

The delegation was met and welcomed by Soong Ching-ling, widow of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who has blindly followed Moscow leadership and lent her name, efforts and personal prestige to any cause, short of Communism, which possesses a radical tinge. Thus she figures prominently in the League Against Imperialism and was a prominent sponsor of the short-lived and now defunct China League for Civil Rights, through which she thought it would be possible to unite various "liberal" people to fight against the imprisonment, torture and killing of political prisoners in China, including Communists.

Dr. Sun's widow has still to learn, apparently, that just as fighters for the proletariat of China can be saved, if at all, from the Kuo Min Tang hangmen only by sweeping mass actions of the workers through their own defense organizations and that no hedge-podge league of liberals can substitute for such organizations—so war and the war danger, which are concomitants of capitalism in the imperialist stage and as inseparable from it as the spots from a leopard, can be combatted effectively only by the workers, under Communist leadership, and ended solely by a revolutionary overturn of the system which produces them.

Those who proclaim, or imply, as do the sponsors of the congress to which Lord Marley and his confederates have been sent, that imperialist war can be combatted otherwise than by the revolutionary mass action of the workers, whose task is to convert imperialist war into civil war and an armed struggle for power, are sowing illusions and deceiving the masses. True, the members of the delegation may lip service to the necessity for mass working class action. Even Lord Marley does so, though doubtfully and hesitatingly. But mass action cannot be conjured up by phrases and windy congress speeches made by persons of the Marley stamp, who have no connections with the masses, represent nobody but themselves, and who, most likely, will find adequate reasons for flocking to their respective imperialist colors in a real war crisis.

Motley "Sponsors"

Who are the sponsors of the projected anti-war congress in Shanghai? The same people who brought to birth the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Communist-Kuo Min Tang alliance, the League Against Imperialism, the World Congress Against Imperialist War held last year at Amsterdam and, more recently, the Anti-Fascist Congress at Paris—the centrist managers of the Communist International, headed by Stalin. That the tracks lead un-

mistakably to Moscow is sufficiently indicated by the presence among the delegates of Vaillant-Couturier, editor of *L'Humanite*, who certainly would not be here without Stalinist approval. To be sure, he is not a representative of the Communist International or even of the French Communist Party (he would doubtless vigorously repudiate any such charge), but as a representa-

tive of the ubiquitous Henri Barbusse—that good novelist made up poor politician by the Moscow epigones.

However, we are already acquainted with this old Stalinist trick. By refraining from having any direct, official representation by the mandarin of the Communist International insures itself in ad-

vice the widest degree of inner party democracy. The various groups composing the New Party must be given the freedom to present their views to the party membership. There must be freedom of discussion and the most thorough consideration by the Party as a whole of the problems before the movement.

3. The system of discipline can under no circumstances parallel or be similar to that of the official Communist Party today. The right of the bureaucracy to run on top appointing all the functionaries must be abandoned. The election of officials from the lowest to the highest must be instituted. Leadership must come as a result of worth, ability and approval of the membership. Discipline must be built up on the basis of establishing the authority of the leading organs of the Party. Bureaucratic mechanical discipline, characteristic of the official Communist Party cannot be continued in the New Party.

4. The building of new Communist Parties in the various capitalist countries, based upon the conditions of the respective countries and the needs of the masses assures the building up of a genuine international Communist organization.

5. The New Party can under no circumstances support the present Communist International system of organization. It must oppose the right of an international organization to dominate policies and determine the leadership of its sections as destructive of the best interests of building up an international Communist movement.

6. The New Party must recognize the Soviet Union as a workers state and give it its wholehearted support, however not giving up the right to criticize the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

This article is written in order to arouse discussion of this important question before the Communist movement. All Communists, sympathizers and revolutionary workers are welcomed to freely discuss this question of a New Communist Party in the columns of the *Voice of Labor*.

1. The new Communist Party cannot be organized on the basis of the acceptance of the program of any one of the Communist Opposition Groups. It must include all the Communist Opposition forces plus the left forces in the Socialist and Labor movement who are ready to accept the fundamental principles of Communism and categorically reject dual unionism, the theory of the united front from below and the theory of social fascism.

2. The New Party must guaran-

tee to permit them to have complete hegemony, over the Communist movement, is to invite when the historical conditions in the other capitalist countries develop, the same catastrophe, and in many respects, a much worse one, than was suffered by the Communist Party of Germany.

The Workers' Communist League early recognized the need of the Communist Opposition forces getting together for joint action and work in order to find a common ground upon which they could begin to positively rebuild the movement. This was involved in the proposals to the various Communist Opposition groups that they form a bloc. They continue to be lured with the idea that by some turn in events or by some subterfuge they will get back into the official Communist Party and into the Third International. They do not realize that fundamentally the whole system of the Communist International and its official sections is wrong and responsible for the Communist crisis. They fail to recognize unless this system is basically changed there is no hope for the Communist movement extricated itself from its present deplorable state.

I favor the organization of a new Communist Party. I maintain it is absolutely necessary that we now begin the preparations for bringing a new Communist Party into being in the United States. I am of the opinion that the official Communist Party can never regain the confidence of the masses sufficiently to become the instrument of proletarian revolution in the United States. The reasons for this can be presented later in the discussion of the question of the need for a New Communist Party. Today I want to present very briefly and sharply the basis upon which a new Communist Party must be organized. They are as follows:

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tee to permit them

EDITORIAL

The Boycott of Fascist Germany

The resolution of the A. F. of L. convention for the boycott of German goods, following a similar action by the British Trade Union Congress, undoubtedly raises the issue of the boycott to a higher importance and, at the same time, increases the weight of revisionist influence in the international agitation against Hitlerism. A positive position on the question of the boycott, which is now brought into such prominence, is obviously required of all the various tendencies in the labor movement.

What is especially necessary is preciseness as to the aims of the boycott, its terms and its limitations. Otherwise the slogan lends itself to vague generalities, among no one to anything in particular. That is where the agitation on the question stands now, and that is why the opportunists of all countries are having such a happy time with the slogan. The revolutionary wing of the labor movement ought to call for a showdown on the issue of boycotting Hitler's Germany.

As a demonstrative action on an international scale, designed to show working class solidarity with the hard-pressed German workers and stern protest against their latest torturers, a well-organized international boycott—suspending transport and communication for a definite time—could serve a useful purpose. Such an action, concentrating the force of international labor in a single paralyzing blow, could be a means of lifting up the spirits of the German workers and helping them to their feet again. The German workers, disunited and demoralized by the bankruptcy of all their organizations, and overcome with a sense of isolation and despair, need desperately now the concrete and visible proofs of international class solidarity.

A boycott, a real boycott, such as it is within the power of the international labor movement to enforce for a limited time, could serve as such a demonstration. Therein would lie its principal value. And, in addition, such an action would revive and strengthen the international labor movement by the revelation of power inherent in it.

Of course the A. F. of L. resolution was never intended by its sponsors to lead in such a direction. It is a face-saving gesture, calculated to put them "on record" without committing them to any obligations. The real measure of the Washington decision can be seen in the fact that Furuseth, head of the Seamen's union, voted against the boycott resolution. This passed without comment, as a matter of course. They intend no action against German goods—the passive, voluntary abstentionism of unorganized individuals—is not a real weapon of the struggle against fascism. Such a program has many negative aspects. And it is a harmful substitute for an organized action of the working class.

What is needed is an international, organized mass action which brings all its force to bear on one point at one time. The revolutionary elements in the labor movement ought to pick up the slogan of the boycott and drive the agitation in this direction. The A. F. of L. resolution, which gives the issue an official sanction, can be utilized as a springboard for the agitation in the unions. An international strike against the handling or transport of German goods and communication, as an anti-fascist demonstration for a definitely limited short time, should be the aim. The united front of workers' organizations is required. In such an action, which would blow the breath of life into the boycott, against Hitlerism, the railroad and transport unions would necessarily play a major role. Without their participation the agitation for a boycott is nothing but sound and fury.

Making Fun of International Communism

ONCE again proletarian internationalism, the spectre which haunted exploiters since the manifesto of '48, has become an object of their scornful derision. In 1914 the rulers of Europe, plunging into the desperate hazard of the war, breathed with relief when the Socialist parties, one after another, renounced their international obligations and forgot the oft-repeated pledges of international solidarity. Then they began to laugh. The bourgeois press of the world made fun of the contrast between socialist words and deeds. Now they are regaling themselves again. This time the object of their ridicule is the conduct of the Soviet Government and the Comintern regarding the Fascist assassination of the German labor movement.

It is a common thing nowadays for bourgeois correspondents, pointing to the abandonment of the prostrate working class of Germany, to interpret the Stalin policy of socialism in one country as a renunciation of international revolution. The New York Tribune and the New York Times, both authoritative journals of big capital, discoursed on this theme within the same week. The Times (October 12) jibed at the failure of Moscow, which "had proclaimed solidarity with the Communists all over the world," to "concern itself with the annihilation of the Communist Party of Germany."

The shameful record of the Soviet bureaucrats, who are also the leaders of the Comintern, may well evoke the scornful jests of the international class enemy. And the poorest of all answers is the answer of the Daily Worker to the effect that the Times has fallen under the influence of Trotsky. The true ex-

Hoover and Roosevelt

"There is nothing new under the sun," says the old proverb. Hunger-Hoover goes and NRA-Roosevelt comes and the same boss rule stays—the rule of bigotry, deception and brutal force. Roosevelt, however, knows better how to mix all those ingredients in the proper proportions and doesn't forget to add some NRA flavor to it.

The Chief Engineer of the crisis was against unemployment insurance. He called it "dole," a thing un-American, degrading, humiliating, enslaving and so on. If a hungry, ill-clad and ill-shod "buddy" runs after you and ten others asking for a nickel that's "American," Christian, humane, and, if you

planation of the sardonic mirth of the capitalist press lies in the bitter facts.

It is a fact that the Comintern remained silent in the fateful days when everything hung in the balance in Germany, giving no clear word of advice and not even hinting at a demonstration action. The Comintern imposed the policy that led to the defeat and reaffirmed it afterwards. Soviet diplomacy—speaking directly for Hitler's benefit—hastened to give assurance that it would never think of interfering in another country in either a revolution or a counter-revolution. And, most shameful of all, the world has yet to learn of a single demonstration organized within the Soviet Union against the Fascist butchery of the German proletariat.

It is not in the least what the Bolshevik-Leninists, in opposition, have said but what the Stalinists, in power, have done that occasions the gloating merriment of bourgeois journalism over the downfall of internationalism.

But, for all that, they are laughing too soon. Internationalism, after its second historic defeat through false leadership, will rise again and become once more the inspiring and unifying force of the proletariat and the dread spectre of its enemies. Facing the bitter truth in shame and humiliation, but steadfast in the old faith, the true internationalists will work to hasten on that day. This is the greatest work of our time. It must be carried forward under the clean banner of a new International.

The Expulsion of Joe Angelo

ANNOUNCEMENT in the latest issue of the Progressive Miner of the expulsion of Joe Angelo demonstrates more graphically than any other single act how closely the leaders of the P.M.A. have come to the basic policy of Lewis and how basely they have betrayed the confidence which the Illinois miners wisely gave them. The expulsion of Angelo is a symbolic act. It is a demonstration by the despicable imitators of Lewis against militancy, against union democracy, against the deepest impulses of the Illinois miners for an honest, fighting union—against everything, in short, that gave rise to the magnificent rebellion of the miners, their break with the Lewis union and the formation of the P. M. A.

With Percy and Keck, as with Lewis and Farrington, the hounding and expulsion of Communist militants is not an isolated policy. It is bound up in every case with the treacherous game of selling out the interests of the miners and is a necessary part of the preparation for it. By getting rid of the union's conscious and incorruptible militants the misleaders always aim to disorganize the rank and file and rob them of the power of organized resistance to their peridious service to the operators. The Illinois miners, who have risen in such heroic revolt and who have been betrayed so often by false leaders, are being maneuvered into another debacle. The expulsion of Joe Angelo is another warning signal, saltpier, clearer and louder. Let the miners of Illinois be on guard and organize to defend themselves before it is too late!

The Socialist Party After Hillquit

MORRIS HILLQUIT, the deceased leader of the Socialist Party, was a unique figure who leaves no successor. A "European" social democrat on American soil, he was especially adept in dressing up the grossest opportunism in the formal garb of "Marxism." He cast the party in the image of its European contemporaries and made it one of the very worst representatives of this discredited school. The American S. P., shaped under Hillquit's hand, had all the vices of European Social Democracy without its strength in the workers' mass movement. Hillquit's Party imitated the Social Democracy in its period of senile decay without ever having experienced its effectiveness as the organizer of the workers' movement in its period of youth and bloom. The American Socialist Party has been a horrible caricature.

The death of Hillquit upsets the balance of forces inside the Socialist Party and will start a new internal ferment. The pseudo-Marxist "old guard," which lost its head with the demise of Hillquit, will be obliged to yield the hegemony in the leadership to Norman Thomas. Under Thomas the S. P. will present a superficially different appearance. It will be more attractive to bright, "forward-looking" people who want to get somewhere quickly. But the content of its policy will not draw the party nearer to the militant workers. It will not express their impulses and aims. Still less will it lead them toward their historic goal. Where Hillquit robbed the Marxian formulae of their breath of revolutionary life, Thomas dispenses with the formulae altogether. Workers in its ranks who aspire toward a revolutionary fight against capitalism, will find the atmosphere suffocating and unbearable.

The insurgent youth and worker elements, who supported Thomas as a "lesser evil" against Hillquit, will be thrown on their own resources and compelled to formulate their standpoint more precisely. Political issues, which have smoldered in the internal conflict without a clear expression, will break through the struggle of persons and cliques. A new left wing, moving toward Communism, will begin to take shape.

These predictions require no clairvoyant gift. Such developments are implicit in the whole situation of present-day Social Democracy, as is verified by the happenings in all the European parties. The American S. P., under the impact of the great events abroad and the class struggle at home will begin to catch up with the European developments at a faster pace.

appeal to the American people on the "Mobilization for Human Needs." Roosevelt is a greater demagogue than Hoover. He doesn't call federal unemployment insurance the "dole" or other names. He simply avoids mentioning it altogether. Instead he glorifies charity. To him this is the "fundamental basis of American civilization," a thing "essential to the whole American scheme of life."

—D. MARCUS.

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Notes of the Week

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE NRA

The leading article of the New York Herald Tribune Sunday Magazine, last week, makes an eloquent plea for "No More Strikes".

"One of the ironies of the day in this country," it says, "is that one of our greatest organized efforts, one which has always been the loudest in the denunciation of war between the nations, is insisting on its own right to use force in settling its difficulties."

And then it goes on to quote William Green on the right to strike. (Another of the ironies of the day, by the way.) The argument runs as follows: The nations (sic) have found that force is wasteful, futile. They have set up a Kellogg Pact and a League of Nations to banish war from their midst. Why can't the workers take an example from that?

There is the NRA. The NRA is concerned with the welfare of the workers as the League is with that of the nations (sic). Why not let NRA replace the strike as the League has replaced war?

Still another of the ironies of the day! Even while those words were being printed, the noble example which the American workers were to follow—received such a dislodging shock that there remains very little to follow. Germany split from the League of Nations with a "bombshell." War talk and war preparations are again seizing a feverish world. A most unfortunate example.

While the example is hardly worthy of pursuit, it does no doubt offer a resemblance. It is a resemblance worth a worker's attention.

Both the League of Nations and the NRA were born out of the despair wrought by wasteful destructive capitalist competition. In the first case, among the various capitalist nations. In the second case, among the different capitalists in the United States. They were both meant to serve as a sort of a regulator of this competition.

When the League was formed, the powerful capitalist United States refused to join. It believed it could contribute to the "welfare of the nations" on the outside, without international control.

When NRA went into effect, the richest single capitalist in the United States, Henry Ford, refused to join. He thought he could contribute to "industrial welfare" on the outside, without national control.

Japan and Germany, two of the major powers, have bolted from the League. How soon will it be before the big capitalists will be bolting from NRA?

Why is the League blowing up? Because it is bound by the very laws of capitalism. Capitalism means ruthless competition. Capitalism is war, war of all against all. Capitalism signifies the perpetuation of the use of force. How could the League help blowing up? How can NRA help blowing up?

The argument is really in favor of the use of the strike. As long as capitalism exists, peace among the nations is insecure. As long as capitalism and wage slavery, the demands of competition and the production for profit exist—just so long must hire and fire, unemployment, insecurity exist for workers. What better way has the worker to gain any measure of security, any degree of protection and improvement than by the collective, organized effort with his fellow workers—by the strike?

In spite of the eloquent plea, in spite of the supplications of the NRA boosters, the workers are continuing to strike. They draw their conclusions from past examples. Some day they will draw a final conclusion. They will learn that there is no way of gaining welfare and of banishing war than by sweeping away the whole capitalist system, with all its camouflage, with its League of Nations and NRA's, with all its reign of force and terror. And they will do that by force. That will constitute one of the ironies of another day.

And speaking of ironies, the greatest of all is perhaps the fact that the "No More Strikes" article in the Herald Tribune is signed by none other than Ida M. Tarbell, the author of the "History of the Standard Oil Company," a crusading muckraker and anti-trust-feller campaigner of a past day....

—G.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 48 (Whole No. 195)

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$5.00 for six months

Foreign \$1.50 a yr.; 75 for 6 Mos. Bundle rates 1 cent per copy

The Food Workers' Industrial Union and the Split from the A. F. W.

A Horrible Example of Stalinist «Third Period» Trade Union Policies

In 1929 the "third period" policy of Stalinism produced a split away from the Amalgamated Food Workers and the formation of the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. A series of great strikes took place. Following this, within the newly formed "revolutionary" trade union the bureaucracy began to consolidate itself. By the end of 1930, the situation, after over a year of crisis, of inactivity and stagnation in the FWIU was, as follows: The members were becoming dissatisfied with the leadership, and particularly with the bureaucratic methods of the then general secretary, Sam Weissman. He was brought on the carpet before the party control commission, on charges of drunkenness, irresponsibility, misappropriation of funds, etc. The party could not afford to whitewash him, as it had to cover up its own bureaucratic regime in the union. He was therefore removed, without any explanation to the members as to the reasons for the removal. The then leadership of the Cafeteria Department next proceeded to outline a three-months program of activity, no part of which was ever carried out.

Clique Rule in the Union

With the continued inactivity, the union began to lose both in influence and in numbers. Many of the most militant workers left the FWIU to join the AFL. The dissatisfaction of the workers was further expressed in a series of struggles by the rank and file against the cliqueism of the apparatus.

This was shown sharply, for instance, in the question of the cooperative restaurant. The party functionaries used the jobs in the "coop" as a political weapon, maneuvering so as to throw workers out of their jobs if they disagreed with the leadership, under one pretext or another. This of course only served further to discredit the FWIU.

About this time the cooperative again came on the order of the day in the union and in the fraction, resulting in a bitter fight by the comrades against the cast-iron bureaucratic rule of the party leaders in the union. The struggle began with the Allerton Ave. stores. First a tax of 10% was proposed on the wages of party and non-party members working in the "coop," and this step moreover, was taken without consulting the union. For this Zack, secretary of the FWIU, was responsible. At one meeting he demanded the non-party workers without exception as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the working class because they refused to obey this decision.

Gagging the Workers

Encouraged by this action of the T.U.U., the bureaucracy did not stop at this point. They were determined to gag the workers into submission, and into mechanical acceptance of orders. The question of the party camps was under discussion in the party fraction. It was there proposed to cut wages. After a discussion of several weeks had resulted in the leading fraction's recommendation, by nearly unanimous vote, of a wage cut proposal of 20%, the party proposed a cut of 40 percent. The 20 percent cut proposal was then brought into the general fraction, against a counter-proposal by the District Camp Committee to consider a cut of 40%. After heated discussion within the fraction, the decision was unanimously rejected and turned back to the party committee. For this, the following night the Central Executive Committee proposed another meeting, in the course of which the writer was demagogically attacked as a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite" for not consenting to the decision of the C. E. C. Finally a vote was taken adopting the ultimatum decision of the C. E. C. for a 10% wage cut with 14 voting against and many abstaining.

Campaign Against "Trotskyites"

They carried out the decisions of the last convention of the union according to their own interpretation for example: Elbermeyer was made national secretary of the FWIU, an organization which outside of New York existed only in his own portfolio; Kramberg was taken out of the union; Bill, the organizer of the Cafeteria Department, was removed by the famous "open letter" of the T.U.U. and denounced as irresponsible, disloyal and intriguing; while twice removed, today this individual is again an organizer for the union, in spite of the public denunciation in the open letter. The result was that the plan actually was dropped from the activities, because the bureaucratic leadership was not really convinced of the necessity of the task. A number of comrades, including the writer, were expelled from the party, and a campaign of terrorization was instituted inside the union against the "Trotskyites".

The Anti-Soviet Front is Forming

Yet the workers did not take the revived activity seriously, because of their ban experiences of the past. Only ten comrades carried the whole burden of the drive. Therefore the results were rather disappointing. The strike is over, without any explanation having been given even to this day as to why it was lost. The workers still cherish certain illusions as to the strike being reopened after comrades come back from the camps. Not only that, but at a recent meeting of the un-

ion Kramberg announced that the strike was settled, that twenty workers would go back to their jobs immediately, and that within three months all the workers would be back on their jobs. This only resulted in disappointment; the strike has not been reopened, no workers have gone back, and the leadership has not a single explanation to give the rank and file. The workers have a special additional right to demand an explanation and an accounting because they were making financial sacrifices in preparation for the drive for 27 weeks straight, and nobody knows yet what has happened to the funds, as not even a financial report was given.

Favoritism in Giving Jobs

One of the worst features of the internal life of the FWIU, and one opposed to the principles of a class-struggle union, is the family cliqueism and favoritism in handing out jobs. For example, in one case a worker had been working steadily for two years, quit his job of his own accord and within a few days had another, while other workers of long standing and active in the union who have been unemployed for months and years, have been discriminated against, and received no jobs. New workers are being induced to come into the union, with the promise of a job, so that they come in, not on the basis of trade union convictions, but looking on the union as an employment agency. The "extra" jobs are being used as a club over the heads of the workers to strengthen the power of the cliques.

All these mistakes and many more flow out of the basic fault of the "third period" theory, with its "revolutionary trade-unions," "united front from below," "social fascism" and other misleading slogans.

Unquestionably there is a great revival of trade-union activity going on now. Throughout the country the workers are looking for organization. The conservative unions are growing by leaps and bounds,

while the FWIU stands still or shows insignificant gains. Unless the Left wing workers can break through their present isolation from the masses, the labor fakery of the A. F. of L. will be able to mislead the newly-awakening workers and thus further betray the interests of the working class.

The Split A Fundamental Mistake

The fundamental mistake, flowing out of the "third period" theory, which lies at the bottom of all the other mistakes, was the deliberate split from the A. F. W. in 1929. This was one of the most criminal and stupid examples of Stalinist misleadership, because the Amalgamated is a recognized class-struggle industrial union with considerable prestige and a record of militant activity. In this case there was not even the excuse, as in the A. F. of L. unions, that the trade union fakery were threatening to expel Communists.

The experience of the past years has shown us that the splitting policy was false to the core and must be corrected. With the revival of the Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated to a skeleton organization to a rapidly growing one, at present the Left wing cadres and Communists have a wonderful opportunity to influence a growing mass movement, and build it up as a genuine trade-union so that it can become a mighty force for the New York food workers and encouraged a sound united front policy with respect to the A. F. L.

For these reasons we must say openly that the place for the Left wing workers now is in the A. F. W. Those of them who are now in the FWIU must propose that preparations be made immediately for a merger of the two unions as a first step toward one union for the industry, and for a general organizational drive throughout the hotel, restaurant and cafeteria industry.

—JAMES GORDON.
Member, Food Workers' Industrial Union.

Hitler's «Bombshell» at Geneva

(Continued from Page 1)

banks to titillate Germany. In reply to the accusation, the company makes a denial of the specific charge, but not of the general one. More interesting is its reference to relations with the French government:

"The company does not export war material without government authorization. That regulation is still in effect." The statement of the blood-stained war manufacturers then goes on to accuse those campaigning thus against it, of harming the "peace policy of France".

It is common knowledge in Europe that Hitler has been rearming secretly for some time. It is also common knowledge that the Quai d'Orsay is well aware of this fact. Now the munition manufacturers of France itself indirectly confirm shipment of arms to Germany with government knowledge. The new turn has gone far already.

German-Japanese Plans in Anti-Soviet Front

On top of the above, reports have been abundant of a German-Japanese plan of cooperation. The purpose of it is unmistakable. The documents published recently by the Soviet press from the dossiers of Japanese secret diplomacy are enlightening enough. Now comes a report from Mukden of a loan of \$60,000,000 to be made by France to Manchukuo, Japan's outpost for anti-Soviet aggression. "Preliminary negotiations," says the report, "have been concluded between President Hattia of the South Manchurian Railway and Andre d'Olivier, a representative of French capitalists."—N. Y. Times, October 18, 1933.

The Anti-Soviet front is forming

In the face of these developments, the utility and the criminal self-deception of the Stalinist "Non-Aggression Pacts" becomes remarkably obvious. A real defense of the Soviet Union is imperatively necessary. The stupid, quasi-practical policy of the Stalin regime in foreign affairs is due for a collapse. A realistic appraisal of the conditions in the Soviet Union, a corresponding raising of the standards of living of the workers and a strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry is just as necessary as a reversal of the foreign policy. The Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of accomplishing either one of these tasks. It prepares the road for Thermidorian reaction. That has been shown by the entire past.

The International Workers' Front

The preparation for a resistance on the part of the international working class to the imperialist war plans likewise depends upon a rejection of the policy of the Stalinists. No "Anti-War Congresses" composed of pompous intellectuals, without a stable social basis and impotent because of their individual isolation, will ever serve to weld the proletarian front against imperialist war and attack on workers' Russia. The Einsteins, the Dreisers, the Upton Sinclairs and Sherwood Andersons are already deserting the Stalinist Banner. Only

the united front of workers' organization, from top to the bottom can accomplish this task. To achieve this, the Communists must go to the masses, entrench themselves in all organizations in which workers gather en masse.

Both the preparation against attack inside of the Soviet Union as well as against imperialist war in all the capitalist countries demands the support of the line of policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Time is short and events are moving fast. The Bolshevik-Leninists must live up to their task.

—S. GORDON.

Bronx Butchers Strike

New York.—The Meat Cutters of the Westchester Meat Market are on strike for the 48 hour work and a raise in wages. They are striking against a work day of from 11 to 18 hours a day. Their wages have been reduced from \$48 which they were earning a year and a half ago by three wage cuts to \$20 today. They are led by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers' Union affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Bronx branch of the Communist League has offered to contribute its services, speakers, etc., to help the strikers in their fight.

Two of the striking meat cutters, Dave Cohen and Sam Klein were arrested on the picket line on charge by the boss of the market of "disorderly conduct". They were tried and released. The judge had to save the face of the boss who is violating the NRA code. The boss came to court and said he would comply with the code by cutting the Saturday workday from 15 to 12 hours.

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

A special general membership meeting of the three New York branches will be held this Sunday, October 22, 1933, at 1 P. M. sharp, in our headquarters at 126 East 10th Street New York. Members of all the branches are required to be present, ON TIME. The subject of the meeting will be the position of the trade unions in the United States today and the policy of the Communist League. The discussion will be led off by comrade J. P. Cannon and there will follow comments from the floor.

—CITY ORGANIZER.

ST. LOUIS MEETING

ARNE SWABECK

at CRUENOLD LIBRARY

14th and Cass Avenues

Friday, October 27, 8 P. M.

B A N Q U E T

at 7119 Lafayette Avenue

Saturday, October 28, 8 P. M.

SPRINGFIELD MEETING

ARNE SWABECK

on "THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM"

Wednesday, Oct. 25 at 7:30 P. M.

at MASONIC HALL

119 North 8th Street, Springfield, Ill.



N.R.A. Ballyhoo and the Facts Behind It

When Roosevelt spoke over the radio on Sunday, October 22, he evidently had not read the last issue of that most respectable business bulletin, the *Annalist*. In his speech he declared:

"The whole picture however—the average of the whole territory from coast to coast, the average of the whole population of 120,000,000 people—shows to any person, willing to look, facts and action of which you and I can be proud."

What these facts are the *Annalist* of Oct. 20, makes very clear. It gives the following record for September: Industrial production—down 7.6%; Retail trade—down 5 percent; Real wages—down 4 percent; and last but not least, Retail prices—up 4 percent. Indeed a picture "to be proud of."

After nonchalantly eliminating a few million unemployed "who preferred not to work at all" Roosevelt continues: "It seems, therefore, fair to say that there were about 10,000,000 of our citizens who were seeking work and could not get it. Of these, I am convinced that at least 4,000,000 have been given employment."

Hooesvelt only added some 400,000 to the A. F. L. figures for non-employment which are by far the most inaccurate of all employment figures. At a time when all other estimates of unemployment ranged from 15 to 17 millions the A. F. L. figures were only 13 million. "The A. F. L. reports 871,000 reemployed in September," the *Annalist* reports. 86% reemployed which amounts to 400,000 people.

But does Roosevelt want to be accurate? The answer is clear—why should he be accurate? Hooesvelt knows very well what is happening. He knows that, as the *Annalist* states, 40% of the March to July spurt was lost by the end of September, and that by this time more has been lost. He knows that all real indicators of business activity with the exception of zinc production, including steel, pig iron, electric power production, cotton, wool and silk consumption, auto, lumber and cement production, have gone down since the end of July. He knows that the *Annalist's* index of General Business Activity was 89.5 for July and only 76.9 for August. Roosevelt knows all this. But it is not to his interest to admit that the much-boasted N. R. A. recovery is a flop.

Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the Left Opposition in America

Hail the Movement for a New Party and the Fourth International!

A great event in the history of the revolutionary movement in America will be the banquet to celebrate the fifth year of the *Militant*, the fifth birthday of the Communist League—and to hail the coming of the Fourth International.

Present at this banquet will be outstanding celebrities in Communist and labor ranks in the United States. Among those attending will be Ben Gitlow, Secretary of the Workers Communist League and one of the founders of the American Communist party; V. F. Calverton, editor of the *Modern Monthly*; Ernest Sutherland Bates, noted radical publicist; Ed Lindgren, prominent figure in the early days of the Left wing movement in support of the Russian revolution; Diego Rivera, the famous artist; and others. For the first time in years, representatives of different sections of the

workers' movement will sit at one banquet table and take part in the festivities. Besides addresses from the comrades mentioned above, it will be an evening of gala entertainment. A new revolutionary skit will be performed for the first time at the banquet, by some of our star revolutionary actors.

Last but not least in mention is the delicious food to be served to the comrades and friends attending. The banquet will take place Saturday, November 4th at 8 P. M. at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and Second Avenue. Make sure to get tickets for yourself and your friends. They are 50 cents a plate. Dirt cheap!

Be on hand for this great gala event to celebrate the anniversary of the *Militant*, the Communist League of America and to hail the Fourth International!

Terzani Accuser Faces Trial

New York City. — District Attorney Charles S. Cullen of Queens County has failed to keep his promise to conduct a new inquiry into the killing of Anthony Fierro, young anti-Fascist slain at a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts, the Terzani Defense Committee charged today.

Commander Smith of the Khaki Shirts was recently held in \$400 bail for the grand jury in Philadelphia, on a charge of fraudulent conversion of furniture. He had fled from his headquarters early on Oct. 12, after members of his general staff had mutinied against him, suddenly announced plan to "take over the city" and seize three armories preliminary to a march on Washington scheduled for that day. For four days Smith was missing. Then he came back, surrendered, got bail, and audaciously announced that he would re-establish his organization and push on with his Fascist program. He asserted that he had been plotted against by the police and the radicals.

Of the thousands employed at Republic Steel, the chippers represent about two hundred. The leaders of the union saw hundreds of thousands of workers on strike throughout the country, steel workers battling valiantly in Ambridge and Weirton, and decided that conditions had been made to order for them. The local leaders immediately called a meeting of the laid-off men, about seventy in number, and this so-called perfect union decided to pull a strike. For the rank and file to make such a mistake was excusable, but the leadership allowed itself to be carried away by the blind enthusiasm of the workers and endorsed the adventure. As some of the employed chippers were even called for a joint meeting with their fellow-workers, the SMWU got precisely what they wanted—a hundred percent strike of the unemployed chippers. It is undoubtedly more than a coincidence that identically this tactic was being repeated at the same time in the Buffalo plant of Republic steel.

Although the overwhelming majority of the Youngstown steel workers have never been in the union, even they could see something wrong. The "strike" was obviously doomed to failure from the start. The union got out leaflets with the hopelessly vague demand. Make the bosses keep their promise to equalize work. The leaflets were so worded that they gave the impression that the employed Buffalo plant had walked out. Workers took the leaflets, laughed at them, tore them up and went back to work. Even the local bosses and their propaganda sheets after the first momentary panic, were able to laugh it off. So it was no wonder that the strikers themselves became aware of the farcical role they were playing and called off the strike the next day.

Stalinist Policy Isolates Militants

The lessons to be drawn from this incident are quite apparent. The class conscious militant workers, forced by the criminal policy of the SMWU to remain isolated from the working class, are further than ever away from the masses. The workers in the mills, insofar as they were organizing, are almost all going into the Amalgamated Association unless a fighting Left wing is speedily formed in the American Federation of Labor union, these workers will be left completely at the mercy of Mike Tighe and his crew of labor skates. Thus the vicious tactic of the Communist party and its false-face, the SMWU, in the long run play directly into the hands of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

It is significant to note the elaborate (Continued on page 4)

Silk Dyers Vote for Separate Agreement

Paterosi, N. J.

The great odds fought against by the embattled silk workers have been greatly increased by the split in the ranks occasioned by the vote of the dye house workers under the U. T. W. to accept the agreement and return to work. The fifteen thousand workers in the dye houses are taking up their places at the tubs after a seven weeks strike under a contract offering concessions in wages and union recognition.

Under the separate agreement the dyers have obtained union recognition for their organization, the United Textile Workers, from the powerful Institute of Dyers and Printers, the manufacturers association. They have been granted a minimum wage of \$23 which constitutes an increase of from five to seven dollars over what they had been receiving prior to the strike. The closed shop was not obtained but the employers have agreed, according to the contract, to deal with the union shop committees over grievances, hiring, etc.

Vote Not Unanimous

The vote for the agreement was neither unanimous nor did it include the majority of the dye workers, although a decisive section participated. The sentiment of the dye workers cannot be judged accurately by the outcome of the vote because the majority of the dyers did not vote and because of the peculiar ballot they were asked to cast. They were asked to vote on the following questions: "Do you favor acceptance of the settlement terms?" 3,311 voted for acceptance and 1,422 voted against. The second question, which undoubtedly appeared to be a contradiction to the workers was: "Do you want to stay out until the weavers return?" 1,913 declared for staying out with the weavers and 2,339 for returning to the job immediately.

The large size of this minority vote is highly symptomatic of the confusion and doubt in the minds of the dyers, inexperienced in union affairs and taken in by the trick method of posing the question. The dyers were faced with a dilemma. The agreement gave them certain concessions—wages, recognition, etc.—and consequently there was some sentiment for its acceptance. But the question must have no doubt cropped up: "If we have an agreement, and the agreement is favorable, then why not return to work; why wait for the weavers who may be out for a long time yet?"

The Separation of the Dyers

The question of a national strike settlement and of the dependence of one section of the silk industry upon another was never made clear to the dyers. They did not perceive the heavy blow they were dealing the weavers by returning to work. They had not years of experience and a tradition of many strikes to make them aware of this elementary lesson of solidarity. The isolation of the dyers into a separate union had awakened craft consciousness. Only vaguely did they feel themselves part of the strike led by the American Federation of Silk Workers.

On the other hand the dye workers were handicapped by bad leadership. Leading their section of the strike, were two old-line politicians, Vigorito and Pirola, self-seeking, out for votes. The dyers' interests were secondary to their own careerist ambitions. Besides these two shady figures was the cunning and fakery of McMahon through his agent, Pat Quinlan. A conscious Left wing was not present in the dyers' local. Except if one, by a stretch of the imagination could consider Jack Rubenstein of the Lovestonites in that category. But Rubenstein failed to take a clear position on most of the questions facing the dyers. Where he should have been strong and uncompromising he was weak and conciliatory. He took no definite position before the dyers on the question of breaking the ranks of the strike and accepting the separate agreement. The policy of the Lovestonites of pussyfooting before the A. F. of L. skates had disastrous consequences here as it has had in every case.

Disruptive Role of N. T. W.

If the dyers were misguided by the reactionaries they were confused and demoralized by the disruptive policy of the National Textile Workers Union. At the outset the Stalinists divided the dyers into two unions. They continued with baseless recrimination. When they felt the ground was slipping under their feet the Stalinists began to pack the meetings of the U. T. W. dyers with disruption as their aim. They succeeded in winning over two "dyers" on their sincere proposals for united action—the old-line politicians, Vigorito and Pirola.

The strike committee of the dyers

(Continued on page 4)

Gangster Attack on Chicago League Meet

Stalinist Hoodlums Repulsed as Swaback Speaks for New Party and New International

Chicago.—An organized attempt by 150 Stalinists to break up the meeting called by the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition), for comrade Arne Swaback, last Sunday, on the subject of the new party and the new International, was prevented by the quickly assembled defense of all workers in the audience.

Meeting in response to instructions from the District Committee of Chicago at Folks Haus, a party headquarters, the party members marched en masse to the Opposition meeting with the aim of breaking it up. They entered the Opposition headquarters in a body, leaving a "picket line" outside of the hall to tell workers that the meeting was either called off, or had been removed to another quarter. Even this pitiful tactic did not succeed in keeping workers from the meeting.

Hooligan Tactics Repulsed

No sooner did comrade Grotzer open the meeting, when the hooligan and gangster tactics began. In a rehearsed fashion the Stalinists raised the cry of electing a chairman from the floor. Refusing to recognize the frenzied outburst, the chairman announced that the procedure of the meeting was so planned that representatives of every point of view in the workers movement would be given an opportunity to state their views from the floor. This apparently was unsatisfactory to the Stalinists who were determined either to "take over" the meeting or prevent its continuance. Even after being assured that they would be given sufficient time to present their views they still insisted on electing a chairman from the floor (at a meeting organized and called by the Opposition). They would not permit the meeting to go on and began stamping, shouting, and organizing their own meeting by setting up the petty section bureau, Jack Spiegel, to start speaking from one of the benches in the hall.

In the turmoil and over the protests of the workers in the hall, the Stalinists began to employ their strongarm tactics. Incited by their leaders, the rank and file party members began a struggle to seize the meeting, only to be deserted by their bureaucratic leaders, who, during the course of the fight, had left the hall. The fight subsided after the Stalinists were repulsed and they returned one by one to their seats agreeing to a compromise! They were willing to allow the Left Opposition to run its own meeting provided the Party were given ample opportunity to present its own views to the meeting!

It became quite clear to all the workers at this turn-about face that their real purpose had been to break up the meeting. They failed in this and then agreed to accept the terms announced in the very beginning by the chairman, comrade Grotzer.

Meeting Hears Swaback

Comrade Swaback spoke for over an hour, tracing the events prior to the victory of Hitler in Germany

and the situation following the triumph of Fascism. He showed the effects of this horrible defeat of the German working class upon the world movement of the proletariat. The victory of Hitler meant the destruction of the strongest Communist Party in the capitalist world and led to a weakening of the position of the Soviet Union. The victory of Fascism, he showed, only increased the danger of war and this was due entirely to the false policies of the Comintern in Germany.

Swaback pointed out that any hopes for a change in the policies of the C. I., were out of the question, when, after the German events, the Stalinists failed to understand the first lessons of the great defeat of the world proletariat. Instead, they only emphasized the errors made, promising to repeat them again under the same conditions. In such circumstances it was hopeless to think that you could once again push the C. I. onto an internationalist revolutionary path. It was necessary now to reorganize the ranks of the genuine revolutionary internationalists into a fighting revolutionary international as against national socialism, no matter what its form may be.

Stalinist Explains German "Victory"

Swaback was followed by Spiegel of the Party who entered into a lengthy diatribe against the Opposition, and only emphasized how correct Swaback was in his evaluation of the present situation in the world movement of the proletariat. He denied that the workers had suffered a defeat and "proved" that the German Party, under the heel of Fascism was stronger and more active than it was under legality. He denied that it was possible to carry on a struggle prior to Hitler's ascent, but proclaimed that now the revolution was on the order of the day. Following his speech he called upon his followers to leave the hall.

Despite the upheavals of the afternoon and the Party "picket line", over 150 workers remained to the end of the meeting. Hackman, representing the point of view of the Lovestonite group, and Matlick of the United Workers Party also spoke.

The Hooligans Depart

The Stalinist hooligans, after inciting a fight, emptying a collection hat, and urinating in a back room of the hall, felt that they had truly struck death-blows against the capitalist system. After this profound revolutionary activity, following their dastardly gangster attack upon the Opposition meeting, they left the hall singing "Solidarity".

It is quite clear, that this attack upon the meeting of the Opposition was inspired and organized by the Party leadership. This hooligan tactic, the method of gangsterism, is the expression of an alien class influence and must be beaten back in the workers movement. This little attempt at "massacre" by the local Stalinists will not be forgotten by the Chicago workers and can only defeat the aims of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Bellusi Case Needs the Support of Workers

Philadelphia.—For the past few months Antonio Bellusi, a militant Italian worker, has been held in the Gloucester Immigration Station awaiting deportation.

He has been in the labor movement ever since 1918. He was a member of the Italian Socialist Party and later joined the Italian C. P. In 1924 he took a ship and came to the United States, where he immediately became a member of the C. P. U. S. A. from which he was later expelled for protesting against the expulsion of Bordiga, from the Italian C. P.

Antonio Bellusi was arrested in July of this year in Wilkes-Barre on the charge of distributing the *Militant*. His home was raided and books were found which gave documentary proof that this worker has been an active fighter, for 15 years, in behalf of the toiling masses.

The only thing that the I. L. D. has done so far is to assign Errol White to defend him (legally). They have not mobilized their membership. As a matter of fact the lawyer had to spend his own money to go to Wilkes-Barre to defend this worker. Although this worker is not a member of any political party his sympathies are with the International Left Opposition. If for no other reason than this the I. L. D. would be "justified" in sabotaging his defense.

A committee against deportation was to be formed, on which Lou Roberts was the representative of the Phila. branch. The committee never met due to no fault of ours. Comrade Roberts time and again, kept on hammering away, but the Stalinist sabotaging machine could not be budged.

Indoor mass meetings were arranged for September 1, 4, 15, but they were all called off. Seeing we could not expect much from the I. L. D. we called an open air meeting at 13th and Reed. We asked for an Italian speaker. Again the sabotaging machine of the Stalinists was in evidence. Had we not gone over the head of Stern (the I. L. D. L. O.) and gone directly to the Sacco and Vanzetti branch of the I. L. D. where we succeeded in getting comrade Neill to address the crowd, the request would have remained on the I. L. D. desk.

On September 29 a mass meeting had been arranged without Roberts being informed. When we learned of this we offered our support. Again the meeting was postponed.

Not knowing that the I. L. D. had already arranged a mass meeting on October 24 (we heard of this indirectly), we arranged one for October 28. At our branch meeting a committee was elected to ask the I. L. D. to participate. When we heard that the I. L. D. had arranged a meeting we agreed to call off our meeting in order to have a joint one. We offered to pay either for the rent of the hall or for the leaflets. Stern (in the name of the I. L. D. District Bureau) rejected this offer.

A committee of three will again approach the I. L. D. District Bureau which meets Friday, October 28. It appears that we will have to carry on the defense of Antonio Bellusi independently of the I. L. D. for they have been a deadweight in so far as organizing any kind of mass defense is concerned.

—L. R.

The Painters General Strike

The debacle of the Brownsville section of the Alternation Painters Union in the strike is a bitter lesson about Stalinist trade union tactics. The strike, which was called in competition with the Brotherhood, Local 102 of the A. F. of L., ended in an ignominious and crushing defeat for the Stalinists, and the loss of whatever influence they had in trade. They refused our proposal (Kitt) for one general strike, and for entry into the A. F. of L. They sought to make capital out of the situation among the painters and build their "revolutionary" union. What is worse, they refused the offer to take them into the Brotherhood.

What were the results? During the first week or so the Union pulled down about 300 workers, and settled a number of shops. Negotiations were carried on with the Bosses' Association and the party leaders managed to keep the painters inspired by constantly reminding them of this and by continually making glowing promises of victory.

However, within a short time the absence of a Left wing within the Brotherhood, coupled with the fact that it controlled the majority of the workers in the trade, made itself felt. Shop after shop that had settled with the A. P. U. was taken over by the Brotherhood. Either the workers were terrorized into joining Local 102 by the A. F. of L. gangsters or coerced into it by the bosses, who signed separate agreements with the Brotherhood. Wherever the painters refused, the A. F. of L. placed pickets outside the building. The Stalinists met this move by beating up the pickets, who were rank and file Brotherhood men and had been ordered to picket by their officials.

The stupid blunder, in the train of countless others, played directly into the hands of the business agent or Local 102, Jake the "Bum". First, they had refused the offer of the Brotherhood to establish one union in the trade, which branded them as splitters so far as the rank and file of the A. F. of L. was concerned. Then they copied a leaf from the reformists and slugged the workers-pickets. To the rank and file of the Brotherhood it was clear that the Alternation Painters Union was out to smash their organization. In alarm they gave

Jake the "Bum" a clean bill of health, to do as he pleased; not that he needed it. But the tragedy of it is that the Stalinists by their insane policies appeared to put this gangster in the right.

Within a day or two, flying squads of A. F. of L. gangsters paid "visits" to most of the APU shops they had not as yet succeeded in taking over. And after the "visit" these shops too were in the Brotherhood. Among those that transferred allegiance was the Grossman, one of the key shops in the industry. The Beckenstein and Minkoff shops are about to sign (and by the time this goes to press, will undoubtedly be members of Local 102). When the Bosses Association affixed its signature to an A. F. of L. contract, both the general strike and the Alternation Painters Union were through.

Yet, despite this, the party bureaucrats (Nessin, Kashinsky, Weitz) still maintain they have a union and are trying to inspire the party fraction to continue their futile efforts to build the APU. Were they to do something else than make speeches and sit in the office they might perhaps feel differently about it. As far as the party members are concerned, they received aid from neither the City Council or the rank and file of the union—and they feel quite different about the matter. Most of the party fraction avoid the union headquarters as if a pestilence had swept through there. Jack Krasnits, Reimann, Spielman and Friedlander, the outstanding party militants in the union, have seen their unflagging efforts to build a union go for naught—and they are beginning to question the soundness of the party communiques. Indeed, Spielman, has openly been advocating entrance of the Left wing into the A. F. of L. Experience is a costly teacher—but a good one. Not forever can the Stalinists blind the eyes of the party members.

—LEAGUE MEMBER.

MINNEAPOLIS MEETING ARNE SWABACK

THE FUTURE OF INTER-NATIONAL COMMUNISM

PYTHIAN HALL 431 1/2 South 4th Street

Friday, November 3, 1933, 8 P. M.

Statement on N. Y. Elections

The workers of New York are once more confronted with a municipal election. This time the contest takes on particular importance by the fact that it is the first important election to be held in the United States since the promulgation of the National Recovery Act and the rest of the crisis-ridden capitalist structure. It is the first opportunity that any large group sentiments on the parliamentary field towards the "recovery" program. Consequently the local election in this city has a country-wide significance.

Those workers, therefore, who are conscious of their position and their interests, will have to act in the elections with these facts in mind.

The outstanding problem before the workers of New York and the rest of the country, which over shadows all else, remains what it has been now for four years: the unprecedented crisis which has shaken the economic structure of the land to the bottom, which has thrown millions of workers out of their jobs, and stricken the majority of the working class population to one degree or another with misery, hunger, homelessness, and suffering which, under capitalism alone, systematically occurs in the midst of vast wealth and plenty.

The National Recovery Act, and all the extensive machinery asso-

ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION

The Italian Unitarian Anti-Fascist Committee, composed of representative working class organizations has set Saturday, October 28 as a day of struggle against Fascism. A demonstration will take place before the Italian Consulate. The demonstration will begin at 10:30 A. M. The gathering point: 72nd Street and First Avenue. All workers out to the demonstration against bloody Fascism!

ATTENTION

All members and sympathizers of the Communist League are urged to present at 10 A. M. Saturday, October 28 to proceed in a body to the demonstration.

OPEN FORUM

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON

Friday, November 3, 1933 8 P. M.

at International Workers School 126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

News from Canada

Rousing Swaback Meeting at Toronto Hails New International

Toronto.—The first great stride along the path towards a new Party and a new International was taken in Toronto on Tuesday, October 11th when about 700 workers gathered in the Labor Lyceum to hear comrade Arne Swaback proclaim the new turn. It was not only a large meeting but a historic one. On the platform were three comrades who embody the best traditions of the revolutionary movement in North America. With comrade Swaback were comrades Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector—three comrades who had been among the original organizers of the Communist parties in the U. S. and Canada, comrades who had been together in Moscow in 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the C. I. They had all passed through the bitter struggles against Trotskyism in the party and later had taken their places under the banner of the International Left Opposition in order to uphold the traditions and principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. On Tuesday night, the three comrades met again on the same platform, this time in a new effort—to proclaim the necessity of creating a new Communist party and a new International.

New Conditions and New Problems
Comrade Swaback prefaced his talk with a few remarks concerning the all-pervasive phenomenon of change and motion. "Nothing in this world stands still," he said, "all matter is ever subject to the processes of change and motion. And so it is in the labor movement. Time creates new conditions and new situations and the working class, must prepare itself, must arm itself with the policies and tactics suitable to each occasion." He then sketched the history of the First and Second Internationals showing how in each instance the abandonment of revolutionary principles had brought disaster to the working class, compelling the true Marxists to begin the building of a new revolutionary front-head. Comrade Swaback stressed the fact that at these great historical milestones, not numbers, but political clarity was decisive. The decision to create the Third International was first propagated by only a handful of revolutionaries but so powerful were their ideas that in 1917, guided by the genius of Lenin, they were able to lead the masses to the victorious October revolution. The Communist International was built upon solid Marxian foundations and, during its first four congresses, it hammered out the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Revolutionary internationalism was its watch-word. The C. I. existed for the world proletariat and every discussion, whether it was on the internal life of the Soviet Union or the revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, was based upon that concept. Under Lenin and Trotsky, the C. I. was indeed the organizer of the world revolution.

The Work of the Stalin Clique
"But now," said comrade Swaback, "that is no longer true. The past ten years have witnessed the growth in the Soviet Union of a bureaucratic clique under the leadership of Josef Stalin, a clique which has stamped out every vestige of party democracy, which has turned the party into the lifeless and passive instrument of the top

leaders. Marxism and Leninism have been replaced by the necessity of building up the personal prestige of Stalin. Revolutionary internationalism has been replaced by the pernicious theory of socialism in one country. In the face of world shaking events, the Com-

Anti-Fascist United Front in Montreal

Montreal.—A few weeks ago a series of attacks of the fascists upon workers' organizations aroused the working class of Montreal to a high pitch of excitement and alarm. Following upon an attack against a synagogue a most unique committee was formed for defense against Fascism. On the one side of the table and on the other side there sat... Reichel, a leader of the Revisionist Zionists, the Jewish fascists. (These Revisionists in Palestine are organized in strike-breaking bands, carrying on a terrorism against the Jewish labour movement quite after the fashion of the Nazis).

The writer had the pleasure of being present at the touching scene that took place. Comrade Reichel (so Baker and Rose addressed him) conferred with com. Baker. ("Mr. Trotsky you see—but com. Reichel). Far be it from us to hide the fact Reichel was against organizing an Anti-Fascist Conference in principle—his heart was set on Jewish self-defence corps. This United Front with the Jewish Fascists against Fascism was shattered on the rocks of the principled crusade... of the Revisionists. Even before the beginning of the burlesque just recounted the Montreal branch of the Left Opposition had proceeded with the formation of a provisional committee for the calling of a working-class united front against Fascism. When we learned that the Verdun Workers' Association had already issued an appeal for a United Front Conference against Fascism, we exerted our influence to bring workers' organizations to it. Even before the first meeting of the latter our comrades visited trade unions and obtained their support for the Anti-Fascist United Front.

At the same time we issued a leaflet in English and in French addressed to the delegates of the conference outlining our proposals for the program and basis of the Conference. We stressed the necessity of forming a proletarian United Front and not one with the Jewish bourgeoisie or fascists, the necessity of broadening it out to include all workers' organizations, the freedom of criticism, the organization of city wide centralized defence corps to defend all workers' meetings, the organization of mass meetings and mass demonstrations in order to draw in the whole working-class organized and unorganized and weld it into one mighty front against Fascism, the issuing of elementary literature in French to clarify the backward workers in the Chateaufort organizations on the true nature of Fascism.

We came to the conference with a carefully elaborated list of constructive proposals for acceptance by the delegates. The Stalinists appeared on the scene with either

word of guidance. It remains criminally silent. Of the Communist International that was formed under Lenin and Trotsky, nothing remains today but a hollow shell.

"For ten years," said comrade Swaback, "the Left Opposition has

existed as a faction of the C. I., hoping to reform the Comintern, striving to bring it back to Leninism. Through our efforts have not been without effect, the Stalinized Comintern has gone from bad to worse, has been responsible for one international defeat after another. You will ask, 'Why did we not proclaim the new international long ago?' Before that could be done, events themselves had to prove to the workers that the Comintern was bankrupt. These events have taken place, events that may be indicated by a single word—Germany, Fascism."

Comrade Swaback then described the tragic defeat of the German working class, the causes of the defeat—the treacherous role of the Social Democracy, the failure and refusal of the C. P. G. to rally the workers in a united front against the fascists, the absence of revolutionary leadership. "We do not expect revolutionary leadership from the reformists," said Arne Swaback, "but we expect it and have the right to demand it of the Communist Party. And that is why we lay the chief responsibility for the German defeat at its door. Stalinism is dead, the Comintern does not exist. A new International must be built to lead the workers of the world to emancipation."

Toward the New International
Comrade Swaback was careful to point out that we are not proclaiming the new International now. We are merely urging the necessity of creating it. For the immediate future, the Left Opposition is inviting Left wing groups to engage in an open discussion of programs and perspectives. The Left Opposition, standing on the shoulders of Marx, Engels and Lenin appears before the world proletariat with a program of revolutionary internationalism, a program which looks toward the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale as the necessary transitional step to socialism.

When comrade Swaback finished his talk, he was greeted with loud applause, an indication that his message had fallen on responsive ears. In the question period which followed, he entered into a discussion of how the new International was to be created and answered several questions concerning the trade union policy of the Left Opposition.

Speech of MacDonald
Before the meeting ended, comrade MacDonald and Spector addressed the large gathering. Comrade MacDonald, speaking with the dignity of a tried revolutionary, polemized against the Stalinist abandonment of Marxism, against the exile of Trotsky and Rakovsky national socialism of Stalin. Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin. "Let us not forget, he said, that not one of those who signed the call to the first congress of the C. I. is in a leading position in the Comintern today. Lenin and Platten are dead, Trotsky is in exile, Rakovsky (as far as we know) is in Siberia and Zinoviev, after several disgraceful capitulations, now licks the heels of Stalin. Let us not forget the German defeat of 1923, let us not forget the disgraceful role of the Stalinist regime in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee in 1926, let us not forget the tragic blunder of Stalinism in the Chinese revolution, let us not forget the overwhelming defeat of the German proletariat in 1933, and let us not forget, that despite everything that has happened in the past five years, there has not been a congress of the Comintern since 1928. These are facts that have burned a deep impression in the minds of the working class, these are facts we cannot forget."

Speech of Spector
Comrade Spector then took the floor. If there had been any doubts up to that moment, they now vanished into thin air. In that short space of 15 minutes, comrade Spector, putting forth a great agitational effort, recalled the highlights of the earlier speeches, branded Stalinism the greatest international organizer of defeat, exoriated Stalinism for its failure to create an organized resistance against Fascism in Germany and hailed the new turn as the rebirth of the revolutionary working class movement. "If the Stalinist bureaucracy has been able to learn nothing from the German events it is capable of learning nothing."

In Canada, faced with a growing social democratic movement, the C. C. F., the Stalinists were politically impotent. "But we will go forward to the creation of a new Party. The workers will learn who are the slanderers and who are their true leaders. MacDonald and Spector are the same revolutionaries who helped to create the C. P. of Canada almost 15 years ago. We have revised nothing, we have changed nothing. It is the Stalinists who have revised Marx and Lenin, it is they who have moved away from the path of revolutionary Marxism. We appeal to every honest worker, to every honest rank and file among the Stalinists to consider carefully the message we have delivered tonight, to join with us in the creation of a revolutionary party, that when the revolutionary crisis arrives, in Canada we'll be able to rally the majority of the working class on the side of the proletarian revolution."

The applause which marked the close of comrade Spector's speech was an indication of the sympathy with which the workers received the declaration for a new International. The absence of criticism from the many members of Stalinist and other political organizations gave evidence that before long the Left Opposition will receive under its banners many who find themselves in other organizations.

—MONTREAL BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB OF MONTREAL

In California

Activities of the 'Frisco Port Workers

San Francisco.—For 14 years the San Francisco Longshoremen have been dominated by a company union of the most open form under which the rank and file have had no voice in the formation of wage and working agreements. Our conditions in all these years have continually grown worse. Wage cuts were imposed and larger tasks were added to our life, until we are worked into complete exhaustion in performing our daily work. Even those working rules formed by the shipowners and stevedore companies were never lived up to when the interest of these companies was involved. So that the longshoremen were the only ones to lose at all times. Any member attempting to voice a protest against any of these injustices was thrown out of his job. Here, as in other parts of the country, there was a large percentage of unemployed; the union officials used this as a club over our heads with great success.

The C. P. On the Waterfront
This situation was finally sized up by the Communist Party a year or so ago, and they attempted with their best forces to organize the waterfront workers. The first appearance of these so-called labor organizers was the attempt to sell the Western Worker, the writer of this article, having always owned a very keen interest in labor organizations, watched every move, hoping, against his better judgment, for a success. The Western Worker did not appeal to the waterfront workers and very few copies were sold.

The second attempt was made with street speakers. In course of time we had several of those speakers appearing early in the mornings. But to my total disappointment none of those speakers was familiar with our miserable conditions; not one of them could speak the language of a longshoreman. Most of these speakers, perhaps in a side line, mentioned the company union and the destruction of the workers' life. The main subject always drifted toward China, Soviet Russia or such other distant subjects. Participation in these meetings was very scant at all times, and no progress whatsoever was made toward organization.

Marine Workers' Industrial Union
The Marine Workers' Industrial Union had a hall across the street from the company union hall for several years. Perhaps a few individuals dropped in some days, I visited there sometimes, but failed to see any longshoremen there at any time. Also in the hunger and unemployed parades and anti-war and mooning demonstrations on the waterfront no longshoremen participated. The writer knows almost every one of the three to four thousand workers on 'Frisco waterfront, so no mistake in this statement is made.

The third attempt of the Party was the issuance of a monthly publication called the **Waterfront Worker**, dealing directly with our situation on the waterfront and exposing some of the foremen and individuals. This was the most successful attempt made by the C. P. and every one bought a copy of this paper every month. This paper also contained articles of instructions for the formation of a real union.

Formation of A. F. of L. Union
In the existence of about eight months no progress was made for organization. Finally the doors of the MWIU were closed on account of no support and funds for rent. Around June of this year a couple of longshoremen, both ex-I. W. W. members, started collecting names for the formation of an A. F. of L. union. Neither of these men owned any organizational or oratorical gifts, but they could speak the language of the waterfront. They also took advantage of the NRA labor code. In a very short period they succeeded in signing up about 90% of the workers on the waterfront. This threw the C. P. organizers into complete confusion. Every one of the C. P. comrades made some snark talk now, after we, the C. P. members have prepared the ground already for organizing the workers with the publication of this **Waterfront Worker** for several months, these A. F. of L. men are stealing the show away from us. We must act at once in order to convince the workers that this same A. F. of L. is a fake labor organization. And that the MWIU is the only revolutionary union that knows how to organize and conduct a real workers' organization.

Revolt Against Stalinism in California Party
A revolt in the ranks of the Stalinist party in Oakland has been signaled by the expulsion of comrade Stanley D. Laycock and the statement protesting against his expulsion by six additional party members. That the revolt against the strangulating bureaucracy and stupid policies of the party bosses has a positive side is shown in the fact that two new branches of the Communist League have been formed recently in the bay section.

The statements of the expelled comrades follow:
STATEMENT OF A. ROBBINS
To All Party Members
In District 13
Dear Comrades:

Disregarding the questions which I have asked, and neglecting to reply to the views I have expressed pertaining to the developments in the Communist International and in the world situation, comrade Lambert, section organizer, demanded from me a categorical repudiation of these utterances by demanding a statement of allegiance to the C. I. or else the forfeiture of my right to membership in the Communist Party. Such a procedure is a flagrant violation of Bolshevik-Leninist democratic centralism and stifles all criticism, which is indispensable to the existence and growth of a Communist Party. By not allowing me to attend my unit meeting and depriving me of all rights as a party member, the bureaucrats are trying to conceal my actual expulsion from the party. Not a word has been expressed or written by the party regarding my status and now I ask, "Why this silence?"

The following reasons which I have expressed explain my secret expulsion from the party:
1. I opposed the expulsion of the best, true, tried and sincere proletarian elements in the party and condemn their framed-up expulsion on false charges.

2. Comrade Gordon was sent to Monterey as section organizer when his disruptive work in Oakland had discredited him there in the eyes of the membership and this did not warrant his continuance in the role of a functionary in the party.

3. That at the convention of district No. 13, held June 1932, false reports were made of the work in the East Bay area.

4. The absurd charges printed in the "Western Worker" in which it is stated that I reported comrade Laycock was negotiating for some machine guns is absolutely false and I wish to be faced with any proof to substantiate this abominable lie.

5. The open letter of the Central Committee of the party pointed out our failure to hold the masses yet it failed to show that the reason for it was the wrong policy which the party is following, and its deviation from the correct Bolshevik-Leninist line.

6. The party has never explained to the membership the false policy of the C. I. in China, England, Germany, etc. The party dis-

and attempts to explain these things to the crowd one morning on the waterfront. A number of workers told the speakers to get out, and stay out, at least until we, the longshoremen, have had the opportunity to organize and destroy the company union.

Stalinists in a Predicament
A few days later a leaflet appears on the waterfront urging longshoremen to attend a mass meeting to be held in Eagles Hall to discuss and form a real longshoremen's union. I did not have an opportunity to attend this meeting but had reliable information that about 200 attended this meeting, including party members who were not longshoremen. I urged several longshoremen to attend this meeting, hoping to have at this mass meeting a large audience. A little while later the A. F. of L. had its first meeting with about 1500 to 2000 participating. Now we find the C. P. in a real predicament. This paper, the **Waterfront Worker** could not appear, because, in order to be true to the T. U. U. L. program, they could not write any organizational articles without attacking the A. F. of L. union as well as the company union.

Left Wing in the A. F. of L. Union
We formed a Left wing in this newly organized union. Only a few C. P. members and sympathizers were actual longshoremen. Therefore our slate of candidates for office was composed of mixed elements who to our estimation were the most progressive of those available. The reactionaries had their own slate. We had a hard struggle.

Just before the election of officials in the union, the C. P. had an idea to publish the **Waterfront Worker** again. And if this paper had appeared, they would be obliged—to carry out the Party policy—to attack both the Right and Left wing candidates. Therefore they thought it best not to publish it. The rank and file carried all our by-laws, and most of the executive board members were elected.

I am feeling sorry for those young honest C. P. comrades who did many useful deeds along the waterfront, trying to organize this body of men. And I am participating in their disappointment. The higher-ups in the Party told these lesser lights to go and organize but gave them such instructions and policy that prevented any success and made them waste their efforts. Now that they see the movement growing up without them, it is to be hoped that they will learn from the experience what their leaders could not teach them. —NOIX.

One of the several slanders in this article requiring an answer is the allegation of my having been secretly negotiating to obtain machine guns some time ago. Were it not for the seriousness of such a charge, tending as it does to invite police persecution, it would be unworthy of recognition. However, since this was supposed to have occurred during the time when I was still in the party, why wasn't this brought up against me before now? Comrade Anna Robbins has not only denied ever having made such a report but demands proof from the party to back up this piece of "provocateur exposure"! I also demand proof!

This article in the "Western Worker" is the only reply that the party can make to the growing number of expulsions of comrades who are demanding a discussion of the German situation, the right of union line, removal of all bureaucratic in the party. The growth of the Left Opposition in the East Bay area is making the party bureaucrats panicky. We can expect in the future similar personal attacks on our comrades as this is the party's method of meeting political arguments.

Signed:
STANLEY D. LAYCOCK.

New York School Starts Off with a Bang

The first two sessions of classes conducted by the International Workers School opened Monday with excellent attendance for both of them. The first lecture of the course on "The Fundamentals of Marxism," by John Wright, was attended by 23 students, 28 having registered. The introductory lecture dealt with Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. The next lecture will be given on Monday, October 23, with "The Marxian Analysis of a Commodity" as the theme.

The first lecture of the course on "The State and Revolution" given by Jack Weber was equally successful. About thirty comrades were present. The first lecture dealt with Primitive Society. There were questions and discussion. The second lecture which was held Monday, October 23rd at 8 P. M. sharp dealt with the Origin of the State and the First Slave States.

There is still time to register. Readers are advised that registration for these two classes, as well as for the two which are given on Wednesday (Organizational Principles by Abert, and Applied Marxian Economics by Field), is still open. Registrants should see the course secretary before 8:30 P. M. either Monday or Wednesday, according to the class desired. Literature for each course can be obtained at any time of the day from the local office, 126 East 16th Street. Classes begin on time!

Signed:
A. STONE
C. M. HESSER
EVERETT E. WILDER
CHRIS G. JOHNSON
ANNA ROBBINS
B. W. HESSER

STATEMENT OF S. O. LAYCOCK
To All Party Members
In District No. 13
Dear Comrades:

In the "Western Worker" there appeared a statement of the disciplinary committee which contained the news of my expulsion along with that of several other comrades. The others mentioned, who

Open Letter to the Joe Derry Defense Committee

Montreal.—Joe Derry was arrested while addressing an anti-war meeting and charged with being a member of an allegedly unlawful organization, the Young Communist League of Canada in violation of Section 98 of the Criminal Code. This infamous anti-labor law has already been used in order to interdict Communist leaders in the Kingston penitentiary for a total of 37 years, and to declare the Communist Party illegal in Ontario and semi-illegal in the rest of Canada. If Joe Derry is convicted the Y. C. L. will automatically find itself in the same position as the Communist Party. That section 98 will be extended to include other workers' organizations all over the country is more than probable.

Section 98 was put on the statute books of Canada for the immediate purpose of legalizing the crushing of the Winnipeg general strike of 1919. It constitutes a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class to keep the whole working class in subjection. Only a broad and powerful united front movement of the organizations of the working class, particularly youth organizations, irrespective of their affiliation and views, can free Joe Derry. This achievement would be a step towards the abolition of Section 98 and towards an unprecedented struggle for the definite guaranteeing of free speech, assembly and organization to the working class.

An effective common struggle can be set in motion only by a democratic and centralized conference of the representatives of workers organizations. The method adopted, however, of merely setting up committees in various organizations, while postponing the calling of a conference to the remote and indefinite future, constitutes a retreat from the course of a centralized united front. The effectiveness of a united front, the effectiveness of its experience, consists precisely in the fact that workers of different affiliations

fight together for a common aim. Actually, moreover, the committees are being established, if at all, only in Left wing organizations—an inevitable result of the whole course pursued.

Instead of a united front the campaigning of the Left wing organizations, which would in any case take place, is being conducted under the label of setting up committees. This is but an expression of sectarianism, and unwarranted pessimism in the possibility of mobilizing the workers' organizations by means of a democratic and allied conference.

No matter how strenuously the course adopted is pursued as a "preparatory" course to the creation of a broad united front movement, the desired end cannot be attained. The preparatory work must be carried on precisely with the perspective in mind of a date immediately fixed for the convening of a representative conference. As it is, however, the old "united front from below", i. e., no united front at all, is being revived with the addition of the ornament of committees in the Left wing organizations.

United front conferences have been failures in the last year because, for one thing, abstract slogans were put forward, not fitting in with a concrete situation. The very campaign on the Joe Derry case has up to now not centered around the question of freedom of organization and the abolition of Section 98. Due to the pressure of our delegates the committee outlined the tendency to make the issue a struggle against war. No one would think of calling a united front for the overthrow of capitalism because someone has been arrested for advocating this overthrow. A correct program of action is necessary for every particular united front. Such a program, however, without the means of carrying it through—a representative conference—is meaningless.

United front conferences have been wrecked by the putting forward of ultimatums to reformist organizations, condemning reformism as a political method and even dubbing it "social fascism". The united front for the defense of Joe Derry demands agreement on only one concrete issue. Each organization maintains its independence and its freedom of criticism.

The mistakes of the past are no justification for a return to the "united front from below". They rather point to the necessity of a correct united front policy today.

The Left Opposition and Spartacus Youth Club refuse to share the responsibility for this false prospect of a powerful movement. In the interests of the struggle for freedom of organization for the working class we uphold the banner of the Leninist united front.

There is a sentiment afoot in Stalinist circles that since Joe Derry is about to be sentenced, it is too late to initiate a broad united front movement in his defense. Joe Derry has already been in jail for some time, but section 98 is still on the statute books of Canada, a useful weapon in the hands of the ruling class against the workers' struggle. The leaders of the Canadian Labor Defense League considered it too late to set on foot a united front for the release of the five charged with sedition in Montreal precisely because the five had already been sentenced. The Joe Derry case must not suffer the same fate.

The Joe Derry Committee must declare itself a Provisional Committee and transfer its powers to a duly convened united front conference of all workers' organizations for the defense of Joe Derry. To make such a united front a success we are ready to do our utmost.

Situation in Hotels and Restaurants

Alone among the three trade unions in the food industry in and around New York, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers is carrying on a vigorous and successful organization drive among the hotel and restaurant workers. This drive is the response to years of effort on the part of the hotel and restaurant owners to lower the conditions of the workers, cutting wages, lengthening hours and speeding-up the work, culminating in their present attempt to stabilize conditions on their lowest level by means of a code under the NRA. At the same time, although much of the work is highly skilled, they want to reduce it to "domestic" labor.

The economic background of the bosses' campaign is, first, the concentration of capital in this industry and second, the excessive investment of capital during the boom times which has lowered the level of profits and induced the bosses to try to put additional pressure on the workers in order to raise profits in spite of this.

The hotel industry itself ranks as the seventh largest in the United States, with a capital investment of over five billion dollars. Altogether there are over 26,800 hotels in the United States, but about half of them are small (less than 25 rooms) or are operated only seasonally.

Investments and Wages

The following data, taken from the 1929 report of the U. S. Census Bureau, show the high concentration of capital, the large number of workers per establishment, and the low average wage level. Comparing New York City with the country as a whole, the average size of the establishment is still larger, and the wage level takes insufficient account of the higher cost of living in New York compared with the rest of the country. These figures refer only to hotels of 25 rooms or more which are operated all year round:

	New York City	Country
Number of hotels	13,328	509
Number of rooms	1,184,967	126,632
Average rooms per hotel	85	249
Total employees	921,250	41,386
Total wages and salaries	\$267,034,000	\$14,085,000
Dining, lunch room and kitchen employees	100,140	13,356
Wages and salaries	\$84,428,000	\$12,911,000
Average annual wages for such workers	\$844	\$988
All other workers	191,119	28,705
Wages and salaries for all other workers	\$172,606,000	\$31,174,000
Average annual wages for all other workers	\$904	\$1,081

The average investment per hotel in the United States may be estimated at about \$250,000. From the foregoing it appears that there are 22 workers in the average hotel in the United States, and about 33 in New York City. But the concentration of capital has gone much further than these figures show. In a single one of the largest hotels in New York, over 3,000 workers are employed; in the kitchen alone, over a hundred. "Chain-store" operation of hotels now embraces a total of 80,000 rooms, and is growing rapidly.

"War Chest" to Fight Unions

The concentrated power represented by the American Hotel Men's Association, the bosses' trade organization, is indicated further by the generally accepted fact that they have raised a "war chest" of \$600,000 for the specific purpose of fighting the workers' efforts at organization for better conditions.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the A. F. of L., which always tried to avoid open conflict with large and concentrated aggregates of capital, has done very little in this field, and particularly among the key workers in the hotel and restaurant industry, the cooks and the kitchen department in general.

As a profit-making machine, the hotel industry is suffering not only from the crisis in general, but specifically from the consequences of its own folly in engaging in a boom of overbuilding and overexpansion. This has resulted in a huge burden of interest, amortization and taxes. Now that the consequences of this orgy of overexpansion have shown themselves in lower profits, they are attempting to raise profits at the expense of the workers. Yet the conditions of the work, the seasonal character, and the amount of training and ability required are such that the worker in this industry is entitled to a relatively higher wage scale—if he can get it through organization in a powerful and militant trade union.

Overbuilding in the Hotel Industry

As to the fact that the bosses had sufficient warning, even before the boom burst, that they were overbuilding, there is sufficient evidence. Between 1920 and 1928, a full year before the general crisis struck the country, the overbuilding which had already taken place resulted in the following situation:

	1920	1928
Number of rooms	1,070,000	1,521,000
Per cent occupancy	85.5%	67.6%
Number of rooms occupied	914,850	1,028,196
Number of guests	1,007,820	1,237,835

While the number of rooms available increased 50%, the number of

Conditions of Workers in Large N.Y. Industry

rooms actually occupied increased less than 13%, and the number of guests by about the same percentage. As a result, the percentage of occupancy declined to 67.6%, while throughout the trade it is understood that 70% occupancy is the minimum at which a hotel can operate and make money.

Hotel Failures During Boom

While the building boom was going on, another warning signal was given by the steadily mounting totals of hotel failures, as shown by the following figures:

Year	Number of Failures	Liabilities Involved in Failures
1921	59	\$2,625,000
1922	70	2,234,000
1923	82	7,129,000
1924	64	3,183,000
1925	82	3,323,000
1926	82	5,506,000
1927	112	10,982,000
1928	112	13,154,000

All this was taking place supposedly in a period of prosperity. So obvious had the danger become that W. I. Hamilton, manager of the Florida Associated Hotels, in a book on "Promoting New Hotels," written in October 1929, that is, at the height of the boom psychology of the "new era," warns the industry, "Since 1926 the spread between the number of hotel rooms and the number of guests has been steadily widening. While both have been increasing, the increase in rooms has been the more rapid. The hotel industry... of late has grown too rapidly."

Yet money continued to pour into the industry, seeking investment in an already overcrowded field. Such structures as the Hotel New Yorker and the new Waldorf-Astoria were opened long after the crash in general business had come.

Making the Workers Pay

How did the bosses meet this situation? By cutting wages, lengthening hours, and speeding-up the work. According to the U. S. Department of Labor, the following situation prevailed in August 1933, compared with the last previous rates of wages and hours:

Wages Rates Per Week		
	Present	Previous
Union I: Waiters, waitresses	\$15	\$20
Union II: Waiters, waitresses	15	20
Union III: Cooks	\$5.50	\$6.45

Hours per Week		
	Present	Previous
Union I: 9 a day	48	48
Union II: 54 a day	48	48
Union III: 9-10 a day	48	48

In the case of Union II, we see how conditions have deteriorated in the industry, wages being cut 25% while hours were increased 12-12 percent.

Discussion Articles

Problems of the Cuban Revolution

In the face of the monstrous odds, the workers of Cuba today must assume their historical task. They, and they alone, can achieve the liberation of Cuba. Only the workers can set up an efficient form of government in Cuba, defeat the intervention of American imperialism, and solve the disastrous contradictions that have plunged and kept the Cuban masses in degradation. Successful American intervention will mean a disastrous defeat for the Cuban proletariat. The tragedy of the Cuban proletariat must be prevented!

The Cuban masses are militant. Seizures of plantations have already occurred. Embryonic revolutionary Soviets are in the process of formation. But unless the movement is led into the proper channels, the Soviets will become only a parody; American imperialism will restore its rapacious hegemony.

Revolutionary Party Needed

The Cuban workers cannot succeed unless a genuine revolutionary party is immediately formed, and takes the initiative, unless the international revolutionary proletariat, particularly of Latin America, the United States and Canada is mobilized in defense of the Cuban revolution. The criminal policies of Stalinism, the collapse of the Comintern have left the Cuban workers without their most necessary, essential and important weapons of struggle; they have no revolutionary party to lead them in battle; under the leadership of Stalin the international proletariat cannot come to their support. These weapons can and must be forged. In Cuba, the Left Oppositionists must immediately call for the formation of a true Communist party. Internationally, the Left Opposition must inaugurate a united front in defense of the Cuban workers.

Time is precious now. Every day is equal to a decade. In the very heat of the struggle, the proletariat of Cuba can and must gain the time necessary to consolidate its ranks, and form its vanguard. Upon its success or failure rests the

Data accumulated by the writer in the course of his work in this union show that a group of skilled cooks was making an average of \$40.88 a week when they took their present jobs; now they are averaging \$30.04 a week.

In the meantime, staffs have been reduced, hours have become longer, the amount of work to be done or supervised has become greater. In one of the big hotel kitchens, 140 men were employed two years ago; now there are six.

The bosses themselves are fully aware of the connection that exists between the overcapitalization of the industry and the wage-cutting, longer hours and speed-up by which they hope to increase profits.

In the Bankers Magazine for August 1932, the following figures are given, as to division of expenses for each dollar of gross sales:

	Cents
Bondholders' interest	12
Taxes and insurance	9
Depreciation	6
Payroll	31
Merchandise (food, etc.)	19
Sundries, supplies, etc.	23
Total	\$1.00

The conclusion which this paper draws from these facts for the benefit of the capitalists is, "If a saving great enough to protect the bondholders' interests, endangered by decreased sales, is to be effected, it must necessarily come out of the last three items through more efficient operation."

"More Efficient Operation"

This so-called "more efficient operation" means, first and foremost, wage-cuts. This is amply proven by an article in the same issue of the Bankers Magazine by Ralph Hiltz, president of the National Hotel Management chain, which operates a total of 4500 rooms in New York, Cleveland and Detroit. He is trying to prove to the bankers that his chain methods are better for cutting wages than the individual managements, and cites the following facts:

In June 1932, under chain management, 25 cents out of each dollar of sales was kept for gross profit; in the same month of the previous year, under the old management, only 15% had been kept for gross profit.

How was this result obtained? He explains: In June 1931, under the old management, out of each dollar of room sales 27% had been paid out in wages; in June 1932, under chain management, only 16% had been paid out in wages; in June 1932, only 33 cents was being paid out in wages.

Juggling the Profit Figures

On top of this, the bosses are deliberately making a poorer showing of profit than they need to, in order to have a further excuse for wage-cutting. In the alleged costs of doing business, tabulated above, we notice that depreciation amounts to 9% of the total. This means that 9% of the gross intake of the business has to go to replace the wearing-out of the building each

year. If 9% of the value of the building were to wear out each year, the whole building would last 11 years. This is ridiculous, since we know that a hotel property can stand forty years or more, in spite of changes in public taste and in location values, and still retain its value.

Another item which is used to pad the accounts is the cost of financing, which may run as high as 5% of the value of the property. On a hotel costing 5 million dollars, say a thousand-room hotel in a large city, this charge might be \$250,000. If all this is loaded on to the expense account in one year or a few years, the profits will be that much less, and the management has a better excuse for cutting wages than if it spread such charges over the life of the mortgages at least.

Demands on Hotel Workers

Against these pretensions of the bosses, the workers in this industry can present indisputable facts to show how much is demanded of them as workers. A survey made by the writer among members of his union shows that the average first-class cook, capable of taking charge of the kitchen of a first-class hotel or restaurant, has had to train himself for his work for some eighteen years, going through the various stages of his training as follows:

Apprentice	2 years
Commis (from sixth to first)	6 years
First Commis	2 years
Chief de partie, working chef, sous-chef, chef	8 years

As apprentice he earns either nothing or a nominal sum; besides, the apprenticeship is usually served on the Continent, particularly in France, as the American hotels have no real apprenticeship in the European sense of all-around training from the bottom up, but begin specialization in the various departments as soon as a worker enters the trade. As the worker acquires experience, he becomes responsible for the management of part of all of the kitchen staff and for the expenditure of thousands of dollars of food and supplies. If a waiter, he is directly and personally responsible for the handling of checks.

Moreover, the work is definitely of a seasonal character. Even in a boom year like 1929, the difference in employment between the highest and the lowest months of the year was 1.2%, compared with 0.89 per cent for industry as a whole, or seasonal fluctuations eight times as wide as in general industry.

The Bosses' Codes and the Workers' Code

In the face of this, the bosses proposed one of the worst codes ever to be presented under the NRA: a 34-hour week, a minimum wage of 28 cents an hour which could be reduced in many cases to 20 cents an hour, a "merit clause" which gave the boss unlimited right to hire and fire, and an amazing collection of tricky provisions which would have served to stabilize the workers' conditions at intolerably low levels.

The code proposed by the A. F. W. calls for a 40-hour week, a minimum of \$15 a week, no split shifts, decent wages for the higher-paid workers, abolition of the spy system, and a workers' committee to propose increases in wages scales where made necessary by rising costs of living.

As a class-struggle union, organizing all the workers in its industry without distinction of race, sex or grade, on an industrial as opposed to craft lines, the A. F. W. is rapidly making headway in recovering membership back toward the mark of 18,000 at which it stood in 1919. It has a right to ask the support of all workers, and first of all those in the food industry, in its aim to strengthen itself by building up its organization, so as to withstand the attacks of the bosses and be in position to enforce the workers' demands for decent living standards.

Defeat American Intervention

Before there can even be talk of passing to the offensive, the Cuban workers must ward off and defeat the immediate threat of American intervention.

Only the Cuban workers can prevent the formation of another puppet regime, a replica of the Machado dictatorship, this time with Fascist trappings.

The vanguard must lead in demanding the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The masses must be mobilized under the banner of transitional demands. At the same time, with these democratic slogans (Free speech! Free press! Freedom of assembly, etc.) must be widely agitated the slogan of nationalization (banks and industries—particularly sugar and tobacco plantations).

But first and foremost, the vanguard must organize the united front against American imperialism; and in this united front must be included not only all workers' organizations but any and all sections of the petty bourgeoisie that are willing and ready to struggle against the common enemy.

Only in this way can the tragedy of the Cuban proletariat be averted.

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Demands on Hotel Workers

The Anti-War Junket in Shanghai

(Continued From Last Issue)

The day after their arrival the delegates issued a statement:

"The delegation thanks the English and French press of Shanghai for the interest shown in their mission to the Far East. The French government has never placed any obstacles in the way of the United Front Anti-War Committee, and meetings have lately been held in Paris in crowded halls such as the Salle Bullier in the presence of many thousands of enthusiastic supporters and sympathizers. All the more unfortunate and incongruous is the attitude of the present Chinese government which, according to the English press, has forbidden any mention of the delegation in Chinese newspapers. This usage, if really issued, has been decided on after the receipt of false information about the delegation's intentions, which are not today, and never have been, other than the furtherance of China's national independence and liberty."

The British and French imperialist press of Shanghai is thanked by the delegation, including the Communist Vaillant-Couturier, for its "interest," which, by the way, has manifested itself in attempts to persuade both the imperialist and Chinese authorities not to allow the congress to be held. Pained surprise is expressed that the Chinese government should have clamped down a censorship on the delegation's doings "which are not today, and never have been, other than the furtherance of China's national independence and liberty." Surely the editor of L'Humanite should know that the government at Nanking is engaged in selling China's national independence and liberty to the imperialists, with a view to securing the latter's aid in keeping the Chinese masses in subjection. Or does he perhaps believe that a little factory administration in the best Stalinist fashion, may induce Nanking to smile benignly on the congress project?

Futile Mission to Japan

Lord Marley and Dr. Martenau went to Japan to try and scratch up a Japanese delegation. They were not permitted ashore for the purpose and had to take the next boat back to Shanghai, their mission unaccomplished. Lord Marley's next step was to address a meeting of the Shanghai Rotary Club, at which, before big businessmen, Chinese and foreign, he expounded his opposition to war with a view (in his own words) to dissipating the "prejudice" that exists against the congress. The anti-path of big business to the anti-war movement is—prejudice! Apart from his pacifist remarks Lord Marley told the Rotarians that "in Russia good government depends on constructive criticism of the government by the people. This self-criticism is freely expressed in both public and private, and is encouraged as an essential part of government by the people." The hard-working Tass correspondent doubtless made this statement available to Moscow by wire, for use in the work of "answering" the Left Opposition. Even a Lord Marley has his uses.

When it became clear that both the imperialist and Chinese authorities, notwithstanding Lord Marley's presence, viewed the delegates' activities as being in some way connected with the Communist movement, moves were made to remove this "prejudice." Lord Marley categorically denied in the press "that the United Front Anti-War Congress scheduled to be held in Shanghai is called under the auspices of the Third International," although, he added, Communist representation would be welcomed.

Next, he called on Mayor Wu Tsh-

chen in order to break down that gentleman's prejudices. He assured Mayor Wu that "as long as he is the president of the congress there shall be no possibility of the congress being exploited by the Communists as a jumping-overboard for their own purposes."

"Prejudices" of Imperialist Agents

The British delegate Gerald Hamilton, paid a visit to Nanking to remove some of the "prejudices" of Stalin's old friend, Wang Ching-wei, whose "Leftism" last year finally precipitated him into the arms of Chiang Kai-Shek, where he remains. Hamilton was politely informed by Wang's secretary that he could have an interview provided he did not speak about the projected congress. Evidently there was no interview. Elementary political wisdom dictated the fullest exploitation of Wang's refusal to discuss the congress for an exposure of the Kuo Min Tang government's role as alibi-de-camp to the imperialist war makers. But instead, Mr. Hamilton, with truly statesmanlike adroitness, blindly told the press that he was "highly satisfied with the results of his visit." Which is not surprising since the delegation and its precious congress is "non-political," that is, not of any party, and therefore hardly capable of displaying any political wisdom.

Some shrewd comments on the projected congress and the delegation sent to organize it have appeared in the imperialist press of Shanghai. The North-China Daily News, while considering the congress has "great potentialities for mischief," declares: "In spite of the distinguished figures in the delegation and art who, for some inscrutable reason, seem to have blindly given this precious organization their countenance, it is necessary to place on record the view that it is entirely unrepresentative and of no real weight. Is it unreasonable to maintain that an organization which its chief sponsor here cannot be more specific in describing has but slender claim to the hospitality of a world-city like Shanghai?"

Exactly! Lord Marley and his associates represent nothing but his own self-interest and his own war committees in the countries from which they come. The imperialist organ quoted them thus:

Swaback at Cleveland

Cleveland.—Comrade Arne Swaback spent two days in Cleveland—the 19th and 20th of October. The 18th we had a private meeting and October 20th a lecture at the City Club Auditorium on the theme: "The Youngstown Branch."

A number of comrades sent in single subs. They are too numerous to mention. But we are keeping an accurate record and if these comrades send in additional subs we will be able to list them in this column.

The Youngstown Branch

A note of explanation is due about the Youngstown Branch. When we began to report the drive we listed M. K. from Youngstown. The Youngstown branch informed us that they wanted all subs credited not to individual comrades but to the branch. To date the branch has accounted for 22 subs. But by this arrangement the branch as such is ineligible for the History. The prizes are offered to the individual comrades making the best showing in the campaign—first, three volumes of Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution; second, two volumes; third, one volume;

Led by British Lord and Ex-War Minister

representative chiefly because they have no "official backing," unless from Moscow. But our charge is based on the fact that they represent not a single organization that is rooted in the proletarian masses.

Score of Bourgeois Press

The China Press pertinently asked: "What real good can such a conference do? The explanation is given that there is such a danger of war in the Pacific that it was logical to hold an anti-war conference in the threatened region. The assumption is made that the conference would in some way remove the threat of war. There appears to be no assumption whatever for such an unwarranted doubt Lord Marley and some of his associates are genuinely anxious to help the cause of peace. But they can think of no more original method of accomplishing their aim than by holding a conference!"

These scornful words might well be taken to heart by the Chinese Communists. But it is a sad commentary on the current state of affairs in the international that Communists must seek even the alphabet of political wisdom in the columns of the bourgeois press.

Lord Marley and his companions have now been in Shanghai three weeks and have accomplished just nothing, unless what is recorded above can be deemed accomplishment. A date for the projected congress is still not fixed. It is doubtful, indeed, whether it will take place at all. The British, French and Chinese authorities have already made it clear that they will not permit the congress to be held in their respective jurisdictions, and it is expected that when formal applications are submitted they will be refused. There was no preparation for the congress, either political or organizational, prior to the delegation's arrival in Shanghai. There has been very little since, and that only of very dubious value.

Lord Marley and company are comfortably ensconced in their hotels, waiting for things to happen. They have announced that they will stay there six months if necessary in order to get a congress together. But all the blarney of Stalinist trumpets will be unable to give the congress—if, indeed, it is ever able to meet—that purposive character of which, because of its unrepresentative character and the failure to carry out any serious preparatory work, it must be deprived. Shanghai, Sept. 8, 1933.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

New Castle Meeting

About seventy-five workers heard comrade Swaback speak here on the live issues confronting the working class at home, abroad, and internationally, as the result of the NRA and the international situation created by Germany, calling for the creation of a new revolutionary international. Since this audience came through a driving downpour of rain which commenced just before the meeting started and kept up a steady bombardment till almost midnight, we had a group of listeners deeply interested in these questions. In the audience were many militants of years standing in the labor movement and young workers and students of diverging views. The meeting was held in the Socialist Hall, in an atmosphere of concentrated attention.

In the discussion period questions were asked about the Five Year Plan, the Soviet Union and its defense, Germany, and the N. R. A. Quite interesting were the remarks of a well-known and outstanding personality who had been the main instrument of the Application of the Stalinist "General Line" as the leading comrade of the Communist Party here. He complimented the local branch of the Left Opposition, saying that the Communist Party no longer existed and that he was no longer a member of it.

Our meeting adjourned after which a group gathered about comrade Swaback for further discussion. A substantial collection had been received, testifying to the sympathy evoked in the audience. Everyone looks forward to more meetings, like this, which was favorably weathered in spite of unfavorable weather.

—MAX HUDSON, Br. Sec.

Swaback at Cleveland

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EDITORIAL

Russian Recognition

RECOGNITION of the Soviet Union by the United States Government, facilitating trade relations between the two countries, can offer certain advantages to the Russian workers' state in its struggle for survival as well as to the American regime of Wall Street brigands in its competition with other imperialist powers. Under conditions of retarded world revolution the internationalists have always understood the necessity for the one existing Soviet power to establish diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist countries, to exploit the rivalries and antagonisms between them, to make compromises, and to pay for the "concession" of diplomatic recognition and advantageous trade agreements with other concessions, strictly weighed and measured according to the value received.

Thus, under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union never refused to bargain with the imperialist robbers and even offered, in return for certain credits and other considerations, to agree to the payment of the Czarist debts, etc. Bolshevik diplomacy never balked at compromise but was willing, under the compulsion of necessity, to pay for the right to buy and sell in the capitalist market. But it always asked how much and what kind of payments were demanded. Any demands for political concessions in regard to the Third International were waved aside. Under the authentic leaders of the revolution Bolshevik diplomacy was inseparably united with a revolutionary internationalist policy. The breaking of the economic blockade against the Soviet Union and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the capitalist countries went hand in hand with the greatest advances of the Comintern throughout the world.

Today we see a different picture. Soviet diplomacy, under Stalin, based on the theory of "socialism in one country", has separated itself from revolutionary internationalism. The diplomatic victories of Litvinoff coincide with a steady succession of defeats for the Comintern. The concessions involved in Soviet relations with capitalist powers acquire a one-sided and, still worse, a political character. The organizers of defeat in the field of revolutionary policies are achieving some very dubious successes in the field of diplomacy. They are being saluted a little bit too enthusiastically by the capitalist press.

At the present moment—with American recognition pending—we have to look the Roosevelt gift horse in the mouth. What is he really offering the Soviet Union and more important, what is Stalinist diplomacy offering in return? The appearance of things is none too reassuring. The first and most outstanding feature of the business is the political offensive of American imperialism and the retreat of Soviet diplomacy before it.

The preliminaries do not appear as a relationship between equals talking business. The Wall Street scoundrels act with the insolence of a conqueror laying down the law. The demand for guarantees against activity of the Communist International, presented by other countries in the past as a formality and lightly brushed aside, is put forward in real earnest by the American imperialists. More than that, they talk as though the "concession" is already in the bag. That is the way they interpret the theory of national socialism, and not without good reason. Not one of the journalists boasting recognition from the standpoint of American interest fails to shower Litvinoff with bouquets and, at the same time, to attribute his virtues as a diplomat to the theory of socialism in one country. There has been such a flood of this propaganda—all in the same strain—that one could select a characteristic quotations from any one of the leading organs of capitalist opinion. Take the three leading New York papers, for example.

The New York Times for October 22: "Certainly," writes Edwin L. James, "one of the first things Roosevelt will make clear to Litvinoff will be that the United States Government will not stand for Communist propaganda in this country financed by the Third International of Moscow. It may be expected that the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs will be ready to promise the change will become even more complete."

If that is not enough, here is more from the same article:

"One has only to compare the efforts made abroad by the Third International ten years ago and those made now to see that there has been a change. Doubtless Litvinoff will be ready to promise the change will become even more complete."

Precisely the same opinion, with a clearer ex-

planation, is expressed in the New York Tribune for October 25th by Walter Lippman:

"President Roosevelt is dealing with a different Russian government from the Russian Government that President Wilson refused to recognize. The decisive difference has been brought about by the victory of Stalin and his doctrine of 'socialism in a single country' over Trotsky and those who hold the doctrine that Communism cannot succeed in Russia unless there is a world revolution."

Again from Lippman's article:

"It is the change in Russian policy, now apparently established and consolidated that removes the only real obstacle there has ever been to the recognition of Russia."

On top of that read the opinion of the Scripps-Howard foreign editor William Philip Simms, in the New York World Telegram for October 21:

"Time has vastly modified these objections (to the Third International), so much so, in fact, that there is every indication that when Foreign Minister Litvinoff and the President draw up before the wood-fire in the White House study they will have little difficulty in reaching an accord."

These devastating expressions of the leading interpreters of bourgeois opinion, so identical in every note, so brutal in their frankness, leave little to be added. They strip the issues bare. American capitalism, haunted by the memory of Lenin's Comintern, wanted guarantees against its activities. Its keenest representatives explain: "Things are different now; the Comintern is a fiction; the 'obstacle' is removed. There is nothing to fear from it." In this conclusion, it must be said without qualification, the bourgeois journalists are absolutely right. They understand the situation perfectly.

But there is a slight error in the calculation in spite of all. There is no room to doubt that Litvinoff will "be ready with complete assurance"—this "assurance" has already been given in fact by the strangulation of the Comintern. But the living movement of Communism is beyond the power of anyone to destroy. Driven out of the Comintern by the Stalins and Litvinoffs, it is already making its way again. A new Communist International will abrogate the perfidious "agreements" of Stalinism and the world bourgeoisie and dispose of both of them.

United Front Against Hooliganism

CONGRATULATIONS to the Chicago Communists whose activity called forth the attempt, organized by the publicist-bureaucrats of the Stalin party, to break up the Swaback meeting. And double congratulations on the fact that the gangster attack was repulsed, firmly and not too gently. Next time, we trust, it will be done better—and more expeditiously.

Other workers not members of the Communist League, some of them representing different opinions and tendencies, took part in the defense of the Chicago meeting. This is an especially gratifying feature of the affair. In the midst of the general disintegration that has been brought into the movement of the workers' vanguard one positive impulse is beginning to assert itself. That is the sentiment for workers' democracy—for the free exchange of opinion and the clarifying discussion of differences in a comradely atmosphere, undisturbed by hooligans and rowdies who arrogantly seek to take away this right and prohibit the consideration of any viewpoint but their own.

Such a sentiment, becoming predominant among the uncorrupted militants in all the radical organizations and groups, is a sound and progressive one. It can and will become a mighty force for the regeneration of the movement. What is needed right now is a practical expression of this sentiment—the united action of those who stand for workers' democracy against those who dare to infringe on it.

We speak for this solidarity of action and are ready, for our part, to join in a fight for the democratic rights of other working class groups, just as we welcome their aid in defending our own right to be heard. A united front to protect workers' meetings from the interference of degenerate hooligan elements would serve the interests of the working class movement as a whole. The tasks of such a united front are not in the least complicated. The job is to form a workers' guard to defend the right of free speech in the labor movement and teach a lesson to those who interfere with it. The sooner such a workers' guard is organized and gets into action the sooner the movement will be liberated from the scourge of hooliganism.

ment. And when the workers' negotiations committee was demoralized with fatigue they set the stage for a last act of intimidation. All the cops were called off their regular beats for "duty" at the mills, rumors were spread that a large gang of strike breakers and thugs had been imported into Paterson, the bosses made a public statement that the mills would open and the mayor backed them up by saying that he would see to it that "any man who wanted to return to work would not be prevented from doing so." It was under these circumstances that the agreement was made.

One can say with some certainty that this split in the strike was prepared even before the outbreak of the strike. The outcome might have been different if the dyers had been affiliated with the A. F. S. W. Before the strike, Schweitzer, the cautious, week-kneed organizer of the A. S. W. turned down an offer to organize the dyers into the

Associated so that the organizer of the dyers, Yannerelli, made a deal with McMahon and the dye house workers went directly into the U. T. W.

Evil Result of Separate Organization

In the U. T. W. the mass of the strikers, the more experienced and tested militants in the A. F. S. W., had no control over the actions of the dyers. It is true that there was some sort of reciprocal representation of the two unions on the respective strike committees. The lack of forces prevented the working of this committee. Given these circumstances the appeal of Schweitzer calling upon the dyers to remain out until the weavers got a settlement was only a futile gesture.

By the separate agreement with the dyers, the bosses surely have obtained a moral advantage. Already 3,000 jacquard workers want to stampeo back to work. The bosses have given them certain concessions and they have also voted to go back to the job following the lead of the dyers. Further disorganization is to be seen in the action of the jacquard workers in withdrawing from the strike committee of the A. F. S. W. and forming a strike committee of their own.

The defection of the dyers has unquestionably made the road of the silk workers to victory more difficult and more tortuous. But a great mass remains on strike and a great power is still in their hands, and if they hold their ranks solid they can yet force a favorable settlement.

—CLARKE

Notes of the Week

ERADICATING UNEMPLOYMENT

Every week in this hectic period brings new social thunderstorms. Last week rickety capitalist Europe threw a fit over Hitler's bolt from Geneva.

It's the turn of younger, crafty, cunning American capitalism this week. The farmers out in the Middle West are threatening to upset Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal apple-cart.

Besides the farmers, there are the steadily enduring, industrial strikes, growing and broadening out. The compliance boards of the NRA are overwhelmed with complaints of code violators. The first snowfall promises to bring the unemployment tension to a high pitch.

A veritable bag of ill-winds are being let loose on the heads of the North American colossus.

Along comes a new and hardly heartening admonition. The well-known economic publicist, Mr. Stuart Chase, writing in the November Current History, presents some startling facts.

Given a 40 hour week work, says Mr. Chase, the year 1934, in spite of all the government and NRA optimism, will still find 12,200,000 men out of jobs.

Given a highly exaggerated figure of 10% increase in production, the number of jobless would still amount to 9,400,000.

Granting more than that, allowing for a decrease in working hours to 35 per week, 9,000,000 men would still have to crowd the streets in futile search for a livelihood.

Mr. Chase's statistics are carefully considered, weighed very cautiously. The farm laborers, the miners, the professional classes are not taken into reckoning, although the same fate is in store for them. His figures are computed on the basis of established facts, hunted up and correlated by numerous and reliable economists and statisticians.

What is behind this realistic picture of a miserable working class future? Mr. Chase and his fellow economists will tell you: "technological unemployment." Seventy men in 1933 can do the work of 100 in 1926. The machine is replacing the workers.

What is this horrible monster, the machine, in reality? It is and was always meant to be an aid to man. Born out of the unique ingenuity of man in the animal kingdom, the tool and the machine were produced to help him overcome the obstacles of nature in his struggle for a happy existence.

The thinking worker who knows this will not be fooled. No, it is not the machine that is the monster. The private exploitation of the machine, its utilization for the heaping up of profits for the few—capitalism—that is the threat to a decent human existence.

"Technological unemployment" will exist as long as the capitalist system exists. Replace the system of production for profit by the system of production for social use and "technological unemployment" becomes transformed into: greater leisure, better health, higher intelligence and happier, fuller life for the vast mass of humanity.

The workers of America have not yet fully grasped this idea in their great majority. They are just nibbling at it. They want to hang on to life, merely.

They are striking in great number now for a somewhat shorter work-day, for a somewhat higher living wage.

Yet that monstrosity, the class of the bosses who possess all under capitalism, mobilize police, government and press against them. Yet the rulers will not order an inch to the workers.

It is inevitable that the American workman will, with ever growing speed and strength, organize en masse to fight not only for a higher wage and a shorter workday, but against the looming prospect of permanent unemployment for millions in their ranks.

Wage strikes are not enough. Unemployment insurance must come next.

—G. . . .

Organizing the Steel Workers

(Continued from page 1)

orate preparations for the Steel Trust made for this tempest in a teacup. The day before the strike 150 deputy sheriffs were sworn in. The police forgot all about the NRA and labor's right to picket peacefully. The curtain was lifted from the benevolent smile of capital, and the bosses showed their fangs for a moment. The workers must draw the necessary conclusions from this. They must come to the realization that, NRA or no NRA, the cop is the tool of the boss.

Swaback's Meeting

It was just at the close of this burlesque episode that Arne Swaback arrived in Youngstown. A small but rather advanced crowd of seventy workers attended his meeting on October 17th. The crowd showed a keen interest in the issues presented, and a lively discussion took place.

Agrarian Question in Mexico

The Problem of the Coming Revolt and the Peasantry

The period of governmental reaction initiated under Portes Gil in 1928, also marked the cutting short of the agrarian reform. Only a small section of the peasantry was satisfied with the manner in which this reform, based on Article 27 of the 1917 constitution, had been carried out. Of those lands expropriated from the feudal landholders, the best were generally seized by the politicians and generals of the revolution. Most of the remaining arable tracts remained in the hands of their old owners on some pretext or other. The barren hillsides, rocky, dry, streambeds, and otherwise undesirable lands were left for the peasants. Every hectare of this land has been paid for with peasants' blood and even when they have received it, all kind and color of shirings are tied to it.

In some cases, those villages which have shown greatest militancy during the early period of the revolution, were given satisfactory grants or ratified in the possession of lands they had forcibly seized, in order to silence them and set them up as a barrier to hold back the great mass of landless peasantry who were being "fed" on promises and government surveys.

Ending the Land Reforms

The newly rich, having themselves acquired great landed wealth in the course of the revolution, now found it necessary to seek alliances with the remaining, politically crippled, feudal holders and wealthy ranchers in order to preserve their own booty. A new policy was then instituted by degrees in one state after another, to wind up all pending agrarian matters and declare land reforms at an end. Not only was this done but the breaking up of the "ejidos" (communal land grants) was also ordered. This constituted a still greater betrayal of the interests of the peasant masses without the aid of whom the democratic revolution of 1910-1917 would have been impossible.

From time immemorial and antedating the coming of the Spaniards the peasant villagers owned their land in common. In some cases the soil was tilled in common also and in others by the individual families but without any private land tenure. These commons, called

atepetalli under the Aztec re-

gime, were the direct forerunners of the ejidos of more recent times.

Many of these village commons remained intact until comparatively recent times although the tendency in the colonial period was for the Spanish hacendados to absorb and destroy the primitive village economy, converting the peasants into peons or serfs of the haciendas. There were a number of peasant uprisings but prior to 1810 these did not acquire great strength. The Mexican war for independence was, especially in its first stage, the revolt of a land-starved peasantry fighting for the restitution of its communal holdings. Other revolutions since that time have had the same objective, culminating in the Zapatista movement of 1910-1919. Another such uprising is now in the offing.

Communal Aspirations of Peasants

Traditionally, the bulk of Mexico's peasants aspire to communal holdings. Left to themselves they seldom abandon common ownership for individual tenure, although the land is almost always subdivided by the village council for cultivation in small lots by individual heads of families. Primitive methods of cultivation, however, make collective farming impractical excepting in rare instances.

Realizing the danger to their communal unity and the consequent strengthening of their enemies, if the village commons are broken up, the peasants prefer collective ownership. Most of them realize that individual tenure at this time would weaken their position as a class and would only serve the hacendados by playing the individual small and middle peasants against each other.

Two short years ago, the high priests of the National Revolutionary Party, to which at that time the major portion of the peasantry nominally adhered, launched a campaign for the subdivision of the "ejidos". The peasants were told that their dignity as human beings, their duty to their families and their individual interests required the breaking up of these communal grants into individual parcels. Many of the peasants succumbed to the arguments of the politicians, especially when the leaders of their own

organizations, many of them mid-

dic-class ranchers themselves, counselled support of the new government policy.

In several regions however, the peasants revolted on a local scale and the government linked its attack on the ejidos to a campaign to disarm the peasants, thousands of whom still held arms loaned them by the government during the reactionary revolts. In 1932, there were numerous sporadic outbreaks in the states of Michoacan, Jalisco, Satecas and Guanajuato. These local uprisings were easily suppressed and the military reports appearing in the press, usually referred to them as bandit or Catholic outbreaks. All news was, of course strictly censored.

In the state of Veracruz, the hostility of the peasants to the government assumed such an alarming aspect that the whole state was placed under military rule in order to forestall a general uprising. The Tejada political faction dominant in that state, being unprepared to undertake a genuine armed insurrection at that time, although it was itself more or less closely identified with the defiant peasantry, was willing to compromise with the federal authorities. Large sections of the peasantry were disarmed although many of them offered resistance locally. At present the strictest watch is kept by the federal authorities to prevent the rearmament of these elements. It is known that many have secret arms caches. Arrests are being reported of peasants being caught with arms in their possession. A letter just received by the writer of these lines, from a peasant living near the port of Vera Cruz, says in part, "The government has taken our arms away, and even now a few days ago in Villa Jose Cardel if you entered on horseback carrying the machete (game knife) you use to work with, the federal soldiers would take it from you. So you see we must be careful and keep our eyes wide open."

—ROSALIO NEGRETTE.

Ed. Note: This is the first of two articles on the Mexican Questions by comrade Negrette. The second will appear next week.

Statement on N. Y. Elections

(Continued From Page 1)

the interests of capitalist profit and the assurance of its uninterrupted flow into coffers of the bosses, to wipe out every vestige of militancy shown by the workers in their strikes, to resort to despotism, court injunctions and police violence against those workers who refuse to remain docile under the lash of the crisis.

At the same time, the bulk of the hundreds of thousands of workers who have been subjected to the curse of unemployment in New York City, have not had their lot improved by a hair's breadth. The miserable substitute for genuine unemployment relief which the Tammany administration passes off under that name, far from being increased, has been diminished.

Even those insignificant few who have been given the scanty crumbs of relief, are being squeezed down still further. The "skipping" of alternate weeks is being made the general practice now. The appropriations for relief in general, never adequate even for that handful to whom it was to be allocated, are now being cut down. The most discriminated against section of the working class population—the third of a million Negroes in the city—are suffering such intense misery as to make their lot indescribable.

The deep wounds cut into the body of the working class by the crisis in general, have been rendered more painful yet by the regime fostered in New York City by the abominable Tammany administration and its Republican twin. Not since the days of the Tweed Ring has corruption, speculation, bribery, pilfering and plundering in public office been so widespread, so flagrant as it is at the present time. So outrageous and brazen has been the almost recently uncovered record of the Tammany bandits in office, that it is being confronted by an almost universal antagonism, powerful enough to compel scores of eager office-seekers to switch their allegiance to the other candidates of capitalism who seek to preserve it and themselves by somewhat less painful displays of the flagrant assaults upon the spoils than those of Tammany Hall.

For the worker to vote for the parties of capitalism he they Tammany Hall, Fusion, of McKee "Recovery"—is to give his written endorsement to his enemy, to his exploiters, and their political agents. To vote for O'Brien, La Guardia or McKee is to throw away a vote into the wastebasket of the capitalist parties. To vote for any of these tickets is to strike a blow at the working class, at every member of it, and at their class interests.

Nor can the worker conscious of his interests cast a vote of endorsement for the Socialist party and its candidates. The Socialist party represents the movement for the reformation, the patching-up of the decadent, outlived, reactionary capitalist system. The Socialist party does not set itself the aim of overthrowing the present society of exploitation, war and misery; it

seeks only to "reform" it. The Socialist party is not the party of the class struggle, and consequently cannot represent the interests of the working class in that struggle. It is the party of class reconciliation, of collaboration with the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, and consequently it represents essentially the interests of the latter in the ranks of the workers. Like its brother-under-the-skin, the bureaucracy in the trade union movement, the Socialist party constitutes the association of the labor lieutenants of capitalism on the political field.

The Communist party today is dominated by a bureaucracy representing the Stalinist faction. Once a revolutionary and progressive force, rallying the workers on the field of the international class struggle for their emancipation from wage slavery, the Communist party has been systematically reduced by its present leaders and their policies to the caricature of the revolutionary organization which it now constitutes. The official Communist party has been debased to the role of the American apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Strangled by this bureaucracy, creating a situation in its own ranks where the militant and more conscious members are not permitted to speak their minds or have a critical and independent attitude towards problems, the official Communist party has steadily declined to the position where it advances its own interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole. In the elementary organizations of the working class—the trade unions—it pursues only the aim of accumulating factional and sectarian advantage, regardless of the painful price the workers are compelled to pay. It sets up tiny sectarian unions; under the guise of "independence", it sets itself in the path of the advancement of the workers' movement. It sabotages the united front of workers' organizations and rejects it in principle. Together with the social democracy, the official Communist party of the United States, together with the Stalinists in Germany and the rest of the world, bear the common responsibility for the greatest catastrophe suffered by the working class anywhere in the world since the world war—that is, the defeat of the German working class at the hands of the Hitlerist barbarians. Instead of acting as the accelerator of the workers' movement and of the revolution, it has become a retarding force, a brake on the workers' movement.

Because of the fact that the Stalinists have forced the official Communist parties off the revolutionary path beyond the possibility of restoration, the Communist League of America (Opposition) together with its brother organizations of the Left Opposition throughout the world, has called upon the class conscious workers to join together to reconstruct the revolutionary movement outside the ranks of Stalinism, to strive to build up a new Communist inter-

national and new Communist parties in every country. In the United States, our League is now in the forefront of the movement for a new Communist party. We have been impelled to this gigantic task by the collapse of the official Communist International after the German debacle and the events succeeding it, as well as by the increasingly dangerous situation in which the workers' republic, the Soviet Union, finds itself as a result of the policies of the Stalinist leadership. The Soviet republic cannot be defended, its great historic achievements cannot be carried on to final success in the international arena, the workers' cause cannot be brought to fruition and triumph in this or any other country, without the reconstruction of Communist parties which inscribe upon their banner and carry out in the reality of the class struggle the unassailable ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) has come to this momentous decision at a time which makes it impossible for it to put forth, in the present election, a set of candidates of its own. The League does not lay any pretensions claims to a strength which it does not yet enjoy. It aims to acquire this strength and the confidence of the workers by carrying its ideas into effect in the daily struggles of the workers against their class opponent. The League rejects the pernicious illusion that the workers can attain their emancipation by means of papers thrown into the ballot box. Elections are a means whereby the class conscious workers record their solidarity, their opposition to the capitalist class and all its parties, the stage of development of their own class maturity. The League holds that the workers can and will liberate themselves from the horrors of capitalism only by the unceasing, militant struggles against the capitalist class and all its institutions, by utilizing all the means at their disposal, by breaking through the confining fetters of parliamentary activity into which the enemy seeks to limit our expression.

Under the circumstances of our inability to put forward our own ticket in this election, the Communist League of America calls upon the workers of this city to cast their votes, at this time, for the candidates of the official Communist party as a protest vote against the capitalist parties, not as an endorsement of the blunders and crimes of the Stalinist leadership, of its policies.

—COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION) LOCAL NEW YORK.

BOSTON WORKERS FORUM Celebrates the 16th Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by hearing
MAX SHACHTMAN
Member of National Executive Committee of Communist League of America Speak on the 4th INTERNATIONAL
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5th, 8 P.M. SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL 28 Hayward Place

Silk Dyers Vote for Agreement

(Continued from Page 1)

repudiated Vigorito and Pirola who thought, judging by the "organized" applause, that more votes could be obtained by this unity business. It will be remembered that not so long ago the N. T. W. had levelled shafts of attack at Vigorito and Pirola as agents of the bosses. The disruption of the N. T. W. made calm deliberative meetings of the dye workers impossible; they gave an excuse for the voting of the dyers on the agreement to be conducted secretly and by shops instead of in open strike meeting.

And now, as a last fit of desperation, as a last seed of confusion, the N. T. W. makes a complete change of policy but hardly in the right direction. This is the latest proposal of the N. T. W.:

"The National Textile Workers Union stands ready to merge with the members of the U. T. W. and unorganized workers, into One Dye Workers Union." Not unity but a new union. (There are not enough unions now!)

Tactics of the Bosses

The canny dye bosses were well aware of the inexperience of the dye workers, and their lack of effective leadership. For ten days they wore out a rank and file negotiations committee by incessant meetings, flattering these gullible workers with back-slapping and honeyed words but fighting like tigers for every point of the agree-



Sixteen Years of the Russian Revolution!

THE CREATION OF A FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IS THE BEST DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Rebirth of Revolutionary Internationalism Alone Can Save the First Workers' Fatherland

Sixteen years after that glorious October which witnessed the rise of the Soviet Union, the workers' republic stands in graver danger of attack and aggression than ever before.

Soviet Russia arose as the workers' fatherland through a revolution which aroused the working class of the whole world, which rallied to its banner an international proletariat that knew how to aid in its defense by effective solidarity action throughout the years of the civil war and the innumerable foreign invasions.

International Defense of Soviet Russia

The revolt of the French fleet in the Black Sea, the fraternization at the front of German soldiers, the Shop Stewards' defense movement of England, the strike of the Seattle transport workers against the shipment of munitions to Kolchak—the stirring first years of the Russian revolution are replete with flaming examples of international solidarity and heroism like these.

The international social democracy, the treacherous Second International, acting in the best interests of the bosses of all countries, showed itself worthy of the those years. Taking the helm of government for their national ruling classes, in Germany, in Finland and elsewhere, they succeeded at that time in preventing the glowing international solidarity which came to the fore in the defense of the first labor state from transforming itself into a further, sweeping extension of the Russian revolution, from achieving new victories on the road to the world Soviet.

The Russian Revolution and the Comintern

It was in the struggle for the extension of the Russian revolution, in the five of struggle against capitalist intervention and social reformist treachery that the Communist International was founded in 1919. From the first, the great Marxists taught the Russian workers that their ultimate fate was bound up with that of the international proletariat, that the very existence of the government which they had established with their

blood and their lives depended in the first place upon its active support by their fellow workers in Western Europe, in America, in Asia. Soviet diplomacy was used by the authentic Bolsheviks as a weapon of revolutionary internationalism.

The years following the death of Lenin and the temporary relapse of the Western European revolution brought forth a spirit of pessimism in regard to the international perspectives and a utopian optimism in regard to the possibility of building an isolated socialist society in Russia. This national-socialist disease infiltrated even into the ranks of the world vanguard—the Communist International—allied to its principles and purpose. The carriers of this disease were the Stalinist bureaucracy which grew up and nurtured itself like a parasite on the body of the Russian revolution and the Soviet Republic.

The Soviet bureaucracy, the parasites of the revolution interested in the maintenance of their own existence and position at all costs—with the least possible disturbance—was a bulwark of support for Stalin's revisionist theory of "building up socialism in one country."

The New Revisionism

It was with this revisionist idea, born out of the bureaucracy's lack of faith in international solidarity that Stalinism replaced the fighting internationalism of Lenin in the vanguard of the world working class. Stalinism thus began a long process of undermining the Russian revolution and the Soviet state.

With the purpose in view of withdrawing into its own shell and preventing all possible shocks from without, the Stalinized Communist International subordinated the vanguard of the Chinese working class, its Communist party to Chiang Kai-Shek's bourgeois Kuo Min Tung. Lacking conviction in the power of the Chinese workers to lead and to enforce the struggle of the exploited colonial masses in the earth-shaking rebellion against imperialism, they placed their hopes in the Chinese bourgeoisie. The latter accepted this Stalinist gift and then proceeded promptly

not only to wipe out the organizations of the Chinese proletariat, but to conspire with the imperialist states against the Soviet Union itself. The Sino-Russian crisis of August 1929 was Chiang Kai-Shek's payment for Stalin's policy.

Opportunism on the International Field

With the same national-socialist purpose in view, the Stalinist leadership united with the British trade union fakers—Purcell, Hicks and Co.—in the Anglo-Russian Committee. In return for a worthless promise to help forestall British military intervention against the Soviet Union, Stalinism subordinated to the English trade union bureaucracy a budding, militant Minority Movement led by the Communist party, Purcell, Hicks and Co. utilized the Comintern support and authority to sell out the general strike of 1926—the greatest revolutionary action in the history of the British working class. The labor lieutenants of English capitalism paid for this by absolute passivity at the time of Austin Chamberlain's raid on ARCOS—the Soviet trade representation—which threatened to be a prelude to a war against the Soviet Union.

The Swing to Adventurism

The period of 1925 to 1929 was full of such policies and practices of the Stalinist bureaucracy. When in 1929, the course of opportunism, agreements with colonial bourgeois politicians and metropolitan labor fakers had suffered shipwreck, Stalinism reversed its tactic, but not its aim. After the ultra-Left reaction of 1928-1929, the Stalinist bureaucracy, having helped to wreck the international revolutionary movement, having helped to sell it out to the fakers and betrayers, lost all interest in it. They allied the leading posts of the Communist International with notorious incompetents who unleashed a reign of irresponsible adventurism in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. For the practical purposes of preserving their national-socialist utopia they began to set their hopes of Soviet defense directly on agreements with the diplomats of the foreign bourgeoisies.

On the other hand—the policy of the combination at the top with the social reformists was replaced by an ultra-Left refusal to get together with them on the most minimal questions of common action. The allies of yesterday had suddenly become "social fascists," social reformism the "twin" of Fascism. "United Front from below only," ultimatum demands of

"United Front only under the leadership of the Communist party"—these were the slogans put forward by irresponsible Stalinist adventurers to split the working class in times when unity was most urgent. This was the line of policy that was combined by a national-communism—"People's revolution," "national and social liberation"—which grew directly out of the Stalinism national-socialism in Soviet Russia and which was to serve the German Communist party as an item of competition with Hitler's Fascists.

"Non-Aggression Pacts"

On the other hand, "non-aggression pacts" with various bourgeois powers, raising false hopes in the workers of peace by "scraps of paper" and supplemented by "anti-war congresses"—comedies with all kinds of individual stars: novelists, artists, free lancers who represented no one but themselves. That has been the course of Stalinism from 1929 up to the present.

The balance sheet of Comintern must be drawn today, Stalinist opportunism destroyed the great defense of the Soviet Union latent in the Chinese revolution and in Stalinist adventurism aided the German social democracy to maintain its positions of influence in the labor movement and split the working class hopelessly on the eve of Hitler's coming into power. With the Fascist destruction of the German working class vanguard, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics loses its strongest pillar of defense in the capitalist world. The Fascist butchers now directly threaten Workers' Russia!

The Downfall of the Comintern

The defense of the Soviet Union is the most urgent task of the moment for the revolutionary workers. The Communist International, created by Lenin and Trotsky for its defense by the one realistic policy of the extension of the October revolution, has been strangled by Stalinism. For over five years congresses of the Communist International have been held. While the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy have helped to raise Hitler into power, to bring about the annihilation of the organized German working class and to isolate the Soviet Union, workers' democracy within the Communist International has been completely stifled. The greatest of crimes are committed with impunity. The internationalist fighters—Trotsky, Rakovsky and their comrades—are expelled from the ranks of the parties. The bona fide leaders of

the Russian revolution, the founders of the Communist International till the Stalinist deportation camps and the places of exile.

Who will prevent the oncoming attack of the world bourgeoisie, with German Fascism in the West and Japanese militarism in the East? Who will lead in the defense of the Soviet Union ever more isolated by a ring of reactionary governments?

The Communist International of the Stalin cannot and will not do the job. National-Communism has reduced the Comintern to a hollow shell of its former self. An organization which has been poisoned by a discrediting bureaucracy, which has left a trail of frightful defeats in its wake—in China, in Germany, in Great Britain, in every country—an organization which even at this late date when danger threatens immediately, shows no signs of organizational life, whose representatives no longer gather in congresses to consider the serious questions—such an organization is hopelessly lost.

The Communist International was killed by the disease of Stalinist national-socialism. The national-socialist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union is leading the Soviet Union to catastrophe. While it has replaced revolutionary internationalism with "non-aggression pacts," the "non-aggression" French bourgeoisie is making loans to Japanese militarism and selling arms to German Fascism. The Communist International is lost. But the Soviet Union must not be lost!

Reconstitute the International Vanguard!

There is only one power in the world that can save it. That is a reconstituted vanguard of international Communist. That is a new, a Fourth International, grouping around it all those revolutionary workers who have learned the lesson of the past ten years, who genuinely want to defend the Soviet Union and who know that the only way to do it is by the extension of the October revolution. Those who were foremost in the battle lines of the Russian Revolution are today foremost in the struggle for its revolutionary defense against the impending attack. With a firm conviction, the Bolshevik-Leninists, on this day of the commemoration of the sixteenth anniversary of October revolution, proceed to the order of the day—the foundation of the new International and the new Communist parties.

The Bolshevik Heritage Must Be Preserved in the Struggle Against The Stalinist Revisionists

The end is everything. The means are nothing. With this conception Edward Bernstein led the attack of revisionism against the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels. But Marxism determined that this conception of tactics and strategy of the reformists was the source of the opportunism and betrayal of the interests of the working class by its alleged leaders. This theory is reactionary, poisonous Marx. For, he said, the means determine the end. Without revolutionary tactics and strategy for the movement, the goal of socialism or communism is never reached. The crisis of the Second International, or the German social democracy at the outbreak of the World War in 1914 proved to be a catastrophic manner the views of Marx. Opportunism brought destruction and death in the wake of the masses.

Today, sixteen years after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet power, the revolutionary movement is confronted once again, in another form, with the ravages and menace of the new revisionism espoused by the school of Stalin and which is properly labeled Stalinism. With the theory of socialism in one country against the theory of permanent revolution, Stalinism, in the epoch of modern monopolistic imperialism, revises fundamentally the principles and revolutionary strategy and tactic of the working class and particularly the Communists. Stalinism, professes the world revolution, but it begins by limiting its revolutionary goal to the establishment of a complete social society within the confines of the Soviet Union, and relegates the spread of the proletarian revolution to other countries as a pious and hoped-for consummation.

After the fact of a completely established socialism, Leninism, on the other hand, as taught today by its expounders, the International Left Opposition and based on decades of struggles now concretized in Bolshevik theory, says: Base the strategy of the revolutionary movement on the interests of the working class on a world scale as the

best and surest means for the preservation and building of socialism in the Soviet Union. The theory of socialism in one country, therefore, is not merely an incidental polemical cry of the Left Opposition against Stalinism. It must be regarded as the root of all evils wrought in the past decade by Stalinism. It is the modern revisionism. This theory makes working class victory on either a national and international scale ever impossible.

Since the First Comintern Congress

In 1919, the Communist International was formed. It declared in its manifesto to the international proletariat: We live in an epoch of wars and social revolutions. The proletarian path is toward the speedy consummation of the latter. Fourteen years have passed since then, yet the estimation of Lenin and Trotsky, of the first Congress of the Comintern remains valid today, despite the tragic defeats of the workers in many countries. Despite all, the crisis of world capitalism exists. The situation objectively is revolutionary. What is missing are the subjective factors, genuine Communist parties, such as were being built in those early years, and a revolutionary Communist International. But these can be built again.

Revolutions, said Marx, are the locomotives of history. Locomotives sometimes are sidetracked, as Stalinism has done, but they can be placed on the rails again. That is our task.

At this day, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, one need only record the manner in which Stalinism has been responsible, criminally so, for the rolling backwards of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

Stalinism, with its basically false social theory and consequently radically false strategy and tactics, necessarily bowed before the blue flag of the Kuo Min Tung in China. Inevitably it capitulated before the swastika of German fascism. Deliberately, in the narrow interests of Soviet diplomacy, it restrained the rising revolutionary wave in Spain. The Stalinized "Communists" ran to cover before the verbal charge of Dollfus in Austria. Stalinism surrendered to the trade union fakers in Great Britain. Everywhere it gives up the banner of Communism and drags it in the mud.

And in each case in the past decade, beginning with the formation of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the Soviet Union under Trotsky and Rakovsky, the international Left Opposition exposed Stalinism before the working class and fought for the revolutionary position.

Why Bolshevism Will Be Victorious

It is true that the Left Opposition formally has not been victorious. Stalinism had its way—organizationally. It has achieved many pyrrhic victories. For ten years now, the international Left Opposition with small forces, too few almost to mention, has stood by its principles, and like Lenin in earlier days has carried on against the stream. The international Left Opposition has demonstrated to ever increasing numbers that it has quality; its revolutionary viewpoint gave it that. Now the dialectics of the class struggle are about to transform quality into quantity. That growth and the problems arising therefrom, stand before us as the tasks of today and tomorrow. Time has verified once again our theories. These are now to be demonstrated to an ever increasing degree in the daily struggles of the working class. We are starting anew in the building of new Communist parties and a new Communist International; but we are building on an old and tested foundation and therein lies our strength. We are building on the first four Congresses of the Comintern and upon that which we have learned since in our struggles against Stalinist depredations and practices. We are passing from the stage of propaganda to the stage of agitation and organization in all fields of struggle of the working class. They lie and are wrong who say that Communism is dead. It is Stalinism that is passing. It is Communism that will rise once again.

On this, the sixteenth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, the Communist League of America and the International Left

(Continued on Page 4)

Leon Trotsky on the Saar Question

The stand of the official party as well as the C. P. O. (Brandenburg) in the Saar Question appears to me as the cowardice of pseudo-radicalism, as by no means rare species of cowardice. Naturally we must come out for a Soviet Saar, that is, make propaganda in the sense of the conquest of power. The date of this conquest has not, however, been fixed anywhere, while the date of the Referendum has been quite precisely in the Versailles treaty. That means that the party which fights for a Soviet Saar owes the workers an answer to the question: how they should vote in the year 1935.

To rally to Hitlerite Germany in practice, i. e., through the Referendum, means, theoretically speaking, to put national mysticism above the class interest and psychologically—to conduct a really car-like policy.

Naturally, only traitors can demand annexation at present, for that means to sacrifice the most concrete and vital question of the German workers in the Saar territory to the abstract national factor.

OPEN FORUM

A REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST LOOKS AT THE FUTURE

Speaker: DIEGO RIVERA
Friday, November 10, 1933
8 P. M.

at International Workers School
126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

Save Dimitroff and Torgler!

A Call to Action for the Leipzig Victims of Hitlerism
—Issued by the International Secretariat

The most reactionary travesty of justice of all time is coming to an end. There can be no doubt concerning the verdict. The prostitute scientists of German justice sell themselves to the devil to find objective proofs. The acquittal of Torgler means the condemnation of the real incendiaries, Hitler and Goering. Let us have no illusions, these prostitutes clad in togas will do their duty. The false legend of the Communist arson has become the ideological basis for the installation of the fascist regime of terror. The conclusions have, as a matter of fact, already been prepared. They require only the premises to tally with the conclusions. That is why Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanef must be condemned for setting fire to the Reichstag.

In London a counter court of famous international jurists exposed the genuine scoundrels on the basis of conclusive evidence. "The Brown Book" has compiled all the material necessary to prove the innocence of Torgler and the guilt of Goering.

But the mere establishment of the true facts will not suffice unless it serves as an impulse to action. Only powerful and resolute mass action can make the truth prevail. The powerful protest of the international proletariat was galvanized by the electrocution with which American reaction executed Sacco and Vanzetti. Today Hitler rules in Central Europe with the methods of medieval tyrants. His judges pronounce and his hangmen execute one sentence of terror after another. Still the international proletariat remains silent, seems to have fallen into lethargy.

Action, immediate and effective action is necessary to stop the crazed and enraged bandits of Hitler. Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanef must be saved. But how? In all bourgeois democratic coun-

tries and in the Soviet Union the workers must demonstrate in powerful masses, in a solid united front, besiege the German consulates and embassies and demand the liberation of the Leipzig victims. The struggle should take on even higher forms.

(Continued on Page 4)

From all sides there has been launched the slogan of a boycott of German goods. But the results obtained up till now have been insignificant. A mere refusal to buy German goods will be nothing but a pin prick on the body of German Fascism. The boycott slogan issued by the Second International and the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions does not go beyond this. Even in the question of the boycott, they are concerned, in the first place, not to arouse any conflict with their own national bourgeoisie. This kind of a boycott serves very well the reactionary tendency toward autarchy in the various European bourgeoisies. The reactionary policy of "Socialism in one country" of the Stalinists has led the Third International which has become the instrument of opportunist Soviet diplomacy, to propagate the utopian "economic non-aggression pacts" instead of a resolute struggle against Fascism.

To serve as a means of support to the German proletariat, frightened by German Fascism, it is absolutely necessary to arouse the will to struggle of the international proletariat. The transport workers, by their refusal to service German boats, have already shown how the struggle should be carried on. Such actions should be organized and extended by a united front. The railroad workers and the maritime workers should be rallied around it. To save the innocent victims of the Leipzig trial, the international proletariat must become the prosecutor of Fascism which is a thousand times gullier!

"If my signature is of any value by way of protest or demand I am ready to append same, and I count it my duty to continue to develop opinion till it shall be equal to demanding and securing the release of our comrades."

(Signed TOM MANN)

Tom Mann for the Defense of Chen Du Sin

On Sept. 7th, 1933, the organ of our British comrades, the Red Flag, addressed an open letter to Tom Mann, old trade union militant and veteran of many labor struggles in the British Empire, asking him his stand on the imprisonment of comrade Chen Du Sin, founder of the Chinese Communist Party and secretary of the Chinese section of the Left Opposition until his incarceration. The Stalinists have cynically ignored comrade Chen Du Sin, criminally abandoning him to the hangmen of the Kuo Min Tung and covering this stalwart revolutionary with abuse and infamy. The following letter speaks for the class loyalty of Tom Mann, his undivided devotion to the proletariat as a whole and not in the interests of any faction in it.—Ed.

"Dear Comrade, I have read the letter addressed to me which appears in the Red Flag. When in China in 1927 I attended the opening of the Chinese Communist Party Congress at Hankow, and I considered comrade Chen Du Sin and his colleagues a capable and courageous body of comrades. When the arrests and imprisonments followed I have on many occasions at public gatherings emphatically protested against the imprisonment and demanded the release of all class war prisoners.

When the bus taking Shachtman from New York to his first meeting in Montreal rolled up in front of the Canadian customs building in Phillipsburg, it was mounted by the official who examined the passengers and their papers. Shachtman produced his passport. As soon as the examiner was finished with all the passengers, not one of whom was in any way detained, he requested Shachtman without a word of explanation, to accompany him to his office in the customs building. There the cross-examination began. It was evident right from the outset that the questions were part of a purely perfunctory procedure, for the decision to prohibit Shachtman from entering Canada and obviously been arrived at long before the bus came to Canada.

While the questioning was being commenced, the officer was already writing out the deportation order!

Bar Shachtman from Canada

League Organizer, on Speaking Tour, Refused Admittance by Border Authorities

Carrying their drive against the revolutionary movement to the point of surveillance at ports of entry for the purpose of keeping out speakers scheduled for meetings in the country, the Canadian authorities at the border town of Phillipsburg, Province of Quebec, ordered the deportation of Max Shachtman from Canada last Wednesday with an injunction against any attempt he might make to enter the country at any other point.

Shachtman had been scheduled to speak at meetings arranged in Montreal and Toronto by the local branches of the Communist League of America on the occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Every indication—particularly the huge meeting recently held in Toronto with Arne Swabeck as the speaker—pointed to a large turnout of the local militants to listen to the views of the Opposition. As appeared later, the Canadian authorities were not unaware of these indications.

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(Continued on Page 4)

Shachtman's coat, hat and bag were meanwhile being removed from the bus. After a few vague, formal questions, the officer adopted a tack which showed that he was exceptionally well informed about everything connected with the trip. He first took a heavy folder from a filing cabinet, turned to a page which he kept concealed from Shachtman and asked his questions and heard the answers with his eyes fixed upon what was unmistakably a police report.

When Shachtman declared that he was going to lecture in Canada, the official asked if he knew a Mr. So-and-so, naming one of the comrades in charge of the Montreal meeting? He showed the same intimate knowledge with regard to the meeting scheduled in Toronto. His whole bearing, and the replies he made to the pointed questions by Shachtman, left no doubt whatsoever about his intentions to execute the order he had received from authorities higher up.

Shachtman's request to know the reasons for his summary deportation was answered by passing to him a copy of the "Order for Deportation", which had already been given to the bus driver together with the confiscated ticket. It read in its main part:

"This is to certify that the rejected person above named, a person seeking to enter Canada at this Port ex Bus from New York, N. Y. which arrived at this Port on November 1st, 1933 at 9:30 o'clock A. M. has this day been examined by the Board of Inquiry (or officer in charge) at this Port and has been rejected for the following reasons: Sec. 2 H (4), Can. Immig. Act and Regulations. And the said rejected person is hereby ordered to be deported to the place from whence he

(Continued on Page 4)

THE WORKERS' FRONT

N.Y. Optical Workers Out on Strike

Five hundred optical workers in New York City went on strike October 23, 1933, under the guidance of the International Jewelry Workers' Union with which they are affiliating. A cut in wages of from 24 to 27% having accompanied a shortening of hours provided by the N.Y. code together with the dismissal of active union men precipitated the tie-up of eighteen of the largest shops in Greater New York.

Organizational activities in both the metal frame and celluloid sections of the trade were begun the middle of August this year, neither section knowing of the activities of the other at the time. Optical workers being highly skilled, this is an exception to the general rule in the present wave of organization of the unorganized, as unskilled are primarily the ones affected. The two sections of the trade have been united and the plans are to spread the strike.

Their demands are for the 1929 wage level which ranges from \$18 per week for glass fitters' helpers to \$70 per week for sample makers with \$40 to \$50 for the majority of workers, for recognition of the union, and for reinstatement of the dismissed union men. Their wage demand being above the specifications of the code and their present wages being below the code level the strike is directed against both the N.Y. and the bosses.

—GEO. J. SAUL.

Stalinist Unionism in Philadelphia

Philadelphia.—The T. U. U. L. has just completed two of their light-hearted adventures in trade unionism here in the northeast section of Philadelphia.

They were successful in organizing and taking out on strike for 6 weeks the Fetter Rope Co., a shop with several hundred workers, and the Iellwig Silk Dyeing Co., a shop with over 400 workers. After "successfully" combating the "red scare" and holding the workers together through six grueling weeks of struggle and deprivation, both shops are back at work now for several weeks, under settlements reached through "independent unions". These are apparently company unions, started by the bosses to break up the National Textile Workers' Union, unions which the bosses intend to control through their henchmen, the foremen. T. U. U. L. has vanished into thin air.

When the so-called independent unions were starting to win over the workers on the basis that they could get them the same increases the N. T. W. was fighting for, the N. T. W. did nothing—worse still, they told the workers to sign over one by one into the other unions, and today the bosses' men have full sway in those two "independent unions".

The organization of these two shops was loudly hailed by the T. U. U. L. as a vindication of their absurd policy of "new revolutionary unions" in this third period of post-war capitalism. "Of course," the workers are ready for revolutionary unions—they know we are Communists", at least so they said in the "inner circles" of the Party. But among the workers in the daily struggle, they combated the Communist issue by going on the hunt with these masses of prejudiced workers for Communists.

"You don't know any Communists in this union," they said. One party member was instructed to deny he was a Communist. By every twist and turn they try to fly in the face of reality and prove

that the workers are ready for revolutionary unions. And the dead weight of the workers' unemployment in the class struggle gives lie, time and again, to their absurd policies. They learn nothing from defeat and continue, light-heartedly and carefree, to discredit the Communist movement.

To sum up briefly the blunders of the N. T. W. U. on the Hellig strike particularly: (1) Calling the strike adventuristically, after only a couple of weeks of organization with only about 150 to prior to going on strike, leaving the women workers to negotiate for themselves and then cutting the strike solely over the question of a 5c raise for the women workers. (2) Opportunism in hunting for Communists as though they were criminals. Also fostering illusions about the N.Y. giving the workers the "right to organize". (4) Giving the workers grandiose promises of assistance from their paper organization the W. I. R. prior to going on strike. (5) Deserting the workers when the majority were won away from their leadership.

—TOM HALLIGAN.

Striking Cotton Pickers Murdered in Cold Blood

Deliberate cold-blooded murder is the description given by attorney A. L. Wirin of the Civil Liberties Union after a four-days' investigation of the shootings in the San Joaquin Valley, Calif., during the cotton pickers' strike. Two Mexican strikers were shot and killed at Pixley and one at Arvin, a score have been injured, many seriously.

Violence was carefully planned before the strike was called, according to attorney Wirin. Itanachers, anticipating trouble organized vigilante groups, "committees of protection", which had for their object the breaking of the threatened strike. Cotton growers, so-called ranchers, were armed. It was agreed, according to the Union's report, that the workers who participated in the strike were to be threatened and terrorized into returning to work, that those who refused were to be driven wholesale out of the cotton area. All this in a program which called for the starving of the strikers and their families, and for the lynching of all "outside agitators".

JUST RECEIVED! OCTOBER RUSSIAN BULLETIN

The October issue of the BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION has just arrived. It contains a very important article on THE CLASS NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION. There are articles by comrade Trotsky and letters from the U. S. S. R. Subscriptions are \$2.50 a year; \$1.25 for 6 months, 25c single issues. There are only a few copies of this issue and comrades wishing to obtain copies should immediately write for same. Money must be sent with order.

Comrades out of town are asked to get in touch with bookstores and newsstands selling papers in the Russian language and see whether they can get them to sell the Bulletin. Please get in touch with comrade Spiegel. —K. S.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

Successful and rousing meetings have greeted comrade Arne Swaback on his national tour. Reports from Springfield, Staunton, Ill., St. Louis, Kansas City and Minneapolis will appear in subsequent issues of the Militant. The tour is now drawing to a close with the following remaining dates:

Thurs., Nov. 7th...Chicago 11l.

Fri., Nov. 9th...Dayton, Pa.

Fri., Nov. 10th...Dayton, Pa.

Militant Builders

As we approach the close of the week twenty-two more went to swell our list. That is less than the week before. But it is to be hoped that it is only the brief slackening of pace that runners take before the final sprint down the home stretch. We expect that in next week's issue we will be able to report a much larger figure. As it stands now the total number of subs since the drive opened is 102. The race is getting interesting. It is by no means a one-sided affair. The standing shows that.

The Standing:	
S. Jourard	Toronto 8
S. Hardy	Philadelphia 7
M. Abern	Bronx 6
V. R. Dunne	Minneapolis 5
G. Hedlund	Minneapolis 4
L. Goodman	Philadelphia 3
W. Konikow	Boston 3
J. Carter	Brooklyn 3
J. Fruitman	Toronto 3
C. Sheehy	Boston 3
L. Furman	San Francisco 3
L. Furman	San Francisco 2
M. Schlenoff	Bronx 2
J. Chikolovitz	Boston 2
F. Eikelberger	New Castle 2
M. Kent	Brooklyn 2
H. Capells	Manhattan 2
N. Sahr	Chicago 2

In addition to the comrades listed above who have sent in two subs there are nine listed in previous reports. And there are thirteen comrades who have sent in one sub. And there are twenty-two sent in by the Youngstown comrades.

Double the Record

In the time remaining we want to double the record made so far in the drive. A hundred subs are not much for our membership and sympathizers. As a matter of fact it is a modest goal. If we go to it with a will it should be easy. Let us prove it.

There is still opportunity to overtake the leaders and win one of the prizes: for first place—Three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; second place—two volumes; third place—one volume.

CHICAGO Celebration of the 16th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Tuesday, November 7th, 8 P. M. at

International Labor Center

2557 W. North Avenue

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

will be shown

Speakers:

Arne Swaback and Albert Goldman

"A Century of Progress"

The mental poison of the propaganda that the last 100 years has been a century of steady, visible improvement in the lot of humanity is paralleled only by the real poison that has killed workers in industry 100 years ago and today. Under the headline "22nd Worker Dies of Industrial Poison", the New York Times of Oct. 28 carries the following news item:

"East Orange, N. J., Miss Grace Fryer, 35 years old, the twenty-second victim of radium poisoning in the old Orange plant of the United States Radium Corporation, died this morning in Homeopathic Hospital here...."

"Miss Fryer, along with the other victims of the poisoning, was employed in the watch dial painting department, where many of the workers contracted the poisoning by painting luminous paint brushes with their tongues."

"Miss Fryer contracted the poison about fourteen years ago. However, until five years ago she was able to continue working, but she had to wear a brace on her back because the poison affected her bones...."

For those workers who believe, in spite of this, that we have really witnessed a century of progress we turn the scene back 100 years, change the place from New Jersey to England, the women to children and the watch factory to a match factory.

"The manufacture of lucifer matches dates from 1833, from the discovery of the method of applying phosphorus to the match itself. Since 1845 this manufacture has rapidly developed in England, and has extended especially amongst the thickly populated parts of London as well as in Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Norwich, Newcastle and Glasgow. With it has spread the form of lockjaw, which a Vienna physician in 1845 discovered to be a disease peculiar to lucifer matchmakers. Half the workers are children under eighteen. The manufacture is, on account of its unhealthiness and unpleasantness, in such bad odour that only the most miserable part of the labouring class, half-starved widows and so forth, deliver up their children to it, the ragged, half-starved, untalented children."

"Of the witnesses that Commissioner White examined (1893), 270 were under 18, 50 under 10 only 8, and 5 only 6 years old. A range of the working day from 12 to 14 or 15 hours, night-labour, irregular meal times, meals for the most part taken in the very workrooms that are pestilent with phosphorus. Dante would have found the worst horrors of his Inferno surpasses in this manufacture."

Taken from "Capital" by Karl Marx; Vol. I, pages 721 and 272.

An Open Letter to Browder: On Hooliganism

HOOIGANISM IN CHICAGO

To the Central Committee
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
Earl Browder, Secretary

Dear Sir:

Last Sunday afternoon, October 22, I attended a meeting of the Left Opposition in their own headquarters, called under their own auspices, at which comrade Arne Swaback was scheduled to speak on Germany. Before the meeting could start, a horde of some 250 "Communists"—members of Section 5, District 8—invaded the hall under the leadership of their Section Organizer, Jack Spiegel, and of a member of the District Committee, David Pindexter. On their own admission, they had come fresh from mobilization caucuses for the express purpose of breaking up the meeting. They precipitated a riot in which literature and furniture were destroyed, workers were beaten up and trampled upon, and such a commotion developed that the police came into the hall from the street.

I have been in the revolutionary

movement all my life and have participated in many demonstrations, some of them bloody and brutal, but I have never felt that I was facing so vicious and irresponsible and anti-social a mob as the one which came last Sunday under the banner of the Communist party.

I wonder if you as a leader of the Communist Party realize all that such a thing means? A party which conducts itself in the manner of the most degraded section of the very lumpen-proletariat—plus from the decayed and degenerate body of a rotting social system—can neither win healthy elements to its ranks nor lead the revolution when the moment arrives; on the contrary, it must become a feeder of Fascist forces. A party which cannot raise the intellectual and moral level of the proletariat but on the contrary trains fine elements down to the depth of gangsters has no right to use the name Communist.

Is it too much for you and your party to learn that a meeting of workers, come together to hear anyone at all, must not under any circumstances be physically attacked

and broken up? Or is the anticipation that you can only hope to impress the American proletariat this way since you have so signally failed to impress them ideologically?

Several months ago, I severed my connection with the Communist party (after twelve years of membership) over occurrences in Germany. At that time I stated that the excuse offered by the C. P. that the German party was not rooted in the factories needed further explanation because a party can only be a really functioning Communist party when its composition is mainly of the working proletariat. Maybe last Sunday's event throws some light on the question. If the leadership of the German party trained its members not to win other workers by ideological conviction but by destroying the meetings they organized and hoped to conduct, then a revolutionist knows why the Communist party of Germany was not "rooted in the masses."

Sincerely,
LYDIA BEIDEL.

Militant Resentment Against Fakers in the Pocketbook Union

In October 14 issue of the Militant the writer gave an analysis about the present situation in the Pocketbook Makers Union. Now I will describe what took place for the last two weeks in our union. As I have stated in the Militant, our "Fraternal Club" administration did not call a membership meeting for about four months. On October 19 they called a meeting at Stuyvesant High School, about two thousand workers were present to this meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to force a \$10 tax on the workers to the ten percent tax dues they already took for months from the members without their approval.

When our manager Stein, gave his report and tried his best to show what wonders he and his gang are doing for the workers in one town after another. The workers did pay any attention to his report. He finished his report with an appeal for a \$10 tax in order to enlarge the staff of organizers. The membership accepted his appeal very coldly. The administration felt they will have a hard job to put over the tax, so they became desperate. Then another star came forward and gave a report, this was Louis Waldman, of the S. P. and lawyer of the union. His report dealt with the Code. He showed how the Industrial Council, with whom the union has an agreement refused to draw up a joint code with the union to present at Washington. After he, and the union officials maneuvered for months with the bosses. The employers support the open shop code for \$12-\$18 a week, and refused to raise wages, or reduce hours. In spite of the fact we are working 40 hours a week, and over 2,000 workers are idle in New York. He concluded that the code will have to be fought out in Washington, instead of mobilizing the workers for a fight with the employers.

As soon as Waldman finished his speech, one of the organizers Harry Kestine, who was one to keep order in the hall started a fight with a worker. The worker later he was beaten up because he refused at a shop meeting of Morris White shop to vote for the ten dollar tax. This shows the kind of organizers we have and for whom the "Fraternal Club" gang wants a \$10 tax. When the fight started a riot call was given by the superintendent of the hall. Within a few minutes, about 25 police came into the meeting place. If the police had not come in people would have been injured and trampled to death. Then the workers refused to meet with the slugs and demanded those who started the fight should leave the hall. Under such circumstances it was impossible to continue the meeting. All realized that including Waldman. The "Fraternal Club" chairman adjourned the meeting. Waldman had a chance to see how organizers in a socialist union behave, and what democracy means in a socialist union.

The next day the "Yellow Forward", which defends all labor racketeers came out with a three column headline "Communists Break Up Pocketbook Workers Meeting." The "Fraternal Club" gang knew the workers would not vote for the tax so they provoked a fight in order to break up the meeting. The underworld will be better organized for the next meeting. If our manager Stein, could break up a section meeting, why can not one of his organizers make a better job and break up a membership meeting?

It is significant for the Pocketbook Workers to know that 3 weeks ago the so-called fake progressives called a symposium and David Myer, in his speech said the "Fraternal Club" administration are crooks, and traitors, and must be ousted from the union. David Myer, and the other fakers declared themselves in love to the "Rank and File", and talked about united front with the "Rank and File" to oust the administration. Two weeks later the same fake progressives who divided the union with the "Fraternal Club" a few months ago again voted at the Joint Council meeting for a \$10 tax not

as delegates of the council, but as paid officials which they could not vote. Moreover, Brok, one of their fakers signed a statement in the Day, that the Communists broke up the meeting. Let this be a warning to the rank and file that these fakers must be severely attacked till they will be forced to break with the administration.

On October 26, another meeting of the Pocketbook Makers Union took place at Stuyvesant High School. The manager of the union, Stein, reported that the administration was not able to proceed with his work unless it got another \$10 tax added to the ten percent tax it already collected from the workers.

A heated discussion on the \$10 tax followed. Rank and file speakers, one after another, attacked the administration. They showed that the administration is not doing anything to improve the conditions of the workers in New York and out of town. They also pointed out that the administration did not make any attempt to relieve the unemployment situation in our industry. The Left wing urged the workers to vote down the ten dollar tax.

After a two hour battle on the floor a vote was taken. The teller's count was as follows: for the tax, 572 votes; against the tax, 428 votes. The fake progressives, as usual voted with the administration.

The rank and file must concentrate all its energies on ousting the "Fraternal Club" administration.

—N. D. F.

"Five Cents a Bar..."

The next time you stop to buy a bar of Hershey's chocolate stop to think a minute about the Cuban workers slaving on Hershey's plantations, railroads and mills. Here is some information you want find on the wrapper.

"The Hershey sugar refinery is the largest on the island (of Cuba) and is one of the most modern and best equipped in the world."

"Its melting capacity is one million pounds of sugar per day. Its output is a very superior grade of granulated sugar, put up in bags of five, one hundred and three hundred and twenty-five pounds which are sold for export as well as for local consumption." (The dock workers in Cuba went on strike last summer against the unbearable weights of these bags.)

"The development of the Hershey holdings in Cuba and the rapid increase in them are remarkable. Beginning in 1916 with the purchase of ten thousand acres and the leasing of another ten thousand acres—the total acreage owned and controlled (today) is one hundred and thirteen thousand acres."

"In addition to the sugar properties, the Hershey interests in Cuba include the Hershey Cuban Railway and the Hershey Terminal Railroad."

"The Hershey Cuban Railway is a modern public service line between the cities of Havana and Matanzas. It is electrified throughout, power being supplied from a large and modern electric plant at Central Hershey (Central means plantation. Incidentally this power plant supplies all of the current for the city of Matanzas and the numerous small towns in the vicinity of Central Hershey." (The Cuban Review, February 1927.)

Compared to some of the American railroads "interested" in Cuba, like the Chase National Bank, the Hershey company is a piker. The same capitalists grind the Cuban and American workers down to a coolie level of existence. Together they can put an end to it.

BRONX OPEN FORUM

FRIDAY, November 3rd: THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS—How Should the Workers Vote?

Speaker: TOM STAMM

8 P. M. Sharp at

535 East 146th St.

FRIDAY, November 10th: LYNCHINGS: The Problem of the Negro Worker.

Speaker: GEORGE SAUL

8 P. M. sharp at the headquarters: 535 East 146th St.

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Rousing Meeting Aids Drive to Organize Restaurant Workers

New York.—The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, has intensified its organizational drive during the last two weeks.

As we reported in the Militant for October 21, the bosses are eager to defeat this drive by resorting to the well-known scabbing machinery—that is, the formation of a company union. Besides the Geneva Club, they have attempted, quite unsuccessfully, to line up through their agents, the chefs, the Vatel Club. At a meeting of this club held on October 19, the executive committee attempted to pass a motion concerning the formation of a Federation.

This Federation scheme is an attempt of the Hotel Men's Ass'n. to amalgamate the various language fraternities of cooks and waiters into one body, in order to establish a company union. Eighty-nine percent of the Vatel Club members voted down this motion and every other motion of the executive committee because it was plain to all members that these motions were aimed toward the formation of a company union.

Our union immediately issued a leaflet to the International Cooks Association (German Cooks) informing its members what took place in the Vatel Club and warned them that a similar attempt will be made by their Executive Committee. A minority committee of the Geneva Club is busy explaining to the members the scabbing role of their leaders.

In view of these developments the Executive Board, the Organization Committee and the Officers of the Union are working in full speed in educating the members of the Union and activating them in order to bring to its ranks every worker employed in the Hotels. Already a good beginning towards a real industrial union has been made. Many housemen, chambermaids, laundrywomen, etc., have entered the organization.

For the benefit of those Hotel and Restaurant Workers who were unable to attend the three afternoon mass meetings the Union held an Evening Meeting last Friday, October 20th at Bryant Hall. The hall was packed. Organizers Constant and Lyons spoke about the activities of the Union and Delegates from the Waldorf and Lincoln Hotels spoke about the kitchen and dining room infernos. Comrades Cannon and Gitlow spoke for the necessity of unionism. Their speeches were frequently interrupted by stormy applause.

The Union is planning to acquire a large new headquarters where mass meetings and shop meetings will be held.

Due to lack of space we have been forced to withhold several important articles. One by Albert Gitlow on the "Two Internationals", a communication from comrade Harry Strang on the "Boycott of Hitler Germany", as well as a story by comrade Kogan of L. A. on Soviet diplomacy.

CHICAGO FORUM LECTURE: CONTEMPORARY REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN THE ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

Comrade R. W. Lichtman

on

Sunday Evening, Nov. 26 1933

International Labor Center

2557 West North Avenue

Admission 10 Cents Unemployed Free

QUESTIONS & DISCUSSION

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THE MILITANT

124 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

League Activities

CANNON SPEAKS AT NEWARK

Newark.—On Thursday, Oct. 26, comrade Cannon spoke in Newark on the need for a new party and international.

Early in the day one of our comrades reported that party members were ordered to boycott our meeting. Comrade Cannon's talk was unusually well received and the numerous questions kept the alert and attentive until 11:45.

—G. K.

STATEMENT ON THE UNITED FRONT ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION

At a time when Fascism is commencing its brazen recruiting campaign in America, when the degenerate elements of a capitalist system torn by four years of crisis talk of instituting here the same bloody regime that has conquered in Italy and in Germany, it is extremely urgent that every working class organization learn the importance of participating in force in every single anti-Fascist action or demonstration. Such demonstrations form the preliminary groundwork for the establishment of a broad anti-fascist working class united front against Fascism. Precisely because of the importance of this movement toward united action of the workers, through their organizations, against a threat that may gather impetus at tremendous speed, it is necessary to condemn those organizations that give perfunctory lip-service to the cause but actually sabotage it.

The call of the Italian Unitarian Anti-Fascist Committee for the demonstration before the Italian Consulate on Saturday, October 28th was answered by the Communist Party, the I. W. O., the C.P.A., the J. W. O., the Socialist party and the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). All agreed to participate. Nevertheless, aside from a large banner of the I. W. O. and one or two delegates from each of the organizations, none of them took any part in the "mass" meeting and parade, outside of the L. A. (O.). Meager as are our present forces, we nevertheless formed the bulk of the demonstration.

The sabotage of the official Communist party must be vigorously denounced. It is in line with the Stalinist tactic of ignoring any working class action not under its direct and immediate control. The sabotage of this demonstration is also in line with the official party's quiescence motivated by the desire not to embarrass the recognition negotiations between the U. S. and the Soviet Union.

The Socialist party follows its usual conduct of avoiding any militant intervention in this or any other phase of the class struggle. It is too busy at this moment seeking municipal offices in the elections. No doubt if a few socialist aldermen are elected, they will see to it that Fascism is interdicted in America....

We cannot over-emphasize the gravity of the situation unfolding in the C. S. It has every potentiality of danger for the working class in the rise of Fascism. There will be further occasions in the profound and increasing struggles ahead for the establishing of a real united front against Fascism. We appeal to the workers in all working class organizations to give their whole-hearted support to this movement. At no distant period it may become a matter of life and death.

—New York City Committee Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

YOUNG SPARTACUS SUB DRIVE

The subscription campaign for the YOUNG SPARTACUS is on! Our goal is the doubling of our subscription list, the stabilization of the paper and a semi-monthly YOUNG SPARTACUS in the near future. The closing date of the drive is December 1st.

The YOUNG SPARTACUS has proven to be our best organizer. We must save the paper so that we can go ahead with our work. Up to now we have been compelled to function with very little funds. The paper was unable to appear regularly and this was a great shortcoming in our work. Unless we can raise the necessary funds for the paper, it will remain in danger. Let us seriously take up the task and make the drive a success so that our YOUNG SPARTACUS may continue its existence as the propagandist and organizer of a youth Communist movement in this country.

YOUNG SPARTACUS lays down the challenge to the Spartacus Youth Clubs. It is up to you! You can decide whether we are going to expand our paper or not. Get after expired subs! Get new subs! Every member of the Spartacus Youth Club a subscriber! Every member to get at least one sub! To the club getting the highest average in this campaign will be given a bronze relief of Lenin.

The drive is under way. So far the score stands as follows:

New York \$1.00
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This is only the beginning. Let's go! Send subs to:

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ON THE TRADE

Letters from Germany

The Growing Dissatisfaction of the Middle Classes

Only the fanatics of the Nazi movement are satisfied with the government. There are a few others, but they are the ones who lounge in the chairs of ejected trade union bureaucrats, those who make the streets unsafe every day in their capacity as Fascist factory cell directors, as bonzes (swivel chair bureaucrats) of the Consumers' Cooperatives, walking about in natty uniforms. They have much to do. They must speak at factory meetings, threaten the unorganized with firing if they don't join the Brown Trade unions, see to it that membership dues are paid regularly, because the Third Reich needs a lot of money.

That can also be seen on the Sunday collection tours. There is the Beggar for the Adolf Hitler Fund, for the Work Creation Fund, the Party Convention Fund and many others. At the same time a press campaign is in full swing against the mendicants. The ordinary citizen pays for the first fund rather generously, but when the second and third come along, he begins to grumble. Of course, he is not alone. That is too dangerous and means prison in the Third Reich. Not to give is also very dangerous. He is a foe of the government who does not drop a coin into its alms-bag. One has to give. The press reports that this or that factory has made a voluntary contribution. But woe to the worker who fails to contribute. On the next morning he will be pounding the pavements. There are plenty of Storm Troopers and their friends to take his place.

Often some person from North Germany comes down our way in search of work. In most cases, such a person has seen in some paper, which he draws out from his pocket, that the region here is cleared of unemployment. He is soon enlightened. The swindle of the "Successful Battle to Provide Work" is easily exposed before every worker. In the factories there is a great deal of underground grumbling, especially on pay day, when the Nazi "coordinators" make all kinds of deductions from the pay envelope.

The middle layers of the population are also beginning to sober up. The great and almost unlimited faith in Hitler among these people received its first blow through the behavior of the government with regard to the department stores and the consumers' cooperatives. The feigned struggle of Hitler against both of these institutions had brought him the sympathies of all the small storekeepers. But after all their independent fighting organizations have been dissolved and reorganized into professional troops, many of these good little men, storekeepers and artisans, have seen the light. Then, of course, there is the failure of the boastfully promised economic upturn. The daily business turnover does not increase when the workers' wages remain stable, and especially when the wages are reduced by all kinds of "fund" rackets. In the meantime prices keep mounting. Certain local catastrophes also contribute their part to the sentiment. There is the case of the big Stuttgart Gymnasium Field Day, or that of the huge demonstration at the border, near Konstanz. The subconsciously ordered all kinds of extra stock, but the Reichswehr moved on with field kitchens and served participants and tourists with 10 pfennig means and thus nearly bankrupted the former. Naturally the sentiment of the middle classes is becoming more unsympathetic every day.

The tax situation has also remained the same. All sorts of new taxes and imposts have been fixed on the peasants and the middle classes. Municipal taxes have been imposed with which to pay for the newly ordered steel helmets which the Storm Troopers are wearing. Soon, no doubt, new taxes will be thought up with which to buy them guns and cannon from the hard-earned pennies of workers and small bourgeois.

We have succeeded, in a whole series of localities, in forming groups of former social democrats and Communists. Our material meets with spontaneous applause and approval. The will to learn from the mistakes of the two old parties who brought about the present heavy defeat, and, in spite of all the great difficulties, to proceed with the building of new, genuine Communist party—exists among all the comrades. The comrades are also agreed among themselves that the same road will have to be taken internationally. The Paris Conference is regarded by all as a hopeful beginning for a new era of the revolutionary labor movement.

Since we only attract reliable people and go about our work as cautiously as possible we have not had up to now any losses whatever. We know that the process of the disintegration of the mass basis of Fascism can last for a long time. Even the most die-hard Stalinist no longer believes in revolution for October. But the fact remains that the process of Fascist disintegration is making progress in all the cities. But the immense pressure of the terroristic regime will yet prolong the existence of the Hitler government. We therefore have plenty of time to build up and to entrench our young organization. Parallel with the decline in the mass influence of Fascism, the influence and the strength of our organization must grow. If this process continues at the present

rate, then Fascism will become within a relatively short time, a pure police-bureaucratic regime, divorced from the working population and the middle classes and regarded as such by the latter. After that stage, when the sentiments of the masses become transformed into direct hostility to the Hitler regime, we will have to succeed in giving the mass struggle direction and objective, in removing from it every disorienting influence.

From Westphalia

The C. P. G.—Its activity restricts itself in the main to dues collection. At rare intervals mimeographed leaflets or a paper are issued. If these publications did not contain a slogan near the end calling for affiliation to the C. P. G., one would think they were issued by indifferent workers. So devoid are they of political guidance. Less than 10 percent of the party nuclei meet at all. There is no party member now who will claim that the party's policy at the time of Hitler's coming into power was correct. They recognize the guilt of the bureaucracy, but are not yet clear wherein the error lay. We hope to clear up this confusion about the "general line" with our propaganda material. Most of the party members are convinced that a new leadership is necessary. Functionaries often refuse to distribute the literature that comes from the center—not out of cowardice, but because of the "non-sense" and the "bull" which is "handed out" in it. There are some however, who say: better rotten stuff than nothing at all, they distribute material which they themselves will not take seriously.

The C. P. O. (Brandenburg)—Their local group have directed a written protest to their national leadership against the "general line" methods contained in the article "Against Trotskyite Liquidationism" (which appeared in June issue of their central organ (Gegen den Strom). In this protest they say that with such stupid remarks as in the article one cannot and should not carry on politically against the Trotskyists. If Trotsky represents a false point of view, it is necessary to criticize objectively, without sinking in the level of "line loyalty" (Stalinism).

British Labour Party Masks Support to Capitalism at Annual Conference

Edinburgh.—Six hundred delegates, representing Divisional Labour Parties, trade unions and Socialist bodies, were in attendance at the annual conference of the British Labour Party held at Haddington in the first week of October. Since the General Election disaster of 1931, when the masses expressed their disgust at the treachery of the Labour Government by swinging over to the Conservatives, the Executive of the Party have been busy upon the production of a new programme calculated to give the impression that the passing of Ramsay MacDonald has opened up a new era in the history of the Labour Party and that it has passed from its Liberal-Labour stage to one of complete Socialism. In this task, the Executive has been embarrassed by the cautious trade unions on the one hand and by the somewhat careless statements of the Socialist League upon the other.

The trade unions dislike "left" phrases which tend to endanger their craft interests while the leaders of the Socialist League, composed of lawyers, journalists and middle-class intellectuals, glory in the use of words which have been culled from the text-books of their Austrian "Marxist" friends. As previously reported in the Militant, the Labour Party Executive has warned the Socialist League against the too dangerous play with the dictatorship question, and the League was now bringing its proposals to the floor of the Conference, a battle royal was expected. But as will be revealed below, the Executive held their hand in the interests of unity.

Fritz Adler Speaks

Before the opening of the Conference the assembled delegates were addressed by Doctor Fritz Adler, who declared on behalf of the Austrian Social Democrats that "concentration camps are being prepared for Socialists in Austria, but we will call for a general strike if the trade unions are banned or if the Social Democratic Party is made illegal." This statement was loudly cheered by the delegates who later passed a resolution pledging support to the Austrian Socialists in their struggle against Fascism. In opening the Conference, the chairman, Mr. Compston, also warned the delegates against the danger of Fascism but apart from vague statements upon the desire of the workers' movement to maintain democracy, there was no mention of any policy calculated to defeat Fascism. Having aired their views upon Fascism, the Conference then got down to business and first ruled out an emergency resolution upon the Leipzig trial and then banned a list of Communist organizations such as the Anti-War Council upon the grounds that they were being used to disrupt the Labour Party.

Labour Party "Socialism"

As three Labour Party candidates, as well as the Labour Lord Marley, are members of the Anti-

Towards the Creation of a Fourth International

A Record of Progress on the Road Towards the Reconstitution of the Revolutionary Vanguard of the World Proletariat

The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland joins the International Left Opposition.

On September 21, the Plenum of the International Left Opposition decided to accept the request of the R. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland) for affiliation with the I. L. O. The R. S. P. was founded in 1929. Its fundamental line of policy coincides in the main with its declaration of principles in 1932, which bears a distinctly Communist character.

There are 950 members on its rolls who are grouped together in some 30 local organizations. The party stands in closest contact with the N. A. S., a trade union center with 25,000 enrolled members. Both organizations are headed by comrade H. Sneevliet.

H. Sneevliet is not an unknown figure in the international Communist movement, particularly because of the revolutionary activity he displayed even before the war, and during the war, in the Far East. The R. S. P. has been publishing a weekly paper, *Baanbrecker*, ever since its inception. It has a circulation of 3,000.

It is interesting to observe the development of the party as reflected in the parliamentary elections. In 1929 the party received 21,000 votes and no mandate. In 1931, in the provincial elections covering 3 provinces, it received 20,000 votes and 2 mandates. In the same year, during the municipal elections in 50 localities, it received 31,000 votes and 12 representatives. In the parliamentary elections of 1933, H. Sneevliet, who at the time was imprisoned for his energetic defense of the martyrs of "Seven Provinces" (The reference is to the revolutionary sailors who participated in the "mutiny" of one of the vessels of the Dutch merchant marine—Ed.), was elected to parliament with 48,000 votes.

Since the summer of 1932, the R. S. P. has been working together in united front action with the O. S. P. (the Independent Socialist Party of Holland). The develop-

ment within the O. S. P. which led to their signing the common declaration of the Four Organizations (I. L. O., S. A. P.—German Socialist Workers Party—R. S. P. and O. S. P.) at the Paris Conference, presage a unification of R. S. P. and O. S. P. in the immediate future.

The I. L. O. extends warm greetings to the R. S. P. entering its ranks. It means the addition of a large corps of tested proletarian fighters to our cause and makes possible the further extension and penetration of the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

THOUSANDS OF DUTCH WORKERS HAIL THE NEW INTER- NATIONAL

In the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O. S. P.) which had 7,000 members on its rolls, the participation in the building of the new international has been unanimously accepted by the Executive.

All of the discussion on the Paris Conference and the alliance with Trotsky has raised a deep interest outside the ranks of the party.

The joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the O. S. P. and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Sneevliet) has yielded as its first result, the decision for close collaboration in all phases of working class policy. Moreover, the joint meeting accepted the principle of the necessity of fusing the two organizations into one revolutionary party. At the next congress, which is to convene in the Christmas interval, definite proposals for fusion will be voted on. It is the first attempt in many years to create real revolutionary unity. It has already aroused great enthusiasm, as is apparent from the many successful mass meetings held all over the country.

The *Baanbrecker*, organ of the R. S. P., carries an account of the joint meeting of the two organizations held in Amsterdam as a reply to the Fascist demonstration. The hall taken was much too small. Two meetings had to be held and hun-

dreds of workers had to be turned away. An exceptional acclaim greeted the speeches of Sneevliet, Schmidt, Schip and Pikhshorn, who traced the course of the proposed new international.

In Belgium Our Belgian comrades have entered negotiations with the League of Communist Internationalists for the fusion of the two organizations as basis for the creation of a new Communist party.

FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

A call for an international congress of all revolutionary youth organizations to consider the problems of the formation of an international vanguard of the working class youth has been sent out by the youth organization of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, to be held in Amsterdam on December 9 and 10.

Most of the youth organizations invited to this conference are connected in some way to the Paris Conference of last August. These organizations are either revolutionary socialist or independent Communist.

The youth sections of the International Left Opposition have been invited to participate in this Conference and will send delegates to it.

The bankruptcy of the Comintern and the treachery of the Social Democracy has brought in its train a frightful degeneration of the Young Communist International and the Young Socialist International. They are incapable to organize and educate the proletarian youth in the world. A new revolutionary youth international must be organized. The Amsterdam Conference will be the first step.

Beginning with this issue, the department "Towards the Creation of a Fourth International" will be a regular feature of *The Militant*. It will help to keep American workers adequately informed about every step taken in the redressing of revolutionary internationalism.—Ed.

Dollfuss and Hitler

Recent Changes in the Austrian Government

The article below is an extract from the Bulletin published illegally by our Austrian comrades, and bearing the date, October 1st. Since then, the attempt against Dollfuss has clearly proved that the Nazis are not thinking of relaxing their offensive, but on the contrary of intensifying it in order as quickly as possible—before the winter—to get a decision in their favor.

At this time Austria is passing through a stage analogous to the Brüning-Paen-Schlicher period in Germany or the Held period in Bavaria, that is to say, a semi-Bonapartist dictatorship, which maintains itself by the reciprocal neutralization of the proletarian camp and the Fascist camp. . . . "However, Austrian 'Bonapartism' today, like German 'Bonapartism' yesterday can have only an episodic character, by filling the short interval that separates the democratic regime from the Fascist regime."

These words were written by comrade Trotsky in March of this year, in his article "Austria is Next in Order". Many left social democrats thought then that it was incorrect to consider the Dollfuss regime as a Bonapartist regime. However, the development that has taken place during the last six months has confirmed our Marxist-Leninist analysis word for word. This statement is not made by us because we want to appear as having been correct, but by the necessity of clearly understanding the present turn in Austrian politics, a turn which has been undertaken by the new formation of the Dollfuss cabinet.

Let us express ourselves clearly: the shifts in the Dollfuss cabinet signifies the end of Austrian Bonapartism and the beginning of decisive convulsions.

The "Catholic day" and the demonstration of the "patriotic front" sought to show the "strength" of the Dollfuss government to the external world and to support the former. This attempt to deceive the foreign world on the weakness of the government and to save the latter, has miscarried in face of the internal contradictions of the Bonapartist governmental combination and it has only strengthened

the discussion on its fate. The entire world has been able to see the real weakness of the Dollfuss government by viewing the struggles that have taken place within its own ranks after the "Catholic Day", which led to the counter-demonstration of the Heimwehr and the Landbund which refused to liquidate themselves in the "patriotic front". By that, the attempt to save the Dollfuss government has miscarried, the governmental combination has fallen.

Instead of leading to a rapprochement, Dollfuss brought about the strengthening of the contradictions, especially between the Heimwehr and the Landbund. What is still more important is the fact the split also cuts into the Christian-social party, which is the strongest governmental party and in which a Fascist and a reactionary-democratic wing are struggling. It is in that that the internal weakness of the Dollfuss regime consists.

But in the course of recent weeks, the general weakness of the Dollfuss government becomes more and more apparent. All the governmental measures have not helped in subduing the Nazis; on the contrary, the Nazi danger has grown. (The social democratic councillor Schmitt was quite correct in stating this fact.) The state apparatus, even the Executive power, up to the highest ranks, is completely infested with Nazis; it has become very shaky for Dollfuss.

From this point of view the foundations of the Dollfuss government are completely undermined. But on the other side, there is still the working class. Although its strength has been weakened it is not yet broken. The most important proletarian organizations are still intact. The government is directly threatened from this side to the degree that the situation becomes more intense.

The ground shakes under Dollfuss' feet. What maintains the homogeneity of his camp is the common fear of the Nazis and the lure of the social democracy, that is the working class, through the impoverishment of which Austrian capitalism like German capitalism tries to improve its situation. The attitude of the Dollfuss government is dictated by the dependence of Austrian finance capital on France especially, and on England. The severity of the crisis pushes it in rage against the working class.

At present, the governmental bases which is being undermined in favor of the Nazi camp, forces Dollfuss to take decisive measures. If he wants to maintain himself, then he is forced by all means to modify, to change the present relationship of forces.

His attempt to suppress the Nazi movement has miscarried. Therefore there remains only one means to save himself: the destruction of the proletarian organizations, that is to say, especially the social democracy and the trade unions. If Dollfuss takes this path—and no other remains for him—then the period of Bonapartism is terminated and the final, decisive struggle begins.

That is where we stand now. The new Dollfuss cabinet means that the Fascist wing of the Christian-Socialists has stripped itself of pretenses. Their party leader, the reactionary Vaughan, had to leave, like Winkler, the Landbund man, because while being for a reactionary reform of the constitution, they were not in favor of the proscription of the social democracy, fearing the eventualities that it would cause even in their own parties.

This fear is quite justified. But the Heimwehrs, who are in favor of the "perfect Fascist state, on the Italian model", have remained. That means that the proscription of the social democracy and the trade unions is not far off. This is no longer a question of weeks (or even of days). The dynamics of development presses the new Dollfuss cabinet not to unravel the knot but to cut it.

Will it succeed in striding down the working class? In order that they do not succeed, the proletariat must detach itself from their cowardly, treacherous leadership. Can Dollfuss drive off the Fascist danger? We do not believe so. All the conditions of development indicate that their time will come and that in the last analysis they will triumph over Stahrenberg, Fey and Dollfuss.

One thing is certain: Bonapartism has served its time. For the working class, the hour has come when it is a matter of daring everything in order not to lose everything.

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The Agrarian Question in Mexico in the Light of the Coming Revolt

Every effort will be made by the Calles-Rodriguez regime to prevent the Mexican peasants from rearming themselves, and to disarm those still in possession of rifles. During the last four uprisings the peasants participated on the side of the government against the counter revolution. The next uprising will find them aligned against the government which has gone over bag and baggage to the counter revolution. During the past revolts the armed peasant guerrillas proved themselves more than a match for the troops of the regular army many of which supported the rebellions. They are therefore a factor to be reckoned with in the coming events.

For many years the Mexican peasants and their organizations have played an important role in the country's politics, always however as tools of the different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political groups which paid them off with broken promises or a few rusty guns. The very nature and composition of the peasantry and its organizations naturally prevented them from at any time, playing a really independent role.

In 1926 most of the scattered local, regional, and state organizations were federated into the National Peasants League, at which all tendencies were represented. This congress did much to cement the relations between the Communists, the peasants and the bourgeois government. The Communist Party dissolved itself into the peasant movement, and rather than building an opposition within it, served as a bridge to keep the more radical elements among the poor ejidatarios and peons from resisting the policies of the rancheros and petty politicians in the leadership. These same leading functionaries of the National Peasants League (Galvan and Co.) were mostly all members of the Communist party. They did very much as they pleased; Tejada, then Minister of the Interior, supported the organization with Calvan on the payroll; and the party dragged along in their trail, boasting in its reports to the Comintern of "our peasant organization of 300,000 members". But this was only one episode in the opportunist history of the Mexican C. P. Party publications were maintained by government officials and the party's principal footholds in the labor unions (Jalisco, Tampulipas) were owed primarily to the support of the local politicians who used the Communists as a counter-weight to the reformists of the CROM who were at that time very powerful in national politics through the Partido Laborista.

In 1929, with the inauguration of the "Third Period", and after the failure of the march days (discussion in the party on armed insurrection which terminated in support to the government) the splits commenced. Galvan finally broke away, and denounced the party. Thereafter there was a series of splits and counter-splits, expulsions and counter-expulsions in the pea-

sant organizations. Galvan meanwhile has gone to his just reward, but his tradition remains in the main current of the peasant movement which, under the name "National Peasants League" (Unión Nacional de Campesinos), serves today as the mainstay of Tejada's political apparatus. Another section is dominated by the National Revolutionary Party or local politicians affiliated to it, while still other fragments are affiliated in the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, and a Left wing peasant movement dominated by the Communist party.

It has been seen that Colonel Adalberto Tejada, has for many years exercised great influence over large sections of the Mexican peasantry. With the approaching 1934 presidential elections in sight, Tejada is making a play for power. As principal instigator of the split within the P. N. R. out of which the "Left Socialist Party" was born, he appears as sponsor of a radical "proletarian-agrarian" program. At the same time, he is seeking unprincipled alliances with other political groups (Soto y Gama, "Partido Laborista", "Partido Antifascista", etc.) which are if anything farther to the right than the P. N. R.

There is every probability that large sections of the peasantry and even of the proletariat will support Tejada because of his "radicalism". Meanwhile the Communist Party considers Tejada as the "main danger" in much the same manner that "Social-fascism" was considered before the advent of Hitler.

This is the second of a series of articles on political developments in Mexico. In the next issue, we shall attempt an analysis of Tejada's "Left Socialist Party".

TERZAN'S RELEASE

New York City, Nov. 1.—Demand for the release of Athos Terzan, young anti-Fascist accused of killing his comrade Anthony Fierro, and prosecution of the "real and known perpetrators of the crime," was made on District Attorney Charles S. Golden of Queens County today in a letter sent to him by Edmund J. Phillips of Philadelphia, Spanish-American War veteran and former organizer for the Khaki Shirts of America.

Mr. Phillips' letter was made public through the Terzan Defense Committee. The Committee contends that Fierro actually was killed by a member of the Fascist Khaki Shirts while defecating a friend who was being ejected from a meeting of that organization in Astoria, L. I., on July 14.

It was Mr. Phillips to whom the committee referred October 25, when it charged that Mr. Golden had failed to make a promised new inquiry into the Fierro killing, and declared that "one man in Philadelphia who has vital information about the case, and whose name has long been known to the District Attorney's office has never been visited by any one representing Mr. Golden."

FROM SOUTH BEND, IND.:

"The change, printing more articles directly interesting the workers in their daily struggles, will do much more good. I believe your orientation is leading the Left Opposition in the correct direction . . ."

The Militant

Published Every Week by the
Communist League of America (Opposition)
 126 East 16th Street
 New York City

Volume VI, No. 50 (Whole No. 197)

Saturday, November 4, 1933

Editorial Board

Martin Abern James P. Cannon
 Max Shachtman M. Spector A. Swaback

The Illinois Miners

THINGS are happening very rapidly in the Illinois mine fields and the fate of the Progressive Miners' organization will not long remain undecided. The magnificent movement of the Illinois miners, which arose with such bright promise out of the fires of struggle, has been caught in a net of internal contradictions which directly threaten to strangle it. The enemies from without could not break the union; the greatest danger comes from within.

Percy and Keck are leading the union on the path of Lewisism, and their pace becomes faster every day. They joined in the ballyhoo for the NIA and went, hats in hand, to beg crumbs from the capitalist politicians. They are stifling every sentiment of militancy in the ranks. They have invoked the aid of state authorities to suppress radical meetings and now they are expelling Communists and other militants from the union in Lewis style. In every respect they are trying to demonstrate that the P. M. A. is different from the organization of Lewis only in name. Percy and Keck are preparing the way to repeat the sell-out of Walker—i.e., indeed, the actual deal has not already been made behind the scenes.

But they have a long way to go before they can succeed in destroying the movement against Lewisism that has been hardened in such desperate struggle and sealed by so much martyr blood. Powerful forces for resistance are latent in the rank and file of the P. M. A. The next developments of the class struggle will work to strengthen them. What is lacking is an organization of the class conscious and militant elements and a leadership worthy of the task. From the very beginning of the new movement we pointed out the necessity of a firmly organized Left wing in the union. The delay has been costly for the miners and for the union. Now the dangers of another debacle have accumulated and press on every side. There is not much time left.

The signal of a rising reactionary current in the union was flashed months ago when the officials of the P. M. A. started a "red scare" in the organization. That was the time for the militants to awaken to the internal danger, to recognize the unalloyed sign of the employers' class influence at work and to organize their struggle to preserve the union against it. Unfortunately they lacked the leaders for such a fight.

Those who were expected to speak out clearly, kept silent. Instead of fighting they retreated. Instead of denouncing the bosses' agents in the officialdom and defending the policy of class struggle militancy—which was the real point of the attack—Allard and others responded with shame-faced denials of the reactionary "accusations" on their own part, and the expression of mealy-mouthed liberal sentiments about the rights of others.

By the miserable capitulatory attitude before the reactionary offensive they paved the way for all that has followed. The fact that Allard himself was promptly removed as editor of the *Progressive Miner*, and thus became the first victim of the treacherous bargain of Percy and Keck with the coal operators, does not alter or mitigate the responsibility he bears for the success of their treacherous policy. And there is no reason to conceal it. The most necessary thing now is to see clearly what has happened and what made it possible, and to tell the truth about it.

Half-and-half radicalism, the policy and practice of pseudo-progressivism, played here once again its characteristic role as an aid to reaction. Allard personified this policy and practice and, from all appearances, has not learned anything from the evil results it has brought. People who lack prin-

ciple suffer from a disease that is very hard to cure. The fact that Allard at one time passed as a supporter of the Communist League makes it incumbent on us, in the interest of truth and clarity, to mention him specifically in this connection and to say that the course he followed had nothing in common with the policy of the League.

We shall take occasion to return again to the Illinois mining question and to set forth again in greater detail the Communist opinion in regard to it. But it can be said at the outset that the miners have no more important problem than the just and accurate appraisal of the leaders who have played a part in the struggle and the course they have followed. They will not be able to cope with the Percy-Keck treason machine until they have secured an accounting from those who had their confidence and who failed in their duty to put them on guard and organize their counter-struggle in time.

American Communism and the Russian Revolution

IN the internationalist concept of their authentic representatives, the Russian revolution and the movement of American Communism are inseparably bound together and, in the final analysis, dependent on each other. This inter-relationship, expressed primarily at first in the influence which the Russian revolution exerted in bringing Communism to life in America, is manifested again today in the international struggle to safeguard the beleaguered fortress of the Soviet Union and to defend the conquests of the October revolution.

The unity of the liberation struggle of the proletariat in a single world process is strikingly illustrated in this intimate connection between Russia and America and their inter-acting influence on each other. The advanced workers in a backward country inspired, by their example, the formation of a revolutionary Communist nucleus in the most highly developed capitalist nation. Now it is our turn.

At the present juncture of the international class struggle the American revolutionists are called upon to play a decisive role in support of the Russian revolution. Our importance in this task is derived from the singularly dominant position of the United States in world affairs and the extraordinary susceptibility of America to the influence of a clear-sighted Communist current at the present time.

We can aid the Russian revolution to its feet again by contributing our efforts and our energy toward the revival of that revolutionary internationalism which first gave birth to it. The distortion of this original and basic idea and its piecemeal elimination from the Communist International by the Stalinists in favor of a utopian national-socialism has year by year undermined the illuminating strength of the first workers state. Only the rebirth of revolutionary internationalism, its embodiment into a new dynamic international organization, can preserve Soviet Russia and bolster up the great work of world emancipation begun by its founders. By sharing in this task, by rooting the new organization in the American soil, the revolutionists of America will begin to repay the great debt they owe to the Russian workers' vanguard.

These internationalist conceptions, which are the heritage of the great Marxist teachers embodied in the October revolution, hold the central place in our minds today as we commemorate its 16th anniversary. On this line the revolution arose in Russia and inspired a whole world. On the same line the re-awakening international movement will gather the scattered forces again and lead to the final security of the U. S. S. R. by the extension of the world revolution.

Bar Schachtman from Canada

(Continued from page 1)

came to Canada. Such conveyance shall be by the first available ship or train of the Transportation Company which brought the said rejected person to Canada. Dated at Philadelphia this 1st day of November 1933. (Signed) S. P. Poissant, per C. B. O.

In handing Schachtman the deportation order, the officer pointed a significant finger to the reverse side on which was printed: "It is unlawful for persons rejected or deported to return to Canada without the consent of the Minister and persons entering or remaining in or returning to Canada after such rejection or deportation are subject to arrest and detention and on summary conviction to a fine or imprisonment or both, and to deportation." By this, the customs agent was as much as saying: "You need not try to enter by any other Port because the information about you has been very effectively distributed. They'll be watching for you."

Protests were of no avail. Even the demand for an appeal was answered by giving Schachtman a triplicate form to sign, but not to fill out. The official informed him that the signature was the appeal to Ottawa, and that the official himself makes out the appeal proper.

Apparently unaware that he was dealing with the "vanguard of the counter-revolution," the officer had Schachtman packed into an automobile and conveyed under escort to the building of the American customs authorities on the other side of the border, in Swanton, Vermont. There, after another examination of his passport, which was found to be in regular order, Schachtman was released and obliged to return to New York.

Representatives are being made to the State Department at Washington and to the Department of

The Bolshevik Heritage

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immigration and Colonization at Ottawa, particularly as the deportation order, until reversed, constitutes a permanent ban against Schachtman's ever entering Canada again. This is not the first time the Canadian authorities have struck a blow at the activities of the Left Opposition. Prior to this, we have encountered difficulties with the mails, and at least one of Leon Trotsky's works printed by us in New York has been denied admission into Canada.

As we go to press, we have as yet no report on the manner in which the Montreal and Toronto meetings took place. A full report will be given about them in the coming issue of *The Militant*.

Save Torgler!

(Continued from Page 1)

The Internationalist Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists) proposes to all the workers organizations in the world to organize a boycott of German goods, to formulate a program of common action, to build fighting labor organizations.

There is no time to lose in setting the workers into motion. If the terroristic sentences of Leipzig are pronounced, as they no doubt will be, a powerful protest of the international proletariat must be unleashed.

Workers of the world, force your organizations to take a position, organize with us the struggle against Fascism. Halt the hand of the hangman! Show that internationalist proletarian action still lives!

In reply to the shameful verdict of Leipzig, not a single German product must be bought, no German raw material worked on. All the cities of the world should organize Fascism under the sign of powerful mass demonstrations! Fight for the liberation of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popov and Taneff! For the freedom of the tens of thousands of imprisoned workers, demand the suppression of the barbarian concentration camps.

—International Secretariat.

The Bolshevik Heritage

(Continued from page 1)

Opposition rededicate themselves to those basic tasks which the Communist International originally set for itself. Our aim as before remains the international proletarian revolution. That is, for the struggle for workers State power—the transfer of power from one class to another. It is the order of the day in this epoch. In the Soviet Union the problems of economic and political administration on behalf of the toiling masses are as heavy and decisive as at no other time perhaps in its history. The Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, despite the extreme conditions of their existence, will assist the Soviet power in the correct direction—As before, the dictatorship of the proletariat through the medium of Soviets on a world scale remains our goal. The theory of permanent revolution is the basic conception which guides the International Left Opposition toward that goal. We are small; we need more cadres, more leading forces. These must be gathered. Old revolutionaries are beginning once again to return to the revolutionary struggle. They are welcome. But above all we must win the new forces of workers never before active in the labor or revolutionary movement—those who are just beginning to take the first steps toward a revolutionary position.

The Third Congress of the Communist International raised as its major slogan: "To the masses." This, and more, is our slogan today. Into the unions! Organize the unorganized! Develop class consciousness. Widen the foundations for the new Communist Party of the United States and a new, Fourth Communist International. In this way we can best honor the Bolshevik revolution of the Russian October and extend it.

—MARTIN ABERN.

The Boycott of Fascist Germany

A Sympathizer Writes on the Strategy of the Anti-Hitler Struggle

Dear Comrades:

There is some noise in bourgeois circles about refusing to buy German goods as a protest against Hitler's persecution of Jews. There is, of course, very little action. For example, R. H. Macy & Co., owned by a Jewish family which includes the U. S. Ambassador to France, declines to join the boycott movement. Even if there were consumers' action, a decline in the sale of German eye-glasses and cameras, or even a complete stoppage of the sale of German crockery, would be put a pin-prick in the leathery side of the Nazi monster.

And, look at the demands of the Jewish boycott! Dr. Fritz Schlegel, a leader on the liberal side in the recent row in the German-American societies in New York, has made the position of bourgeois Jewry clear. "We have not rejected the Nazi flag," he said; "the flag has rejected us." So what? Accept us and we'll accept Hitler. A nice piece of petty-bourgeois hypocrisy! Let the Jewish consumers' boycott be effective and Hitler will compromise with bourgeois Jewry. He will not only protect Jewish bankers and department store owners, which he does already, but he will come to an understanding with the whole Jewish upper crust as to just what share they may have in Fascist Germany. And at that moment "liberal" Jewry will grow silent and the boycott will be over from the labor's viewpoint, and even from a genuinely democratic viewpoint, the whole thing is a joke. Nothing better can be said of the similar consumers' boycott called for by the Second International, A. F. of L., and other reformist organizations.

Your editorial advocating "a well-organized international boycott—suspending transport and communication for a definite time" is the most sensible proposal I have seen for immediate mass struggle against Hitler, world Fascism and the war they are preparing. The idea is rooted in spontaneous mass action. The press has published only a few of the instances of such action. Let me give you some samples thus far unknown, I believe, in New York:

July 2: the S. S. Charlotte Schroeder, Kootenai, sailed through the Brussels Canal. The Captain later reported to Hitler's official organ that some 500 men, women and children on the banks showered the boat, which was flying the Nazi flag, with about 300 kilos of stones, smashing the whole superstructure.

July 12: the S. S. Stormarn, Hamburg, docked in Odense, Denmark. The protest strike against the Nazi flag was so tumultuous that the local trade union council fell all over itself to endorse the workers' action. The flag came down.

August 8: the S. S. Delta, Bremen, docked in Follafuss, Norway, to load wood. The Captain refused the longshoremen's demand to lower the Nazi flag. The sawyers came down from the mills, demonstrated on the pier, and gave him an hour to change his mind. The flag came down. When the boat sailed, the workers massed on the pier and sang the Internationale. Punished by a three-day lockout, they held fast and forced the bosses to retire them.

In the same week in Apenrade, Denmark, workers protested against the Nazi flag on the S. S. Maja. Danish Nazis were called in to load. The trade unions of Apenrade went on a one-hour general strike of protest. The flag came down.

August 24: the S. S. Delfin IV docked at Valdesmarvik, Sweden. Not even threats of expulsion by reactionary union officials deterred the protest against Hitlerism. The flag came down.

You will doubtless be glad to learn that others endorse the idea of an organized international transportation boycott. An early discussion of the idea was by the *Neue Weltbühne*, a German language paper published by exiles in Prague. This group is the feeble voice of the remnant of left bourgeoisie which has not abandoned its fight against Hitlerism; of its outstanding leaders, Carl von Ossietzky is in a Nazi concentration camp, and Kurt Tscholsky has vanished completely. These people have called on "the organized socialism of all countries" to join in such a boycott as you favor. A formal call was sent to the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, the Amsterdam T. U. center, the R. I. L. U., the co-operativist internationals and to many minor workers' organizations proposing a united front conference to draw up slogans and the detailed strategy of the boycott.

This proposal has been accepted by the Independent Labor Party of England, the I. W. W., and several other labor organizations. Apparently without knowledge of this action, a congress of Scandinavian workers' sport clubs met in Copenhagen on July 7-8 and resolved on behalf of 92,000 members (mostly Social Democrats) "to isolate Hitler Germany" by such a boycott. In the *Arbeiderbladet* of August 12, Trammann, chairman of the Norwegian Labor Party, (which belongs to no International), wrote that his party interprets the vague Brussels Resolution of the Second International as meaning a transportation boycott and nothing less. Most important of all, a joint resolution adopted by the I. L. P., the Norwegian Labor Party, the German S. A. P. and the Dutch O. S. P. (the last two being co-signatories of the Manifesto of Four along with the International Left Opposition) favors "direct or-

ganized action against Fascism of all marine, railroad, transport and other workers" in the form of an industrial and transportation boycott. It proposes the following slogans: reestablishment of elementary political rights of workers; liberation of all political prisoners; abolition of concentration camps; cessation of violence against political dissidents.

Supplementary action of many varieties may be cited. For example, the U. C. of the Norwegian trade unions has ordered a protest strike against the visit of any Nazi representative to Oslo, Norway's capital. Only hospital and firemen are exempted from the strike. Much has yet been done. The resolutions are noble in purpose but they haven't been carried out. How can they be made effective is a question which throws us face to face with some familiar, unfortunate facts. The bureaucrats of the 2nd International, the A. F. of L., etc., won't move unless shoved.

Some Communists oppose the boycott because it will mean loss of jobs to German workers, as though German workers who (those same Communists claim) can approve the U. S. S. R. having relations with Hitler, would not understand the boycott and approve the loss of jobs. Some say that the boycott will benefit capitalists of France, America, etc. If the USSR—and rightly—trades with such capitalists despite the fact that they make a profit, why should workers' hesitate in the boycott? Some say that boycott provokes war. And they are the same people who proclaim that Hitler is a peace move, that he is to refrain from hitting him is to expedite war.

Most fantastic of all Stalinist arguments against the boycott is that it can not overthrow Hitler any more than trade union action can, that only a revolution will do the job. No doubt. But a boycott can undermine Hitler so that the German workers can hope to finish him off by a revolution. The boycott is a peace move, that he is to refrain from hitting him is to expedite war.

Discussion Articles

Two Internationals

I. The international revolutionary movement is once again approaching a period of clarification and reorganization. This time it occurs as a result of a major defeat of the working class (Germany), proving that an outstanding victory of the proletariat is not the only axis around which such revaluations and reorganizations take place.

Lenin, without descending into mechanics, described the epoch of imperialist capitalism as the era of "wars and revolutions," all the time pointing out that this stage developed not in one straight line, but embodied all the ebbs and flows inherent in any form of decay. Translated into the terms of revolutionary politics, this designation signified that on a world scale the objective factors necessary as a pre-condition of the proletarian revolution, were present. The analysis did not exclude, but insisted, that the specific conditions of a given country had always to be considered, in order to effect such policies as would lead to the triumph of the proletariat.

The Subjective Factor

In such an epoch the primary forces required to bring about the overthrow of capitalism, is the subjective factor, the organized movement of the working class. It is a period in which the main strategic aim of the proletariat (the conquest of power) becomes a reality, the outcome depending on how well the workers movement carries out its tasks. If from the international point of view, the proletarian revolution is on the order of the day, it is of paramount importance for the proletariat to so organize its tactics, that they will lead directly to victory. The subordination of the main strategic aim of the proletariat to the tactical phases of the class struggle would mean the surrender of the revolution and the decline of the workers movement into opportunism and reform. Because the struggle will resolve itself finally on the basis of the strength or weakness of the revolutionary party of the working class, it is incumbent upon every revolutionary worker to constantly examine and re-examine his party in order to observe how well it meets the demands of the objective situation and to determine precisely whether or not it furthers the interests of the proletarian revolution. In such a manner errors may be corrected, adjustments made and possibilities exist for strengthening or correcting the organization, then it will prove to be necessary to reorganize the ranks of the workers movement upon a sound basis so that it can proceed to carry through the aim of class consciousness and revolutionary workers; the overthrow of capitalism. In such matters, fetishism of an organization will not enhance our aims. Our opinions and policies can only be determined by objective analysis.

Downfall of the Second International
 The 2nd International ceased to

exist just one move in a long struggle. Its limitations are no more a ground for rejecting it than are those of trade unionism for rejecting that.

Armed insurrection is only, (a big only, of course) the final stage in a long process of which both trade union struggle and a real boycott can be important parts. As the *Militant* said, such a boycott can be "a means of lifting up the spirits of the German workers and helping them to their feet again... a demonstration which would revive and strengthen the international labor movement."

But to the C. I. all this is senseless! No wonder the Captain of the German tanker *Ala-Kuh* was surprised when, on August 1, Communist workers at Londen, Sweden, refused to service his boat as long as it flew the Nazi flag, even though they were employed by a nautical firm belonging to a Soviet trust. No wonder he complained to reporters, saying that they do such things better in Leningrad where he flew his livery pennant unmolested for nine days!

A long way the C. I. has come! On January 14, 1921, for example, the Executive Committee of the C. I. proclaimed a boycott of Spain in response to the appeal of the Spanish Confederation of Labor. "The workers of all countries," declared the E. C. C. I., "which was then under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, 'should refuse to load or unload goods coming from or destined for Spain. They should refuse to buy any Spanish products. Isolated from the rest of the world, its barbarism exposed by the proletarians of all lands, the Spanish bourgeoisie will have to capitulate.' The story of the boycotts against the Hungarian White Terror Government and against the Polish intervention in the U. S. S. R. are too well known to need repetition here. They were bold working class tactics, and they had their fruit. They were initiated by the C. I. to its glory and benefit at a time when the U. S. S. R. was far weaker than it is today.

—HARRY STRANG.

Notes of the Week

Who Are the "Chiselers"?

A substantial part of the president's last radio address was devoted to vituperation against the "chiselers." Although, as members of the working class we have always been against this condescending system of capitalism—we cannot help pointing out the injustice of this attack on itself.

For who, after all, are these particular "chiselers"? They are, in the main, the small bosses, the peasant businessmen. They are, for instance, the social prop of that big unit of mid-western revenue. They are the boys who live in deadly dread of big time competition.

Take the Swopes, the Owen Youngs, the steel magnates and the textile barons. A "fair code of competition"—that is just their meat. They have big capital resources, tremendous credit resources, gigantic mass production facilities. They have noses of lawyers to ward their way out of any "labor provisions." What chance has the poor little chiseler to keep pace with them? He has to live and produce on a hand-to-mouth proposition. The bank is down on his neck every minute of the day. The regular sharp charges exorbitant fees. Can he help lengthening hours and cutting wages. Can he do anything but perpetuate the sweatshops and skin his neighbor? Not if he wants to keep his place under the capitalist sun. And yet, NRA or no NRA, he feels it in his veins—that sun is setting for him.

Hearst to the Rescue

The NRA obviously hastened the eclipse of small fry in business and industry. No doubt the real framers of it made "reorganization and centralization of business" one of the main objectives. The little fellows felt it.

When Mr. Ford bucked up against the big bad wolf, he became their idol. Mr. Ford, of course, had no need of a "code of fair competition." There are no small fry to wipe out in his field.

Now Mr. Hearst comes to their rescue. And that's encouraging for them.

"The blighting effect of NRA policy," says the white hope of the middle class, "has been so complete that a justifiable interpretation of the letters NRA would make them read appropriately, 'No Recovery Allowed.'"

The Hearst newspaper chain was among the first to back Roosevelt and boost the New Deal. Its present defection is, therefore, a blow with an extra sharp sting to it.

Which Way Is the New Wind Blowing?

While it reflects a widespread movement, the Hearstian pronouncement no doubt has aims of its own. Mr. Hearst is a jingo patriot of the first water. And he is circumspect in his patriotism.

He backed the New Deal in its efforts to harness American capitalism to a single aim—national concentration in the preparation for a new lunge at the world market.

When the national concentration of capital reached a point where it threatens the political concentration he balks. The small businessman is the indispensable prop in case of war, the middle class is the final resort of Big Business in case of a workers' rebellion.

"It imposed," runs Mr. Hearst's indictment against the NRA, "upon industry, struggling towards recovery, shorter hours and higher pay and greater employment.... than industry was able to bear (sic)."

There you have a successor to NRA: the remedy is a return to longer hours, less pay and lesser employment. If the small businessman can't bear the burden, the worker can!

This great vision is dubbed by Mr. Hearst: "Back to Democracy." Mark Sullivan, the Tribune correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune, thinks that its proponents should be called the "new liberals."

A London news dispatch says that, the speculators there have become so cynical, every time there is some new declaration about the soundness of currency or business—they rush to sell short. Every time the boss class and their press lackeys begin to talk about "Back to Democracy" and "Liberalism," it's a cinch there's a big club hidden somewhere for the workers.

As to the Workers

The NRA—like the League of Nations—is tumbling. The worker who wants to keep his shirt on his back had better join a union. And get his fellow workers to join. It's going to be a tough fight, from the looks of things. And it'll take all of those 10,000,000 new members Bill Green has been talking about, to hold our own.

Bill Green is just talking. It's up to you and you to do the job, Green and no Green. Working class unity—for higher wages, for the six hour day, five day week; for unemployment insurance—there is the first step to get rid of chiselers and chiseldom.—G....n.

Continued in the next issue



The New Rift in the Lovestone Group--and the New Party

After having been slain so often, the very much alive flesh and blood specter of "Trotskyism" has risen again to disturb the equanimity of the Lovestone group. A call has been issued for a national conference next month, and the current issue of the *Workers Age* prints a discussion supplement in which are published the statement of the majority "On the New Party and Trotskyism", and the minority statement by Zam "For a New Perspective for Our Group". The dispute is the second one in a year to wrack the frail body of the American Right wing, and the latest one promises to have even more far-reaching consequences than the one which preceded it.

That the discussion should revolve around the recent German events and the problem of a new Communist party and international arising out of them, is already highly significant. In the first place, it is a warning revelation of how the overwhelming pressure of international (the so-called "foreign") questions inexorably crushes every futile attempt to establish a revolutionary organization and policy on purely "American" issues (whatever they may be). In the second place, it again attests the fact that the regenerated Communist movement will and can come into existence primarily on the basis of the position taken towards the August 4th of Stalinism; its capitulation to Fascism in Germany. And not as an isolated instance, or an episode incident, but as the crowning point of ten years of policies which have converted the Communist International from the general staff of the world revolution, into a brute on the world revolution operated by the omnipotent Stalin secretariat.

The attitude to be taken to the problem referred to has already aroused stormy discussions in most sections of the radical labor movement of Europe. However contented conservative officials may be with the way matters have gone up to now, however reluctant they may be to engage in a discussion of the problem of the new international which is now posed as imperiously as it was after August 4, 1914, the discussion is nevertheless forcing its way into the pores of one organization after another. Not even the Lovestone group is exempt from this penetration. And if the official Stalinist parties will be among the last to reveal an open concern with the problem and to bring forward a sector which will contribute serious forces to the new movement, it is not because they enjoy any organic immunity from it, but only because the molecular processes of differentiation already at work have not yet gained sufficient strength to break the momentarily effective stranglehold with which the bureaucracy is throttling all criticism and progress.

The Lovestone group suffered a blow several months ago when the group supporting the views of Giltow—which has now taken a favorable position towards the slogan of a new Communist party and international—broke away from it. The new internal struggle is an echo and a continuation of that rupture. The statement of H. Zam, the official and solitary representative of the minority on the National Committee, declares for a new Communist party in the United States and in every other capitalist country, that is, for a new Communist International outside of the Soviet Union and exclusive of any Russian section. Zam's membership on the National Committee facilitates for the time being his role as official representative of the new current, although the genuinely progressive tendency in the Lovestone group does not and cannot find in him anything more than a fortuitous and unauthentic spokesman. But although truer voices will speak out tomorrow, it is the two "official" currents which concern us at present, the official statements in the discussion supplement of the *Age*.

Let us first examine the declaration of the Committee majority. The Lovestone document—interspersed with the customary falsehoods, inventions, distortions about the "Trotskyites"—proceeds from the idea that no new course is needed for the simple reason that no change has taken place in the situation. The sole criticism that Lovestone masters up boldness enough to make of the disastrous course of Stalinism in the German situation, is contained in the weasel words about "its failure to apply effective tactics to realize its correct Communist principles and aims". Nothing more!

The fact that the Communist party was deliberately prohibited by its own and the Moscow bureaucracy from effecting that elementary, obviously imperative and obviously correct united front which would have crushed Fascism before it came to power; the fact that the

Fascists were allowed to come into power and to consolidate it without the Communist party lifting a finger to organize the slightest resistance to them; the fact that the last of the parties in the Comintern that retained a mass basis up to then now lies crushed, bleeding from a thousand fatal wounds, completely incapacitated—that is, has collapsed; the fact that the catastrophic course which rendered this outcome inevitable has been officially canonized by the Comintern and all its sections without the slightest attempt at self-criticism or re-evaluation; these facts and dozens of others which proclaim from the housetops the collapse of the Communist International—are blithely dismissed with the observation that, although they had correct Communist principles (the nationalistic dogma of socialism in one country!) and aims (the "people's revolution" and the "national" emancipation of Germany!), the Stalinists were not so effective with their tactics. Here you have revived the theory that if the monarch lost both battle and kingdom, it was only for want of a horse-shoe nail. The story was plausible and amusing in kindergarten books. In the present case, it is nothing less than a despicable attempt at whitewashing the Stalinist criminals who are responsible for the tragedy of the German proletariat and, implicitly, their discharged Right wing hunkies who seek re-hiring.

"Genuine Opposition to Fascism" The Stalinists in Germany have not had their August 4th, argues the thesis. "No one can doubt the sincerity and genuineness of the official C. P. G's opposition to Fascism at any stage of development," it declares. There is no way, however, of measuring sincerity in politics. There is no such thing as a "sincerometer", as Lenin once told Serrati, nor is there a need for one in politics. Sincerity does not weigh decisively on the scales of the class struggle, and what is important is not an instrument to measure it (and there is none), but an instrument with which to take the measure of political tendencies, of programs, of actions. That instrument is Marxism.

No sincerer opponent to the im-

(Continued on page 4)

Progressive Enginemen Organize For Reform of Railroad Unions

On July 10th, 1933, at the recent B. of L. E. Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, the "Progressive Club of Enginemen" was started by 74 members of the progressive block in that Convention. The progressive movement has already taken on an organized form inside of the B. of L. E. This minority movement grew up and developed on and around a 25 point program of much needed changes in the organization. Among other things, the progressive minority program called for the "Initiative Referendum and Recall"; abolition of all gag laws and secret work and the reinstatement of all gag law victims; for a new set of officials with lower salaries; for the removal of the B. of L. E. headquarters from Cleveland to Chicago, etc.

However, the Johnston machine had a sufficient majority to control the convention, and were able, with one or two exceptions, to prevent the proposals of the progressives from being enacted into law. When these progressive delegates saw that their program was being defeated they decided to launch an organized progressive movement inside of both of the two Engineers' Brotherhoods to perpetuate and keep alive the progressive program defeated at the B. of L. E. convention, and the result was the Progressive Club of Enginemen. Every locomotive engineer, fireman and hostler who is a member or eligible to membership in the two engineers' brotherhoods and who subscribes to the progressive program, may join the Progressive Club of Enginemen.

There is certainly a big and fertile field for an organized progressive minority movement in the Enginemen's Brotherhoods as well as in the 21 Railroad Unions. The Minneapolis Railroad Council Movement aims to do the same thing inside of the 21 railroad unions that the Progressive Club of Enginemen aims to do inside of the Engineers' and Firemen's unions. Instead of leadership and program the Railroad Brotherhoods have a well-organized bureaucratic autocracy which has entrenched itself behind gag laws, obligations, secret work and a very tightly censored Brotherhood press. No member of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods can even mildly criticize his administration's

Boycott of Germany

(Resolution of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists.)

The boycott is an important weapon in the international struggle against Hitler Germany. It is an elementary truth that the boycott cannot overthrow Hitler. But it can force him to make certain concessions and it can help the defeated German working class, as well as the world's working class, in regaining confidence in the power of proletarian internationalism.

The boycott of goods, supported by bourgeois and liberal Jewish organizations, transforms this method of struggle against Hitler into a means of bourgeois competition and ideological preparation for war, and into the creation of a "collaboration" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in view of coming war.

The boycott of German goods is also propagated in the same sense by the reformist lackeys of capitalism. The revolutionary proletariat can take part only in an active boycott, which also develops the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie; boycott of shipping, strikes of seamen, longshoremen and railroad workers.

The 3rd International, refusing any boycott in the interest of the commercial policy of the Soviet Union, shows again its inability to defend the class interests of the proletariat; an inability which is due to the non-Marxist policy of socialism in one country. Experience has proved that the boycott has no meaning unless it is conducted by the mass organizations of the proletariat, and if it is designed to attain an aim in a definite period of time. This is why the boycott should be preceded by systematic propaganda and by the creation of a united front which will permit the projection of the boycott with the determined aim and at the same time with all the necessary force.

It is in this sense that the Plenum of the International Opposition has addressed itself to all workers' organizations on August 28, and again in its appeal on the subject of the trial on the burning of the Reichstag for joint action of all workers' organizations.

International Secretariat, September 28, 1933

Stalinists Expel 3 Food Workers from Union

New York.—Three militants of years standing in the revolutionary and labor movements have just been expelled from the Food Workers Industrial Union in New York for the crime of disagreeing with the political views of the Stalinists in control of the organization and for supporting the standpoint of the Left Opposition. At the same time that this reactionary deed was committed, the Stalinists borrowed another leaf from the book of labor fakery and used the economic club against one of the expelled by firing her from the job which the union bureaucracy controls.

The militants involved are Sebastian Pappas and Sylvia Weiner, two founders of the union, and one of its most qualified organizers, James Gordon. There is not an organized worker in the food industry who is not acquainted with all three militants for their activities in the union, in strikes and on picket lines, for their combativity which has more than once brought about their arrest and imprisonment. Despite the fact that all three of them enjoy a blameless record in the movement, the Stalinists sat in judgment upon them in typical star chamber proceedings and promptly expelled them.

Culmination of Long Fight

The expulsion comes at the conclusion of a long fight within the union which began even prior to inextinguishable splitting of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union by the Stalinists for the purpose of creating the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. For some time now the expelled members, whose loyalty nobody has ever been able to challenge, have been attempting to correct the pernicious course being pursued in the F. W. I. U. by its Stalinist officialdom. The aim of the Left Oppositionists in the organization has consistently been to establish one united union in the industry and to re-establish a genuine Left wing movement not isolated from the masses of the food workers.

Never able to meet the arguments made by our comrades, the Stalinists have instead sought for some time now to whip up the membership to a lynch spirit for the purpose of facilitating the expulsion of the workers who were a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy. Then, having reduced the union to a caricature, not much greater in strength and influence than the Stalinist party fraction which completely dominates it, the officialdom trumped up charges against the three militants and pronounced sentence of expulsion upon them.

"The most despicable act of the Stalinists consists in the firing of Sylvia Weiner from her job in the 'Coops', a Stalinist institution where she had been at work up to the time of her expulsion. The capitalist uses precisely the same method of firing and blacklisting in order to starve out militants in the shop until 'they come to their senses'. The A. F. of L. agents of capitalism use the same method in order to rid themselves of critics and opponents in the unions; they take them off the job, keep them unemployed without the possibility of getting work elsewhere, and thus starve the class conscious fighters into submission to the machine. Sylvia Weiner's discharge does not leave a single spot on her sterling record in the union; it does, however, brand the cynical bureaucracy which committed the act with an ineradicable stigma.

Rank and File Indignant

Scores of workers are seething with indignation at the expulsion which every rank and file understands to be based exclusively on the political opinions of the three comrades. Militants in the food and needle trades industries who have worked and fought side by side with our comrades in a dozen battles, refuse to swallow the crude and disgraceful action of the Stalinists. The latter have not heard the last of this expulsion. There are many workers who are determined to make a vigorous protest in every organization against the action. The hope of the Stalinists to finish off their business in the dark of the moon and in the confines of their trial chambers will, we are confident, be successfully spiked by resolute militants. The Stalinists, in this case at least, will be compelled to answer for their action before an infinitely more authoritative court than that which tried the three: the court of the workers and their organizations. The Stalinists will be confronted by militants in the food industry, in the needle trades unions and elsewhere and made to explain.

This crime will not be allowed to pass with impunity—bear that in mind, Messrs. Stalinists!

A Letter from Prison

Nov. 6, 1933
Gloucester, N. J.

The Militant,

Comrades:— I believe you should know that the I. L. D. have not given me any consideration whatsoever at any time during the 6 months that I have been incarcerated owing to my active work for our cause. I expect no action from this source and I feel that the Attorney is not being encouraged to exert the energy in my behalf that I know he can and is quite efficient to do. I am confident that he is perfectly O. K. but is not receiving the attention and care to enable him to forge ahead in the cause for which I confidently stand.

I am personally without funds and deprived of even smoking, also other incidentals which a person really needs. I am sure my comrades do not know these circumstances for I am positive that they realize I face my duty unflinchingly and so do warrant consideration in our unity of cause.

It would please me so much if you will kindly forward the "Modern Monthly" and keep me in mind as I am sure you realize I rightly warrant by my comrades.

The Militant is coming to me regularly and I want you to know that I appreciate all you do to inspire and further what is Right-For-All.

I have not heard any definite news for quite some time, the latest given to me here is that I be deported to Italy.

With kindest personal regards,

Believe me Sincerely,

COMRADE BELLUSSI.
Note: Letters to comrade Bellussi should be addressed as follows: Anthony Bellussi, Detention House, Philadelphia Immigration Station, Gloucester City, New Jersey.

'Good Government' Cleans Up in the New York Municipal Election

The Tiger's tail has been twisted. The "rascals" have been driven out of office. The "millionaire" of the end of "bossism" has come to New York. Honest-to-goodness government is installed in power and the days of corruption, skullduggery and political racketeering are over. The shining champion of cheapness and honesty in municipal administration, the master demagogue, Fiorello H. La Guardia is ensconced in City Hall to the great rejoicing of the "economy" experts, the pious Christians, the yellow press, the numerous office-seekers—not to mention the Big Boys who backed and financed his campaign.

It was a tense campaign filled with recrimination abuse and character assassination in which the right was no doubt shared by all the contestants for the mayoralty alike. There can be no doubt that this election must have been a real tickler to anyone with a sense of humor.

The great issue trumpeted up and down our fair city was boss or no boss. Tammany's candidate, the others admitted, was a square shooter but "Honest" John O'Brien had an evil genius behind him whispering Mephistophelian advice into his ear. "Holy" Joe McKee the crusader against Tammany dictatorship was accused of being the catpaw of the same kind of boss domineering which he inveighed so strongly against. And La Guardia, ever ready with radical phrases to please the demos, was charged with being a Communist. No less!

A Rude Awakening

The rude awakening will come for the masses in New York when they discover that the election promises to clean up the city, to make an end to corruption, whether carried out or bursting like soap bubbles, will not make a particle of difference in their economic conditions. The dead weight of the four years of abysmal privation, and body-wracking unemployment, will not be lightened when and if the grafters are cleaned out by La Guardia.

Quite another matter are the promises Mr. La Guardia has made to introduce "economy" into the city administration, where he contends extravagant waste has prevailed under Tammany. When La Guardia talks of "economy" he is not addressing himself to the workers but to the gentlemen of Wall Street who will supervise his actions in office. The New York City government is saddled with a huge debt to Morgan, Rockefeller et al. who want it honored, the principal and the interest. The panaceas heralded by La Guardia and others, tant dispensing with useless office holders will balance the budget and provide funds to meet the city's obligations are so much election ranting. If this debt is to be met in mind, Messrs. Stalinists!

N.Y. Food Workers Turn To Trade Union Action

Sentiment for Aggressive Organization Struggle Follows N.R.A. Fiasco; Hotel Strike in Prospect

New York.—While the organization campaign drive of the Hotel and Restaurant Union Branch of the A. F. W. is going on as reported previously the Union is confronted now with a new serious situation. The bosses realize that our Union is becoming a powerful force and they are preparing to strike the Union a blow.

They failed to line up the Vatel Club members for the Company Union and they are concentrating at present on the Geneva Association. The big Hotel owners are working methodically in creating the scabbing machinery. They have already begun to force the workers of Taft and New Yorker Hotels to join the company Union, and for obvious reasons. These Hotels so far have very few union members. This fact alone should convince every food worker that in order to protect his interests he must not only join the Union but convince his fellow workers to do the same. The NRA illusions even among the unionized workers were very strong. But now they begin to realize that the only road to follow is a more direct action against the bosses. The NRA officials did not lift a finger to help any worker but surely they did work very hard in protecting the interests of the bosses.

Besides the above mentioned behavior of the local NRA officials news reached us from Washington that the President is ready to sign the Hotel Code without any consultation with the Labor Unions. Of course this is an open violation of the law known as the NRA but the class conscious workers did not entertain any doubts that the capital-

talists would violate every law which might harm even slightly their sacred interests.

No results whatever were accomplished, whether the matter brought up to the NRA was an arbitrary firing of an individual or of a whole crew of cooks, waiters, a concerned wages or hours. The new ruling that tips are wages, and the forthcoming signing of a hotel men's code without the participation of the workers are putting the finishing touches to the hopes and confidence of the hotel and restaurant workers in assistance from the NRA.

Now one ruling after another weakens the position of the workers; the hours of the waitresses at Loft's are being lengthened, the waiters are not getting their fixed minimum wages, cooks and waiters are being fired arbitrarily, and the impossible burden of proving that the discharge is for union activity is being put on the organized workers.

They are beginning to realize that their fate is now in their own hands, and that they must look for help only to their own organization, their trade union. Thousands of organized workers, whether working in the biggest hotels or in the smaller restaurants are preparing for decisive action, completely independent of the NRA.

The workers for their part are prepared to draw the inevitable conclusions from the situation which has been forced upon them. They are prepared to fight back from now on against every aggression of the bosses, whether by the picket line or the strike, and if necessary they will surely not shrink from a general tie-up of the whole hotel and restaurant industry in the city of New York.

The food workers are realizing that only a Union based on class struggle principles is able to defend their interests. That is why they got rid mighty fast of their illusions about the NRA and they are determined to fight for their demands. Their fight will not be an isolated one. Tens of thousands of unorganized will join the ranks of the Union when it leads the fight for the abolition of the miserable conditions that the Hotel Men's Association inserted in their code which the NRA Administration and the President is preparing to sign.

COTTON PICKERS ARRESTED IN STRIKE

Cotton pickers arrested following the attacks on the strikers by the growers' armed "committees of protection" in the San Joaquin Valley, Calif., will be defended by A. L. Wirin of the Southern California branch of the A. C. L. U. Seven workers are charged with murder, a strike leader with criminal syndicalism, seventeen pickers with resisting an officer and rioting, four with vagrancy and disturbing the peace.

The murder charges grew out of the shooting of a Mexican striker at Arvin. Though the strikers, according to all witnesses, were without weapons and the cotton growers carried guns, not a single grower is held. The indictment against Pat Chambers, the leader of the strike, for criminal syndicalism is called a frame-up by Mr. Wirin. Chambers, it is reported, at all times urged the strikers not to resort to violence. His bail was set at \$2,000 and then raised overnight without hearing to \$20,000. A writ of habeas corpus filed in the Superior Court to reduce the bail proved unavailing. At a hearing on the bail for the four strikers charged with vagrancy, the District Attorney of Kings County declared the defendants were arrested because they were strike leaders and urged that the bail be high to keep them in jail. The bail was set at \$200 and raised at once and the men released. Governor Rolph's fact finding committee investigating the violence reported "Without question the civil rights of the strikers have been violated. We appeal to the constituted authorities to see that the strikers are protected in rights conferred upon them by the laws of the state and by the federal and state constitutions."

The Vote for the C. P.

The Communist party and its mayoralty candidate, Robert Minor received 26,564 votes or an increase of 2,500 votes over the vote recorded for Patterson last year. Considering the huge increase of voters this year the Communist vote has remained stationary. The campaign conducted by Minor and the Stalinists many times sunk into the most vulgar opportunism. The crimes of Stalinism in the unions and in the class struggle in this city, the repercussions of their bankruptcy throughout the world, is sadly registered in this election.

—GEO. CLARKE.

BROOKLYN BRANCH AFFAIRS: Headquarters: Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St. (Near Belmont Av.), Brooklyn. Sat., Nov. 25th, 8 P. M.—Diego Rivera on Revolutionary Art and Oppressed Minorities.

OPEN FORUM

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AFTER HILLQUIT
Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, November 17, 1933
8 P. M.
at International Workers School
126 East 16th Street
Aspirants: Manhattan Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Hundreds Hear Mac-Donald at Toronto

Toronto.—With over 700 workers in attendance at the Labor Temple last Sunday, Jack Macdonald spoke on "The Need for a Fourth International". The meeting was composed of a large section of Left wing socialist workers, about 250 Party adherents and sympathizers and a number of L. W. members.

The speaker pointed out the international significance of capitalism and showed how the greedy parasite hand of capital must of necessity expand beyond its own national frontiers. This led up to the famous Stalinist revisionist theory of "socialism in one country". Comrade Macdonald here stated it was the opinion of many workers that this was purely an academic question. He shattered this opinion in the minds of many by showing the significance of this theory in practice. He quoted from Stalin and Lenin to show wherein the difference lay. He pointed out that from this theory came the diplomatic gestures that now leads to confusion and would inevitably lead to dissolution. He challenged the Stalinist to show wherein the internationalist character of the present Party lies.

In comparing the Red Army at the present time and the Red Army of 1923 he stressed the fact that in 1923 it was an international Army that at the present time it had degenerated to a national army. He showed that in 1923 the Red Army was mobilized for the assistance of the German proletariat in case a revolution broke out. This was contrasted with the present policy when not a single word came from the leader of the C. I. for 18 months prior to Hitler's seizure of power.

No word came from the Kremlin through official sources but it was left to a bourgeois correspondent, Walter Durnity, to make a comment in the N. Y. Times that Moscow bulls with meanness the growth of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany. Comment on this was unnecessary. Not only was the Red Army not mobilized for the defense of the German working class but not a single demonstration to protest against Fascism has taken place in the Soviet Union since the day Hitler took power. It is perfectly alright for the workers in capitalist countries to protest against Fascism but in the name of diplomacy this must not be done in the Soviet Union. These are not only the works of Stalinist spokesmen but also the deeds.

At this justice comrade Macdonald quoted from Lenin's speeches where the Soviet diplomat continually assumes capitalist countries that under no conditions will the Soviet Union intervene in foreign affairs. He then ended up, with stirring appeal to all revolutionary workers to study the problems honestly and objectively and emphatically stressed the need for a Fourth International based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In the discussion that ensued a few party adherents attempt to pin comrade Macdonald's reference to the Red Army as meaning that the Red Army should have walked into Germany before and as Hitler took power. This speaker in reply stated that this was not so; that the question of intervention is decided by objective conditions and that in case of Germany he blamed the Party for refusing a genuine Leninist united front with reformist organizations and so building up a solid front against Fascism; that since the proletariat in Germany did not fight it would have been both futile and adventurist to do so under such conditions but that in spite of this, the Red Army should have been mobilized to offer every possible assistance in case civil war had broken out. Many other questions were asked which had no direct bearing on the topic but which were nevertheless answered.

That the meeting from our point of view was successful was proven when many workers expressed themselves favorably after the meeting.

—P. S.—

Minneapolis Branch in Action

Minneapolis.—The renewed activity of the American labor movement is also quite well reflected in Minneapolis. Hundreds of workers have joined the various A. F. of L. local unions and a vigorous campaign of organization is still in progress. Unions that were formerly dormant, and in some cases practically non-existent, have suddenly sprung to life and already occupy a commanding position in the local labor movement. I speak specifically of such unions as the Upholsterers and the General Drivers. The former at the present time is conducting an effective city-wide strike and the latter is putting on an organizational drive that has practically quadrupled its membership in the last 8 or 10 weeks. All local unions are reporting substantial gains with the exception of the building trades. Due to the low ebb of the building industry the basis for organizing these workers into bona fide trade unions has been narrowed down almost to the vanishing point.

The Minneapolis branch has not been slow to take advantage of this revival in the labor movement. Several of our comrades have been

successful in getting into the various A. F. of L. unions and in several instances are already playing leading roles. In fact it can be said that almost the entire activity of the branch is devoted to mass work at the present time.

In addition to the trade union work several comrades are engaged in unemployed activity. Working with a group of trade unionists and unemployed some of our comrades were instrumental in setting up the Councils for United Labor Action, an organization for the unemployed. As a result of working in this organization two League members were invited to join the Volunteer Committee for the Reorganization of Minneapolis Public Relief; a committee composed of professional men, Socialists, Farmer-Labor figures, co-operators and liberals of various shades. At the first meeting of the committee which our members attended, an elaborate plan of decentralizing Minneapolis public relief had already been worked out. The plan was ideal, everybody agreed, but when one of our comrades raised the question on how the committee proposed to put this plan into effect it revealed only the haziest ideas on the matter.

It remained for our comrades to propose the calling of a representative conference to be composed of delegates from the trade unions, and the entire labor movement if possible, to sponsor a program of action to organize the unemployed and by this method get, not only decentralization of relief, but other demands of the unemployed such as unemployment insurance, stoppage of forced labor, etc. This idea was finally adopted. A call was drawn up and signed by fifteen or sixteen prominent individuals, labor leaders, co-operators, liberals, etc. Through considerable work on the part of the League comrades on the committee the call has been sent out to about 150 organizations for a conference to be held at the headquarters of the Central Labor Union, Sunday, October 29, at 1:30 P. M. Through our special efforts, all working class organizations, political, economic, fraternal, co-operative and unemployed are being invited.

But the crowning achievement of our whole work in the Volunteer Committee is the fact that the committee picked one of our leading comrades to make the 30-minute "Report on Unemployment Conditions" to the conference. He is also to submit some well formulated resolutions on the organization of the unemployed in the name of the Volunteer Committee.

There will be more about this conference in a subsequent issue of the Militant.

In spite of the mass activity that the Minneapolis comrades are involved in at the present time, we are still able to carry on considerable League activity. The membership of the branch has been divided into two teams in order to whip up a spirit of rivalry in the present Militant sub-drive. This tactic has been applied before in the Minneapolis branch with good results so we are trying it again.

—Cee-Kay—

300 at Montreal Rally

Montreal.—The Left Opposition is becoming a factor to be reckoned with in the class conscious labor movement of Montreal in the L. L. G. W. T. at the anti-Fascist conference on the issue of Joe Derrin and the possible illegalization of the Young Communist League, the L. O. is making its influence felt. The Stalinists are especially frantic because of its honest and clear Marxist position at the anti-Fascist Conference, the L. O. is getting a foothold in Verdun, which has the only militant unemployed organization in Montreal.

Instead of producing ideological arguments, the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucrats do not merely, without further ado, declare the Left Opposition counter-revolutionary because it dares to reveal them as the organizers of the greatest defeats, but with irresponsible and outrageous shamelessness they spread the downright lie that the L. O. is consciously working hand in hand with the police.

Max Shachtman, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and of the editorial board of the Militant, setting out on a tour to Montreal, Toronto, Boston to speak on the 16th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution was arrested at the Canadian border and deported to New York. The Left Opposition in Montreal was formed to replace comrade Shachtman by comrade W. Krehmi as speaker.

The meeting was patrolled by the Red Squad and everything said was recorded by a police stenographer. The Stalinists attempted to break up the meeting and succeeded only in getting the police on the spot, who were probably called in by the detectives. The measures obviously taken by the authorities against the Left Opposition as a militant workers organization, did not prevent the inspired "Socialists in one country" from hurling the contemptible accusation that the L. O. had called in the police to the great indignation of the audience (some 300).

Stalinist hooliganism reveals it.

BROOKLYN MEETING
Diego Rivera will speak on "REVOLUTIONARY ART AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" at MILITANT HALL, November 25th, 8 P. M. 154 Watkins St.

self time and again as conducive to police interference in workers meetings. Hooliganism is an aid to the activities of the police against the class-conscious workers. Only their bankruptcy forces the miserable Stalinist bureaucrats to resort to merely to misrepresentation of the theoretical position of the L. O. but to the combined method of attempting to break up its meetings and hurling the vilest and most despicable slander.

At the same meeting the stupid Stalinist denial of non-party class organizations of the workers was openly proclaimed. The Canadian Labor Defense League, declared its district secretary, believes in freedom for "working class propaganda but not for counter-revolutionary Trotskyist propaganda".

To comrade Krehmi's analysis of the collapse of the Communist International, through internal bankruptcy and as a result of the reactionary and utopian theory of "Socialism in one country" foisted upon it, in lieu of the perspective of the world revolution, by the petty bourgeois bureaucracy in the Soviet Union; to his incontestable contention that the German catastrophe marked the necessity for the creation of a new (Fourth) International as the only guarantee for the preservation of the workers fatherland, now in the most precarious position, the Stalinist spokesmen could only reply with abuse and with the gratuitous and absurd assertion that the Communist International are now stronger than ever.

The advanced workers of Montreal are learning to see these unprompted and impotent "leaders" in their true colors. —J. G.

Swaback Meetings in K. C. Successful

Kansas City.—Arne Swaback's three day visit to Kansas City—October 29, 30, 31—showed the rapid strides the branch has made under the banner of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The address of comrade Swaback "The Roosevelt Program, the NRA and the Need for a New Communist Party" was enthusiastically received by a crowd of a hundred workers who attended his lecture, Sunday, October 29th.

Swaback pointed out to the audience that the ballyhoo of the liberal messiah, Roosevelt, and his quasi-Fascist assistant, Johnson, meant nothing but added misery for the American proletariat. The efforts of the "middle-of-the-road" scoundrels, the "Brain Trust", to prove that capitalism can plan will end in nothing but privation and loss of the worker's rights—if their conniving efforts are not halted by a genuine united front of the workers.

The speaker also showed the hopelessness and blundering of the bureaucratic C. P. under the present favorable conditions resulting from their theories of "social Fascism" and "Socialism in one country".

"The need for a new Communist International, a live and fighting one, and not the one buried in the Moscow archives, was clearly pointed out to the worker-audience as the next forward step of the world proletariat.

And to prove to our comrades that the workers in this part of the world are fired with the idea of a new party—the collection at the conclusion of the meeting was the largest ever received by the K. C. branch at any of its public meetings.

The meeting the next night for members of the branch and class sympathizers only rivaled our public gathering. Aside from laying the basis for the new Militant drive, a substantial amount of contributions and pledges were made. The branch feels sure it will meet its quota in the expansion and either win the Militant sub-drive or give the winner one hell of a battle.

The last day of comrade Swaback's stay was occupied in renewing old contacts and solidifying the position of the League among its many friends and sympathizers—an urgent need since the Stalinists, like the proverbial Arabs, folded their tents and stole away silently to the oasis of Omaha.

—A. C.

Mass Turnout to Hear Cannon at Toronto

Toronto.—On Nov. 3rd a gathering of more than 600 Toronto workers heard comrade J. P. Cannon deliver a stirring address on "The Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution and the Fourth International". The notices announcing the lecture had informed the Toronto workers that comrade Shachtman would speak but the Canadian immigration officials, who apparently, do not feed on Stalinist tripe, would not believe that he was a counter-revolutionary and warned him to keep out of Canada. Comrade Cannon came in his stead in order not to disappoint the Toronto workers—and they were not disappointed. Comrade Cannon spoke a second time on Sunday, Nov. 5, at the Labor Temple on the subject of "The World Crisis and the Labor Movement". Both meetings were highly successful from a political and propaganda point of view and marked a further advance of the Left Opposition in Toronto.

—B. B.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Militant Builders

Thirty-three subs last week! That brings the total up to a hundred and thirty-five. That is something, but very far from the possibilities that are presented by the reduced prices of the Militant.

One reason for the slow pace is the fact that our comrades have delayed organizing their participation. The New York units, the Kansas City Branch and others have only now begun to swing into line in a drive to get subs. That means that the results they get will show up only after the drive closes. We will report these results as they come in. But they will not count in the race.

The Youngstown Branch
It seems that we blundered badly in the question of the Youngstown Branch and the sub drive. They

said some time ago that they want the subs sent in from them credited to the branch and not to individuals—except in special campaigns like the present one; in which case they want the individuals credited. Our mistake lay in overlooking the proviso.

The branch has sent us a detailed list of the subs sent in since the beginning of the drive and the comrades who sent them in. According to the list one comrade accounted for all of them. Since the list is large he appears at the head of the list below.

The Standing:
L. Goodman Philadelphia 3
J. Carter Brooklyn 3
W. Konikow Boston 3
C. Shechet Boston 3
M. Koehler Youngstown 27
S. Hardy Philadelphia 13
S. Jourard Toronto 8
A. Kaplan Kansas City 7
M. Abern Bronx 6
N. Satir Chicago 6
V. R. Dunne Minneapolis 6
C. Hedlund Minneapolis 4
J. Ruby Chicago 6
M. Krupka Pittsburgh 3
J. Ruby Chicago 3

Philadelphia League Members Repel Stalinist Hooligan Assault

Philadelphia.—The scourge of hooliganism received another setback as the Party and Y. C. L. misleaders; Mills and Hathaway called for the Philadelphia Police force to bar the Left Opposition from the 16th Anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution at the Broadway Arena on Tuesday night.

Precipitating a gangster attack upon comrades of the Left Opposition engaged in the distribution of leaflets calling upon the workers for a protest meeting in the defense of Antonio Bellussi, this reprisal comes as another in the series of crimes perpetrated by Stalinist hooliganism.

Last week, after a few of our comrades had participated in a United Front anti-Fascist demonstration, Mills the district organizer made a malicious attack upon the Left Opposition and incited a lynch spirit among the Stalinists gathered after the demonstration in a hall at 1208 Tasker St. He instructed the party and Y. C. L. members to attack the Trotskyites and beat them up.

Tuesday Night we were prepared to defend ourselves and our democratic rights as workers to distribute our leaflets and to sell the Militant, despite the repeated attacks and threats of the organized hoodlums.

At one side of the entrance comrade Tom Holmes boldly displayed the Militant and proceeded to sell a few copies. At the other side of the entrance comrade Grant, recently expelled from the Y. C. L. was distributing the Bellussi defense leaflets.

The tools of the petty bureaucrats began to flutter about and cackle like hens.

They saw we were in a group and prepared to defend ourselves. For the first half hour we were unmolested as several abortive attempts by individual hoodlums were crabs who were brewing up some plans to "liquidate" us.

"Separate them and beat them up individually" was the first order sent out.

One of the well known bureaucrats, not seeming to realize Grant had been expelled for Trotskyism saw him with a group of our comrades and mistook them for Y. C. Lers.

"Don't you know what Mills said," he directed them. "When you see these Trotskyites knock them on their ear." Just then Goodman stepped forward. He walked away stately.

Mills, the party organizer was seen reading one of our leaflets. He gave the signal for attack and walked inside of the hall.

Roselle and Miller approached comrade Thomas who was also distributing leaflets. Thomas gave him a leaflet. He tore it up. He snatched at a few more Thomas has in his hand.

"Is that all of them," he asked. Thomas ignored him. "Keep distributing the leaflets," he told the other comrades. The comrades continued with the distribution of the Bellussi leaflets.

"British Communist, Thomas Mann, speaks for the defense of Chinese Trotskyite. Read all about it in the Militant." Holmes was selling his papers.

"Beat up the Trotskyites," the petty bureaucrats shouted as they jumped at our comrades.

The hooligans jumped the comrades with the leaflets. Holmes was selling the Militant. Comrade Roberts and a few others went to the aid of the comrades with the leaflets. The L. L. D. had repeatedly called Bellussi meetings which did not materialize. Now the party and the Y. C. L. was paying the same sabotaging role attempting to stop the distribution of leaflets calling for such a meeting.

Bellussi was a Trotskyite sympathizer!

Our comrades fought back hard giving blow for blow. For a few minutes the struggle was fast and furious.

"Read the Militant," Comrade Holmes was still selling our organ. "Why is the creation of a Fourth International the best defense of the Russian Revolution!"

Roselle and Miller the same bureaucrats who provoked the fight now suddenly became ardent pacifists.

They did not want the workers to

see the manner in which they treated workers of other political organizations.

It was past nine o'clock and we called our comrades together and decided to enter the meeting. Bender was at the door. He told Goodman and Thomas he would not permit us to enter the meeting.

In order not to be accused of breaking up their meeting we sent another committee to talk with Bender. While this was going on Mills and Hathaway had entered the managers office and used the phone.

Our committee came back and reported. We had been refused admission. We decided to remain outside until the close of the meeting. While Bender was regarding us with a cynical stare, up drove the Philadelphia Police patrol with a squad of cops.

At first our comrades could scarcely believe this was possible. But after the bluecoats walked over to the entrance and were directed at us there was no other conclusion possible. The cops ordered us from the scene.

Insurgent Yipsels and other workers who was what was what was perpetrated by the Stalinist bureaucrats showed what they thought of such conduct by actively participating on our side.

At the present moment we call on these elements and all workers organizations for a united front to protect the democratic rights of free speech in the labor movement.

—MEYER HIRSH.

Canned Comedy at the Painters' Banquet

"In honor of Philip Zauser, and further—to celebrate the Rebirth of the Brotherhood of Painters"

The affair took place Saturday, Oct. 28 at Beethoven Hall, as advertised, with the exception of the starting time, which was changed from 8 to 11 P. M. due to the arrival of the celebrities. At four in the morning it was still in full swing.

The gathering was one huge conglomeration of painters who still had paint-spots behind their ears from previous days toil, of labor leaders in dashing tuxedos and black bow-ties, and their ladies in gorgeous evening gowns and sparkling jewelry. It was one great melange of haggard faces and dirty fingernails, of painted eyebrows and empty heads, of hates and aspirations, of booze, beer and perfumed cigarettes.

Shortly after the "soup" and the "Star Spangled Banner", the speech-making monstrosities began. The orge of inordinate feeding instantly succeeded by an orge of inordinate monologues. First came the string of clever labor-leutenants and invited guest politicians, who delivered themselves of much clever talk of complicated nature, of learned disquisitions. But the practical painters, who composed a good half of the crowd of almost one thousand present, did not seem to like them. At times this disapproval manifested itself in that impromptu musical performance of barbaric nature, as is produced by spoons and chinaware. If the painters were seeking amusement, well and good. Unhappily, they were seeking truth. The speakers all claimed to deal in painters welfare, but they found that they could not stop contradicting one another long enough to satisfy the workers. So they all took to general appraisal and clarification of Mr. Zauser himself, as a solace, and, having a sense of humor, tried to shock the congregation present into believing they had taken to drink. It was all canned comedy that passed for wit and reason.

Superior mortals, these labor-fakers! Near superman! They don't consider themselves part of the working class—and they are not, if we mean by that the producing class. They are merely funkies, lackeys and valets of their superiors. And what's a valet to "produce" besides a well-groomed master!

"Zauser is the greatest leader in the country. Long live Zauser!" shouted somebody. The poor simp

FROM THE MILITANTS

A New Method of Expulsion

New York.—Every C. P. member knows that there is bureaucracy "in the party", and it must be admitted that if this bureaucracy does not grow beyond certain limits it can be a basis only for criticism but not opposition. But every few party members are conscious of the fact that there exists a bureaucracy "over the party" which considers itself beyond criticism.

The Upholsterers section of the Furniture Workers Industrial Union, of which I am a member, contains within it the former Left wing of Local 76. A. F. of L. Towards the latter part of July local 76 called a mass meeting of all the upholsterers. It was rumored that this meeting would call a general strike of the upholsterers for the next morning but no one was certain.

On the same night of this mass meeting the C. P. leadership of the Industrial Union called together its party fraction and a few who were close to the party for a meeting. This meeting opened by baptizing those present as the "strike committee" which began to lay plans for a general strike of its own about two weeks later.

During the discussion a party member who has since dropped out asked about the possibility of a joint strike of the framemakers and the upholsterers. The framemakers were then, as now, controlled by the Industrial Union. The reply was, that if Mr. Thies, the business agent of local 76 A. F. of L. would sign an agreement with the Industrial Union to keep the upholsterers out on strike in sympathy with the framemakers then the Industrial Union would keep the framemakers out in sympathy with the upholsterers. I argued his point further saying that the unity of a strike is not a matter to be left to Mr. Thies and I was answered in effect: that nothing else could or would be done about it. Unconsciously the C. P. leadership was admitting that the upholsterers would overwhelmingly follow local 76 A. F. of L. in the strike. Yet when I made a motion to elect a committee to go to local 76 for the forming of a united front, the motion wasn't even ascended.

The policy which was to be carried out, as expressed by comrades Piker and Hirsch, was so evident that no one dared to second my motion. (Since this time Hirsch has quit the leadership of the union and is now a foreman in a shop.) We then received information by phone that the meeting of local 76 was discussing the general strike for the next morning with demands of \$1.40 an hour and a thirty hour week and that it was a certainty the membership would accept them. The C. P. leadership had been

caught unawares. It also was now forced to call their strike for the next morning without consulting their membership.

It was decided to call the strike for 10 A. M. the next morning in order to give themselves two hours time in which to collect the strike tax passed upon at a previous membership meeting. Then they proceeded to pick the full-time workers for the conducting of the strike. When I reminded them that they had forgotten to formulate their demands, they adopted demands of \$1.00 per hour and a thirty-five hour week in the slack time and a forty hour week in the "season" which was considerably lower than those of the A. F. of L. My objection to this was not supported. A recess was called and I was not allowed to remain when the meeting was resumed. I was informed that there would be charges against me but I was not informed of the nature of the charges.

Since then I was not allowed to attend fraction meetings. After a long delay I was finally called to the District Discipline Commission of the C. P. The hearing was postponed and when I demanded to know what the nature of the charges were I was told that at present there were no charges. After another delay I again was called to the District D. C. and the hearing was held.

I was charged with giving information to the "Trotsky faction", breaking up the Tremont Workers Club a year ago when I worked with the party fraction of the club in fighting a financially corrupt opposition and that later when I applied for membership in the C. P. there was a charge of "Trotskyism" against my application of which I knew nothing about. Upon questioning I admitted my disagreement with the party on the trade union question and that I thought it was ridiculous to speak of Trotsky as a "counter-revolutionist". I denied everything else. The makers of the charges were not present at the hearing. No decision was reached, however, and I was told that I would be informed of a decision in about two or three weeks.

Months have passed and I have not yet been informed of any decision and I have not been allowed to attend either fraction meetings or party unit meetings. Neither my fraction nor my party unit was allowed to take up my case in my presence where I might defend myself.

The policy of the Stalinists, as carried out in my union, the bureaucratic handling of my case, the defeat of the C. P. in Germany, and the fact that no congress of the Third International has been called in almost six years proves to me that I belong in the Left Opposition where I can express my opinion without charges being made against me.

—ARTHUR BRANDMARK.

actually imagined he had said something in that borrowed bon-mot. The silence which ensued was broken by the a-propos remark of another near-gentleman, who piped "He is doing his best..."

"Zauser is a crook", somebody yelled with the top of his voice. Bang...whizz...boom...boom... General Bedlam: men rushed towards the centre of the trouble: bare-backed ladies stood on the chairs. "What is it?" "Who are the Communists?" "Who wants to fight?"

It took several minutes before order was restored. A little later two men with blood streaming down their foreheads were led down the stairs. The orchestra started "East side—West side..." Those nearest to the stage and furthest from light were emotionally following the tune by singing and swaying.

As time went on, it became evident that the crowd really wanted to hear their leader. Zauser's mug-face on the Menu-card wasn't enough for them. They wanted to hear what he's going to say. It has been a poor season, and thousands of painters had spent the peak of it in the picket lines. What have been the results of the strike so far? How much strength has the Union gained during this organizational drive? What about "after season"? etc.

Finally the dignified gentleman was introduced. He rose, threw his cigarette aside and unfolded his prepared speech. Many workers in far corners of the hall stared at his direction, humbly, hopefully, expecting any moment to hear something worth-while from the lips of the great leader. It was noticeable that the average, frail, vanity-filled worker was tremendously impressed by the commanding personality of the secretary-treasurer, and he waited like a blind fledgling for something to be dropped from his mouth.

But nothing happened. The same old demagoguery with which all class-conscious workers are familiar. He started with that great American delusion, the NRA and its benefits to the painters. Working upon the susceptibility of crowd-psychology, he even used, at times, some very radical phrases. But nothing concrete, nothing definite slipped from his lips that would benefit the worker. As for example of exempting the members of excessive dues-payment during the unemployment, of dividing of available work more equally amongst the members, of proposing an insurance system during the slack months, etc., not a word.

Yet—finally he said something!

Something that crowned the glory of his whole demagoguery. Said he: "...the Union conditions will be forced on whole industry, if necessary," "If necessary!" That reminds us of the br-rave general who, lacking both guns and ammunition, ordered a furious beating of drums to scare the enemy and hearten his followers. It is laughable especially when one notices how the "enemy"—the master-painter, the independent and the cockroach—does not put his tail between the legs and hike, and how some of the "brothers" do cheer the br-rave Phil. "Atta boy Phil! Tell it to 'em." The poor simps, who paid or were forced to pay \$3 and extra for admission, actually believed they were going to get something.

"If necessary!" What deliberate and calculated mockery. There never was a time when it was not necessary. Phil "threatens" "by force" "if necessary" to unionize the whole industry. In time when Local Secretaries are encouraging painters to work for \$5-\$6 a day instead of \$9 scale, in order to get that 50c a day tax, of which more than \$3,000 runs daily into the Union treasury at present. How the spirit of 1933 buncombe reverberates in those imitation-artillery drum beats!

And Phil standing heroically erect at the honor table, faces the enemy, some of whom are sitting right at the tables in front of him, and wig-wag his approval and congratulations at his noisy and harmless bluntness. And Phil, in reply, with his back to his "brothers", solemnly winks the other eye.

Will the industry ever be sufficiently organized, to dictate terms to the bosses?

Yes, when "necessary"—which is to say, when painters and all other workers in other industries compel it to be done whether the Zausers think it "necessary" or not.

—e.

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THE MILITANT
150 East 10th St. N. Y. C.

Discussion Articles

Two Internationals

(Continued from last issue)

The German social democracy, not to be distinguished from its international, did not pursue a revolutionary class policy, but in a period of approaching civil war continued to travel the road of reform. It feared most of all, the possibilities of a proletarian revolution in Germany and the bureaucracy of the O. S. P. did everything in its power to prevent such an occurrence. Taking advantage of the bankruptcy of Stalinism upon all important questions confronting the German workers, the officialdom of the G. S. P. toyed with the idea of the united front, hoping at all times that it would never really be consummated, because the development of the united front struggle against Fascism, would inevitably have pushed to the foreground the struggle for power by the German working class.

The main policy adopted by it during the whole situation was the support of the "lesser evil" as against Hitler. Under the policy of "toleration" of the "democratic elements" in Germany, it proceeded to support the Junker Hindenburg as the bulwark of democracy, against Fascism. Its main struggles against Fascism were purely parliamentary, and its fire was directed against the Communists.

Now that Hitler has taken power, how do these people look upon events in Germany? What have they learned over a period of years in which they pursued the policy of reform, of safeguarding bourgeois democracy, of prolonging the life of capitalism? At the International conference of the 2nd International, held in Paris last month, the German situation was chiefly discussed from the point of view of its effects upon the world socialist movement. The main points of view are presented below.

The opening speech by Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the International, reads as follows: "The German Social Democracy was too busy with its immediate problems and failed to formulate a general policy. THIS WAS THEIR MISTAKE. BUT THE REAL TROUBLE WAS THAT THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT WAS FACED BY THE BITTER HOSTILITY OF ORGANIZED COMMUNISM, and so Social Democracy was crushed..." (emphasis mine—A. G.)

And from Otto Wels, the leader of the German Party, under whose direction the traitorous policies of that organization was initiated: "We made various mistakes but our critics mostly forget the circumstances and facts of the situation in which we worked. Why did we not declare a full Socialist revolution in 1918? And here Wels goes on to attack the Allied countries and to say: "If they had been humane to us, everything would have been different." (emphasis mine—A. G.) And again: "We were driven by terrible circumstances... Only people who do not understand our terrible position can criticize us because we thought internationally (1). We ostracized the middle class in the crisis and Hitler went with the aid of the Communists, who fought us furiously to the very end."

The French Socialist Party
The leader of the French Socialist Party, Leon Blum, eloquently declared: "Real political democracy is impossible without economic democracy, bourgeois democracy being but a stepping stone. The Bolshevik think it is necessary only to gain power and to hold it, but we feel that we want real socialism and liberty."

These men who sank in the swamp of chauvinism, who, whenever it was in their power, throttled movements of revolt and rose to save this social order, have summarized the colossal German defeat. You have the results: (1) The Allies were unfriendly to the "tender republic," (2) The Communists were hostile to social democracy. The conclusions: (1) Greater defense of "democratic" capitalism. (2) Reaffirmation of the policies of the German social democracy.

Here you witness no criticism of the "general line," no questioning of the theoretical outlook of social democracy, no criticism of the tactics of the leadership. It was circumstances and the Communists that were responsible for the defeat. Along with the admission of a defeat, "there are signs that the Hitler regime cannot last much longer. The German socialists and workers will fight bravely and their victory is certain." (Wels). Thus inflated optimism and the promise of struggle in the future.

It is quite true that little else could be expected from this gathering. Every revolutionary worker knew that there could be no other evaluation of the German events by these people. They prepared the ground for all that has taken place. We have treated them briefly, because much has already been said of them and of their role in the labor movement. But it is important to observe their actions during and after great events in order that we may learn from such occurrences, and make comparisons. Here nothing has changed since the first betrayal of 1914. We turn now to the Communist International and its relation to the German events.

III. The Comintern

Matters stand in no different light with regards to the Comintern. The policy pursued by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, was essen-

tially in an active political sense no different than the policy of social democracy. The likeness lay in that neither programs led in the direction of a possible victory of the proletariat. Quite the contrary, the line pursued by both organizations, spelled inevitable defeat for the German workers. And here, the question of consciousness or unconsciousness, has no real meaning. Objectively, the line of march of social democracy and Stalinism led to the victory of Fascism.

If Social democracy held to the theory of the "lesser evil", the Stalinists advanced the position of "national and social emancipation of the German people". When Wels and company came out in support of Hindenburg, Thaelmann and Neumann, drove the Communist party into Hitler's referendum, at the same time substituting the historic slogan of the proletarian revolution with the petty-bourgeois and reactionary slogan of the "peoples revolution". Advancing the theory of Social Fascism, Stalinism refused and prevented the formation of an effective united front struggle against Hitler. On this question, it played directly into the hands of the social democratic bureaucracy. In the course of the past three years, it successfully denied the growth of Fascism, or proclaimed that a victory of reaction would lead to the immediate triumph of the proletarian revolution. Instead of preparing the extra legal struggle, the party of the revolution carried on a purely parliamentary battle against the Brown Shirts, differing in no way from the methods of struggle of the social democracy. Its vacillating and speculative approach to the united front when Hitler was made Chancellor, bound the proletariat hand and foot.

Fascism and Social Democracy
Now, the working class is taught to believe that it has to go through the brutal stage of Fascism before it can experience the victory of the proletarian revolution. The demoralized ranks of the Communist International is given to understand and made to believe too, that the height of revolutionary strategy consisted in maintaining the demerit of the German workers, and conversely, that the united front was inimical to the interests of the revolution. On the day that Hitler was made Chancellor, the G. S. P. proclaimed the main danger to be the social democracy. When the Fascists were marching into power, the Stalinists continued to assert that the main struggle must be directed against the G. S. D. P. All of these outrages were committed in the name of Marx and Lenin. And at each new stage of the struggle, when comrade Trotsky in his numerous pamphlets and articles, and the I. L. O. in its declarations, were pointing the revolutionary way out of the difficult German situation, new expressions, new slanders, new characterizations were invented by these organizers of defeats.

Accepting Fascist functionaries into its ranks, canonizing fascist army officers who excelled in the anti-semitic campaign taking place in Germany, publishing their pamphlets and printing their articles because they announced their adherence to the Party when it issued its nationalistic slogans, only hastened the collapse of the German Party.

Revolutionists never expected the prosecution of a revolutionary course by social democracy. But they did expect that the tactics of the Communists would have severed the millions of social democratic workers from the tall of reformism and win them to the side of the revolution. This was possible only through one tactic: the united front. From the moment that the G. S. P. refused to utilize this supreme tactic of uniting the proletariat, all thought of winning the social democratic worker, was pure illusion. Experience is the only test for policy. What transpired in Germany stands out as the greatest indictment of the policies pursued by social democracy and Stalinism.

Evaluating the German Events
How does the Comintern evaluate the German events? From a disgraceful silence of almost three years, it finally recorded itself in a declaration that appeared in the world Stalinist press. The contents of the declaration can be summarized as follows: The victory of Fascism is not a defeat of the German workers. The German revolution has not only not been defeated, but is well-nigh on the upgrade and will break forth very soon. The German Communist Party is stronger and more active today than prior to the victory of Hitler. The policies of the G. S. P. under the leadership of Thaelmann (that means the policies of the Comintern) were absolutely correct. There were no errors committed. The social democracy is to blame for the victory of Fascism. The Party could not make the revolution because it did not have the support of the workers in Germany (1). Then the statement concludes by garbling and distorting a quotation from Lenin on what constitutes a revolutionary situation, in order to prove that such a condition was absent in Germany prior to March 5, 1933.

What essentially is different here from the "explanations" made by the social democracy? Nothing of genuine importance. Social democracy blames the Stalinists, the

Stalinists blame social democracy. The social democrats feared the united front because it would inexorably have led to the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists played into their hands by preventing the execution of this tactic. The social democracy carried on a pure parliamentary struggle against Fascism, the C. P. G. did likewise, warning the Brown Shirts, following their march before the Liebknecht House, to beware the results of the elections. Social democracy declares that Hitler is on the verge of collapse and that his overthrow is imminent; the Stalinists declare that the revolution is today on the order of the day. Both declare their policies to have been entirely correct and signify their intention to continue along the same lines. The revolutionary worker can begin to draw his own conclusions on the basis of these facts.

IV.

With the defeat of the German party, the backbone of the Comintern was broken. Aside from the German party, the largest and strongest party in the international in the capitalist world, the C. I. is composed of small ineffectual organizations that play either small or no roles at all in the countries where they exist. With the collapse of the German party, the most powerful defense instrument for the Soviet Union has been destroyed. Yet, apparently undaunted, the Stalinist leadership organizes distinct defense organizations of musicians, actors, pacifists, soldiers, scientists and others of the same stripe who are and represent nobody in a class sense, as the defenders of the Soviet Union. The anomaly consists in this: that the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat, the only real defenders of the October Revolution, are hampered and made sterile, and are thus unable to build truly revolutionary organizations for the struggle for power (which in the last analysis is the decisive defense of the Soviet Union), while neo-symbolizers of the Soviet Union (those who are rallying to it since the construction of the isolated, independent and nationalist socialist society) are being made the defenders of the Soviet Union and apostles of anti-war work. The latter, as life has shown time and again, will be the first ones to fail and stumble over one another in their hurry to reach their homes, when the first serious conflicts arise, while the revolutionary has been strangled.

Capitulation to Fascism

Before the Nazis gained their victory, the party and the international always boasted about what would happen AFTER Fascism took power. Thus, Remmele in Reichstag: "If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away... They will come to grief more speedily than any other government." (Rote Fahne, October 16, 1931.) We do not doubt that eventually and finally the proletariat will come to victory in Germany as elsewhere. What the

events in Germany prove is what has always been understood by Marxists: there is no hopeless situation as no guarantees for the proletariat for capitalism, just as there is not. The decisive element in such situations is the party of the working class. Post-war events have shown that in most cases it was precisely this subjective factor that was lacking, in order to bring about victory for the workers. In Germany this failure of the subjective factor has brought about tragic consequences for the international movement. Today, following this defeat, the German Party offers conditions by which to overcome Fascism. These conditions were borrowed almost totally from the proposals made by the Left Opposition of Germany, in December 1931. At the present moment these proposals have no concrete importance. To think that you can today organize a united front of the working class in Germany is to learn nothing from events. Or, to believe that it is now possible to establish committees of action or armed defense corps, to carry on the fight against the Fascist butchers, is to run about two years behind events.

The Recognition of the German Working Class

What is necessary in Germany today, is clarity. The workers must be taught to understand what took place and why it took place. The German working class will reconstitute itself in a final struggle against Fascism. But one thing certain, this reorganization of the ranks of the German workers will not take place upon the basis of the social democracy of Stalinism. The lessons of the social-democratic betrayal, the confusion and error of the Stalinists, which objectively brought about the same results as did the policy of Social Democracy, have left deep scars upon the proletariat. The "lesser-evil" theory, the policy of toleration, Social Fascism, united front from below, People's Revolution, bureaucratic centralism and national socialism, are dead in Germany, and cannot play any role in the reconstruction of the German revolutionary movement. The German working class will reconstitute itself on the basis of the proletarian revolution, upon the foundation of internationalism, above all.

The international proletariat is marching toward a new period of clarification. Betrayal by social democracy for twenty years, ten years of defeat under the bankrupt policies of Stalinism are forcing definite changes in the ranks of the world proletariat. Clarification as to these defeats of the working class in the "era" of wars and revolutions is indispensable. The needs of the situation demand a re-examination of our own ranks. In this period of clarification, the world proletariat will march forward on the basis of a revolution of events and a reorganization of the forces upon an international revolutionary foundation. That foundation is Marxism, mutilated today by Reformist Social Democracy and the National Socialist doctrines of Stalinism. ALBERT GLOTZER.

The Stalinist Mistake Factory-- Karl Radek and the Polish Prince

There are words which have acquired a sort of currency in the official Communist Party. Such for example is the word "mistake". "We made a mistake here"—is a sort of a formula in the Stalinist ritual, which is intended to the Grand Master of defeats. But there are mistakes and mistakes. If a disaster such as that in Germany takes place it is due not to "mistakes", it is due to a break with all the fundamental principles of revolutionary Communism. To call this a mistake is to dodge the issue criminally. And the history of the party since the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923 is nothing but such kind of dodging, this is because the Stalinist factory of "mistakes" cannot stop by itself. It can be stopped only by timely interference of the Russian and international proletariat before the Stalinist perversion of Leninism succeeds in invoking a terrible disaster on the Soviet Union itself.

Polish Diplomacy Blatantly Explained
Take for example "Izvestia", the official organ of the Russian Soviets. In the issue for September 8, 1933, Karl Radek takes a stand against Prince Sapieha, the former minister of foreign affairs of Poland, under Pilsudsky. Karl Radek informs us that this prince wrote an article in which he stated that Germany should be compensated for the loss of the territory which went to Poland in the "corridor", by "an expansion in grand style" farther to the East than Poland. This, the prince argues, is cheaper than to smash one's head on the barrier of the "corridor".

Here you can see that the Polish prince, defending the interests of "his country" and his class both nationally and internationally, indicates a concrete way out of the present difficulties. But the "international" revolutionist Radek who does his bit in helping to build complete socialism in the Soviet Union alone becomes indignant that Prince Sapieha is attempting "TO DISCREDIT POLISH DIPLOMACY IN THE EYES OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT" (underlined by Radek).

Further Prince Sapieha writes that "Poland would be tied by the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union only if this pact would obligate Poland in some more serious matters. But... there are no immediate prospects of an of-

tensive on the part of Poland against the Soviet Union and at the same time the non-aggression pact does not contain any clause which forbids Poland to participate in any economic war against the Soviet Union". Besides, adds the prince, the pact is conducted for three years only, and historically speaking three years is a short period.

Radek's Comment

At this point the indignation of Karl Radek becomes high and carries him away completely into the realm of noble feelings. He does the robes of one of the highest priests of the infallible idol Stalin and indignantly pointing his finger to the sky solemnly proclaims: "We establish the fact that the former minister of foreign affairs of Poland is attempting to convince the world, that the Polish diplomacy in signing the principle political documents on non-aggression and accepting the greatest political obligations before the face of the whole world is only acting a play for a short period of time"

It sounds unbelievable, but here is the sad truth. A Polish bourgeois statesman informs the Polish and German bourgeois. In clear language that the non-aggression pact is not to be taken too seriously. That if Hitler wants to compensate himself for the Polish "corridor" it is no use for him to get embroiled with Poland. That a better way out is an expansion "in grand style" farther to the East. Radek sees far enough to state that the warning of the prince about smashing one's head against the "corridor" is nothing but an offer to give away "the corridor" if both Poland and Germany can agree about this "grand style" of destroying the Soviet Union and compensating themselves for the expenses of this destruction.

And the former revolutionist, Radek, becomes indignant about the chicanery of the former statesman and tells the world proletariat that this politician should be watched because... he wants to mislead those loyal bourgeois politicians who signed the non-aggression pact with the best intentions. —L. KOGAN.

NEXT WEEK

5th Anniversary of MILITANT
In next week's issue, which marks the fifth anniversary of the MILITANT, special articles commemorating the event will appear by various members of the editorial board.

In Exile on the Tierra Del Fuego

Argentine Reactionaries Use Torture on Militant Bolshevik-Leninist

There were those old reprobates from justice lured by the storms of life who could not hide their emotions.

Propaganda in Prison

The grey days drag by interminably. We have neither books, pen, nor a piece of paper. No news of any kind from the outside. A veritable tomb for the living. We decide to break the oppressive atmosphere of this routine life. With another comrade we begin a course on "trade union organization". Then another on the "role of the worker in the revolutionary struggle". Some days later, on the request of comrades, we start a lecture on "historical materialism and political economy". And also on the request of all the comrades, I give a history of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and another on the criticisms and program of the Left Communist Opposition.

Never have I seen a greater interest shown than by these comrades who followed the explanations made in the course of day by day. During this time we carried on as intense a political life as the prison rigor would permit.

We are again on board the "Pampa". A sad ending for this proud boat which bears more resemblance to a slave ship than a war transport. Many things had become worse. They put us in the last hold. They close the hatchways. We suffocate. We must satisfy all our needs here... A furious storm hits us as we leave the Malre grait. The old "Pampa" is thrown pell-mell; the pans full of urine and excretions roll with the men who vomit over one another.

A Fight on the Prison Ship
It is no longer bearable. We try to speak with the officer of the guards. He answers with insults. We cry out. We decide once for

all, take some planks which serve as a ram and begin to strike at the walls of the vessel. The steam pipes burst open. The hold is filled with smoke. We are suffocated like rats. Several men fall but we continue to bang away furiously. Finally they invite us to a parley. We demand to be let out, in short to travel like men and not to be trapped like beasts. Accepted.

We spend the remainder of the trip on deck except when we enter a port.

After ten days we arrive, half of us are sick. We have returned to Villa Devoto. Strange thing! They place the political prisoners in quarter 30 which is meant for common criminals, instead of sending us to quarter 20 where we belonged. The police are cooking up something against us. We protest; in vain. The fourth day, anticipating the authorities, we begin demonstrations. Outside are workers, awaiting our release, who learn of our protest. In quarter 30 several prisoners cut themselves and shove bloody handkerchiefs and shirts through the windows. The guards intervene at first with water hoses and then with tear gas. They cannot subdue us. The director comes to the quarter: "on order from the chief of police I demand they cease their protest. I will then appeal and they will be put at liberty." We have won.

Again At Liberty
The police plan, which consisted in allowing several days to pass so as to ship us to the department, to put us at liberty in order to lock us up again "for carrying arms", had failed.

We are again at liberty. We will struggle for those who remain in the grip of the hegemony of capitalism, and particularly for the comrades we have left behind in Tierra Del Fuego which can be quite correctly called Tierra Maudite.

We are taking up our places again in the ranks of the Left Opposition, the advanced guard in the struggle for Communist revolution. Buenos Aires, July 1933. —EDUARDO ISLAS.

International Notes

THE L. O. IN LITHUANIA

The Left Oppositionists in Lithuania have been definitely constituted in an organized group, working in conditions of illegality. The comrades have begun the propagation of our ideas by translating the documents of the League of Internationalist Communists into the Lithuanian language. A secretary of the organization has been elected—The Lithuanian comrades write that the number of our sympathizers is increasing, particularly in the ranks of the official party.

The intellectuals of the group are conducting political courses among the workers—"The activity of the Oppositionists has provoked an odious campaign by the Stalinists against them. Every member of the official party has received a warning: fraternization with a 'Trotskyite' means immediate and irrevocable expulsion" from the party. The names of the leaders of Opposition are published in the illegal organ of the party, *Partijos darbas* (Party Activity). This is equivalent to denunciation to the police.

We greet our new adherents and we hope soon to be able more extensively to inform on their activity.

NATI. CONFERENCE OF SWISS

Our Swiss section held its national conference on September 23. This conference has an enormous importance for the future development of the Bolshevik-Leninists in

Switzerland.—After approving the new orientation, the conference adopted the name, "Marxist Action". A new organ under the same name has been issued. The first number dealing with the very important questions of the Zurich elections, has revolutionized in the whole Swiss press.—It is very significant and encouraging to note that the members of the S. A. P. living in Switzerland belong to this new organization.

Great opportunities are opening for our Swiss comrades. It is a known fact that a development to the left has taken place in the Schaffhausen organization, still affiliated to the I. C. O. of Brandler.

THE ILP AND THE MOVEMENT FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The London New Leader, central organ of the British Independent Labour Party, announces, in the last issue of the paper received here, the publication of a discussion paper entitled *Controversy*. "Controversy" the London paper says "will, we hope, all the need for a organ where party policy and other points of difference can be thrashed out. The paper is for inner party circulation and members of the I. L. P. will be expected to participate in the discussion ranging over its pages. The first issue will appear on November 11 and will contain, besides articles on party policy, an article by Trotsky on 'Whether the I. L. P. The merit of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Need for a New International'."

WORKS by TROTSKY

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EDITORIALS

Bellussi

The attitude toward foreign-born workers menaced by deportation has been a touchstone of labor solidarity in this country for many years—since the United States ceased to be an asylum for political refugees and its government officials became man-catchers for the tyrants of other lands. Twenty-five years ago the move of the U. S. government—during the administration of another Roosevelt—to hand over a refugee to the rulers of Czarist Russia, for torture and death at their hands, became an outstanding political issue of the day. All the radical labor bodies united in a stormy protest movement which raised the workers to their feet and stopped the deportation. Since that time, especially since the war, the club of deportation earned its place as one of the chief weapons of reaction and its victims have always counted on the warm sympathy and support of the class conscious workers.

This has been especially so in the case of those brought up for deportation to countries ruled by white terror and fascism. The soulless brutality of sending a worker to prison or death in another land, without even the accusation of a crime being laid against him in this country, revolts every human instinct. More than one intended victim has been saved from this fate by the intervention of the radical workers through protests, legal talent and financial aid. Solidarity with the foreign-born workers up for deportation has been a bond of unity between all the class conscious workers worthy of the name.

Anthony Bellussi, held in prison today with an order of deportation to Fascist Italy already pronounced against him, presents a case of exceptional importance and appeal. Here is the now long-familiar story of the rebel against tyranny in his own country seeking asylum in America and finding it a trap, its government officials in league with the foreign tyrant and catching victims for him. Here is the story, over new, bright and fresh, of the indomitable militant who travels the world as a refugee and remains true to the banner wherever he may be. Here is the whole rage and hate and fury of the struggle of the workers against fascism embodied in the person of a single man, a prisoner marked for the vengeance of the fascist beast.

Why is this case not raised to prominence in the radical labor movement and made an issue of the anti-fascist struggle? Why is his name not made a symbol of the fight as it deserves to be? Why are no serious efforts being made to save him from the vengeance of Mussolini by providing transportation and securing asylum for him in some other country? Let the International Labor Defense answer that question—it receives the support of radical workers on its express promise to defend the interests of all victims of bourgeois class justice regardless of their affiliations. Let the *Daily Worker* answer and explain why it suppresses all news about the Bellussi case and does not even mention his name.

Is it because comrade Bellussi, although not a member of the Left Opposition, was arrested on a charge of distributing copies of the *Militant*? Is it because the persecution of Bellussi for this offense contradicts the theory that "Trotskyists" are counter-revolutionists and fascists combined? And one more question: Many workers slated for deportation to fascist and white terror countries have finally been saved from this fate by securing permission to enter the Soviet Union. Will this opportunity be given to Bellussi? Perhaps Litvinoff can answer the last question. It is a matter of international proletarian solidarity. Can anything be more important?

The C. P. L. A. Convention

WHEN the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C. P. L. A.) meets at Pittsburgh on November 18th it will confront as its major problem the outstanding issue presented by international developments—the question of a new international and, consequently, of a new party. This issue of internationalism will overshadow all the convention proceedings despite, or more correctly because of, the deliberate policy of home-grown American radicalism espoused by the organization. Internationalism dominates working class politics and grants no exemptions. It takes its revenge, with a special ironic twist, precisely on those nationally-limited groups which seek to enclose themselves in a national stockade and shut out the winds of Europe and the whole world.

The Lovestone group dedicated itself with a touching "realism" to the idea of a special American brand of Communism. Within the year it suffered one convulsion over the "Russian" question and is now in the throes of another over the "German" question. The C. P. L. A.—still more "American"—is next in order. It is caught in the whirlpool of international issues and every attempt, at Pittsburgh and afterward, to build exclusively on the basis of America will result all the more surely in a demonstration of the utter futility of such a program.

Internationalism is the motto of our epoch, and the determining influence in all tendencies in the labor movement. For all its ardent "Americanism", the C. P. L. A. is itself a by-product of the crisis and disintegration of official Communism in America which proceeds from international causes. The emergence of the C. P. L. A. as an organized body of "progressives" in the trade unions coincided with the first signs of the devastation wrought by the notorious "third period", in America—and not by accident either. Each step the C. P. L. A. has taken to the left—and that has been the general line of its recent development—would have rendered its separate existence more precarious, unnecessary and, eventually, impossible if official Communism had not retreated, in the same period, the general bankruptcy of Stalinism on an international scale.

The existence of a healthy party of revolutionary Communism on the one side, and an organization breaking away from reformism and proclaiming revolutionary aims on the other, would raise insistently in the minds of the revolutionary workers, and especially those in the C. P. L. A., the question of fusion into a single party. If the contrary has been the case; if the ill-starred bloc with the Stalinists came so soon to such a sorry end; if the Muste organization even has experienced a certain growth of influence in the recent period—the real explanation does not lie in "American peculiarities" but rather in the American expression of an international phenomenon—the bankruptcy of the Comintern. The C. P. L. A. owes its transient hour as an independent American movement primarily and fundamentally to factors which are international in their scope.

This situation is, by its very nature, temporary. Further developments of the crisis in the international movement of the workers' vanguard are up-

setting the old conditions. Positive forces of new revolutionary life are making their way against the stream, combatting the disintegration, preparing the foundations of a new movement. This is the meaning of the steps already taken in Europe toward the formation of a new Communist International. These new developments are bound to exert a powerful influence in all workers' political organizations and to lead irresistibly to the fusion of all the genuinely revolutionary elements into a single party. Perpetual centrist groupings, such as the C. P. L. A., will not be able to stand aside. They will be drawn with compelling force into the process of differentiation taking place under the sign: for or against the new Communist Party and the New International.

The influence of this issue in the ranks of the C. P. L. A. is already demonstrated in the fact that the question of a new political party has taken the central place on the agenda of the Pittsburgh Conference. It would be too much to expect that a constructive answer will be given there. The C. P. L. A. as a whole is by no means yet prepared to participate in the formation of a new party of Communism, to say nothing of playing a leading or monopolistic role in this enterprise. The plan to change the name of the C. P. L. A.—to label it the new party—is indicated in the programmatic article by Budenz in the Nov. 8th issue of *Labor Action* is doomed to complete failure. It is an "easy" answer that solves nothing. Proclaiming itself the new party will not relieve the organization of the problem which will arise the day after the adjournment of the Conference and grow more insistent every day.

The organization of a new party is a colossal undertaking. What is to be its principle basis, what consciousness does it draw from the Russian Revolution and the experience of the Comintern under Lenin and under Stalin, with whom it is to be formed, what shall be its international affiliation?—these are the vital questions to which all the revolutionary workers in the C. P. L. A. and those moving toward a revolutionary position will demand a clear answer.

The Left Opposition has given its answer to these questions already. Our program is Marxism—the first four Congresses of the Comintern, and the 11 points of our International pre-Conference, the September 30th Declaration of the League. We are ready to unite with the revolutionary elements of other organizations for the formation of a new party and a new international—on the condition that it be a Communist Party and a Communist International. This is our message to the C. P. L. A. Conference. We trust it will be given consideration there and that those who stand for a new party through the union of all the revolutionary Communist forces will see the importance and necessity of the conference taking a definite and precise attitude toward our proposals.

Trade Union Tactics

WITH the entrance of new masses of workers into the A. F. of L. unions a new favorable basis for the rapid reconstruction of a strong Left wing in the labor movement has been provided. If the correct tactics are employed, the new Left wing should take on a broad scope. The narrowing down of the trade unions in the period preceding the recent labor revival gave exceptional advantages to the conservative officialdom which based itself on the more skilled and relatively well-placed workers. Supported from the left by the bankrupt trade union policy of the Stalinists the reactionaries tightened their grip on the unions all along the line. The heavy influx of new members radically changes the internal situation of the unions in favor of a revolutionary development. Will the Left wing be able to seize the opportunity and press forward with a realistic line of tactics? Or, will the same bankrupt policy, which aided the annihilation of the organized Left wing before, operate to prevent its resurgence now. At the present moment this is the most important question of the revolutionary movement.

The problem is especially acute in the needle trades, and notably in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The outcome of the strike, on top of previous developments, finally consolidated the position of the I. L. G. W. U., swelled its ranks with new thousands of members and eliminated the Industrial Union as a trade union factor.

The workers who once followed the Left wing, first inside the International and later outside, are back in the old union. If the militants now adjust themselves to reality and work on the basis of the union, to strengthen it as a fighting instrument of the workers, great successes for the new Left wing are inevitable. But if they take the position that the International is not their union, if they appear in the International as agents of the non-existent Industrial Union, they are bound to isolate and discredit themselves and alienate the workers who regard the union as their own and want it to serve them. By that they will strengthen the grip of the reactionary bureaucrats in the needle trade for a long time to come. Yet this idiotic tactic is precisely the one which the Stalinists, who learn nothing and forget nothing, are prescribing for the Left wing of the International!

This is the greatest menace to the prospect of a resurgent militant movement in the needle trades. The wrecking crew which ruined everything before by its stupidity is trying now to prevent any serious repairs being made. The question of what to do about it is being raised by those workers who want to struggle for a militant policy in the International and, at the same time, count on the cooperation of the Stalinists. The answer is clear. It is impossible to work successfully in one union in the interest of another. You cannot even begin a serious struggle inside the International until you make a complete break with the sabotaging policy of the Stalinists.

Does this imply a break with those who follow or try to follow the Stalinist policy in the union. Absolutely. And the sooner the better. Cooperation in the task of rebuilding the Left wing is possible only on the basis of a correct policy. Stalinism which destroyed the Left wing will never be the policy which rebuilds it. The new Left wing in the needle trades will arise from the joint labors of those workers who understand this thoroughly and do not hesitate to draw the full conclusions from it.

Hesitation on this crucial point out of reluctance to make a division in the opposition can only paralyze the work of the revolutionary militants and play the game of the reactionaries in the International, as in every other trade union. A clean break with the bankrupt and discredited tactics of Stalinism is today the first prerequisite for the emergence of an effective Left wing. Those who mean business in the labor movement and see the issue clearly will make this break at all costs and without delay.

The New Rift in the Right Wing

(Continued from Page 1)

perilous war never lived than Eugene Debs. He was however debased to the function of window-dressing for the party which represented in this country the International of capitulation and betrayal. In his day, there were not a few rogues who sought to conceal their own shame and criminal record under his untroubled mantle, just as years later the Italian social democrats who paved the way for Mussolini hid behind the coffin of the immortal Matteotti. This revolting practice does not become one whit more alluring when the Stalinist bureaucracy and its right wing attorneys take refuge behind the magnificent conduct of Dimitroff at Leipzig and Berlin or denigrate references to the thousands of party militants prostrate under the heel of Fascism. What is decisive is not the heroism of Matteotti; it is not the superb courage of the martyrs to Fascism who are now in its docks and concentration camps. What counts is the systematically fatal policy of Stalinism which led to the situation where Torgler is in the docks instead of Hitler, where the Communists and Socialists are imprisoned instead of the mad dogs of reaction!

The "Existence" of the German C. P.

"The C. P. G. certainly exists, although greatly reduced in numbers, and still includes in its ranks some of the most advanced and most courageous class conscious workers of Germany, an essential element for the reconstruction of the C. P. G." Upon this fact, says Lovestone, "any realistic policy in Germany must be based."

A fact it certainly is, but it is not upon that that the policy must be based. In 1917, and 1918, the same and more could have been said about the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the Wilson regime, its papers suppressed, its meetings prohibited. Yet the proletarian revolutionists declared that the old party no longer sufficed—a new one had to be built. The old party, its program, its bureaucracy, had failed to meet the test of the war, to learn the lessons of the collapse of the Second International and to absorb the teachings of the Russian revolution. The Communists of that day did not (Lovestone deliberately attributes such a stupid attitude to us today) therewith give up hope of winning over the "most advanced and most courageous class conscious workers" in the Socialist parties. Quite the contrary. They set themselves that task and accomplished it with varying success, winning over the majority in some cases. But this was nowhere done on the basis of continuing with the attempt of "reforming" what was beyond reform, but of building up new and independent Communist parties.

When Lenin in 1914, and the Comintern in 1919, declared that the Second International was dead, the Lovestones of that day made the clever retort that there were hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers still in the ranks of the social democracy, which as a matter of fact even experienced a period of growth after the world war, without bringing the Second International to life again. But as is known to most six-year olds, it was never a question of the physical existence of the Second International. It died on August 4th as a revolutionary or progressive force. It was on that historic day that the progressive function it had fulfilled in the two preceding decades—the function of breaking the proletariat away from the bourgeoisie and organizing it into independent mass working class parties—came to a dead stop. The possibilities for progress within the framework of the old International were completely exhausted and a new one had to be built on different foundations.

1914 and 1933

The collapse of 1914 and the collapse of 1933 have this in common essentially: the possibilities for progress, for reform of the Stalinists have now proved to be completely exhausted. Just as the collapse 10 years ago was the expression of the socialist bureaucracy's attempt to save its own life and its organizational base at the expense of the interests of the proletariat, so the collapse today expresses the Stalinist surrender of the interests of the German proletariat, of the world revolution, in order to preserve the interests of the reactionary bureaucratic caste which has usurped the Soviet state apparatus and which counterposes the building of socialism in Russia to the extension of the revolution on a world scale. Therein lies the August 4th of the International today.

It is not hopeless, insists Lovestone. "The official Communist party is today more accessible than ever to the influence of the Opposition struggle carried on by our group." Precisely so did the Kautskys and other Centrists argue against Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the formative period of the Comintern. Lovestone has here dislocated the subject and the object, for the sentence should read: "The Lovestone group is today more accessible than ever to the influence of the Stalinist party." When the apologists for social patriotism outside the ranks of the Second International clamored loudest that the old socialist parties were on the verge of succumbing to their in-

fluence, of being won over to "revolutionary" Kautskianism—the noise served only to cover up the retreat of the Centrists into the camp of the social patriots. If Lovestone is painting up the Stalinist parties to make them look pretty and robust, rejuvenated instead of sterile, it is only with a view to the approaching return of the Right wing to them.

What Lovestone writes about the relationship between the German events and the Comintern, or between them and the C. P. S. U., in his anonymous polemic against Zam, is quite correct, even if it deals a stiff blow to the whole body of dogma erected to justify the queer policy of international Brandism. In defense of this policy, Brandism has contended that while Stalinism is more than capable of pursuing a wrong policy in the capitalist countries, it is capable of pursuing only a correct policy in the U. S. S. R., where it is historically necessary, justified and irrefragable. Now Lovestone argues from exactly the opposite standpoint: if new Communist parties are to be built in Germany and the rest of the capitalist world, "very obviously, this means a 'new' party in the Soviet Union" because "the C. P. S. U. and the C. I. . . . are at least as responsible for this (the German) course as the C. P. G. leadership itself."

A Brandist Contradiction

This is quite correct, even if it does not constitute the only reason why a new Communist party must be formed in the Soviet Union. But how is such a line of reasoning to jibe with the previous Brandist philosophy according to which Stalinism in Russia was an entity by itself, separate and apart from Stalinism in the capitalist world? That Stalinism had to be defended in Russia regardless of what criticisms or attacks were made upon it elsewhere? That in a capitalist country independent "Communist parties" (Alsace, Sweden) were permissible provided they condoned the Stalinist robbery of the Russian party's independence? The philosophy is simply ignored—not dogmatically because it has been discarded by the Brandist, but paradoxically enough because in this particular instance a pseudo-internationalist universality is needed by Lovestone & Co. for his maligned defense of Stalin's security in the national apparatus.

The nationalist philistinism of the Lovestone position sticks out like a swollen thumb in his rejection of the new party for the United States. "Neither political nor organizational relations in the revolutionary movement of this country have changed materially in the last period of time. . . . To urge the formation of a new party in the U. S. A. on the basis primarily of alleged changes in the Communist movement in Germany, as do both the Trotskyites and others (that) tell Zam where he belongs!—S., discloses a hopeless divorce from

the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States."

How genuine and touching a tribute to the spirit of the late Morris Hillquit! It will be remembered how the recently deceased flunked against the Left wing in his party in 1919 because they wanted to build a new party and discard the old "on the basis primarily of alleged changes" produced by the equally alleged Russian revolution, and not on the basis of "the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States." Hillquit wrote more gracefully and persuasively; otherwise the arguments are identical, equally reactionary and intentionally misleading.

Culmination of Ten Years

The Left wing demanded a Communist party in 1919 not simply because "something" had happened in Germany in 1914 or in Russia in 1917, but because August 4th had sealed the fate of the Second International, its program, its philosophy, its tactics and because November 7th had verified the need of a new international, introduced a new program and new tactics of world wide applicability. We propose today a new International and new Communist party not because a little slip was "sincerely and genuinely" made in Germany, but because the German events marks the culmination of ten years of Stalinist revisionism, because the old Comintern has collapsed, because it was shipwrecked after the bureaucracy threw overboard its revolutionary internationalist ballast, sails, rudder, keelson: because the German events were the outcome of ten years of the dismemberment of the body of Leninist ideas put into the foundation stones of the International, ten years of socialism in one country, of repudiation of socialist intervention, of capitulation to the petty bourgeoisie, of objective aid in the preservation of the discredited social democracy, of "social fascism" and the united front from below, of strangling the Chinese revolution and the British revolutionary movement, of poisoning the ideological wellsprings of the Communist parties, of corruption, degeneracy and usurpation, of enormously enhancing the dangers to the Soviet republic, of systematically crushing the vanguard movement and reducing the International to a foreign agency of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is not we who are hopelessly divorced from actualities, but the Lovestones who are hopelessly fascinated and in love with the prospect of being graciously permitted to crawl back to the antechamber of the Stalinist chambers. In a deeper sense than is generally recognized—there lies the difference between us. That is why Lovestone continues to prop up the collapsing structure of Stalinism by means of specious argument and falsification.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Crisis in the Cuban Revolution

Events in Cuba are moving toward a crisis. The strike wave is coming up again. The struggle against American imperialism is taking a violent form in the cities. In the interior the situation is still deadlocked: the workers hold some mills and plantations as guarantees of their demands for higher wages and better conditions while the soldiers and student bands of the Caribbean Army sent against them have not come to grips with the workers except in one or two cases.

But this state of affairs cannot long continue. One way or another they must be resolved definitely in the interests of the workers or the American imperialists and their Cuban bourgeois servants. The sugar crop in Cuba matures in autumn or early winter. The harvesting begins in December. It is the aim of the government to drive the workers off the sugar plantations, before the harvest season comes round to insure the American and Cuban owners their vested rights and whatever potential profit there is in the crop.

The workers on the plantations who are armed and organized to some extent will resist the attempt to evict them. In the one or two attempts to evict them that have already taken place the workers have demonstrated that. The conflict may develop into a widespread civil war. If the government is successful the United States warships will not land their complement of devil dogs.

But if the fighting should go the other way through the going over of the soldiers to the workers as is not impossible, the American imperialists may resort to armed intervention. The capitalist press reports that the Washington administration is looking for a formula by which it can land marines.

The difficulty here is the result of this action and its consequences in Cuba would have in Latin America today the Latin American aspect of the question is at an acute stage. The attempt to drive the workers off the plantations coincides in time with the Pan-American Congress which is to convene shortly in Montevideo. For the United States capitalists this congress is an extremely important one. They will make a determined effort there to "adjust" the South and Latin American markets in the interests of "our" own trade. Any misstep in Cuba may tip the scales at Montevideo in favor of English,

which have been making inroads into these markets at the expense of the American brigands.

But if the policy of Yankee piracy is beset with difficulties from its trade rivalries it is unhampered by the international working class outside of Cuba. Nowhere is there a broad movement of the workers in defense of the struggling Cuban workers. The responsibility rests in the first instance, on the Stalinized Comintern.

The policy of the Comintern in the Cuban revolution is also the policy of the Communist Party of the United States, which of all the Communist parties outside of the Cuban party is the most directly involved in the struggle against American armed intervention. There is no movement in the United States. The Communist Party of the United States has demonstrated again its conception of internationalism. Its agitation is confined to articles in the *Daily Worker* and forum lectures. Demonstrations? There was one puny affair of the "vanguard" in Philadelphia. There may have been one or two others. But there has been no serious attempt to build a movement of support to the Cuban workers! Are the American Stalinists under orders not to "interfere" with the success of Litvinoff's diplomatic mission?

It is now the immediate, burning task of the advanced section of the American working class to come to the aid of the Cuban workers.

—T. STAMM.

BROOKLYN BR. ACTIVITIES

Wed., Nov. 15th, 8 P. M.—Meeting of Sympathizers on Branch Activities.

Wed., Nov. 22nd, 8 P. M.—International Workers School Student Assembly.

Fri., Dec. 1st, 8 P. M.—First Open Forum—Max Shachtman—The Soviet Union and the Fourth International.

Sun., Dec. 3rd, 8 P. M.—Private Showing of the Movies—The Russian Revolution.

Fri., Dec. 8th, 8 P. M.—Open Forum—Jack Weber—The New Deal and the Working Class.

Classes of the International Workers School, Brooklyn Branch, open the week of Nov. 27th. Classes are held from 8 to 10 P. M.

Monday Evenings: Principles of Communism.

Fundamentals of Marxism

Wednesday Evenings: History and Program of the Left Opposition.

History of the Russian Revolution.

Notes of the Week

"Pigs Is Pigs"

It might have been another chapter of the Mad Hatter and the March Hare. But it was actually a news account in the *New York Times*.

We refer to a story of triumph and justice as it is practiced in these United States, in this day and age—After NRA, after the New Deal and after the Rooseveltian exaltation and mobilization of the "Human Agencies."

In Brooklyn, the other day, a magistrate held court over a villain who maltreated three poor little pigs, copped up uncomfortably in a cage too tightly built. A representative of the S. P. C. A. after pondering over this sight (which was used as a display advertisement for a popular porcine comedy at the Flatbush Theatre) had the perpetrator of the crime arrested.

The judge, whose commiseration with such animals thereby becomes understandable, ordered the hogs freed, scolded the defendant and slapped the cryptic sentence:

"Pigs is pigs and not subway sardines."

All this may be found to be an exact rendition of the *Times* story on Wednesday, October 26, 1933. The magisterial announcement, reported here in all its cynicism, gives a good measure of capitalist justice and the system on which it is based. "Fit for pigs"—that's capitalist's right.

A Subway Sardine Commits Suicide
—With Apologies to the Police

John Subway Sardine, on election day known as Mr. Taxpayer or the Voice of the People and otherwise regarded with eulogies on the dignity of labor, leads a less dignified existence than the three little pokers. The courts are not for him. He is not provided with any warm covering to protect him from the cold (that was another point of litigation in the case of the Flatbush Theatre). There is no S. P. C. A. to prevent cruelty against him.

Yet, he holds the proud title of human being. He is, by the law—"a free man". Free to sell his labor power to the boss. Free to starve when the "supply of labor hands exceeds the demand."

How heinous this freedom is, how much human dignity is lowered beyond the range of swine by the "commodity market" which produces unemployment, may be gathered from another item in the week's news (World Telegram, Tuesday, November 7, 1933):

JOBLESS, GOING BLIND,
HIE SLASHES WRISTS

Note on Park Bench
Apologizes to Police
For Trouble.

Robert Guinevahl sat on a park bench in Central Park before dawn today and took stock of himself.

He was 35. He was hungry, jobless. He was going blind, and he could not pay for medical care. It would become worse when winter came.

He scribbled a note to police:—I am sorry, for causing all this trouble. Then he cut his wrists with a razor blade. He collapsed finally from loss of blood. A motorist took Guinevahl to Bellevue. Doctors said he might live.

How class justice deals kindness to pigs. Working class victims apologize for committing suicide! This is the U. S. A., 1933.

How long will workers stand for pig justice? How long will they apologize for going under? How long will they allow a system of society which degrades them to a fate lower than the beasts, to do its work of human distraction?

—G. . . .

CORRECTION
The first paragraph of comrade Abern's article in last week's *Militant* contains a misprint. The first fourteen lines of the article should have read as follows:

Edward Bernstein led the attack of reformism against the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels. Laying emphasis on immediate gains and objectives, Bernstein completely subordinated, or subverted the need of revolutionary strategy to guide the proletariat in its struggles. He lost sight of the ultimate goal of socialism—the goal which, on the one hand, conditions the character of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers and, on the other hand is determined by them. For the means employed will also determine the end.

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD
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Arne Swabeck

Vol. VI, No. 51 (Whole No. 198)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1933

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy



Probation for Food Workers

Stalinist Expulsion Order Revoked Under Pressure

The framed-up expulsions of James Gordon, Sec. Pappas and Sylvia Weiner from the food workers industrial union for the crime of "Trotskyism" (?) were revoked at the last membership meeting of the union at which the Stalinist inquisitors who put through the order at the meeting of the so-called "trial committee" were compelled to make a shameful retreat under pressure of the protest movement which was rising in the ranks not only of the left wing workers in general, but even of members of the official Communist party. Instead of being formally expelled, the three comrades are now put on probation.

A whole squad of Stalinist functionaries from the Trade Union Unity League, headed by Sam Assa, were in attendance at the membership meeting in order to supervise the discussion, procedure and conclusion. They had hoped that the original expulsion order could be put over without creating much of a stir, and that they would thereby be rid of three militants whose impeccable record in the union they were quite prepared to ignore completely in view of the fact that these Oppositionists had become a thorn in their sides, fighting their encroachment and their disastrous policies at every turn.

Workers' Protest
This plan came a cropper, however, when scores of workers, especially in the food and needle trades industry, made it perfectly clear that they intended to carry on a determined fight in behalf of those expelled and against those who so criminally kicked them out, going so far as to take one of them on her job simply because of her political views.

With the protests of these workers ringing in their ears, the Stalinist officials were compelled to reverse the decision of expulsion arrived at by their own party faction and present to the membership meeting a "recommendation" from the New York T. U. L. Council that the expulsion action be revoked and the three comrades put "on probation." "Expulsion," explained Assa to the meeting, "is too good for these individuals. We don't want to make heroes or martyrs out of them."

Purpose of "Probation"
When Gordon, in the course of an impassioned indictment of the bureaucrats and their course, demanded to know the precise nature of the "probation," the Stalinists refused to make any explanation at all. Gordon and Weiner both declared that they would accept no conditions. They were not guilty of any crime against the interests of the trade union or labor movement, and the charges concocted by the bureaucrats either had to be substantiated—which was impossible—or to openly withdrawn and squashed. The purpose of the so-called "probation" was, however, made clear by the Stalinists in an indirect manner. Their courage having failed them, and having been compelled to withdraw the expulsions in the face of the indignation of left wing workers, they are now seeking to accomplish the same end without the cums of the formal action. "We're going to make life miserable for you in this union until you're forced to quit," was the illuminating observation of one of the machine-men.

The final action taken by the meeting, the bulk of which was under the disciplinary domination of the party faction to which this union—like most of the C. P.-controlled unions—has been reduced in essence, was as follows:

Graduated "Sentences"
Comrade Gordon was put on probation. Comrade Weiner was also put on probation, and the job from which she had been removed in the party "Goops" restaurant, was returned to her, also "on probation." Comrade Pappas, who could not be present at the meeting because he was in the hospital, is to be forced to accept a "withdrawal card" from the union—which is a "polite" way of effecting his expulsion. Pappas, besides the crime of "Trotskyism," must also pay for the fact that his physical condition has been undermined by the loss of health and blood in dozens of militant battles of the union against employers, gangsters, and police. Rarely does even the most reactionary union in the country permit itself so cynical and brutal measures against a militant who has sacrificed as much for the working class movement as has Pappas. Gordon was given a bare five

Tag-Day for Terzani Defense This Week - End in N. Y. C.

To all Labor Organizations:
FELLOW WORKERS:

The United Front Terzani Tag-day Conference, held at 94 Fifth Avenue, Saturday, November 11th, decided on the following addresses as the Regional Headquarters for the Tag-days. On the 17th and 18th the United Front Committee will call to issue collection cans and receive collection cans from the collectors of all organizations participating in the Tag-day.

Addresses of Headquarters

Brooklyn:

Williamsburg:
289 S. 3rd Street

Flatbush:

841 Utica Avenue
2339 Church Avenue

Brownsville:

219 Sweeney Avenue

Bronx:

9 W. 170th Street
809 Westchester Avenue
2700 Bronx Park East
792 East Tremont Avenue

Rosa Park:

1377-42nd Street

Brighton:

1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Manhattan:

7 East 15th Street
100 W. 72nd Street
2005-7th Avenue
94 Fifth Avenue

1148 St. Nicholas Ave.
Queens:
30 Flushing
b206-27th Street
Near Queens Plaza
Long Island City.

Downtown Brooklyn:

157 Montague St.
Hensonhurst:
87 Bay 25th Street

Coney Island:

2202 Mermaid Ave.
333 Sheffield Ave.

The necessity of every labor organization and every worker giving the fullest support to the Tag-day cannot be over-emphasized. Terzani goes to trial November 27 and the results of the trial will ultimately affect every worker in America. Regardless of our union affiliation or political allegiance we must combine our forces at this time to defeat the common enemy of all mankind. The best way that we can do this at this time is to give the maximum support to the Tag-days, November 17th and 18th.

Call at the Regional Headquarters that is nearest to your home, get a collection can, contact every worker in your neighborhood and ask them to contribute toward the defeat of Fascism. Bring your membership card for identification. Have the representative of your organization get the collection cans for distribution from your local center.

—TERZANI DEFENSE COMM.

Socialist Mayor Promises Cheap Government

An interesting incident of the recent elections in the election in Bridgeport, Conn. of a socialist to the mayoralty and an entire socialist city administration, whether this rebirth of municipal "socialism" in another city besides Milwaukee, indicates a change towards radicalism in the mood of the masses or whether it is the triumph of good clean government is not within the province of this article to answer. Significant it is, however, that whatever causes motivated the majority received by Jasper McLevy, the new socialist mayor, his statement to the press must be received with jubilation by the solid citizens of Bridgeport.

No red threat of expropriation hangs over the heads or the property interests of this New England city. The first socialist administration to be elected in Bridgeport, McLevy makes it quite clear, is out to bring "economy" into the city finances, to save the taxpayers money. The unemployed and striking workers are not even mentioned by implication.

"I intend," says Jasper McLevy, ranking socialist, "to administer the affairs of the city with common sense and sound business judgment." This statement approximates the post election effusions of Mayor La Guardia or any successful Republican of Democratic candidate. It means balance the budget and if it fits into the financial pattern then the bothersome unemployed will get a look in.

"I intend to rehabilitate the financial and social life. I will introduce civil service and the merit system in the Police and Fire departments." Don't be astonished if the workers aren't mentioned, and the cops get attentive consideration. "This is a socialist talk."

"I have no obligations." No, not to the working men. "If necessary I will go unhesitatingly out of the party to fill key posts." No doubt a banker would make a better administrator of the city finances than an exploited proletarian.

"I realize that I cannot introduce socialism by a municipal victory, but we can sweep clean the city government and lay the foundation for a good, sound, constructive administration."

Take note of this municipal socialism. It has great potentialities... for the bosses.

OPEN FORUM

THE NRA AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

Friday, November 24, 1933

8 P. M.

at International Workers School

126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ADMISSION 15 CENTS

In the Fascist Inferno

The story of an Austrian miner, Alois Hohenreich, is published in the Volksblatt of Linz. Hohenreich had migrated to Germany to look for work, as he had been unemployed for some time. He reached Zwettau in Saxony where he had been promised a job, to start June 18th. On the day before, he was arrested on the grounds that his papers were not in order and that he was a spy who intended to send unfavorable reports back to Austria. He was carried back and forth between a concentration camp and several prisons. He entered complaints against his confinement.

Because of this he was brought to a cell where he had been held previously, on June 29th. There he was stretched out on a table with three Storm Troopers holding him down, while three other Storm Troopers belabored him with rubber cudgels on his back, seat and all over the table, one Storm Trooper standing with his foot on the back of his neck so that he could not defend himself at all, while another held him by the hand and threatened him with a revolver, declaring that he would be shot immediately if he uttered a sound. While on the floor he was given another ninety blows with the rubber cudgel. In addition to this and a rain of cuffs on the ears, he was spat upon and called an "Austrian swine."

On June 30 he was released after he was forced to sign a statement that he had no cause for protest or complaint concerning detention. On July 5 he reached Austrian territory where he was examined by a doctor who found ample evidence of the treatment which he had received.

Lovestone Evades Challenge

On October 18, 1933, the following letter was sent to the Lovestone group by special messenger: "Dear Comrades:

"Some time ago there was an exchange of correspondence between your organization and ours concerning the arrangements for a debate at which the fundamental differences dividing us would be discussed in public. For a number of reasons, the debate did not materialize at that time.

"With this letter, we renew our proposal for a debate between a prominent representative of your organization and a spokesman for ours. We are prepared to have our committee of two meet with a similar committee from your organization to discuss all the details involved, such as the subject-title of the debate, the speakers, the hall, the date, the financial arrangements, etc., etc. It appears to us that there is a growing interest in those questions upon which our respective organizations take opposing stands. A public debate would not only draw several hundred workers but would serve to clarify many of the problems now confronting the Communist movement in this country and throughout the world. We might add that we are especially inclined to have the debate take place around the question of your position and ours

A. Bellussi Deporting Imminent

Quick Action Needed to Save Anti-Fascist

The decision against Anthony Bellussi has been upheld and his immediate deportation to Italy has been ordered by the Department of Labor. The danger of this militant being delivered into the hands of Mussolini's hangmen is now most imminent. Heroic efforts will have to be made in the next days to save him from this fate.

All that is left now—since the deportation order has been confirmed—is to secure for comrade Bellussi the right of voluntary departure to another country, to find another country which will admit him and to provide him with passage money.

This right of voluntary departure has been granted by the Department of Labor in similar cases and, if the proper efforts are made, it should be secured for Bellussi. Also, in other cases, the International Labor Defense had secured permission for deportees to enter the Soviet Union and has provided the expenses for the journey. Only two weeks ago a case of this kind was reported in the Daily Worker. No move has been made to extend this solidarity to Bellussi, and, we can be sure, none will be made.

As the final hour draws near it becomes absolutely clear that if he has to depend on the U. S. D. Bellussi will be handed over to the Fascist butchers. Although he is not a member of the Left Opposition, Bellussi is regarded as a sympathizer and was arrested on a charge of distributing the Militant. For that "crime" he is receiving a double punishment: Deportation by the U. S. Government and sabotage of his case by the Socialists. The bulk fund of the U. S. D. was not available for him. Up to the present day, although he has been in jail for months, the Daily Worker has not printed a line about his case.

To leave the fate of Bellussi in the hands of these cynical saboteurs would be a crime. We must act independently without delay to save this sterling militant from the danger of torture and death in Fascist Italy. A defense committee is cooperating with the American Civil Liberties Union to secure a delay of the deportation and permission for him to enter another country. Efforts are also being made to secure his temporary release on bail. We hope for success in our efforts. Your help is needed. Send funds to the Bellussi Defense Committee, J. P. Cannon, Secretary, care of the Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

LYNCH THREAT FOR SCOTTSBORO BOYS

As we go to press, dispatches from Decatur, Alabama, arouse anxiety over the fate of the Scottsboro boys whose retrial starts this week.

Lynch mobs are being organized by reactionary Southern politicians to rid themselves of all legal embarrassments.

Threats have been directed not only against the nine boys, but also against Ruby Bates, star witness for the defense and the defense attorneys.

Wave of Repression in China; Left Opposition Threatened

Peiping.—About a month ago we sent you a letter in which we gave a rough description of conditions here. Now, however, the situation in North China is changing rapidly. The conditions for revolutionary activity have become more difficult than they were a month ago. The first maneuver of General Ho Yin-chia, the right hand of Chiang Kai-shek, upon his arrival in Peiping, was the destruction of the C. P. and the organizations affiliated with it and the suppression of the anti-Japanese fighters.

A Wave of Arrests

In a short time mass meetings were forbidden, several party militants were shot, a wave of arrests spread everywhere, three comrades of the Left Opposition and many important leaders of the party were arrested. Practically all the party organizations in North China (including Peiping, Tientsin, Pootin, Shantung, etc.) are annihilated.

An important fact: Many of the party members who but yesterday slugged our comrades as counter-revolutionaries have been converted by Ho Yin-chia and are joining the Blue Shirt Fascist clique. All these gentlemen are saying today: "Only the 'Three Principles' and the Kuo Min Tung can save China from imperialist attack.... The Communist party is a foe.... We must crush it!"

The party organ, Red Flag, analyzing this trend of capitulation, concluded: "It is inevitable that in the process of the revolutionary

movement some members pass over into the camp of the enemy." This is an indication of how blinded are the bureaucrats in face of a critical situation.

There can be no argument as to whether capitulation is inevitable in the revolutionary movement. But at present it is not a question of a handful but of a current, a movement! This movement is taking place while the bureaucracy is at the helm of the party.

Some months ago the Red Flag wrote: "About one hundred workers (?) have joined the Communist Youth League in one month! About ten workers a day!" While they howled with glee over the quantity, the quality was ignored, party education was trampled under foot and the Communist party was consequently transformed from a vanguard of the proletariat into a mass organization. The current of capitulations is the result of this policy.

The Left Opposition Fights On.
Recently a rumor has been spread around that the Police Department is planning to destroy the Left Opposition just as it has destroyed the party. This is quite possible. The burden of oppression of the ruling class is great but we are continuing our fight, never tiring, never faltering.

Please send us some of the new books which you have published, such as "The Only Road," etc., etc. With Communist greetings.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Peiping, Sept. 24, 1933.

Hitler's Secret Police in Terror Campaign

The following report is taken from a news item in a London newspaper:

From a Special Correspondent
A new and sinister organization—Hitler's Secret Police—is now coming to the forefront of the news from Germany.

Wielding far greater authority than the chiefs of the ordinary police force, and howling the knee to none but Captain Goering, the drug-addicted Prussian Premier, their excesses are causing a reign of terror in Germany.

No one—not even a Nazi—knows whether he is safe from them. Not only do they wage uncontrolled war against the opponents of Hitler but they also provide the Nazi leaders with a handy instrument for settling private feuds.

The Secret Police are composed of men, hand-picked by Captain Goering.

Riddled With Bullets
One of their chief roles is that of executioner. Day after day, reports reach London from Germany of the body of this man or that being found riddled with bullets.

The official "inquiry" that takes place almost invariably comes to a sudden stop. It is found that the murder is the work of the Secret Police—and there is nothing more to be said.

The Secret Police hold their own "trials" at their various headquarters.

The prisoner—previously beaten to ensure his docility—is sentenced regardless of the accuracy of the charge.

They All Die
Prisoners tried by this new Star Chamber are whisked off to the concentration camp at Oranienburg, near Berlin, the most dreaded of all camps.

The mortality among prisoners here is so great that it is reported from Berlin that the camp will be shortly closed, not from motives of humanity, but because the death rate exceeds the supply.

Rising at 5 A. M., the prisoners have 15 minutes in which to wash and dress. Work, under the rule of the whip, lasts till midday, when a "dinner" of cabbage and potatoes is served. More work follows till 7 P. M., when tea with bread is provided. Eight o'clock is bedtime, and so the days pass in an animal sort of existence.

No one in Germany has yet heard of a prisoner coming from Oranienburg alive.

NAZIS INVESTIGATED
Clarence Hathaway, of the New York Daily Worker, presented damaging evidence, incriminating prominent American reactionaries, before the investigation of Nazi activities in the U. S. A., begun on November 15 in Washington, D. C. by the Dickstein (Congressional) Committee.

Hearings were disrupted by a head-on collision between Hathaway and Rep. Focht, who called the former an "anarchist."

Open sessions of the investigation were postponed to Dec. 4.

SAVE TOBIER AND DIMITOFF!

Too Much Bread

Gutzon Borglum, famous sculptor, in an article on conditions observed traveling through the Dakotas, makes the following observations which should give us an insight on what's behind the hunger of farmer and worker alike. He says in part, in the New York Times for November 12, 1933:

"A few weeks ago when the poorest of our farmers were breaking into the towns, their poor, old, unvaluable chattels piled on to a trailer, they explained they wanted to be with people, that they might get a little help during the winter."

This farmer himself a chattel of the banks and the ranchers, can get enough for his produce to live on through the winter. He must throw himself on the good will of his friends and relatives. The poor farmer lives in penury because the price is too low and the taxes and interest too high and the worker must suffer nevertheless. How explain this? Borglum gives the answer in another paragraph:

"A few weeks before Mayor Cermak of Chicago was killed he told me: 'There are over a half a million loaves of state bread in the market every morning in my city. I can't get hold of more than a few thousand. They are systematically burned, burned to protect the market while Chicago is struggling to feed one of the great overcrowded breadbaskets on the earth.' There's the answer. The farmer leaves the land. The prices are too low because there is too much wheat. The city worker suffers from "under-nourishment" while the surplus bread is burned to make prices high.

Figure it out for yourself! What kind of a system is this for the farmer and the worker?

"Emancipated" Children

One of the greatest boasts of the NRA is that the new deal has eliminated the curse of child labor from American industry. The "Brain Trust" is willing to concede that wages have not been raised as high as was necessary or hours as low as called for—but the abolition of child labor is the accomplishment of the generation and Roosevelt.

What is to happen to these children released from bread-winning and factory-killing toil? Mrs. Perkins, crusader against child labor and secretary of labor had the following to say at the Baltimore Hotel before the women's division of the Crusade for Children on Oct. 30, 1933:

"That means," she said, "that there are six million children in want and in hunger, not through any fault of their own, but because the bread winners of their families are out of work."

How make restitution for these little victims, whose bones are rickety from hunger and the lack of sunlight and fresh air? Abolish the system greedy for the huge profits wrung out of the toil of children? Or if that is too radical pass an unemployment insurance

Big Sums for War Purposes

Huge Appropriations for Military Revealed

"Uncle Sam's" War and Navy Departments are very busy. All western ports are being enlarged. Recruiting offices are open and the pick of the unemployed are being accepted—mostly college graduates. New barracks are being built in nearly all government towns and military posts, enlarging their quarters for officers and men. Contracts for ammunition have been let to several large companies including Chase Brass & Copper Co., Inc. of Watertown, Conn. and the Bridgeport Brass Co. These contracts average \$3,000,000 apiece. General Electric got a contract for \$3,000,000. Doubtless the regular arms companies like Winchester, Remington, Savage, Western, DuPont, etc., also received large orders but no complete figures are available. (All figures given here are as of Nov. 9th).

Huge Army Contracts

Contracts have been let for Coast Guard, Radio and Air Corp. Stations, Air Corp. hangars, research laboratories, ordnance warehouses, auxiliary barracks, magazine and shell houses, military police barracks, and chapels. These contracts amount to at least ten and a half million dollars, fully 90% being for new barracks. The reports are scattered and not clear out evidently from 500 to 600 new army camps entirely apart from the conservation camps for which no figures are given here.

Plans are also in progress for a detention farm in Mexican owned by the Dept. of Justice and for border "inspection" stations along the entire Mexican and Canadian boundary lines.

New contracts totalling the same amount as those already let—\$10,000,000—are being awarded to building contractors daily. The capacity and adaptability of factories for making ammunition is thoroughly known and orders for each one according to this knowledge are lying in War Department files ready for immediate release. "Uncle Sam" is concentrating on the army and navy and these he is concentrating on the West coast. Fort Sam Houston, Texas, gets over one and a half million dollars for new barracks. The Macon, largest dirigible in the world, has been transferred to California.

Hundreds of Millions for War

All this expansion of the military machine is in addition to the snip-oudding for the Navy which runs into many hundreds of millions, many of these hundreds of millions (both for the Army and the Navy) being labelled for public consumption as NRA and "Public Works" projects. Compare this with the fact that cities most urgently in need of federal assistance for building projects cannot obtain it from the Public Works Administration because a city seeking this help must first turn over bonds for 70% of the cost of an undertaking and many cities cannot do this because of tax delinquencies and heavy debts to bankers.

With the collapse of the NRA the government has an excellent excuse for enlarging its war machine; it puts men to work and money into circulation. War itself will be a heaven-sent boon bringing new markets and "prosperity" for "all." Capitalism will have its roast pig if it has to burn its own house down.

Rushing War Preparations

But at present there is no immediate war crisis and no need for ballyhoo. Even "preparedness" bloodhounds must be satisfied. All is quiet; without batting an eye or apologizing to any one the government is rushing its war preparations, far outstripping other items of its Public Works, NRA and "Conservation" programs which serve as bait to public hopes for jobs and wages, peace and better times. Yes, not only will we have better times; we will celebrate. On the first fair day there will be an international picnic.

—MARTIN BEARDSLEE.

measure so designed that the worker can support his child in moments of enforced indigence?

Perish the thought!

The solution is the old-sheld game. Charity. A committee of 400 men and women have been appointed, headed by none other than the famous philanthropist, Thomas W. Lamont, to raise \$400,000 for six New York City child welfare agencies. The child slaves are converted into child paupers. That is the great "Roosevelt Revolution"

Militant Builders

THE WINNERS

One change of note in the standing of the highest scoring snappers from last week took place in the displacement of S. Jomart of Toronto from third place by A. Caplan of Kansas City. Last week they stood as follows: S. Jomart 8; A. Caplan 7. Since then Caplan sent in four snbs and Jomart none. Koehler of Youngstown tops the list with 27 and S. Hardy of Philadelphia is next with 17. He is a newcomer in these drives.

To Koehler go the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky, the first prize; to Hardy—two volumes; and to Caplan—one volume, second and third prizes respectively.

The books will be in

to them within a week.

SHORTCOMINGS

Thirty-one subs last week brought the total in the drive up to a hundred and sixty-five. With that figure the drive closes. It cannot be called a success. Previous drives netted many more subs. And they were conducted in condition that were less favorable for their success.

At the beginning of the drive we pointed out that if we worked toward a new subscriber for every one then on the list we could double our circulation of single subscriptions. We felt below that figure. We felt below him that nature

It is possible that we set too

short a period for the drive and that our comrades and branches took more time than we thought was necessary to swing into line. If that is so it will show up in the next few weeks. We will continue to record them as they come in.

But, of course, they will have no bearing on the drive which is closed and the winners who are listed above.

And in view of that possibility we suspend judgment. When we know we will offer our explanation for the failure of the drive.

MORE SUBS
The work of building the Militant

will continue. Let us see if we cannot at least hold the average we have struck in this drive of about thirty subs a week. That should not be very difficult. If we go to it with a will it will be surprisingly easy.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

We want to make a standing offer to sub-getters. To every comrade who sends in 20 snbs (either half year or year or both) we will give a bound volume of the **Militant**, series two. Series two is the **Militant** that runs from the first issue of the present format, July 4, 1931 to the end of 1932.

Scoring will begin on November 20 and will continue until further notice. Weekly reports will be made in this column.

"WHAT NEXT?" IN RUSSIAN.
Pioneer Publishers has just re-

ceived a number of copies of comrade Trotsky's monumental work "What Next" in the Russian language. They can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 126 East 10th St., N. Y. C. at 75 cents a copy.

MY LIFE

A few copies of comrade Trotsky's brilliant autobiography are on sale at Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C. at the reduced price of \$2.50. Avail yourself of this opportunity before it is too late.

IMPORTANT DOCUMENT

"Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk" by Judah L. Magnes can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers for twenty-five cents.

reduced price of \$2.50. Avail yourself of this opportunity before it is too late.

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The Rift in the Lovestone Group

The declaration of the Lovestone majority "On the New Party and Trotskyism" is equally divided between a general philippic against the idea of a new Communist international and new Communist parties in every country, and a specific assault upon that current in the revolutionary movement which is in the forefront of the new movement: the Left Opposition. Before passing over to a consideration of the standpoint of the official minority (Zam), let us devote a few observations to the latter half of the Lovestone document.

As is known, there is hardly a name which has not been hauled out of the catalogue of abuse for the purpose of designating the so-called "Trotskyists". Left Mensheviks, Right Mensheviks, counter-revolutionaries, super-industrialists, anti-industrialists, super-anti-Kulaks, pro-Kulaks, Leftists covered with tight phrases or Rightists covered with loose phrases. The last name to be attached to the Opposition would seem to have claimed the possibility of any of the previous ones recurring in Stalinist literature: "the vanguard of the world counter-revolution".

Lovestone now retraces these steps—as if everything he said yesterday had not been meant seriously—and solemnly explains that we are taking the place of Austro-Marxism and are being transformed (at this late date!) "from a tendency in world Communism to the ideological focal point of a new international Communist concentration". Today is Trotskyism that serves as the binding force, as the ideological platform, for the various groups attempting to crystallize an international organization "between the Socialist and Communist Internationals." Trotskyism is rapidly becoming classical form.

The Austro-Marxist School

The identification of our fundamental standpoint with that of the Austro-Marxist school was first made some eight or nine years ago by the Russian party bureaucracy, for the purpose of covering up its own recantation with Centralism. Lovestone's revival of the calumny has no tetter in its mind.

The fundamental attitude of the Austro-Marxists towards that problem in which are comprehended the essential questions of contemporary revolutionary politics—the proletarian revolution in Russia—is not so obscure or unknown as to permit of much confusion. According to them, Marxism left no room in its conception for the outbreak of the first proletarian revolution in a country like Russia. The Russian revolution is therefore not only illegitimate, but it is not and cannot be socialist, and whatever it may be, it is doomed in advance. Russia, as an economically backward and capitalist country, simply did not have the right to a socialist revolution, and for arrogating to itself this right it is doomed to the brimstone and hellfire of damnation. Russia should have waited its turn until a more advanced capitalist country—Austria let us say—had its revolution first. And Austria must wait with its revolution until its more powerful capitalist neighbors succumb to the revolution, otherwise isolated proletarian Austria would succumb to the counter-revolutionary forces around it. And Germany and Hungary must wait until their proletarian revolutions, for should they materialize, the French and English imperialists might become so wrathful at the impudence of the former Entente proletariat as to smite them with their superior military forces.

Austro-Marxism and Bureaucratic Centrism

These elaborate apologies of Austro-Marxism for the policy of passivity, capitulation and despair pursued by Messrs. Adler, Bauer, Reumer and Co., are based on an approach to the problem of proletarian revolution which is blood brother to that of bureaucratic Centrism in the Soviet Union today. To substantiate their contentions, the Austro-Marxists produce voluminous statistical data to prove that Russia in 1917 was a backward agricultural country, with a small industry and proletariat, and not a land possessing the material prerequisites for socialism.

The Stalinist proponents of the theory of socialism in one country place themselves on exactly the same ground as the Austro-Marxists! They differ from the latter only in this, that they produce equally voluminous data to "justify" the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat and the independent construction of a classless society by furnishing statistical proof that Russia does possess the "material prerequisites for socialism."

This approach to the problem which Austro-Marxists and Stalinists have in common, leads the one to national passivity and the other to national utopianism. It flies directly in the face of the con-

The Alleged 'Trotskyist Centrism' and the Truly Bureaucratic Centrism

ception held by all genuine Marxists before the war—and up until today. There can no longer be a premature revolution in Europe, Lautsky explained more than a quarter of a century ago. Capitalism on a world scale has become rotten ripe for socialism, wrote the internationalists during and after the war; it has entered the epoch of world revolution.

Lenin's Point of View

"Russia has not reached such a stage of development of the productive forces as would render socialism possible," Lenin quoted the Russian Austro-Marxists a year before his death. "This is the sentence with which all the heroes of the 11 International, among them of course Suchanov, are strutting around, decorated with all the pompous feathers. They repeat this indisputable statement in a thousand tones. But it seems to me that it is not decisive for the estimation of our revolution."

If the debate with the Austro-Marxists is conducted—and that is how the Stalinists are compelled to conduct it—by challenging this "indisputable statement," which "is not decisive for the estimation of the Russian revolution, the Russian Centralists (and their right wing camp followers a la Lovestone) actually accept the fundamental postulate of national "autonomy" laid down by the Austrian Centralists and differ from the latter only to a statistical degree, as it were.

On the basic question, therefore, of internationalism versus socialism in one country, it is not "Trotskyism" which is "rapidly becoming" Centrism in its contemporary classical form, but Stalinism which is Centrism in its Soviet-bureaucratic form. Lovestone, who takes his oath on the Stalin theory of national socialism, is thus giving a clear example, in his document, of how convenient it is to lay down a smoke-screen of attack against "Trotskyism" in order to cover up an obsequious apology for Stalinist Centrism. There is no such thing as the former; the latter, however, not only exists but does you understand—also disposes of and dispenses great power and office, and let it be noted, as we magnanimously let forgive an erring but penitent underling as it is merciless in ousting him from the American party's Political Secretariat.

The "Declaration" on Centrism

The identification of our position with Austro-Marxism stands out too badly as a mere assertion in the Lovestone statement. It therefore proceeds to enlarge upon it with a casual reference to the "Declaration of Four" (Left Opposition, Socialist Workers Party of Germany, and the Independent and Revolutionary Socialist Parties of Holland) as indicating "very clearly" its essentially Centrism character. Here, as so often in his whole political career, Lovestone is simply relying on the abuse of trading on the gullibility of readers who may not take the trouble to read original documents. In point 3 of the "Declaration of Four" we read:

No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, Centralists and Left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country, delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism."

And in point 8: "While ready to cooperate with all the organizations, groups and factions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic Centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxism policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or Centrism. The necessity unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conception."

A Deliberate Falsification

These two passages, it would seem, ought to "indicate very clearly" not only to what extent the Opposition has become the ideological focal point of a new international Centrism concentration, but also the extent to which Lovestone is accustomed to stating facts correctly. But there is more material before us. Whoever thinks that one swindle per document is enough, does not know the gentleman and the school we are dealing with.

"The Trotskyist Manifesto for a new International," writes the artful dodger, "carefully avoids all reference to Soviets as the form of the proletarian dictatorship. The deliberate refusal even to mention the Soviets likewise constitutes a virtual renunciation of the fundamental principles of Communism."

Here we reach a point where it requires a physical effort to overcome a feeling of revulsion and to continue the article. Is it possible or worth while even to write against persons who so obviously and deliberately lie—not exaggerate, not misunderstand, not misinterpret, but simply and flatly lie? Yet there are workers who read such abominations and put credence in them; so we swallow hard and proceed. The manifesto, we are told, has not merely "overlooked" the Soviets, but has "carefully avoided" and "deliberately refused even to

mention" them. We turn to the Militant of September 23, and read in point 8 of the Declaration: "To remain equal to its task the new International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrection, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc."

The Truth About the "21 Points"

Apparently under the illusion that like Stalin who enjoys an absolute monopoly of the Soviet press, he can lie wholesale and with impunity, Lovestone goes on with his arraignment of "Trotskyist-Centrism" to show that we demand the "radical revision" of the 21 points of the Comintern which, he reminds his readers, "were first formulated as a means of radical differentiation of Communism from 'Centrism'." So they were. Now let us see precisely what we do demand, as stated in the declaration of the Opposition representatives at the Paris conference:

"The 21 conditions for the acceptance to the Communist International elaborated in its time by Lenin for the purpose of a decisive separation from all types of reformism and anarchism, acquire at this stage again an urgent character. It is of course not a question of the text of this document which should be radically changed in accordance with the conditions of the modern period, but of its general spirit of revolutionary Marxist irreconcilability."

In other words, if the text of the 21 conditions is to be changed then, only in the sense of making more distinct the line of demarcation between the Communists of today and the Centrists and reformists of all varieties, including Stalinists and all their apologists and attorneys. The 21 conditions must be revised not by watering them down to make them more acceptable even to the most radical of the reformists, but so that they may reflect the significance of those thirteen years of tremendously important events in the international class struggle which have intervened since the second Congress of the Comintern. These events have deeply confirmed the soundness of the intemperate spirit of the conditions set down in 1920. Anyone who would cling rigidly to the liberal text of the 1920 document, and refuse to incorporate into it what we have been taught by the rise to power of Stalinism, the dispute over national socialism, the defeat of the Chinese revolution, the catastrophe in Germany, the problem of Fascism and social democracy—would not be a revolutionary Marxist but a poor bookworm of an archivist. Lovestone is not even the latter, for there is something honorable and respectable about that vocation which has nothing in common with forgery and misrepresentation.

The "August Bloc" Hoax

As the trumpet call in his marked deck, Lovestone plays the "August bloc." He is referring here, let us be emphasized, not to the bloc with Iswerelli and the Mensheviks proposed in March 1917 by Stalin, not to the bloc with La Follette in 1924, and Purcell in 1926, and Chiang Kai-Shek in 1927, and Upton Sinclair in 1933, nor even to the Lovestone bloc with pseudo-progressive labor states in certain trade unions, but to the "opportunistic concentration against Bolshevism" in 1912.

Now, who are the representatives of Bolshevism today against whom are united the "heterogeneous tendencies, running all the way from open reformism to self-styled ultra-radicalism" of which "the ideology of 'Trotskyism' is the binding force"? Surely, nobody will ask that the flexibility of one's sense of humor should be taxed to the point of considering the Brandellites, more than half of whom have already passed into the camp of the social democracy, as the modern representatives of Bolshevism? For, after all, who is there with time and energy hanging so heavily on his hands as to go through the trouble of making a bloc with anyone else for the purpose of an international campaign against.... the Brandellites?

Or perhaps the representatives of Bolshevism today are the Stalinists? "Should this standpoint be adopted by the Communist Opposition," Zam writes with some concern in his minority declaration, "there would be left no alternative but to liquidate and return to the Comintern." That is precisely what Lovestone's new sortie against "Trotskyism" signifies: his preparing for a complete reconciliation with the Stalinist apparatus.

The Position of the Centrism Parties But the "bloc" of all these heterogeneous Centrism groups for the new International—what about that? It does not exist, uneasy and unfortunate reader of the Workers Age, not even in Lovestone's mind. At the Paris Conference of independent socialist and Communist parties and groups, held in August 1933, there were more than one "contemporary classical" Centrism organization represented. Some of these organizations were close to the Second International or moving (at least in sections) towards it. Others were close to Communism or moving towards it. Still others stood for the merging of the two Internationals or for the creation of an intermediate organization. These included such groups as the English Independent Labour Party, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Party of Proletarian Unity in France, the Italian Socialist Party (Balebanova), the Independent Communist Party of Sweden (Kilboom), the Russian Left

S. K. S. of Stenberg, and the Right wing Iberian Federation of Mauria & Co.

On the key question of the new international, the official minutes report (page 24): "For the second amendment of the S. A. P. (Germany), declaring in principle for a new international—all the seven organizations listed above are recorded as voting 'Against.' The Lovestone document 'carefully avoids'—or shall we say 'utterly refuses even to mention'—any reference to this revealing little detail. Nor would it be appropriate for him to do so. It would not into the rest of his document like a fly in a sewage bucket.

A Ringleader from Hiloquit

Lovestone so notoriously rooted in the American class struggle, takes "Trotskyism" to task further because "the political justification for this sudden change of position in the American class struggle it finds exclusively in some alleged developments in Germany.... It still remains without roots in its own conditions, a mere international extension of Russian Trotskyism in its new form."

It is not entirely fair to attack Lovestone for this wretched nationalistic distortion of Marxism, because the real author of it is, as we suggested last week, the late Morris Hiloquit. In his time, he so poisoned against the Left wing in his party and the Communists in general for justifying the change in the position here because of "some alleged developments" in Russia. In September 1920, he inveighed in the New York Call, with all the ardor of a one hundred per cent American revolutionist, against "the incorrigible tendency of the Moscow international to deduce from specific and casual Russian conditions inapplicable social maxims of universal application." A few years later, that other learned pillar of genuine, unadorned American socialism, James O'Neal, who also could not conceive of the American Communist movement taking shape upon the basis of any event occurring outside the purlieus of Union Square and who still looks upon the movement as a foreign product smuggled into this country without even the payment of customs duties, expressed away the incantation by writing: "The 'SPB' in the American organization was direct outcome of the Russian revolution and the attacks made upon pro-war Socialists by the Russian Communists. Even the manifesto and program of the Left wing which formulated the grievances of the insurgents did not charge the American Socialists with support of the war."

Clearing the Atmosphere

We have no record at hand of what Lovestone thought of or replied to the Mayflower Socialists at that time. From his present-day attacks upon the idea of the new international and a new Communist party in the United States, however, one can only conclude that the reasoning of Hiloquit and O'Neal must have made a persuasive and lasting impression upon him.

The Lovestone statement ends with a not very elaborately conceived bid for unity with the Stalinists "to prevent this Centrism crystallization into new 'Communist' parties nationally and internationally." The tight wing leaders are ready to crawl back, especially if the terms of their pardon are not too obstructively humiliating. We speak as disinterested observers; by all that has been said above, we see no good reason why the reunion of Lovestone and Co. with their Stalinist taskmasters should not be speedily effected. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. It will clear the atmosphere.

—MAX SHAGHTMAN.

(Our next article will deal with the statement of the Lovestone group minority.)

Brooklyn Branch Activities

Headquarters: Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St. (Near Belmont Av.), Brooklyn.
Sat., Nov. 25th, 8 P. M.—Diego Rivera on Revolutionary Art and Oppressed Minorities.
Wed., Nov. 15th, 8 P. M.—Meeting of Sympathizers on Branch Activities.
Wed., Nov. 22nd, 8 P. M.—International Workers School Student Assembly.
Fri., Dec. 1st, 8 P. M.—First Open Forum—Max Shachtman—"The Soviet Union and the Fourth International."
Sun., Dec. 3rd, 8 P. M.—Private Showing of the Movies—"The Russian Revolution."
Fri., Dec. 8th, 8 P. M.—Open Forum—Jack Weber—"The New Deal and the Working Class."
Classes of the International Workers School, Brooklyn Branch, open the week of Nov. 27th. Classes are held from 8 to 10 P. M.
Monday Evenings: History and Program of the Left Opposition.
History of the Russian Revolution.
Wednesday Evenings: Principles of Communism.
Fundamentals of Marxism.

If the number on your wrapper is 199 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once; \$1 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$5 a half year for twenty-six weekly issues.

THE MILITANT
126 East 18th St. N. Y. C.

To the Cuban Workers & Peasants

(Ed. Note: We print below the full text of the manifesto recently published by the newly-formed Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba.)

The delegates of the sections and nuclei of the Communist Opposition of Cuba, assembled on September 14th, 1933, after an extensive and thoroughgoing study of recent events decided to constitute nationally the BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST PARTY and to publish and circulate this manifesto which contains an initial statement of clear and definite principles.

The Importance of the Party

In the political struggles of the Cuban proletariat no event has ever occurred as important as this step which we have just taken. In the midst of the present turbulent political situation accompanied by the most frightful confusion and chaos, the minority formed by the Communist Left Opposition has made a resolute decision and has worked out through the iron will of hundreds of workers, the form and essence of a new workers revolutionary party.

This party, which rises after a long and difficult struggle of over a year, does not hesitate to openly declare before all the workers, that it emerges from the very womb of the Communist party of Cuba and that it is historically the negation of the latter.

It has become evident in the most recent times in the complicated economic and political situation of Cuba, that the lack of a real revolutionary party has frustrated the ascending development of the revolution many times. The great tragedy of the oppressed Cuban masses consists in their not having found as yet a vehicle capable of carrying them on the road towards their final emancipation. On the crossroads to victory the masses have always felt the lack of the subjective factor which is necessary for the achievement of its liberation.

The existence of deep ferment and decomposition in the whole capitalist regime, means nothing, nevertheless, there does not exist the organized force of a proletarian revolutionary party able to direct realistically the protest and rebellion of the masses during a political upheaval.

Irrespective of our wishes, a revolutionary workers vanguard can only be organized at certain historical conjunctures. In periods of great revolutionary struggles, the ebullient flow of the mass movement automatically produces the necessary means for carrying out successfully the creation of a new party.

The Cuban Situation and the Bolshevik Party

In the present period of rapid developments and sharp crises, the Cuban working class needs and produces a revolutionary vanguard from its own ranks. This step does not need justification before history because it is an integral and fundamental part of the historical process itself.

The present situation and the difficulty of our position in it is no secret to the Bolshevik-Leninist Party. Armed by Marxism with the most efficient instrument for analyzing the historic processes, understanding the extent and consequences of their development, we are able to comprehend that never before in Cuba has there taken place such an outstanding political event as the rising of the rank and file of the army in the early morning of September 4th. The revolt of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the army opens a new stage in the revolutionary process in Cuba. This rebellion completely confirms our correct political line wherein we affirmed, ever since March 1933, that the fall of Machado would provoke clashes between the reactionary bourgeois wings of the Opposition, and the various elements of the petty bourgeoisie. The theory held by the leaders of the Communist party several months ago (May 30), that "a broad radicalization of the masses" existed, which "obliged the forces of the counter revolution to unite", has fallen to the ground smashed by the reality of the situation. Can it be said that there exists a broad radicalization of the masses at the very time when an uprising of the rank and file of the army takes place, and this uprising brings the petty bourgeois elements of the Directorate Estudiantil to the seat of power?

The coming to political power of the petty bourgeoisie has already placed before the masses in a practical form, the questions of bourgeois democracy and the instability of this outlived state form. In the face of the violent break of the petty bourgeoisie with the reactionary "mediation" forces, a regrouping of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in struggle for the holding of power is taking place. Yankee imperialism, represented in Cuban politics by Sumner Welles, openly supports the formation of the counter-revolutionary front led by the ABC and Menocal.

In this situation the Bolshevik-Leninist party clearly understands that only a truly independent class position can save the proletariat from defeat. Confronted by the forces of the counter-revolution, the Bolshevik Party takes a determined stand, in the belief that in the present historical conjuncture the worker and peasant masses are in a position to marshal their forces and to prepare themselves for the revolution. The national liberation of Cuba, as a colonial

Manifesto of Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba

country, must be posed in a concrete form. Under the pressure of imperialism the Grau San Martin government, successively wavers, gesticulates, threatens, yields; but does not firmly conduct the direct and fundamental attack against Yankee intervention. Only the working class in alliance with the poor peasants can liberate Cuba from the iniquities and oppression of imperialism.

The International Situation

The formation of a new revolutionary workers' vanguard, must necessarily deal not only with national questions but also with international problems. The present historical period characterized by the decline of finance capitalism has transferred the solution of complicated national problems on to the international arena.

Bolshevism was the inspiration of the glorious launching of the Third Communist International. Those of us who today militate in its ranks must honestly declare that a new stage has begun in the history of the world's workers movement. The catastrophe which took place in Germany with the shipwreck of the German Communist Party and the triumph of Fascism, have forever destroyed the possibilities of a regeneration of the Communist International. The cadres which throughout the world have broken from the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy, now pose resolutely the question of a new International, which will turn its back on the bureaucratic centrism of Stalin-Mamulsky and face towards a real Marxist-Leninist conception of the class struggle.

At this juncture, we declare, as in the Bolshevik-Leninist statement at the recent conference of Left groups (the Paris Conference—Id.), that even in its present state the USSR is a workers state and that we are prepared to defend it. But his defense cannot be expected from the degenerate Soviet bureaucracy, but rather from the proletarian masses themselves guided by the new political orientation of International Leninism.

The Bolshevik Party and the Revolution in Cuba

Cuba, a semi-colonial country, which is rapidly becoming—if it is not already so—a Yankee colony, presents to the proletarian vanguard the clearest possible idea of the character and the realization of the agrarian revolution.

The Bolshevik Party, cannot predict the exact date of the agrarian revolution, neither does it pretend to be able to build socialism overnight in a country of poor and middle peasants, with a proletariat that is still politically too weak to rally the peasants around itself and come to power. Like every other colony Cuba lacks independent economic unity, and on the whole its economy is still in a pre-capitalist stage. Favorable objective conditions coincide with the marked liquidation of the subjective factor. And the possibilities of developing the movement have not been lost but rather delayed. The difference between the petty bourgeois elements and ourselves, the Bolshevik-Leninists, rests, in substance, on the form of government capable of guaranteeing the independence of the island, in the means of obtaining it and its aims. The most recent efforts of the "Anti-Imperialist" intellectuals of Latin America, led by the "Andristas", are oriented towards applying the "Latin American liberation formula". This formula has a common denominator in all countries: the necessity of the capitalist development of the economy in these countries. The fact that the industrial proletariat is not entirely developed in the colonies and that the national bourgeoisie is an emaciated and spineless class incapable of struggle against imperialism in defense of its own class interests, leads them to the conclusion that the proletarian revolution cannot be realized in America and that the struggle must be limited to driving imperialism out of these lands in order afterwards to develop on their "own independent economic" path. This concept looks for support in quotations from Marx and Lenin, arbitrarily snatched from the text and rearranged to support their contentions. These so-called "Marxists" state that it is impossible to jump over the stage of the bourgeois revolution in America, and consequently that only a gradual, slow development of the historical process, and "orderliness" of the "unsmotherable" historical stages, is possible without falling into utopian Socialism. This is false; absolutely false. Marxism as an economic doctrine does not believe in gradual, slow changes, in unsmotherable barriers, but rather a highly revolutionary theory which recognizes the possibility of jumping two stages at a time; two steps at a time.

In the present world situation, the interlocking character of the whole of world economy prevents the consideration of events from a one sided point of view of any single country in particular. From this springs the fact that, isolating Latin America from the rest of the world, and from the ripening of world economy for its revolutionary transformation, these petty bourgeois

arrive at the conclusion that in Latin America the necessary capitalist conditions for realizing the Socialist revolution are not mature. This new petty bourgeois formula must be discarded in its entirety. We cannot consider the struggle in an isolated sense but only as a part of the world proletarian struggle. Our internationalism is not based on bold theoretical statements but on the economic structure of world capitalism. If we separate the colonies from the other capitalist countries, they have no independent economic unity and are in reality incapable of developing by themselves. But the task with which we are faced today is not exactly that of initiating capitalist development in America but rather of realizing the agrarian revolution; carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat. "It is a question of knowing if we can attain that the development of capitalist economy is inevitable in the backward countries that now enslave themselves and in which certain progress has taken place since the war. We have reached the conclusion that the development of capitalism in these countries is not inevitable, especially in case where the victorious proletariat has conducted systematic propaganda in them. With the assistance of the proletariat in the advanced countries, the backward countries can reach the Soviet organizational form, and passing through a series of phases reach Communism, escaping a capitalist period."

This opinion of Lenin's is our conception. History cannot be turned backwards just because ten or fifteen countries are reared in their development, neither can the revolutionary movement stop to wait for them.

For this reason, the Bolshevik Party declares on the agrarian and national question and on the content and aims of the agrarian revolution, the following:

1. The national liberation of Cuba, as a semi-colonial country can be obtained only through the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat which applying the Bolshevik formula, drives the peasantry behind it.

2. The peasant question cannot be understood by the proletarian vanguard and still less in these semi-colonial and agrarian countries. The victory of the agrarian revolution depends upon which class the peasantry follows, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

3. The formula issued by the leaders of the Communist party concerning the development of the agrarian revolution, its slogans of "struggle, the confusion on the question of the mechanics of state power—in whose hands it should reside—all this must be discarded. In its stead should be placed the slogan of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry.

4. The intimate victory of the agrarian revolution can only be obtained by the development and triumph of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore the Bolshevik party recognizes the necessity of effectively joining our movement with the worker and peasant masses of the entire world and specifically of the United States and Latin America.

5. It is necessary to take advantage of all the conjunctures in order to unite the proletariat with the peasantry and develop the agrarian revolution to its conclusion. If the proletariat does not secure this support of the peasant masses in advance, if it does not manage to "draw them behind" itself, it is then utopian to even think of the victory of the revolution in Cuba.

6. The native bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois, rural as well as urban, organically and ideologically, are incapable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people to its goal. All collaboration with these elements in regard to the specific purposes of the revolution, is but treason to the workers and peasants. To hand over these forces to a petty bourgeois leadership, is to repeat consciously the betrayals in China and Mexico.

7. The agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, will not only fulfill the tasks of the bourgeois revolution (liquidation of the feudal forms of production, national liberation, agrarian revolution, etc.), but must, by the very fact that the bourgeoisie is not the motive force in it and that it is carried out without the support of the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, lay the foundations, from which the step can be taken to the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

8. Given the character and future development of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution only the proletarian vanguard organized in a Bolshevik party, can achieve the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, accomplishing by this, the final triumph of the revolution. The so-called Anti-Imperialist Leagues, are organically and politically incapable of fulfilling these tasks, and are nothing but coarse caricatures of the revolutionary "united front". In their place, only the leadership of the proletariat organized in its class party, will be capable of fulfilling this role.

9. Finally, it is very clear to us that the victory of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution can only

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THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
VI, No. 52 (Whole No. 198)
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1933
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

EDITORIALS

Five Years of the Militant

FIVE years ago this week the *Militant* made its first appearance of the spokesmen of the ideas and doctrines of the "Russian Opposition"—the heirs and defenders of the Bolshevik October. The five years of the continuous publication of our paper have been a period of rich in great events which put all currents in the labor movement to a historical test. Our current alone stood up under it. We have every right to a feeling of deep satisfaction that we have held true to our course. Ours is a profound and unshakable conviction that what we did five years ago, and all that has been built upon it, was right. On the fifth anniversary of our paper militant we repeat nothing and retract nothing.

The warning signals of the International Left Opposition were no false alarms. The tens years of reaction against which the Bolshevik-Leninists struggled without success have come to their tragic culmination in the downfall of the Comintern. What is most important in the whole world today is the fact that forces making for the reconstitution of the international movement are already at work, that the skeleton of its future organization exists and that its fundamental program has been elaborated.

In this preparatory work, carried out under a hailstorm of slander and persecution, the *Militant* played a part. The new party of Communism in America, which will constitute a section of the Fourth International, will mark its launching in November 1938, as an important and significant date if it does not tract its genealogy directly to that date.

Our struggle to set the counter current into motion and to prepare the way for the new movement was conducted from the first—and is still conducted—with inadequate material means and forces. Our chief weapon—almost our only weapon—was the *Militant*. The capacity of our movement to endure, to survive and to gain an influence under these circumstances is testimony to the power of Marxist ideas. They make their way in spite of everything. The celebration of the *Militant*, alive and strong on its fifth anniversary, is a celebration of the vitality of the doctrines of Marxism which nothing and nobody can kill.

By all that has gone before the militants grouped around the *Militant* are called upon to play the main part in assembling the elements of the new party in America. They are the bearers of its ideas. The *Militant*, as the spokesman of these ideas, only grows in significance as the new turn of events multiplies the opportunities and responsibilities.

All that has been done up till now is only a work of preparation for the future. Without minimizing our weakness or biding our faults we can face that future, and all the responsibilities it imposes, with confidence. The foundations that have been laid are impregnable. If we build on them we will build for victory.

Litvinoff's Visit and Russian Recognition

WITH public attention focused on the visit of Litvinoff and his discussions with Roosevelt, the question of Russian recognition is an outstanding issue which is stirring all interested political circles and economic groups into an increased activity; that is all circles except the one to whom the issue belongs first of all—the Communist and Left wing labor movement. While these various elements in American bourgeois society discuss terms, make conditions and bring forward one program or another, agitate heatedly and exert pressure for or against the recognition of the U. S. S. R. according to their special interest, the one section of the population which has the greatest stake in the issue—the radical labor movement—stands paralyzed and refrains from any intervention. What is the explanation of this anomaly? This neutralization of the working class in a matter of the most vital concern to them is more of the rotten fruit of Stalinist diplomacy.

From the point of view of the Marxists, the relationship between the workers state and the capitalist governments is an expression of the class struggle, that is, a fundamentally irreconcilable conflict. ("One or the other must finally triumph," said Lenin). While the final outcome of this conflict remains undecided, the Soviet Union is obliged to enter

into temporary agreements with the bourgeois state powers which the workers aim eventually to overthrow, in pretty much the same way as trade unions bargain with private employers whom the workers aim to expropriate.

The condition for the making of an advantageous bargain is not under any circumstances the good will of the capitalists. The talent of a Soviet diplomat is a minor item; in the final analysis it cuts about as much ice as the shrewdness of a business agent in a trade dispute—the masters are acutely conscious of their material interests and cannot be talked out of them. What decides is the relative strength of the workers and its full mobilization at the moment of negotiations.

By disorienting the workers vanguard and paralyzing its activity, Stalinist diplomacy deprives the Soviet Union of the pressure and influence of its most reliable ally. That is why the question of recognition by the U. S. government is being considered as an internal affair of the bourgeoisie, influenced by any serious working class demonstration. Under such conditions it can be taken for granted that American capitalism will concede only what its own requirements dictate and will take full advantage of every weakness of the Soviet Union in presenting its own demands.

The humiliating spectacle presented by the one-sided discussion of Russian recognition in bourgeois circles can be ended, and the interests of the workers' state and of the American labor movement, in this as in every case, can be really defended only by the independent intervention of the workers' vanguard. The revolutionary workers must fight for the interests of the Soviet Union without the aid of Stalinism and against its pernicious policy.

In the first place the visit of Litvinoff should not be allowed to dampen down the working class agitation for recognition. On the contrary, it should be the signal for its stormy development on the broadest possible basis. Recognition should be made the central issue of a mighty united front movement which would shake the country with its clamorous demands for unconditional recognition in the midst of the negotiations at Washington. Every reactionary group is busy with demands and conditions and restrictions on the Soviet Union. Let the workers thunder their own demands on the Roosevelt Government to recognize the Soviet Union at once and without any conditions!

In the second place, while every reactionary clique is demanding "concessions" from the U. S. S. R., the workers should present their own demand for a "counter-claim" from the Wall Street Government. That demand, which unites the interests of the American with the Russian workers concretely, is—Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union!

Over three years ago the Left Opposition raised this slogan as an issue of the labor movement. It was denounced by the Stalinists as counter-revolutionary. Now it forms the central topic of the negotiations between Litvinoff and Roosevelt, but the latter is under no compulsion from the workers at home. He is free to accept or reject the proposal, or to hedge it about with restrictions, conditions and penalties, as the interests of Wall Street dictate. The composition of the Stalinists to agitation for Long Term credits deprived the Left wing labor movement of a living issue and has worked mightily to weaken the position of the Soviet Union in the present negotiations.

The slogan of long term credits is just the link needed to tie the American workers directly to the socialist construction in Russia by their own material interests. Opposition to it is a crime. Long term credits for Russia, to finance the purchase of American machinery, would serve to alleviate the unemployment situation to that extent. At the same time they would aid the development of Russian industry and improve the situation of the workers there. An immediate mutual interest would unite the American and the Soviet workers in the fight for this demand. The fusion of this demand with the demand for unconditional recognition would create the motive power to build a great movement among the American workers, hard pressed by unemployment, within a very short time. From this a great development of international solidarity would naturally follow.

It is high time to make an end of silent acquiescence in the back-stairs diplomacy of Stalin and Litvinoff. It is high time to organize a fight of the working class on the question of relations with Russia.

Manifesto of the Bolshevik Party of Cuba

(Continued from Page 3)

be guaranteed by the proletarian dictatorship, and that this proletarian dictatorship will not appear after the revolution, but on the foundation of the revolution itself, as the only force capable of achieving the agrarian and anti-imperialist objectives.

It is necessary to leave no room for doubt in this respect. An enormous theoretical poverty exists in this question, which, however, the Bolshevik party does not hesitate to tackle. The sectarian group has never been able to answer these essential questions, simply because it has not realized its responsibility in regard to them. In a petty bourgeois manner, they mask their ideological confusion by talking together a half dozen anti-imperialist slogans from the international store-room of catch words and slogans. In practice they have not advanced one inch further, in the agrarian and national questions, than the petty bourgeois of the A. B. C. However, they frantically attack these latter, perhaps because of a special desire to contradict themselves.

Possibilities of a Resurgence of the Official Communist Party

Before deciding to make the turn towards the formation of a new party, we have given due consideration to the possibilities of a general political resurgence not only of the Communist International but of its Cuban section as well. The development of recent political events, has returned the most valuable and honest elements, who had

been in exile abroad to the ranks of the Communist Party of Cuba. These new forces, which the bureaucracy is very careful to keep on the periphery of the party, clash objectively with the old routine, sectarian tactics of the leadership. But the intensity of the clash is toned down, because the sectarian leadership maneuvers capably, extending to these new elements the strings which will definitely tie it to the worn-out and worm-eaten party apparatus.

These comrades still believe that it is possible to restore the Communist party to its "political normalcy", and that this restoration must take place from the inside. In spite however of their heroic efforts and sincere purpose, it will be proven useless. The degeneration of the party is complete.

We have fought hard ever since 1931 to create the renovating current capable of saving the party from its own corruption. These efforts have been in vain.

Those comrades who still struggle for the regeneration of the party, do not yet feel the pressure of the ruling bureaucracy, because the latter finds the menace of our group enough for the present. As soon as the Stalinist wing of the party is definitely entrenched in its position, it will turn disloyally against these new elements in an attempt to suppress them. Then, the friction between the two forces, will push towards the Bolshevik-Leninists, the most capable and revolutionary sections of the party.

To those militants who still conserve their ideological honesty,

(the Bolshevik-Leninist Party will never close its doors. The future of the world belongs to Bolshevism.

Long live the Bolshevik-Leninist Party.
—CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BOLSHIEV-LINIST PARTY
Havana, September 23, 1933.

LOVESTONE'S APOLOGISTICS IN TORONTO

Toronto. — Lovestone's whole speech here was an apology for all the false Stalinist policies. So much so, that workers began to ask why aren't you inside the official party? What is the difference between you and the Stalinists.

Not one hostile question or, as a matter of fact, not one word of criticism was uttered against Lovestone by any of the big crowd of Stalinists present. The loudest and sincerest applause to Lovestone's remarks came from the Stalinists. This is very significant, especially when we recall a few months ago when Lovestone spoke in Toronto, they could not sit straight in their seats. It was only when Lovestone began to explain, in reply to a pointed question, the "few tactical differences" with the official party, did the Stalinists refrain from applauding.

The History of the Left Opposition by Max Shechtman, promised some time ago by Pioneer Publishers, is soon to appear. The pamphlet was long delayed due to financial and technical difficulties. It will sell for five cents.

SOCIETY NEWS

(Press Reports)

New York, Nov. 15.—The princess Alexis Mdivani (Barbara Hutton) reached the age of 21 yesterday and received a one-third share of the \$600,000,000 estate left in 1919 by her grandfather, F. W. Woolworth, the five-and-ten-cent store operator.

In her honor, her father, Franklin Hutton, stock broker, gave a dinner party last night at the Hutton home, 1,020 Fifth Avenue, surrounded by fifty guests at small tables, a Hungarian orchestra and opera singers as entertainers, his daughter made it evident she still felt as she did before the spectacular wedding in Paris, when she told the world: "It's going to be fun to be a Princess."

(Adolph Gerstenzang, forty-eight years old, unemployed chemist, who was to have been possessed from his apartment at 885 West End Avenue, committed suicide Sunday night by shooting himself.)

Barbara Hutton Mdivani is a happy-go-lucky good natured girl. She is generous, easy-going and fun-loving. She likes to dance—tangoing is her favorite pastime. She usually drives her own car and is fond of horses.

She made her debut in December, 1930, at the Ritz-Carlton. That party, the largest ever given in her honor, cost \$50,000. Silver birch trees were brought from California to transform the great ballroom into a woodland grove, an artificial moon was hung in blue haze and little stars made to twinkle in the make believe blue heavens.

(Mrs. Maria Bognasco, forty-two year old of 2731 Hughes Avenue, Bronx, was found dead in a gas-filled kitchen of her apartment at 5 p. m. yesterday by Lillian Rockson, a welfare worker. Mrs. Bognasco had turned on all the jets of the kitchen range, leaned against a wash tub and covered her head and the stove with a blanket. She was separated from her husband and was destitute.)

None of the Woolworth heirs—that is, the young ones—know the business end of the huge chain of stores. When the princess Mdivani arrives in any city one of the first things she does is to visit a five-and-ten and buy something in it. It has become a matter of superstition with the family.

(Owen Gallagher, thirty-four year old, an unemployed salesman committed suicide yesterday at his home, 439 Bronxville Road, Yonkers. He left three notes for his wife. He said he had been a "dreamer", unable to provide his wife and their two-year old son with "the things they should have had." He urged Mrs. Gallagher not to let their son "hitch his wagon to a star.")

The exact amount of the one-third share in her grandfather's estate to which the Princess became entitled yesterday could not be learned officially, but allowing for multiplication by time and depletion by depression, it was estimated here would have been at least \$20,000,000.

All that could be learned was that she was not taking possession of the entire amount now—only about \$10,000,000 or so. At the time of the wedding the Princess received a dowry, which was never officially revealed but was understood to be an outright gift of \$1,000,000 to the princess together with assurance of an annual allowance of \$50,000.

(On the dump heaps, jagged with scraps of old tin pieces of scrap iron and bits of broken glass, two children played. One was a Negro, the other a white child. It was raining hard, but the Negro child had on nothing but a cotton blouse.

He played with strips of old tin that matched the walls of the slacks around. Inside one of the most nondescript his mother tended his baby sister who lay in a bed of rags, sick "for three days with something bad with his stomach."

This mother is one of the fifteen or twenty women who fled to Hoover City with husbands and children when their morale was beaten down by frequently recurring evictions, when a shack fashioned from scraps of tin boxes, great iron drums, even from the backs of abandoned gas meter boxes, looked like a safe haven against the snow and cold of this coming winter.

"It was either come here or put the kids in a welfare home and try to live without them," said one mother who moved her family of five to the "Tin Mountains" in Brooklyn's Red Hook Section. "We couldn't pay the rent in a flat, although it was only \$9 a month, and feed the kids too."

"We are very happy," the Princess told the friends who wished her well last night. Prince Alexis also was pleased.

"He is amusing, smart and interesting and he has leisure to devote to his wife," she said.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT! READ SPREAD AND SUPPORT THE MILITANT IT IS YOUR PAPER

A New Light on the United Front

The testimony for the defense of a former Communist deputy at the Leipzig trial incidentally threw a revealing light on the contradictions and vacillations in the policy of the German C. P. regarding the question of the united front with the Social Democracy. Despite the theory of "social fascism" and the dogma of the "united front only from below" it now appears that private negotiations with Stammer (editor of the *Vorwaerts*), were being undertaken on the eve of the March elections.

Testimony of Neubauer

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of October 28, 1933 contains an interesting report of the testimony given the previous day in the Reichstag fire frame-up trial by Dr. Theodor Neubauer, former Communist member of the German Reichstag. After informing the court that he had conferred in the Reichstag building with Torgler on February 27 (the day before the fire), and that he had been in a concentration camp since September 7,—Neubauer denied that he had ever seen van der Lubbe, the Nazi tool, until entering the court room. Questioned by Dr. Sack, Nazi attorney entrusted with the "defense" of Torgler, Neubauer then went on to explain the subject of his conversation with Torgler the day before the Reichstag fire.

Neubauer stated that he discussed the political situation with Torgler, and especially the question of making contacts to build a united front with the Social Democratic Party. He continued (verbatim translation):

"On the Sunday before the Reichstag fire a foreign newspaper man informed me that the Social Democratic Editor (of the *Vorwaerts*), Stammer, had tried to make contact with us in a perfectly absurd way. To learn how the C. P. felt about cooperating with the S. P., Stammer went to an official of the Russian Embassy in Berlin. This official, of course, answered that he had absolutely nothing to say on the question, that for this purpose Stammer must go not to the Russian Embassy, but to the headquarters of the C. P. Stammer coincided from this that Moscow was not interested in this question, and so expressed himself in the newspaper man.

Negotiations with Stammer

When I learned this on Sunday from the foreign newspaper man, I said to my friends that it was inconceivable to me that an old politician like Stammer couldn't manage to differentiate between the C. P. and an official agency of the Soviet Union which naturally cannot and may not bother with internal German political affairs. I looked up a newspaper man who was in touch with Stammer and asked him to tell Stammer that night, between Sunday and Monday, that he had committed a major stupidity and absurdity, and that he should address himself to the right place, that is, to our Party.

I offered at the same time to put myself at his service to establish the contact. Then on Monday morning the Social Democratic newspaper man, Prager, informed me that Stammer was ready to have a talk with us about this in the Reichstag building on Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock. At the time Torgler and I put the greatest value on this conference. Therefore I personally asked Torgler that he come along. After the stupidity that had been committed, I didn't want to deal with Stammer alone, but thought it important that Torgler be there so no more blunders would be committed....

Dr. Sack then asked Neubauer some other questions and, returning to the question of the united front, Neubauer stated that the creation of such a united front "was the substance of the entire work of the C. P. at that time."

Dr. Sack: Did you mean that in addition to the ballot you would attack by calling out the masses?

Neubauer: The working class was to oppose the government by strikes in factories and in outdoor actions.

A Journalist As Intermediary

Dr. Sack next asked the name of the journalist who informed Neubauer about Stammer's maneuvers. Neubauer stated that it was Frederic Kuh. (Kuh, at that time representative of the United Press in Berlin, has since been withdrawn by his organization; it has been generally supposed that this was because he is a Jew.—The Editor.)

Asked to explain what sort of actions were contemplated, Neubauer went on as follows:

"The shutting down of all factories as well as of transportation, with the necessary effects on all public life.... These actions could never have had any objective with respect to individual persons, because we were fighting most sharply against any measures of individual terrorism, because we held this to be false in theory and practically disastrous to labor. We stood by every individual action against individual persons we regarded as extraordinary condemnable for labor.

Dr. Seuffert (prosecuting attorney): It is not yet clear how strikes have any effect on crushing Fascism.

Dr. Neubauer: We have the often cited example that in the so-called Cuno Strike a mobilization of the men was enough to turn the government out. We also pointed out in the Kapp Putsch of 1920, labor went on strike and that this

was the decisive factor in overthrowing the government. These are instances which were referred to repeatedly by Communist papers in those days and which we placed before the eyes of the workers.

General Strike and Civil War

Chief Prosecuting Attorney: Does the witness know that the C. P. regards a general strike as the last stage before a civil war?

Neubauer: I wouldn't formulate it that way. But I do know that the general strike, in the opinion of the C. P., can under certain conditions lead to civil war. That is not decided by the will of the C. P., but by the measure of its enemies, either the government or those parties who take opposing measures. There have been general strikes without armed insurrection and general strikes with armed insurrection. Its development one way or another does not depend on the will of the C. P.... It is obvious that if the C. P. attains its objective with a simple general strike, it would very gladly abandon the calling of an armed insurrection.

Chief Prosecuting Attorney: Perhaps, but if that doesn't achieve your goal?

Neubauer: the C. P. simply states that in certain situations it is not up to the Party but up to its opponents whether the general strike leads to an armed insurrection.

Chief Prosecuting Attorney: That means, if the opponents defend themselves, then there will be an armed insurrection.

After some minor questions by other attorneys, Dimitroff took the floor and asked Dr. Neubauer whether, early in 1933, before the Reichstag fire the German C. P. had posed the task of leading an immediate armed struggle for power. This the witness denied. Asked by Dimitroff what directives he and the Reichstag fraction had with respect to extra-parliamentary action, Neubauer continued:

Aimed at United Front

"The directives for the Reichstag fraction and for all organs of the German C. P. were based on the idea that the whole political development depended on whether or not a united front, a broad mass front of workers, including Social Democrats and Christian workers, could be created against the National Socialists. The whole work was concentrated on this cardinal problem. Nothing whatsoever was said about an impending armed insurrection. I and everybody else at that time would have regarded that as misleading, because the situation was absolutely not such as to enable the Party to do such a thing. Our directives were the building of the united front of labor for strikes, for the solidarity of employed and unemployed.

The prosecuting attorneys next addressed questions to Neubauer with the aim of establishing that the C. P. of Germany never acted except under Moscow's orders, and that it did permit individual terror.

Questions by Dimitroff

Dimitroff thereupon countered with other questions which brought out that the C. P. as well as the German C. P. had always been opposed to individual terror. Neubauer also stated that the decisions of the C. P. "were obligatory and directive. If the German Party had another view, it had to justify that other view before the C. P.... The German Party conducted a very wide campaign some months before the Reichstag fire, to fight against any inclinations in the Party toward individual terrorism, because we held such inclinations, due either to provocations or the unusual tension of the political situation, to be extraordinarily dangerous. Therefore we ordered that anyone representing such an inclination must be expelled from the Party as harmful."

The last question addressed to Neubauer came from Dimitroff.

"When Adolf Hitler came to power on January 30, were the National Socialists in Berlin and Germany engaged in a drive against the Communist movement? Were there not a series of attacks made on workers' organizations?"

Before Neubauer could answer, the Presiding Judge cut in and, despite Dimitroff's objection, suspended further questioning. Asked to take the oath on the testimony he had given, Neubauer refused a religious oath but affirmed the truth of his statements.

Then They Sing—the "Internationale"

In a disgraceful mockery, the Stalinists brought the meeting to

Notes of the Week

"Worker, Farmer 'Join Up'"

Worker, Farmer "Join Up"—is not, as you might suspect, just another Communist slogan. It happens to be the news-head of a story in the daily press. The story deals with the strike of the workers at the George A. Harrel Packing Co. plant in Austin, Minnesota.

The strikers, say the newspapers, "seized the plant, seventh largest in the world... after a clash with guards. The strikers were aided by members of the Farmer's National Holiday Association." The headline "Worker, Farmer 'Join Up'"—merely sums up a cold fact.

And still such a matter-of-fact headline sends a thrill of apprehension down a militant worker's spine. It has within it the portent of a magnificent perspective. It forebodes, by recounting a live incident, such a union of the mass of toilers in this country as will finally spell the doom of the ruling capitalist class.

The productive forces of society on either pole—on the farm and in the factory—instructively join hands! They have many different viewpoints, they may have varying conceptions of property, of law. But they are drawn closer and closer to each other in mutual self-defense against the destructive force of society—in defense against the ravages of capitalism.

The events at Austin, Minnesota bear a striking proof of this inevitable getting-together of workers and farmers. It is spontaneous, as the passion of the fighters themselves. The unity which is to deal the decisive blow for the preservation and defense of humanity in this country is still in the groping stage. More "Austin's" will dot the map as time goes by.

"Joining up" of farmers and workers will become more than a spontaneous outburst. Thinking farmers will give more thought to the idea of linking up their fight for life with that of the city producer.

It will be up to the industrial workers, with all their strike-experience, with all their natural discipline of action and aptness for collective struggle—to give the lead.

Powerful unions, a unified working class policy, and above all—the assumption of international experience—will do more than anything else to enable American workers to build up and buttress the fighting front of the workers and farmers for a decisive, revolutionary solution of their common problems.

Austin lights the way. It unfolds the possibilities of successful struggle. But it is also an admonition, a challenge to workers to prepare for the opportunities that are bound to arise.

If They Won't Raise 'Em—They'll Stretch 'Em

Not a step that the New Dealers take but has the interests of the working class at heart. Recently they put over repeal. But, you might ask: What has repeal to do with the interests of the workers in particular?

The answer is pretty easy. That is, if you've heard of the New York State regulations for the sale of liquor. Bottled drinks are to be sold cash down only. This provision, New York State's dictator of booze—Mr. Mulrooney, who not so long ago had the occasion to show his love for the workers in his capacity as police commissioner of the city—explains, is motivated by a desire to prevent pay envelopes from being emptied out by heaped-up charge accounts. It is, in other words, designed to stretch wages.

NRA and the codes haven't done much to bring about higher pay and guarantee decent living conditions. But the New Dealers are determined to do right by the working man. If NRA and the codes won't do the trick—no doubt the liquor regulations will be of help. No doubt!

If they can't raise wages, then they'll stretch them. —G....n

Probation for Food Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

minutes in which to present his point of view. The pre-arranged claque of the machine interrupted him constantly with boos and catcalls, making it difficult for him to be heard in the hall. No extension of time was granted him. The shameful cry of "stool pigeon" was hurled at Gordon by one degenerate after another, and the shouting came loudest from two individuals in particular, the outstanding "Trotsky-baiters" in the union, who scream all the more loudly because of the fact that even in the District Executive Committee of the Communist Party here they have more than once been discussed as suspicious, shady elements who had to be watched.

Then They Sing—the "Internationale"

In a disgraceful mockery, the Stalinists brought the meeting to

a close after their infamous procedure with... the singing of the "Internationale!"

We said last week that the Stalinists would not be permitted to carry through their expulsion with impunity. That the Left wing workers would let themselves be heard from before the case would safely be considered "closed" by the bureaucratic machine. We add now, that after this signal victory of our comrades whose fight compelled the machine-men to back water, we shall not be content to rest. The "probation" and "withdrawal card" racket which the Stalinists are now substituting for outright expulsions, will not be allowed to remain in effect. The militants intend to fight out this battle to the end, giving no quarter to the officialdom and their henchmen who have brought the progressive and Left wing labor movement to the brink of the abyss.



THE PRICE OF RECOGNITION

Stalin's Bargain (EDITORIAL)

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM was indubitably the victor in the negotiations which culminated with the official recognition of the Soviet Union. Diplomatic recognition by the richest and strongest country of the capitalist world and the prospects of credits to follow represent, of course, certain advantages to the workers' state. But these advantages are far outweighed by the price that has been paid for them by Stalin and Litvinov.

In return for American recognition and prospective credits the Stalinist bureaucracy has turned its back more openly and completely on the international revolution than ever before. The *de facto* liquidation of the Comintern as the organizer of world revolution is now virtually acknowledged by formal renunciation. The right even of "residence" on Soviet territory of American revolutionaries or their "representatives or officials" is taken away by the formal pledge of Litvinov. At the same time American capitalism is given the unconditional right to plant nests of counter-revolutionists in the Soviet Union under religious guise. And back of the whole monstrous bargain lurks the sinister implication of a secret military understanding which would seek to put the American proletarian movement at the service of American imperialism.

That is how the latest achievement of Soviet diplomacy really stands. Let the corrupted bureaucrats of American Stalinism and the dubious "friends" of the Soviet Union cheer for the "victory" and fool the radical workers about it. There applause is always on tap, ready in advance for anything. International revolutionists have the duty to estimate the shameful and perfidious bargain at its real worth and tell the truth about it.

"Compromises" - When, and How

THE BURNING indignation of the revolutionary internationalists at the latest exploit of Stalin-Litvinov diplomacy has nothing whatever to do with opposition "in principle" to compromises by the Soviet Union in its relations with the surrounding capitalist world. We, better than any others, have understood that the Soviet Union needs access to the world market, that it needs credits and diplomatic relations with capitalist countries and must pay for them with corresponding "concessions"—not because it can really build "socialism in one country", but for precisely opposite reasons.

This realistic understanding of the actual needs of Soviet economy, combined with the aim of uniting the American with the Soviet workers in a bond of common interest, motivated our three-year old proposal to organize a fighting movement of the American workers under the slogans of recognition and long-term credits for the Soviet Union.

Compromises and concessions as such are not in the least involved in the Communist appraisal of the Washington agreement. What did we get and what did we pay for it? Does it strengthen us or weaken us in the never-ceasing struggle with the international class enemy? These are the real questions. Lenin said, at the time of the Geneva conference eleven years ago: "We go there as traders." But the diplomacy of Lenin, his compromises, his "trading", were subordinated to revolutionary politics on the international arena. They supplemented and strengthened the aggression of the Comintern. The diplomacy of Stalin-Litvinov trades off the Comintern and the international revolution and, by that, undermines the foundation of the Russian Revolution also. The difference is fundamental, and none has understood it better than the imperialists who concluded the Washington bargain for Soviet recognition.

Soviet Diplomacy in 1918 and 1933

WITH A PERVERTED cynicism possible only in people who are as lacking in allegiance to principle as in any sense of reality the miserable spokesmen for American Stalinism are beating the drums for the Washington agreement and hailing it as a proletarian victory. That is not surprising. Those who could defend the capitulation to German Fascism are capable of defending anything—and their resources in this line are not yet exhausted. True, they had to remain in hiding for several days in order to concoct an explanation of Litvinov's pledges to Roosevelt. Meanwhile the capitalist press quoted the documents and brutally pointed out the contrast between Soviet diplomacy in 1918 under Lenin and in 1933 under Stalin, between revolutionary internationalism and "socialism in one country". The contrasting documents of the regime of Lenin and the regime of Stalin show all too plainly who was the real victor in the Washington negotiations. They reveal such a frightful degeneration of Soviet diplomacy, such a fundamental departure from the line of Lenin, that the *Daily Worker* does not dare to quote them side by side.

In 1918 the Soviet Congress assembled in Moscow replied to the message of President Wilson: "The Soviet Republic takes advantage of the message of President Wilson to express to all the peoples who have suffered from the horrors of an imperialist war its warm sympathies and its honest belief that the happy moment is not far away when the workers of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism and establish a socialist regime, which alone is able to bring about a just and lasting peace and to contribute to civilization and prosperity of the workers."

From that attitude "we are miles as well as years away", said the *New York Times*, in quoting the old document of Soviet diplomacy. How far we are away

from it can be fully comprehended by a reading of the pledge made by Litvinov at Washington. Point 4 of this 1933 document reads:

"4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or the social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

If that does not mean a complete renunciation and repudiation of the Comintern, as far as the United States, "its territories and possessions", is concerned, what does it mean?

The Bourgeois Press Celebrates

IN POINT 3 of the same document the Soviet Union had already agreed to "restrain" all persons and organizations "under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it", from any revolutionary activity aimed at the U. S. government. But even that was not enough to satisfy the demands of the Wall Street bandits who, according to the *Daily Worker*, were "defeated" in the negotiations. In point 4 it is even agreed to deny representatives of revolutionary parties in America the right to live in the Worker's Fatherland, and to refuse asylum to revolutionary refugees from America who remain active and unrepentant.

The full significance of this agreement is well understood by the most qualified representatives of the American ruling class. The *New York Times* remarked: "The United States receives the most complete pledge against Bolshevik propaganda that has been given by the Soviet Government." Father Edmund A. Walsh, one of the chief belters of the Soviet Union, is quoted by the Associated Press: "The Soviet Government, through its Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, now pledges itself to terminate the residence of all such organizations (as the Third International) on Soviet territory." The digest of editorial opinion in the South American press, according to the *New York Times*, is "that the Soviet Union of today is different from Lenin's Soviet. The desire to conquer the world has been abandoned, writers say, holding that bland pacific methods and economic propaganda have succeeded it." So runs the whole chorus of bourgeois press comments. Have they been "deceived"? Are they, perhaps, mistaken? Let Stalin come out in the open and say so!

Was U.S. Imperialism Outwitted?

NO "CORRECTION" of this impression will be made—of this we may be sure, despite the pathetic attempts of *Daily Worker* to pass off the explicit propaganda pledge as a "routine" matter. The most suspicious of all the imperialist powers has not been "outwitted" by the clever Litvinov, as the shame-faced apologists imply. Just as Roosevelt demanded and secured explicit pledges, so it can safely be assumed that he secured definite guarantees, that every concession in the way of credits will have strings attached to enforce the guarantees and that full payment will be exacted.

Bunt reminders of these expectations of 100% fulfillment of the pledges were not spared even while the ink was still wet on the agreement. "It goes without saying," said the *N. Y. Times*, "that public opinion in the United States will watch closely the observation of this pledge. It will not accept technical excuses for violation." Father Walsh adds: "The political success or failure of the new agreement, in my opinion, rests fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Soviet Government, which is now under solemn covenant, openly and voluntarily arrived at, to end the Third International."

The Basis of the Retreat

SUCH A SHAMEFUL retreat of Stalinist diplomacy before the arrogant demands of American imperialism is not the result of a sudden departure in policy. It is a culminating point in a long series of mistakes and crimes which proceeded from the theory of "socialism in one country". This theory, and its practical expression in the abandonment of the international revolution, disorganizing the international proletarian vanguard and undermining the strength of the Soviet Union from within, prepared the way for the humiliating spectacle at Washington. The official repudiation of the Comintern at the behest of Wall Street was only the formal ratification of a fact already accomplished in practice. The Comintern was killed as a revolutionary force by ten years of Stalinist leadership. At Washington its murderers marked a cross over the grave.

If Stalin and Litvinov, under pressure of American imperialism, went further than they wished to go; if they were compelled to expose their real policy before the world more clearly than ever before; if they felt constrained to make great public concessions and, very probably, still greater secret ones, expressed or implied—all this is also the outcome of the weakened position of the Soviet Union brought about by the theory and practice of Stalinism over a period of ten years.

By transforming the parties of the Comintern into mere pacifist frontier guards for the defense of the Soviet Union they robbed the parties of the Comintern of their revolutionary fighting capacities and, consequently, of their effectiveness even for the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

The "Vital" Paragraphs 3 and 4

3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the government of, or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories, or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group, which has as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

MAXIM LITVINOFF.

Resume Trial of Scottsboro Negro Boys

In an atmosphere charged with the electricity of mob violence, with the white hooded Ku Kluxers riding every night and burning the very cross on the highways and hilltops, terrorizing the entire Negro population, the Southern bourgeois are bringing the nine Negro boys to trial on the notorious railroad charge of the supposed rape of Ruby Bates and Virginia Price.

The facts and evidence in the famous Scottsboro case proving the innocence of the Negro boys, in which the star witness for the prosecution, Ruby Bates has vindicated the defendants, and the Supreme Court, are clear beyond a doubt. But the class laws of the lily-white south are undaunted by truth. Innocence or guilt is determined by the callousness of the palm of the hand and the color of the skin.

Preparing the Rope and Faggot

"Justice is too slow," says the barbarian riding class which is preparing the rope and faggot for the Scottsboro boys. Samuel S. Liebowitz, the attorney retained by the International Labor Defense through several of his employees, has circulated through Morgan County to ascertain the sentiment of the local population, and has found that the prevailing idea is to circumvent the slow processes of "justice" and apply direct action to the Negroes on trial.

Of course, this investigation included only the whites, the business men and their hangers-on. The Negroes have been so terrorized, that, according to press reports, they go far out of the way to avoid stating any opinion on the trial. Liebowitz and the other attorneys for the defense have an armed guard protecting them every minute of the day against threats at "Jewish lawyers from New York". Bigotry marches side by side with race hatred.

The Real Crime of the Scottsboro Boys

The ruling class of the South wants to make an object lesson of the nine Scottsboro boys. Their crime is not having raped the two women involved but of belonging

(Continued on page 4)

Maria Reese's "I Accuse"

Turn to page 3 for the damning indictment of the Stalinist course in Germany written by comrade Maria Reese, a leading member of the Communist Party of Germany and one of its outstanding public spokesmen.

The Diplomacy of Stalin and the Diplomacy of Lenin--a Contrast

M. Litvinoff and -- M. Bedacht

"The Communist Party of Russia Does Not Concern America and the Communist Party of the U. S. Does Not Concern Russia"

Individuals, even many of them at a time, can be deceived. Classes in the last century—it has never before given to the capitalists, however much they tried to extract it from the Soviet leaders.

This promise has now been given by Litvinov! He gave it in the stilted, but quite unmistakable, terms of his letter to "your illustrious president" Mr. Roosevelt. Then, to assure the American bourgeoisie beyond any possibility of their fears recurring, he made it plain to the newspapermen that:

The Russian Communist Party is concerned only with Russia. The American Communist Party, if there is one ("I must profess ignorance"), is concerned only with America. The Communist International, as the general staff of the world revolution, does not exist, for it has not the victorious Russian party in its leadership, nor the absurd American party in its ranks.

Made it plain not merely to the newspapermen but also—and this is vastly more important—to the millions of workers who read the capitalist press and who have no cause for taking the People's Commissar at anything but face value. Assuming that this was intended merely as a clever maneuver against the bourgeoisie—and we have every reason not to assume this—its concrete effect could not but be an icy douche down the spinal column of the American Communist movement and whatever there is internationalist, i. e., Marxist and revolutionary, in it.

If any doubts can conceivably remain about this "trifling concession" which Stalin-Litvinov have made to the American bourgeoisie, Max Bedacht, representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, has ruthlessly eliminated them. Exactly like Litvinov (who at least has the thin excuse that he is, after all, a government emissary), Bedacht hastened to assure the American bourgeoisie that the Third International is no longer to be feared, that it is nothing to worry about.

The *New York Times* (11-19-33), which prints Bedacht's statement, writes: "Asked about M. Litvinov's statement Friday evening that the

(Continued on Page 4)

ELIMINATION OF C. I. RUBBER- STAMPED

The Washington Agreement in the Light of Soviet History

A storm of controversy has broken around the recognition of the Soviet Union by the government of the United States. Watery liberals disdain to discuss the question: who was victorious in the negotiations? But the representatives of the big bourgeoisie on the one side, and the proletarian revolutionists on the other, both conscious of the fact that in every skirmish of the class war there is a victor and a vanquished, are far from unconcerned with an evaluation of the discussions between Litvinov and Roosevelt which ended in normal diplomatic relations being established between the two republics.

The Propaganda Pledge

The controversy centers around the last three articles in the communication addressed to Roosevelt by the Russian emissary on November 16, 1933. Let it be said right at the outset that with few exceptions, the whole American press in this country has correctly estimated them in their true light. The outstanding exception is the official purveyor of Stalinist apologetics, the *Daily Worker*, which, after a significant silence for days, broke out into voluminous daily explanations of the Litvinov documents.

"Every single one of these articles," writes the editor on November 21, "in some form or other, has been part of the numerous recognition pacts that the Soviet government has signed during the last ten years with the leading powers of Europe. Far from being 'concessions' forced from a reluctant Soviet Government, the Soviet Government was willing and offered to sign such articles with all capitalist countries."

The Stalinist mameukes are deliberately lying! It is not by chance that they reproduced the articles in question without direct comment or elucidation. It is not by an oversight that they have failed to reproduce a single one of the "numerous recognition pacts" as proof that it contains articles similar to the ones offered the United States by Maxim Litvinov.

Before examining the articles (Continued on Page 4)

Mass Meeting of Food Workers Acclaims Drive for General Strike

New York.—The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, laying the necessary machinery to cope with any emergency that the Hotel Men's Association and the Restaurant Men's Association are trying to force through the NRA, which openly plays a scabbing role against the food workers.

On November 16, the local compliance board of the NRA ruled that the waiters' wages must be abolished and the gratuities of the public should be considered a sufficient amount of money to cover the \$15.00 weekly minimum for waiters. Our Union protested vigorously against this infamous ruling and succeeded in forcing the local NRA to rescind their former decision. B. J. Field said at the NRA hearing that a great resentment exists among the restaurant workers and a strike is imminent unless the ruling were withdrawn. Flore of the A. F. of L. joined Field's statement that a strike is imminent. The secretary said further that employees have been coming to the NRA headquarters with complaints and receiving no satisfaction. At ways, he said, their representatives met with a courteous reception, received a full hearing of their grievances and went away empty handed. Nothing ever was done to intervene at complaints that men were discharged for organizational activities.

He attacked the vicious tipping system which degrades the men and demanded that a minimum of \$35.00 a week be given as wages to

the waiters. Even the arch-reactionary Grover Whalen for the sake of appearances agreed with Secretary Field that the whole tipping system might well be done away with. Mr. Whalen made it clear that the national NRA administration decided definitely that tips should not be considered as wages.

In spite of this decision we are informed that the Hotel Men's Code was signed by the President last Friday without any public hearing which would at least give an opportunity to the labor representatives to present their viewpoint, as was done prior to the signing of other codes. This shows plainly that in the case of the food workers President Roosevelt does not apply even the legal procedure required by the NRA simply because the hotels and chain restaurants in New York City and elsewhere are owned and operated by the banks. This proves that capitalist laws can be enforced only against workers and petty bourgeoisie, and sometimes against small industrialists. But by no means does Roosevelt dare to force the bankers to accept so-called reforms. The most ironical item of this code is the inclusion of the consideration of the tips of the waiters as wages to cover the \$15.00 minimum. And this was done secretly only three days after the same NRA declared officially and reported in the leading capitalist press that tips an gratuities should not be considered as wages.

So far no union has been able (Continued on Page 4)

FROM THE MILITANTS

Unemployed Confab in Minneapolis

Minneapolis.—A Conference on unemployment was held in Minneapolis on Sunday, Oct. 23, in the headquarters of the Central Labor Union, as recorded in a previous issue of the *Militant*. The conference got under way shortly after 2 P. M. Wm. P. Bennett, trade unionist and delegate from the 10th Ward Farmer-Labor Club, was elected temporary chairman and Karl S. Kuch, secretary of the Volunteer Committee, was elected temporary secretary.

Comrade V. R. Dunne, regularly elected delegate from the Councils for United Labor Action, was chosen by the Volunteer Committee to make the report on Unemployment Conditions. He was allowed 30 minutes for his report which was well received by all the delegates with the exception of 8 or 10 Stalinists who represented the Communist Party and its closely sympathetic organizations. His report was a Marxist analysis of unemployment and led directly up to the resolutions which he was to present at the end of his report.

Forty-nine Organizations Represented
The credentials committee reported 87 delegates representing 49 organizations were present and a recommendation was brought in and accepted to seat them all. A resolutions committee of 5 was elected by ballot and out of a list of about a dozen candidates the following were elected: Dunne of the C. U. L. A.; Thomson, Teachers Federation; Norris, Socialist Party; Frank, Lathers Union; Haley, 11th Ward Farmer-Labor Club. Comrade Dunne received the highest number of votes.

The resolutions committee brought in unanimous resolutions with the exception of one, and that one was quickly ironed out on the floor. The resolution on decentralization of public relief which contained objectionable phrases about self-help, was replaced by another one and was readily adopted on the floor. Several good resolutions on forced labor, unemployment insurance, a shorter work week, consumers co-operatives, etc., were also passed.

A resolution calling for the setting up of a permanent committee consisting of one delegate from each organization present and one from each working class organization which may later affiliate, to be known as the Minneapolis Central Council for the Unemployed, was accepted. This resolution also called for proportional representation to be adopted as quickly as possible.

Achievements of Conference
In spite of the many bad features of the conference it can truthfully be said that it pushed the movement forward and resulted in a real victory for the ideas of the Left Opposition. When it is taken into consideration how the Volunteer Committee was loaded down with all kinds of opportunist ideas on the solution of the unemployment problem; how it was composed of people, some very energetic and sincere it is true, but who had scarcely a single idea on the kind of a program that the present objective conditions demand; how our comrades joined the Committee and patiently struggled along; and how out of this whole affair was realized a real program and the best conference on unemployment that Minneapolis has ever had, then it is clear that our method of working in the mass movement brings fruitful results. Our comrades

on our statement of the facts, we were ruled out of order and called disrupters. We handed in our credentials again and this time they were accepted without a word.

Mass Meeting Speeches

A conference is, as I understand it, convened for organizations who agree on a certain purpose, as it happened in this case. The fight against Section 98 for common united front action. For all the positive value of the whole of the afternoon session, it might have been an unusually long, grand mass meeting. First one Stalinist exposed section 98 in an abbreviated speech that lasted one hour. Then another delivered a harangue which lasted almost two hours. Although section 98 should have been exposed to the complete satisfaction for the simplest person there who might have been ignorant of what section 98 signified this was not enough. Now it was the turn for the delegates from the W. L. U. C. L. S., the U. W. L., the Y. C. L. S., the Unemployed Council, the Ex-Servicemen's League, etc., to deliver their exposures, which weren't completed at the end of the session.

The Rev. A. E. Smith

The morning session next day happily brought this exposure to a close after another half dozen speakers had said their word. The rest of conference session was taken up with the election of a committee of action, which Rev. A. E. Smith hoped might not suffer a premature death one week after the conference closed, as has been our experience in the past. Finance was a very important item, as was a committee to plead with the premier, which committee everybody was reminded, should include trade unionists so that the government officials could not call it "another Communist committee". Then came "one of the most important orders of business", resolutions, greetings, and the program of action, the reading of which took exactly 30 minutes, and the discussion less than five, and the farce was at an end.

Toronto Conference on Anti-Labor Laws

Toronto.—On Sunday, Nov. 12, there took place in Toronto an International Canada Conference for the repeal of the notorious anti-labor legislation section 98. The Conference Call was addressed to "all labor organizations" so the Left Opposition organizations and auxiliaries sent their delegates.

One does not feel enthused in participating in a Stalinist sponsored conference, because it is a fact that not one conference these people have organized for no matter whatever good purpose has ever shown a successful outcome.

When our delegates handed in their credentials to the committee in charge, the credentials were literally thrown back in their faces—a procedure unheard of even for Stalinist conferences. When we asked this Stalinist flunkey, who as it afterwards turned out was only anticipating orders from the higher bureaucrats, by what right he was motivating his arbitrary action of rejecting credentials which was a prerogative only of the conference, we received the reply, "You are disrupters." To argue with a hopeless bureaucrat or a fool, whatever this specimen of Stalinism represented, could serve no purpose so our delegates placed the question before the conference when the discussion of the report of the credentials committee was up.

The higher bureaucrats, whether because they feared obvious opposition from the few outside organizations present, or the effect of their actions in the labor movement, decided to back down on their dunkey stand, and denied the whole matter. When we insisted

Evolution of the Anti-War «Fighters»

Right from the very beginning, when the World Anti-War Congress was first mooted, the Left Opposition, in all its sections, endeavored not only to expose its make-up, but to reaffirm the attitude and principles of Lenin on the question of war.

It was in order to achieve this end that the L. O. representatives entered the Congress held at Amsterdam, August 27th—29th, 1932. Not to oppose the fight against war but to seek a solution that would build up a real working-class organization, with proper Communist leadership. How necessary that task was has been abundantly stressed lately.

Professor Albert Einstein was a member of the original Committee which called the Congress. Much use has been made, by the Communist Parties identified with the Communist International, of the name of Einstein. True, it was said, he is a pacifist, but he is ready to resist the danger of a new war.

How little truth there was in this claim, and what little right the Comintern has to make use of his name in anti-war work is shown by Einstein recently. Not only has he attacked Soviet Russia; not only has he broken off his relations with the anti-war united front committee; but he has actually advocated Belgians joining the army of their country.

"I say frankly that if I were a Belgian I would not refuse military service in the present circumstances but on the contrary would accept it with wholeheartedness and with a feeling that I would be contributing to the salvation of European civilization."

Following Einstein's spectacular exit from the Anti-War Committee, on the grounds that he discovered through the pamphlet of the Labour Party that it was a Communist organization, Bertrand Russell (Marxist) likewise disassociates himself.

"I severed my connection with the Anti-War Movement some time ago as soon as I discovered that it was a Communist body in disguise. This had been concealed from me at first by an impressive list of non-Communist names and by the title of the organization, which as I subsequently discovered, by no means correctly represented its aims."

These defections should go a long way to enlighten all workers anxious to fight war; and the falsity of this type of united front against war, under the guidance of the Comintern so unably led by Stalin. Workers! Back to Lenin, and his methods!—From the British "Red Flag".

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT! READ SPREAD AND SUPPORT THE MILITANT IT IS YOUR PAPER

ing elements by threatening to cut off their relief if they failed to withdraw from the new U. C.

The U. C. held its United Front and a comrade reported that instead of singing the Internationale they substituted, "I'm so all alone." Subsequently the united front call was started with an article in defense of Manchuria and ended with the slogan of Defend the Soviet Union. Steele was expelled as a "stool-pigeon". Now, over a year later, the Unemployed Councils still number less than 200 members.

—F. CRIQUE.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Debate Stalinists in St. Louis

St. Louis.—When comrade Swaback spoke to about 100 workers in St. Louis on October 27th on the question of Fascism in Germany and the bankruptcy of the German C. P. as well as the C. I., the Left Opposition was challenged to a debate by a Stalinist, C. W. Wyrnath, who was one of the organizers of the Food Workers Industrial Union, was told by the writer, that he will face persecution by the party bureaucrats for discussing the German question. "You're a liar," he said, "The Party is glad to discuss anything with anybody, and I'll expose you." He stated that he would debate in the name of the Party with the L. O.

The debate was announced for November 10th. As soon as the Party officials learned of this, they mobilized all the influence they had on Wyrnath so that he would not go through with the debate with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites". They had two "reasons".

(1) The Party doesn't debate the past. If the C. P. makes a mistake, it criticizes itself, and doesn't need criticism from outside. (2) The St. Louis C. P. has no one capable to debate this question with Wyrnath of the L. O., and the District will not send anyone from Chicago for that purpose. Wyrnath waved aside these reasons. He insisted that he was going to debate and to expose the "Trotskyites" as nothing more than liars and counter-revolutionists.

On the day of the debate the Party issued a circular letter to all workers of St. Louis calling upon them to "Smash these enemies of the working class". Headlines stated that "Trotskyites" debate on German Fascism is a fake and "Communist Party does not debate with stool-pigeons".

Underneath these trimmings every worker was told that C. W. Wyrnath is not a member of the C. P., that he is a second-rate, a misled worker, a stool-pigeon, an agent of the capitalist class just as Payer is. That Payer and Co. are paid out of the royalties from the half a million dollars which Trotsky received from the capitalist press for writing articles against the recognition of Soviet Russia by U. S. The circular ended up with "Give no comfort to these enemies of yours. Drive them out of your midst!" "Fight for the unity of the working class!"

Despite the above "warning", about 100 workers came to hear the debate, among them the Party section organizer Chauntz with about 25 Stalinist henchmen. They came over in a body, apparently to break up by force the debate, or to endeavor to get control of the hall, and make it a meeting to slander the Left Opposition. A warning was given to the Party disorganizer to attempt to disturb the meeting, and the chairman opened the meeting by outlining the rules of the debate. Chauntz stood up, turning his eyes in all directions apparently to see if he had enough force to break up the meeting. He apparently thumbed down that idea, and asked for the floor before the debate started. He wanted to make a statement. He did, for about 15 or 20 minutes. "The C. P. will debate with everybody," were his identical words, "Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, I. W. W., but it will not debate with Trotskyites, because they are counter-revolutionary!" He called upon the workers to "honor" Soviet Russia by every one leaving the hall. Not only did not a single worker follow the advice of Chauntz, but not even all of

their 25 who came in a body! Only 17 of his bodyguard walked out. The others stayed in the hall and listened very attentively to the discussion on Germany.

The Left Opposition speaker, Payback, gave a Marxist analysis of the German situation. Wyrnath exhibited his ignorance not only about Germany but about everything connected with the revolutionary movement.

In the discussion that followed Geo. Benz, candidate for Mayor on the Communist ticket in the last elections, denied that Stalin and Co. expelled Trotsky. He stated that he had made "a thorough study" of the controversial Trotsky question. Workers shook their heads in astonishment as the words rolled out of his mouth about Lenin—with a gun in his hand!—making Trotsky resign!—In 1926! And that Lenin himself had Trotsky expelled in 1927!

This is the type of Stalinists who fight "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" in St. Louis. No wonder they do not want to debate.

«I Am With You for a New Party»

Chicago.—I have been a member of District 8, Communist Party since 1928, during which time I have participated in all the struggles engaged in by the movement. I have labored day and night in organization work among the masses. The District leaders, recognizing my willingness to work, began sending me around the State of Illinois and also in Wisconsin to address meetings and do organizational work. On April 26, 1931 I was sent to Rockford, Illinois to prepare for the May 1 demonstration, finding that the local comrades were unable to do much, I began to hold outdoor meetings that reached many hundreds of workers. Because of this activity, I was arrested. This making the eleventh time that I have been arrested for my activities in the labor movement.

This arrest brought home to me the fact that because I was not a "leader" I could be discriminated against and forgotten in jail and, when fined by the courts, the leaders would generously permit me to serve out my time. At the same time they pay the fine and take out any number of the "official" family that would happen to be arrested.

I protested against this discrimination repeatedly but could get no answer. Finally, because I was insistent they began to call me a "counter-revolutionary". The sectarianism and bureaucracy in the party has gradually caused my estrangement.

However, because I have been a firm believer in revolutionary discipline, having fought against Fascism in Italy, France and Germany, I tried to hang on to the party. Soon, though, we were expelled from the party, myself and a number of Italian comrades, because I absolutely refused to accept the sectarian policies and the bureaucracy.

I have been, now for some time, reading the *Militant* and I am in full accord with its viewpoint. I shall be one of the first Italians in America to fight for a New International and for the destruction of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

I am with you in the formation of a new revolutionary party and will lend my energies in propagandizing among the workers for this end.

—THOS. SABATINI, New Member of the L. O.

Anti-Semitism in 'Progressive Miner'

Kansas City, Mo.—In the recent columns of the *Militant*, the rightward swing of the *Progressive Miners' Union* has been analyzed by a few of our comrades who have been active in the Illinois area. Comrades Oehler and Giganti have shown us with accuracy the trend of the P. M. A., and how its leadership is following in the footsteps of the A. F. of L. by ousting the militants and trying to prove to the dear old "public" that they were "respectable."

But on the editorial page of the *Progressive Miner*, for Friday, October 27th, the reactionary character of the P. M. A. chieftains is paraded before the eyes of the rank and file of the workers in its full scope. The leaders apparently are not satisfied merely to ape their ideological brothers, the A. F. of L. leaders, but have gone into the realm of the American Hitlerite pretenders—the Silver Shirts. They are aiming to transform what appeared to be the infant prodigy of the revolutionary labor movement in America into the spearhead of reaction. Although their bid for blackguard duty is ill-timed, nevertheless the stench of custard oil, lead pipe, and bludgeon is to be found in the following editorial from the *Progressive Miner* for October 27, 1933 entitled: "Russian Commissar To Visit America."

"There is more than passing interest in the visit of this so-called 'International Salesman' Litvinoff, who is to sit down to talk about international affairs, with President Roosevelt. We read with amusement much about 'once more recognizing Russia'; 'rehabilitating a trade relation that would net America hundreds of millions of dollars'; and an 'understanding relative to the proposed position of America, should a war materialize between Japan and Russia.'"

"We are also hearing much about the possibilities of Morgenthau as a likely Ambassador to the Soviet State. Not long ago we read that Barney Baruch had been having a long chat with Litvinoff and about the same time our 'unofficial President Baruch' was hobnobbing with Count Karolyi while hunting around Slovenski-Nesgar."

The *Militant* can perform a great revolutionary service to the rank and file members of the P. M. A., and the entire American working class by throwing the searchlight of its vigorous criticism upon these leaders—the *Progressive Miners' misleaders*—the working class enemies in their full regalia. We must show the proletariat the reactionary role of the Messrs. Joe P. Goett, Edwin Bowen, C. E. Pearcey, and Wm. Keck as more than a mere trend but an organized force of the exploiters. To group Litvinoff, Morgenthau and Baruch smacks too much of the ugly methods of czarism and now of Hitler. Inculcating race hatred is still one of the capitalist trump cards, as can be measured by the article in the *Progressive Miner*.

—A. C.

Down with Stalin and his clique! Down with bureaucracy and Sectarianism.

Forward for a Revolutionary International and the World Revolution.

—THOS. SABATINI, New Member of the L. O.

Fifteen Years of Democracy in the Czechoslovakian Republic

The Czechoslovakian Republic is about to celebrate its fifteenth anniversary. The foreign reader, and also the proletarian reader, is generally very poorly acquainted with this country which has very often places among the "Balkan" countries, but which, because of its location in the heart of Europe, is not without importance in the imperialist game of European politics.

The legendary personality of the good, noble soldier, Schweik, is more familiar than the problems and conflicts which stir the social life of this state. Perhaps the name of Masaryk, this type of mediocrity and professorial platitudes, this orator of the Czech petty bourgeoisie; and the name of Benes, the servile wire-puller in the service of French imperialism in the provincial Geneva theatre are known. These two names, which the Temps equates as the inspiration of the "most democratic regime in Central Europe", celebrating the "Union of the three principal elements of the social life of this state of Czechs, Slovaks and Germans in one national life" which appears to represent the quintessence of harmony, friendship and good-will.

The Temps forgot to add that this devoted democracy, in reality, rests on systematic cultural, economic and political oppression of more than three and one-half million German workers and petty bourgeoisies, on the unscrupulous and unlimited exploitation of the "brother" Slovak people, living in uncultivated and pitiful villages, who are aware of the bloody brutality of the Czech gendarmes as the only messengers of the new liberty; that

this democracy rests on the merciless tyranny exercised on Carpathian Russia, where for years one epidemic of famine has followed another and where the highest dream of the Ruthenian moujik, living in the cultural darkness of biologic misery similar to that of the moujik of Czarist Russia, consists literally in being able to eat black bread to his heart's content only once!

Add to that the "pendrik" (the police club) the daily diet of the Czech worker; the restrictions—incorporated in the Czech constitution—on freedom of assembly, of the press and the right to organize, and you have a picture of this "most democratic and liberal regime" where the most modern methods of popular deception are combined with the well-tested methods of the tyranny of the Hapsburg monarchy.

However, even this empty democracy has not been able to resist the blows of the world crisis. It is precisely at the time when Le Temps sings the most beautiful eulogies to Czechoslovakian "liberty" that these creatures are about to bury it in silence.

Czechoslovakia, like France, has been one of the last countries drawn into the vortex of the world crisis. A series of circumstances explain this fact, without speaking of a certain equilibrium between Czechoslovakian industry and agriculture and the advantages of the colonial exploitation of the national minorities by the Czech bourgeoisie. The ruling classes had already succeeded, in the years prior to the crisis, in a wholesale deflation

of wages. What was already the standard of living of the Czech worker during the rising conjuncture—what was already the standard of living of the Czech worker is classified in the 13th rank among the industrial countries of Central Europe.

At first the relatively attenuated evolution of the economic crisis in Czechoslovakia reflected itself in the relative stability of the bourgeois government. Since the autumn of 1929, the time of the last parliamentary elections, Czechoslovakian politics have been directed by a Green-Red coalition, in which several minority fractions participate.

The national pillars of this coalition are formed by two parties. Firstly, the Czechoslovakian Republican Party (agrarian party), a party which (while being the most reactionary) resembles the French Radical-Socialist party by its social basis and its gravity in parliamentary life. The second party is the Czechoslovakian social democracy which, despite its four years participation in the government, and thanks to the genial policy of the Stalinist leaders, has become in the last few years a force numbering almost 200,000 members, 60% of whom are worker elements. (The official membership of the C. P. is 30,000 members!)

The aggravation of the crisis was accompanied by a constant regression of the working class in its daily struggles. During the four years of economic crisis, there have been only rare strike movements of any large scope, movements

which have not been able to engulf the entire working class and which were strangled in an uncompleted stage.

Without encountering the least extra-parliamentary resistance the government has been able to endow itself—about one year ago—with dictatorial powers for anti-working class economic legislation. The development of this crisis was accompanied a growing weakening of the C. P. The red trade unions have become pitiful shadows of their former selves.

It is therefore quite understandable that with the growing pressure of the ruling classes on the masses, social discontent is more and more seeking a solution from the impasse of nationalist opposition against Czech imperialism. In fact, in the last epoch, the latter found itself in serious conflict with the tendencies of the national minorities. The victory of Fascism in Germany has caused a great deal of agitation among the petty-bourgeoisie of German Bohemia. They have been vigorously suppressed by the government which went as far as the proscription of the German Nationalist Party and the German National Socialist Party.

If the Fascist movement—despite the rather favorable conditions for it, (the absence of a proletarian vanguard, the desperate and impossible situation of the petty bourgeoisie)—has not outgrown its swaddling clothes, this is primarily due to the scattered nationalities of the petty bourgeoisie and its Fascist factions whose interests and demands clash violently.

Only recently the Czech fascist tendency of Striny (an old member of an "oppositionist bloc" of extreme right Czechs-Moravians-Slovaks) which would have been able to seriously threaten the parliamentary existence of the present government and lay the foundations for the further development of a larger pro-Fascist movement.

Add to that the growing activity of the Hungarian Irredentists and the strengthened demands of the Carpathian autonomists, and the desire for a struggle against the extreme right and the extreme left will be easily understood. The desire for a true democracy which would "plan the interests of classes and nationalities", the desire "for a strong and authoritative state" becomes ever more insistent.

The democrats are beginning to blast that very thing they have counseled up till now. Masaryk, who for years thundered against all the regimes which kicked over the democratic freedoms (naturally, against the dictatorship of the proletariat especially) has made a new discovery: "that the democratic regime is not incompatible with a dictatorial regime" if this dictatorship is led "by tested and capable men". A substitution of the principle of parties by the principle of "capable" people. This is the first step towards the new idol; Bonapartism.

However it would be a repetition of the insane mistakes of the Stalinists to want to dub every intriguement on the classical methods of liberal democracy as Bonapartism. Before taking recourse to "pure" Bonapartism, whose foundations are unsure and which is in constant danger of overthrowing by Fascism, the bourgeoisie attempts to traverse a series of intermediary stages, in the course of which it proceeds with constant amputations on the democratic organism in order to continue to conduct its affairs with the help of the mutilated democratic trunk.

In this connection the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie has appropriately chosen its fifteenth anniversary to pass a law which makes the attempt to ward off the Fascist danger, to the detriment of the democratic system.... the piecemeal elimination of democracy.

The new law gives dictatorial

power to the government for two years to dissolve at any moment whatsoever any political party or any formation considered a political party—and that under conditions which—we will see—do not dissemble their Fascist inspiration. This law opens the door to the government to reduce—by annulling the mandates of the proscribed parties—to reduce the parliament to the number necessary to insure a secure "democratic" majority.

The following are the essential points of the new law:

1. The right of perception not only of any given party, but at the same time of all its existent or future auxiliary organizations and of all parties which attempt to replace it.

2. The given organizations instead of being dissolved, can be maintained under the control and direction of the functionaries of the state (that is to put all the mass organizations at the disposition of the state, such as the trade unions, similar to the method practiced by Fascism).

3. Confiscation of all the property of their members by the state.

4. The prohibitions of all public functions and the cancellation of its electoral mandates. A corresponding reduction for the number of the constitutional majority in parliament.

5. The right of the limitation of the personal rights of the members of the proscribed organizations; confiscation and censoring of their correspondence, censoring of their telephones and telegrams; forced residence in determined districts with the right of police surveillance (translated from the "democratic" hypocrisy into the Fascist language: concentration camps).

6. All persons who not only continue activity in proscribed organizations but who have any connections at all with them will be condemned. The punishment is twofold, on the one hand the penalty inflicted by the administrative

authorities, without trial (up to six months in prison) and again by the tribunal by means of the law for the safeguarding of the republic, (penalty of several years).

Are not the Stalinists correct in identifying democracy and Fascism, by speaking of social-Fascism in face of the adoption of such a law by a government that contains 7 socialist ministers? In reality, this affirmation serves more than ever to mask the real responsibilities in a situation where, thanks to the shameful bankruptcy of the Stalinists, the bourgeoisie succeeds in coquetting with Fascism... without mobilizing the petty bourgeois masses, without the least "illegal" action, by a simple parliamentary-bureaucratic maneuver.

The proscription of the entire Communist press and of several auxiliary organizations of the C. P. has met with no resistance, not the slightest from the C. P.

During the discussion in parliament on the new law, the Communist deputies displayed the attitude of small obedient school children. It is the tactic of the old imperial socialist Smeral who has not yet forgotten the class slogan of the pre-war social democracy: "Do not allow yourself to be provoked!" It is characteristic that during the discussion of the law in parliament not one word was mentioned on the subject of the C. P. The possibility of dissolving the party without any serious difficulty is a foregone conclusion for the bourgeoisie. The press speaks of "the depressed and confused attitude of the Communist deputies frightened by the severe attitude of the government."

The political bankruptcy of the C. I. brings in its wake the material destruction of its sections; after the German, Bulgarian and Austrian parties, it is now the turn of the Czech C. P. to die a shameful and lamentable death!

—J. KELLER, From La Verite.

MARIA REESE ACCUSES! An Indictment of the Stalinists by a Leader of the German C.P.

(Editorial Note: Unser Wort, central organ of the Internationalist Communist Movement of Germany, publishes in its last issue a sensational letter sent by Maria Reese, leading comrade of the German Communist Party, to the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. G. and the E. C. C. I. We reprint below the statement of comrade Reese and the biographical commentary of Unser Wort.)

Comrade Maria Reese was one of the best known and most beloved mass speakers of the Communist Party of Germany. All her meetings used to be over-run. She distinguished herself from the other C. P. G. speakers, by leaving aside all the empty phrases and meaningless gestures and, instead of that, seriously and objectively pointing against the policy of the social democracy. In 1924, comrade Reese, at that time a member of the Reichstag, came over to the C. P. G. from the S. P. G., after realizing that the policy of the S. P. G. could not lead to socialism but rather to a new era of reaction. Her action aroused a great deal of attention among the working class at that time and was utilized by the C. P. G. in a big campaign against the social democracy. After the German catastrophe, when she saw that the C. P. G. had collapsed in Germany and that aid for the German proletariat could be expected only through international solidarity, comrade Reese went abroad to work for the vanquished German working class and against the fascist dictatorship. Comrade Reese was persecuted for her activity by the police in Denmark and expelled from Sweden.

The fact that such a comrade as Maria Reese, who because of her sense of responsibility before the working class went over to the C. P. G. from the S. P. G., today makes a break with the Stalinist bureaucracy—this constitutes a heavy blow for Stalinism and a signal for the German proletariat. We are firmly convinced that the most decisive sections of the membership of the C. P. G. will go the same way as comrade Reese. All the frenzied shouting, all the lies and calumniation of the bankrupt C.P.G. and Comintern bureaucracy cannot impede this development.—Unser Wort.)

For months I have been making repeated attempts to clarify my political differences with the party and the leadership of the Red Aid (I. L. D.) by means of oral and written discussion. These attempts were of no avail. My letters to Moscow have been concealed, for the most part, censored or simply not transmitted. My discipline, which forced me to remain silent before outsiders on the internal differences, was utilized in order to slander and isolate me.

Our last discussion, in which my political accusations were not taken up, has convinced me that I cannot take back my written accusations of September 25. On the contrary, for the clarification of the matter, I must add to them and emphasize the fact that it is a matter of fundamental political questions now appearing in our Comintern-Politics, which is nothing else but a consistent extension of your catastrophic policy before Hitler's seizure of power. In it is expressed a typically petty bourgeois lack of confidence in the power and mass struggle of the proletariat, which is even increased by you abroad to the point of despising the mass movement, linked up as it is with phrases and with a philistine overestimation of the liberal bourgeoisie, which in your view is to be substituted for the scarcity of class struggles and for the defeated Communist party.

HOW YOU FOUGHT AGAINST A MARXIST POLICY?

After your shameful defeat in Germany (before which you had disappeared into illegality, in order to preserve your precious leadership of the working class for the time after the defeat, leaving us, the army of rank and file soldiers, without a command), your Comintern-Politics has now completely divorced you from the mass movement, with which you, as representatives of the bureaucratic party machine, have long ago lost all contact. Through your sectarian policy of the last few years you have failed to bring about a mass movement in Germany or internationally. On the contrary, despite the revolutionization of the masses, you have weakened yourselves. In despair, you are now seeking succor in the arms of the lords and countesses, just as the social democrats did—with Brüning and Hindenburg....

Your opportunism is so incurable that you no longer can conceive that I am fighting against the Comintern-Politics, in principle. That is why you have told your bourgeois "comrades-in-arms" that I insult them, because I have opposed your putting them up as the standard bearers of anti-fascism, through which you deceive the working class. In one "common front" with them you have sabotaged my work for the Red Aid and for the defeated German working class. When fascism advances in these countries, it meets with no resistance from your bourgeois

"comrades-in-arms". But it is your policy that has prevented a proletarian mass movement from being created, that movement which alone can offer the necessary resistance, as I have so often and so repeatedly stressed by verbal and written protests....

I do not intend to return to the Soviet Union in order to sacrifice my revolutionary work for a life of material comfort. Moscow—i. e., the Comintern, not the workers—is obviously convinced of the correctness of your policy because of foreign-policy considerations to which it is sacrificing the world proletariat, although it recognizes you and despises you as the nominal bankrupts you are, and Moscow is agreed to have you continue your "leadership" over the revolutionary labor movement in Germany from the cozy-household in Paris, while you tell the defeated German working class that you are at the front. Thus you permit yourselves very easily to hand out "oranges" and provocative orders, to which later on the elite of the proletariat is sacrificed. Thus, with Muenzenberg's unconscionable committee behind you, you can very easily play at revolution.

The situation of the Comintern has made the C. P. G. defenseless, because it eliminated the democratic influence of the workers in the matter of policy and leadership of the party and because it thereby prevented a selective leadership, whoever thinks independently, fails a victim to slander campaigns. But when a situation came, at which Moscow left you without a command, you "great" leaders remained headless and helpless. That workers' democracy which could have kept you informed about their strength and their mood of struggles; which would have enabled even you Moscow parrots to lead in such a fatal hour—you yourselves cast aside unanimously. You did not even begin to imagine that you could learn from the simple workers, that the worker himself gathered so many new experiences in the course of the ever sharper class struggle from which you not only could have but should have learned in order to evaluate them for the purpose of the organized struggle. For more than a year and a half there was not a single meeting of the Comintern for mass work to which I belonged, although I protested at least fifty times in writing and by word of mouth, because I desired the organizational construction of the united front and not only beautiful congresses, from which the workers were turned back empty-handed, because there was lacking a sensible way of building up of the united front. The experiences of the workers were not utilized for practical purposes. When they did break through the bounds of the bureaucratic brace in which they were held by S. P. G. and C. P. G., spontaneously as was the case in Brunswick, where they united, then they were once again rapidly scattered because the organizational medium was lacking. Only the press still boasted, long after the event, of the great united front success which the apparatus attributed to itself. Moscow had to be shown how well the work was being done.

In all these questions, I informed the C. E. C., but the great strategists of the C. P. G. had learned to ignore a few undigested theses, which they were busy putting through—or else all their energy was consumed in the organization of the factional struggle they conducted for little jobs. You know all this better than I, and you know it now. But you know nothing whatsoever at the decisive moment. That is the strongest proof that you never knew anything and never will.

THE OPPORTUNIST COMINTERN-POLITICS. I have been fighting against your Comintern-Politics, because it is a crime against the working class and has nothing whatever to do with revolutionary class struggle. It is the politics of the despairing, of the defeated, of those who have lost all belief in the power of the working class. It is only an extension of the Muenzenbergian congress-comedies, at which telegrams of felicitation from Heinrich Mann or Einstein are supposed to take the place of the united front which is never achieved.

Daheim, in his childish enthusiasm for the "struggles" of the good bourgeois in the democratic countries against the foreign fascists, only keeps on looking for all kinds of sensations—and that is in fact what all the Comintern-Comrades are doing. They forget completely that all these things are mere bonfires that will only leave behind them a filthy heap of ashes which the revolutionary movement of the masses—the one you are obstructing in its development by your Comintern-Politics—will only have to sweep away.

You have always taken the road of least resistance and particularly at present, when it brings you an income through Muenzenberg. That is a source which imperialism will stop, when it has no use for you any longer. But by that time the Red Aid will not have been built up, through your false policy, for it is already today left almost without any means by your politics.

You do not at all wish to discuss politically about the questions of Comintern-Politics and the German catastrophe. Comintern-Politics permits you to live more conveniently. Besides, the line has been laid down in Moscow, and therefore is correct. Thus—without any discussion we in Germany slid right down into Fascism. But today, the workers who believed in your leadership have to pay for your irresponsibility. I have almost broken down under that strain ever since February 28. I cannot keep quiet until experience shall once again prove your policy false. There is a certain "discipline" which is a crime against the working class. To maintain silence about your Comintern-Politics is just such a crime. You no longer believe in the power and in the fighting qualities of the working class. Therefore you conclude alliances with foreign lords and ladies who have as much interest in our fighting comrades as the Hitler barons.

It is not you who are utilizing these people, as another comrade of the Political Committee expressed himself naively. Imperialism is utilizing you, in order—with your active aid—to prevent the mass struggle and the revolutionary advance in its own countries. You are in this way advancing, indirectly, the fascist development in these countries and you are thereby striking the world proletariat in the back—particularly the German and the Russian. That is what I have been fighting against. Only the solidarity of the world proletariat can help the German workers and defend the Soviet Union, which is threatened by nothing so much as by the current Comintern policy.

SABOTAGE AGAINST THE RED AID. You have sabotaged my work for the Red Aid from the beginning, because the Muenzenbergian Comintern-treasury—which is not controlled by any workers' organization but only subordinates itself to a few of his confidantes—is much more pleasant. Thus Muenzenberg and yourselves have always been able to hide behind the excuse that Lord This or Lord That did not want this or that which is to the interest of the working class and above all—that it was not in the interest of the big business man Muenzenberg.

Thus, according to the comrades, some lord would not tolerate my speaking at a meeting called by the Comintern in London at the beginning of July, because I wanted, in one small sentence, to mention the fact that there is an auxiliary organization in Germany whose members risk their blood and their lives, in order to be of help to the victims of Fascism, namely, the Red Aid. I then refused to speak, so as to be able to protest against this opportunist line. Copies of the protest were sent to you and to Moscow. In reality the lord did not perhaps know anything at all about this. Katz dictated for Muenzenberg and the line is: every advancement of the Red Aid must be subordinated in the interests of the Comintern-treasury over which the Comintern has no control.

The Red Aid treasury is at least controlled by the apparatus of a workers' organization. The money does come good to the victims of Fascism in Germany. The Comintern-means never reach them, confidential people who owe no one on account have charge of them. The

Red Aid is almost without any means for its tremendous tasks. Particularly now it would have been easy to build it up and to create the means for genuine support of it. You have consciously obstructed this and the West European Comintern parties have gone along with you.

I came from Moscow in order to bring the Red Aid to the front. In the interests of the Comintern-treasury you have seen to it that not a single meeting was organized for this purpose for me. No method was too filthy for you to defame me among your clique. You succeeded in turning the Comintern apparatus against me in no time. Muenzenberg's agent, Katz, followed in my trail with the money collected for the German anti-fascists, in order to sabotage my work and make it impossible.

You answered my protests finally by forbidding me to work, because I had said something against Muenzenberg and you succeeded in getting Moscow to recall me. And you infamous bankrupts really imagined that such a command could seal my lips. Before your latest self-exposure, before your catastrophic collapse in Germany I would have taken a party order from you and carried it out. But not after that.

THE INGLORIOUS CAPITULATION BEFORE HITLER.

How can you dare raise me as leaders, after I have learned to know your real worth in all your wickedness, following Hitler's seizure of power? I had to pose political perspectives before the workers at the mass meeting, but you remained deaf and dumb at Hitler's assumption of power and we did not know the least about any of your plans. I could never have believed you so irresponsible that you would surrender the working class without any defensive leaders, after posing for years as its leaders and after your manifold promises to lead it in struggle.

Even if the prerequisites for a revolution were not at hand, because the social democratic leaders rejected struggle in principle and because our party had failed to win over the majority of the working class by its sectarian attitude in the question of the united front, you had no right to leave the revolutionary army in the ditch without a defensive plan. I was disgusted, like all the revolutionary workers that I met. "The party does not trust us sufficiently," "it is at least necessary to know where we stand," "we can't just simply allow ourselves to be slaughtered off," "an order must come from the whole Reich," etc., the workers said. It was not revolution, but defense that the workers were thinking about and they believed that in that the social democratic workers could be pulled along and thus make a revolution possible.

The certainty that the struggle was inevitable incited them to sacrifice their last pennies for the preparation of the resistance. You did not prevent them, although you never did have struggle in mind, as little perhaps as Braun and Severing. Now the workers must let themselves be arrested, repressed, tortured and thrown into the concentration camps, withering away one by one, due to your headlessness and helplessness.

I believed—and many of the functionaries with me—that you had some particular, illegal defense apparatus of which we were in

ignorance, one which would inform us about what to do when the fascists drew back for the final blow. You were always so boastful, but that was only for show at the mass meetings, in the papers, at the convention parades and even in the sessions of parliament. There you gloated over the fear that your wild, but never seriously meant, speeches aroused in the philistines.

And because you did not take yourselves seriously, you poor mannikins of history, therefore you also did not take Fascism seriously. But the workers knew that Fascism had to be taken seriously. If the party had had a democratic control over the apparatus, and if the latter had not been omnipotent with regard to the working masses and servile with regard to the Comintern, then such vain show-offs like yourselves would not have been in the leaderships of the party.

I tried in vain, after the entry of Hitler into the government, to find a leading comrade and to find out what sort of a perspective these suddenly silenced leaders actually had. For I had to appear before the working class. But not a one among you could be reached. We were surrendered just like this, the workers and all of us who were not in the apparatus. Your whole preparation for illegality consisted in securing the continuity of payments of salaries to the apparatus people, the safe-maintenance of machinery, etc. It was only thus that Hitler could wreck the whole party with the stupid lie that the Communists had set fire to the Reichstag, without having to mobilize his whole army.

A victory and a defeat without a struggle. Only one lie, that it was we who had set fire to the old dump, sufficed to unmask all your boasts and qualities of leadership and to make the German working class defenseless, to leave it as a mass without leadership.

The social democratic leaders... to be sure! If you had taken your own words seriously, you would have known that they could not fight. But you did not see your "opportunistic" hopes upon them, didn't you? Then why didn't you ever say: "We can only fight, if the social democrats will make a beginning?" According to Hecker's apologetics, that would be the natural conclusion. But I am amazed by complaining that you did not even prepare the defensive and that in the hour of danger you took refuge in the bushes without as much as a word, that you surrendered the workers who waited defensively for your command.

After several of us, astonished that nothing had happened; that nothing had been done for the defensive—although you knew about the plans of the fascists; that at 10 o'clock on the morning after the night of the fire no leaflet had appeared as a reply to the accusation; that no action of resistance had been begun—after we then, without guidance and in the face of an unresisted destruction of the party, did undertake something on our own initiative to come to the aid of the deserted proletariat, what do you do? You can only heap insults on us and from your safe hiding-places, you call us disciplined and headless. If you had had your heads on your shoulders before, then those who remained faced with responsibility to the working class and sharing

its fate, would not have had to become "headless". You had reconciled yourselves beforehand to the heavy fate that was to befall the working class.

But we, who did not previously bear ourselves with that ostentatious, bureaucratic sang-froid, behind which is concealed most often great egoism; we who knew that the workers want to fight but not to be sacrificed uselessly; we who saw the whole pitifulness of the disappointed masses and could not wait until any longer for your commands because by then we could not imagine in our dreams that you poor bankrupts would still deign to play the role of leaders again—we acted. It was not out of headlessness or in flight that I left for Denmark. I could have also gone into hiding like yourselves and I could have looked on, like you, in silence, while the working class bled defenselessly.

THE REICHSTAG FIRE AND THE SITUATION OF COM. TORGIER. I saw that you had not prepared anything and that for the moment the only aid that could be furnished was the mobilization of the international proletariat, and circulation of why we did not set fire to the Reichstag. I was in the Reichstag on February 27 and I can explain why comrade Torgier is innocent. As a result of your headlessness and helplessness after Hitler's entry into the government, due to your catastrophic failure, as a result of despair for the fate of the working class and conscious of his innocence, he wanted to take the step toward a desperate individual action so as to prevent the worst. You, least of all, have any right to make a political complaint against him. It was because of your irresponsibility that he was chained and despite your coalition of lords and countesses he was condemned although innocent, if the international proletariat does not prevent it.

And you sit in your Parisian cafes and criticize. You play roles and do not even appear to realize in what situation comrade Torgier is appearing before the court. You simply persecute him with your filthy gossip, achieving such brilliant results that Roman Torgier and Burousse write in Muenzenberg's "Legen-Griff" after the first appearance of the defendants, commending Dimitroff and the Bulgarians for their bravery and not even mentioning Torgier. For shame! Even if Muenzenberg handed them the assignment, these men must have shown what an insult to Torgier their attitude meant, but that only coincides with the decision of the German C. E. C., which passed a resolution in Paris at the same time and published it in "Immunite", also commending comrade Dimitroff for his bravery. And you mean to tell me that you do not practice factional revenge? You do worse than that. You know quite well that the fascists communicate with precision to comrade Torgier all the floods of political intrigue that issue forth from you and that they destroy him more with this means than with any of their other tortures.

It is precisely the German C. E. C. and particularly its political leadership that has all the cause to commend comrade Torgier, for never was a political defendant in a more painful situation—not because of the alleged crime, of which every one knows he is innocent—but because of the party leadership. This leadership had deserted its army and fled to the bushes without issuing a single slogan or a single word of explanation to its army, when the enemy was on the jump for the final blow.

How can comrade Torgier defend you before the workers? He was not in the German leadership like yourselves. He was only a parliamentarian and uninitiated in any of the plans, not even in any defensive plan, and believed as I did, that you could not possibly desert the proletariat in its most fearful hour. The situation became increasingly sharper, your helplessness was cloaked in a mysterious silence and in a lack of all indications as to how you evaluated the situation and as to what had to be done.

YOUR LATEST PEARLS OF WISDOM

Like the rest of us, comrade Torgier was very much concerned over this and attempted to reach leading comrades. When he finally found somebody from Talmann's most intimate circles, a member of the C. E. C., and asked him for advice, the brave one answered: "Well...if the workers won't fight, all the labor organizations are going to be crushed, a bloody terror is going to rage, murder and destruction of the proletariat will be on the order of the day, hunger, misery, balkanized conditions, concentration camps, war against the Soviet Union and perhaps, in the end, the decline of all culture. And you in particular—these sadistic homosexuals will hang you with joy in the market place and torment you to death in the indulgence of all their sadistic pleasures."

I shall never forget with what disdain and disgust comrade Torgier told me this and added in comment: "And these are supposed to be revolutionaries! To this end they have always boasted so, so many would never have known as to have such a perspective with out any plan of preventing it. And

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to say that of me, phui...." And then he concluded: "One would think that he'd know something". And now comrade Torgier is actually going through all this. Do you think that your defenseless surrender of the working class has had no effect on comrade Torgier, has left no trace on him? Why didn't you heroes tell this to the workers beforehand? Why did you say that the Brüning dictatorship was open fascism? Why did you, in saying that, prevent the workers from struggling? Why doesn't Hecker and why don't you speak of these and other sins? Do you believe that the German workers have forgotten this?

And when I met a comrade from the C. E. C. on the day of the fire and asked her for the perspective of the party, she said the same thing. So you did know what was going on, and yet you did not prepare any defensive—only defensive quarters for yourselves!

As late as February 27, Florin said helplessly when I met him in the Reichstag, where he had come for advice to comrade Torgier on the matter of postponing some trial: "If the workers won't fight...etc." That was always the answer. But since when do leaders wait for commands from their soldiers? At the same time he also told me to retain my living quarters, perhaps we would remain deputies like in 1923. You were so helpless and headless that you were left without any perspective when the cable from Moscow failed to arrive. But the attitude of Moscow in that decisive situation shows what a catastrophe can overtake the working class, when the revolutionary movement or a country lacks independent leadership.

Full of anger, disgust and despair at so much irresponsibility and at the quiet getaway of the leadership, comrade Torgier, valiant, conscious of his innocence, into the fascist prison, driven by a sense of responsibility to the working class, whom he wanted to aid with his individual action. Comrade Torgier can defend the Communist party against the stupid provocation charge of burning the Reichstag, but he cannot defend the Communist party leadership before the working class. And that is the reason why you are beating those a muffled discussion about him when is quite worthy of your attitude before the fire—you who are victorious in the maneuver and make the work of other comrades impossible, finally forced it altogether as "great leaders", because... that might turn out to be competition to the Muenzenberg Comintern-treasury in the interests of the Red Aid and because it might be of aid to the German anti-fascists instead of Muenzenberg and yourselves.

WHAT IS NECESSARY. After the German defeat I had occasion to become acquainted with almost all the European Communist sections. I found everywhere the same incapability to evaluate and utilize the political situation and its possibilities for the revolutionary movement. But all this is made up for by so much the greater intrigues. Also with regard to Moscow, which no one dares to oppose with political arguments, everyone works through intrigues, the consultation of letters, the defamation of active comrades, etc., etc.

The so-called political line is a colorful mishmash of ultra-left adventurism and opportunism. Has it ever occurred to you that because of your catastrophic failure the communist parties all over the world have suffered a loss of confidence among the masses? Don't you follow any election results? If such preposterous political bankrupts do not of their own will leave the arena of history, then it is time that the wrath of the workers should sweep them away. They must no longer pay any attention to them, but proceed to the creation of party forces independent of Moscow's Comintern and to the building up of a new Communist party and international which will not tolerate any omnipotent apparatus sitting enthroned above it, cut loose from the working class, but will on the other hand institute a democratic control of the workers over the apparatus and its employees.

Only thus will the working class be able to carry out its historic mission as the liberator of humanity. That will be difficult, but it is the only road, because the hope to renovate the Comintern parties no longer exists, since—after the frightful defeat in Germany, which was a defeat for the whole world proletariat—the bankrupt leadership with its disastrous policy are not compelled to abdicate. With such a leadership the revolutionary movement will only be carried to its grave for the benefit of a paid apparatus that has nothing whatever in common with the living, Bolshevik struggle.

I spurn the fieships of Moscow and material maintenance by your apparatus, as long I can do anything useful for the liberation of the proletariat. If you had been so great in the organization of the revolution as you are in intriguery and in political impotence, Germany would never have known as to have such a perspective with out any plan of preventing it. And

Amsterdam, Oct. 26, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

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Maria Reese and the Comintern

In her open letter, published by the newspaper Unser Wort, Maria Reese spoke the harsh and bitter truth about the party to which she belonged until very recently. The German agency of the Comintern bureaucracy understood nothing, foresaw nothing, prepared nothing. Revolutionary work it replaced by hollow phrases and boastfulness. It fooled the workers and the party year in and year out. The Central Committee fooled even its own apparatus. People who occupied responsible posts in the party like Torgier, head of the parliamentary fraction, or Maria Reese herself, deputy of the Reichstag, believed honestly to the last moment that the Central Committee had its plans, that it had prepared the necessary fighting forces, that the Comintern knew whether it was leading the German workers. With Hitler's coming to power and especially with the burning of the Reichstag by Goering's agents, the revolutionary illusions of the best elements of the party fell into dust. The Central Committee left the party to the mercy of fate without leadership, without slogans, even without explanations. Another such treachery on the part of the leadership is unknown in the history of the revolutionary struggle. It is not hard to imagine the dark despair of the betrayed masses and the frightful helplessness of the party apparatus.

An Unbearable Contrast. The emigrant activity of Muenzenberg, Hecker and Co.: false reports, lying correspondence, hollow and sham congresses intended to throw dust into the eyes, could not but appear to Maria Reese as an unbearable contrast to the inner events in Germany. Maria Reese letter can have any influence on the demanded a discussion on what o-fate of the Communists persecuted

by Hitler and particularly on the course of the Reichstag trial, it is only as invaluable testimony in favor of the accused. From the letter it is clear even to the blind how far removed the official party was from the thought of insurrection, from the preparation for an insurrection and consequently from such "signals" to insurrection as the Reichstag fire!

She Spoke the Truth. The Stalinist bureaucracy takes revenge for the fact that a responsible comrade who found herself until very recently in its ranks has openly and honestly spoken the truth about the leadership, the regime and the practices of the Comintern. The bureaucracy forgives cowardice, forgery, treachery and betrayal under one condition: to bring no tales out of school. For these people the laws of mutual responsibility have long replaced the laws of revolution and of Marxism. The fight for inflated personal prestige, for posts and for an assured livelihood have pushed to the background the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Maria Reese convinced herself of it on the tragic experience of the German proletariat. Together with her thousands and tens of thousands of betrayed revolutionaries have gone through the same experience. In jails and concentration camps they are drawing a balance from the catastrophe lived through. The letter of Maria Reese calls them to courageous open letter and her after the appearance of this letter, that is, after she herself broke with the Comintern. To call the bankrupts openly by the name of bankrupts is a direct duty of a true and sincere revolutionary. If Reese's events in Germany, Maria Reese letter can have any influence on the demanded a discussion on what o-fate of the Communists persecuted

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Notes of the Week

BACILLI CULTURES, concocted by bespectacled scientists in chemical laboratories, will serve as major ammunition in the next war. An article in a recent issue of *Weltbuehne*, published in Zurich, Switzerland by a group of exiled German intellectuals, reveals feverish activity among the bio-chemical savants as part of the general militarization of Germany by Hitler and his Nazis. The article is the work of an anonymous chemist, himself employed at this devilish task.

The last war introduced the use of gases to poison the enemy en masse at the front. But the "enemy" was still left with sufficient human resources behind the lines. In the future, war methods are to be more effective: They will take care to rid the "enemy" of manpower in the hinterland as well. Reliable spies, equipped with the choicest of these deadly serums, will need apply only a single injection into one head of cattle to bring about the extermination of a whole metropolis, of millions of men, women and children.

Meanwhile the war clouds are gathering, the harpies of capitalism are concocting the brew of bloody slaughter out of economic chaos and political despair. The spirit of the coming war is being nurtured with the mysterious hocus pocus of pacifist or nationalist slogans.

Who does not recall how the mystic gas of "Save the World for Democracy" poisoned the minds of hundreds of thousands whose bodies were later poisoned by Melinite and Yperite on the battle fields?

Who does not recognize today the venomous substance of that "democratic" war-cry which has brought in its wake the bloodiest and most ruthless of dictatorships in Italy, in Germany, in the Balkans, in Poland and Hungary?

SUCH EXPERIENCES should put on his guard every thinking worker, every human being who can see further than his nose. The workers must be armed against the mental bacilli which are to do the advance work for the more tangible bacilli that threaten to destroy them by the millions.

One such bacillus is the rapid oratory about Soviet Recognition as a step toward peace. Nothing can be more dangerous from the point of view of those whom the capitalist system exploits as profit-producing machines today and as cannon fodder tomorrow. If the Stalin bureaucrats who pose as Communist leaders of the workers join in and promote the spreading of such a poison—that only puts the stigma of betrayal upon them. The militant and wide-awake workers will not recognize the Roosevelt roasts of the Prada Stalinists as the voice of the Soviets. They will recognize it much rather in words, that the bosses' New York Times rejoices to remark, are "miles... away when we read the undertakings given by the Soviet Foreign Minister (Litvinov)... as a condition of recognition by the United States". (Editorial, Saturday, Nov. 18.)

Those words, the reply of Lenin's Soviet Congress in 1918 to an overture from the Roosevelt of that time, from the "idealistic" war monger Woodrow Wilson—were:

"The Soviet Republic takes advantage of the message of President Wilson to express to all the people who have suffered from the horrors of imperialist war, its warm sympathies and its honest belief that the happy moment is not far away when the workers of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism and establish a socialist regime, which alone is able to bring about a just and lasting peace and to contribute to the civilization and prosperity of the workers."

The horrors of the "bacillus" imperialist war of the future—which promises to be a thousand times more terrible than the last, "poison gaseous" war—can be prevented in that same way only. This is the truth that the revolutionary workers in this country will have to pound out as a powerful defense against the advance bacilli.

—G. L. N.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

Vol. VI, No. 26 (Whole No. 200)
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1933

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

The Diplomacy of Lenin and the Diplomacy of Stalin—a Contrast

(Continued from page 1)

themselves, let us quote a bourgeois comment which directly contradicts the *Daily Worker* and is only typical of the reaction of the whole bourgeois press. "The bargain Mr. Roosevelt drove with Litvinov is the talk of diplomats everywhere," writes Paul Mallon, the Washington correspondent of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (11-23-1933). "Neither France nor Britain has as good an agreement with Russia as we have. It really marks the first time Russia has ever given in to the world powers. Our officials believe it will lead to the abandonment of the American section of the Comintern. That means the Comintern will be advocating world revolution everywhere except in the United States. It does not matter much because that outfit has been more or less passive for several years."

Drawing the Balance Sheet

The bourgeoisie is deeply concerned with drawing up a balance sheet under what was given and what was received. The proletariat should be equally interested.

Article 3 of the Litvinov note to Roosevelt pledges the Soviet Union "Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group which makes claim to be the government of, or makes attempts upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups."

Article 4 of the same note makes the significance of the Litvinov capitulation even more obvious: "Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as its aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

In these undertakings, the Stalin regime pledges itself to something which it has never previously yielded to a bourgeois government: The formal suppression or expulsion from the Soviet Union of the Third International, or any other revolutionary organization not strictly limited in its objects to Russia.

This is precisely how Roosevelt understands the two articles, "this is how Litvinov really understands them, this is how the bourgeois press has universally construed them, for the simple reason that no other interpretation is conceivable."

And because this is how every Communist worker in the country has understood the terms of the recognition agreement, the *Daily Worker* has engaged in a campaign of befuddlement, deceit and falsehood which has exceeded all bounds which it has thus far reached in its polychrome career. Without the slightest attempt at analyzing the text, or of proving its absolutely untenable assertion, it dismisses the perfectly obvious with the declaration that the capitalist press

"...know that every attempt to claim that Article 4 of the Litvinov pact applies to the Communist international will meet with defeat." (11-21-1933.)

It is possible that the editor really believes his readers to be so naive or stupid as to accept this bait attraction as it stands, or is it merely his way of proving that he is worthy of his hire? To whom and what does Article 4 apply, if not to the Communist International? What "organization or group" has been formed or is now resident in the Soviet Union "having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions"? What organization is engaged in activity on the territory of the Soviet Union "which has as its aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions"?

To Whom Does It Apply?

Do these words of the pact—which we assume were written for some more serious purpose than the advancement of the consumption of paper and ink in the United States—perhaps apply to the Intourist? Or the Methodist church in Leningrad? Or the Moscow office of the General Electric Company? We permit ourselves to doubt it, however much our skepticism may perplex the editor of the *Daily Worker* to whom it is all so clear, clearer, we have no doubt, than he is ready to write.

We ask the pardon of the reader for repeating the tragically obvious: The terms of the pact are anything but ambiguous. There is and has been one and only one "organization or group" on the territory of the Soviet Union which as-

pires to the description: the Communist International. Litvinov has pledged the Soviet government to expel the international from its borders. And in doing so, he has given formal and, so to speak, organizational acknowledgement to a process of political liquidation of the Communist International which has been going on under Stalinist rule for ten years and which is not initiated but only crowned by the latest act of perfidy at Washington.

The pact does not only pledge Russia to the suppression of the Comintern. (We say suppression advisedly, for it is not really an expulsion. Can the seat of the Comintern be transferred to Berlin? or perhaps to Tokyo, or perhaps to... Washington?) It means that the American Communist Party and its representatives in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, are henceforth non-grata with the Soviet Government, and may not take up residence upon its territory. It means that a group of revolutionary Filipino nationalists striving for the independence of the islands, driven from their land by American imperialism like the Russian revolutionists were driven from the Empire by Czarism—cannot find asylum in the fatherland of the workers of the world... For impatient rogues that they are, they have designs "upon the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions". It means that if another Bill Haywood were to seek the hospitality of the Soviet Union, it would be granted him—if at all—only on condition that he refrain from conducting any political agitation or activity. It means leaving the American Communist Party in the lurch even more callously and openly than was done to the German Communist Party in the crucial days of Hitler's progress. It means—we cannot repeat it often enough—the suppression of the Communist International by the Stalinist regime at the demand of the American bourgeoisie.

A Lie of the Daily Worker

But such demands have been made in the past, many times, by various bourgeois governments, it is said. Yes, many times and by many governments. That is true. And, adds the *Daily Worker*, "every single one of these articles, in some form or another, has been part of the numerous recognition pacts that the Soviet government has signed during the last ten years with the leading powers of Europe." This claim we have labelled above for what it is: a lie.

What the Soviet government has signed, and what it has agreed to commit itself to since its first began relations with capitalist governments is a simple and unambiguous undertaking: that the Soviet government pledges itself not to carry on any "subversive propaganda" in the country with which it establishes diplomatic relations, if a reciprocal engagement is undertaken. This is quite understandable, this is correct, and warranted by the relationship of forces. It is the kind of a concession which is perfectly legitimate and required by the situation in which the Soviet republic, as a socialist state in a capitalist encirclement, finds itself. No serious revolutionist will ever lodge a complaint against such a concession, any more than he will oppose concessions to the enemy in principle. He will understand that it is given not because Russia has ceased to be revolutionary, but because the workers in the capitalist countries have not yet become revolutionary, i. e., are not yet prepared to seize power.

That is one thing. Quite a different thing is the question of the Communist International, founded as a voluntary, independent world party of Communism, with sections in every country, to which the workers of Russia and their government, from its inception, have granted hospitality and complete freedom of action. (Just as, let us add, capitalist governments have granted hospitality to the International Red Cross which has not re-

ceived as a measure of policy the attitude of the Soviets towards the Genoa and British demands, there are more than enough "purely American" precedents by which to go.

When he stepped on to American soil, Litvinov expressed the "keen sense of the privilege that is mine in being the first official representative to bring greetings to the American people from the peoples of the Soviet Union". Both Litvinov and his American bourgeois audience knew that this statement was gratuitously false. The truth is that Litvinov had a predecessor as official Soviet representative to the United States.

In April 1918, Ludwig C. A. K. Martens was appointed, in a document signed for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Soviets by Chicherin as its representative in this country, seeking to establish normal relations with the United States. Martens was not received with the official pomp and ceremony that attended Litvinov's arrival—he was only greeted by a mass meeting of the revolutionary workers of New York who came by the thousands to the largest available hall. He was not received by the president and the secretary of state. Quite the contrary. He was hunted and persecuted; his office was raided; he was haled before investigation committees; he was finally deported from this country as an undesirable alien.

Like Litvinov, he also answered the question of what the Soviet government would do about the Communist International and "propaganda in the United States". But not in the same way. More exactly, in just the opposite way. In the New York socialist "Call" of May Day 1919, the representative of the Soviet government wrote: "The attitude of the workers of the world towards the Russian workers' revolution has proved that the spirit of international solidarity of workers is not dead. It also proved that the international is not dead. It is resurging in the Third International in new glory. Long live the Third International."

Let us take two instances out of a hundred, not culled from the latest Litvinov-Stalin epoch, but from a preceding period.

Two Instances

In 1922, the bourgeoisie of Europe gathered in conference at Genoa, with a Russian delegation present for the first time, headed not by a respectable Stalinist diplomat, but by Christian Rakovsky. At Genoa, the bourgeoisie of Europe put forward as a condition for admitting Russia into their community of nations the same demand as was put by Roosevelt and accepted by M. Litvinov, alias Stalin. From the official documentary compilation "The Soviet Union and Peace" (page 97), we extract the following section of the reply made by the Russian delegation on May 12, 1922 to the memorandum submitted by eight capitalist delegations: "Giving new scope to this Canevas condition, the memorandum demands that Russia should 'suppress upon her territory all attempts to aid revolutionary movements in other countries'. However, by this formula the memorandum means to forbid the activities of political parties, or organizations of workers, or Russian delegation cannot accept such a prohibition unless the activities in question transgress the laws of the country."

In other words: gentlemen, we are ready to make certain concessions, but bands off the Communist International!

Three years later, on May 20, 1925, Zinoviev, speaking before the party fraction of the Third Soviet Congress of the Soviets, jested out of court the insolent demand renewed by the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the Comintern:

"We have heard a statement made in the English press and confirmed today (although it is partly denied) to the effect that the British government is endeavoring to create a united front against the U. S. S. R. in connection with the demand for the expulsion of the Comintern from Moscow. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, as we know, is not averse to a change of headquarters under certain conditions. Indeed, what is the good of sitting all the time in Moscow? To judge by the frame of mind of the Executive Committee of the C. I., it apparently would not be averse to setting up its tent in London. But I think that in any case such a decision should be taken by the Comintern independently of the bare-faced demands of the capitalist governments. When they put forward that demand during the famine period they received the reply that the Soviet government was more favorable there can be no doubt as to the reply to their insolent demand they would receive from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics if they decided to advance such." (G. Zinoviev, "Russia's Path to Communism", page 22.)

(Recognition by the United States, declare the Stalinist liars, has been forced by the strengthened position of the Soviet Union. For the moment, let us accept the validity of this contention. How, then, does it happen that in a situation more favorable to it, the Soviet Union is compelled not only to make an enormous, impermissible concession, but a concession such as it announced it would not make eight years ago, in 1925, and would not even make years before that, in those cruel famine days when Russia's back was to the wall and nobly ventured to say if it could hold out for any length of time?)

Or, if one does not want to act as a Red Cross which has not re-

Stalin's Bargain

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

tasks of defense. The Stalinist bureaucracy relied on them less and less, held them in contempt, converted the Comintern into a fiction and increasingly shifted the axis of Soviet foreign policy to the realm of negotiations and agreements with the capitalist powers.

Every step on this slippery path—of which the signing of the Kellogg Pact, the disarmament treaties, the non-aggression pacts, the capitulatory policy at the economic conferences, were milestones—weakened and undermined the position of the Soviet Union still further in the international relation of forces with the capitalist powers. By leaving the ground of the class struggle, by disrupting the proletarian vanguard, international class ally of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist leadership was compelled to retreat before the bourgeois powers step by step. The formal renunciation of the Comintern at Washington, which flowed out of the past policy and practice, prepares the way in turn for still heavier demands and new retreats. Stalinist diplomacy, while

ostensibly improving the relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist nations is in reality isolating it in an irreconcilably hostile capitalist world and leading it toward a fearful debacle.

The Soviet Union, thus endangered, depends upon the international movement of the revolutionary proletariat now in a direct and immediate sense. The more the Stalinist bureaucrats desert the international revolution, the more they take off the Bolshevik mask and show their real nationalist face as they did at Washington, the clearer becomes the necessity for the reorganization of the international workers' vanguard without the Stalinist bureaucrats and against them. The capitulation to Roosevelt followed soon after the capitulation to Hitler and was partly conditioned by it. Both of these events are loud alarm signals of the need to organize the Fourth International with all possible speed. The defense of the Soviet Union from the world imperialists on the one side and the disorganizing leadership of Stalinism on the other will be one of its foremost tasks.

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"The attitude of the workers of the world towards the Russian workers' revolution has proved that the spirit of international solidarity of workers is not dead. It also proved that the international is not dead. It is resurging in the Third International in new glory. Long live the Third International."

In a "Statement by L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate" on "Soviet government propaganda", he declared boldly:

"The government of the United States has also been a party to attacks against the Russian Soviet Government, including invasion of Russian soil without a declaration of war and aggressive action against the military forces of Soviet Russia... Being confident that the peoples of other nations were not responsible for these policies, and that they permitted these activities only because they were not acquainted with the real situation, the workers of Russia appealed to the peoples in various countries urging them to put an end to these attacks. Appeals of this nature have been defensive measures in the war imposed on Soviet Russia by outside forces... Propaganda has been carried on by the Soviet government among the armies of the foreign governments which invaded Russia." (Soviet Russia, 2-14-1920.)

Two Epochs

It becomes a little clearer why, therefore, on December 15, 1920, secretary of Labor W. W. Wilson issued an order which concluded: "It is therefore decided that Ludwig C. A. K. Martens is an alien, a citizen of Russia, and that he entertains a belief in and is a member of or affiliated with an organization (i. e., the Third International—M. S.) that entertains a belief in, teaches or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, and the Commissioner General of Immigration is directed to take the said Ludwig C. A. K. Martens into custody and deport him to Russia at the expense of the Government of the United States."

Litvinov and Martens! These are not merely two different individuals. They symbolize two different epochs. The bounded and deported Bolshevik represented the Soviet republic in the epoch of revolutionary internationalism. The feted and loudly-praised diplomat represents the Stalinist epoch of national socialism, of capitulation, of the surrender of the world revolution and the very foundations of the Russian workers' state.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Retrial of the Nine Scottsboro Boys

to a persecuted race and class. Their resort to the I. L. D. for defense is another heavy count against them. When the K. K. K. wants to murder a Negro, legally or otherwise, to keep the black population of the South under the heel of their feudal baronage, they refuse to tolerate any "interference" from "outsiders" (the workers' movement). Having been frustrated by powerful protest in their original intention to burn the Negroes in the chair, the Southern wolves are again showing their fangs—"String 'em up" is the plan—"to hell with the courts". And it is in Morgan County that the retrial of Haywood Patterson and his companions to be held, that the class-prejudiced court is to pass sentence.

In the previous trial the National Guard escorted the prisoners to the court room. But now with the atmosphere one thousand times tenser the governor of Alabama has refused the use of the National Guard in the case. An appeal over his head was made by the defense to the President but the liberal Mr. Roosevelt, who would not for a moment hesitate to send the troops against striking workers, issues a statement through his secretary saying that the "Federal Executive has not interfered and cannot interfere in any case under the jurisdiction of the courts of a sovereign state."

Tense Atmosphere of Trail

Testifying to the will of the local population for a "fair" trial—in the course of the verbal tilt between the defense and the prosecution over a change of venue—a farmer marches into the courtroom carrying a six-shooter. The press says that this harmless fellow, who was "rebuked" by the court, related that

he "had brought the revolver into town to have a new sight placed on its barrel." So tense is the atmosphere and so fearful is the Southern bourgeoisie of publicity that newspaper photographers have been threatened with proceedings for contempt of court for snapping photos of trial scenes. The defense attorneys have stated that in the event of a refusal of a change of venue by the local judge they will appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court for a reversal of decision. At this writing the local judge has refused a change of venue.

Lynch Pack in Full Cry

The lynch pack is in full cry. Can the victims of the Scottsboro case be saved from legal or "extralegal" lynching? That is the question that every class conscious worker will ask himself.

Lynching of one kind or another is certain if the sympathizers and supporters of the Scottsboro boys walk out of the courtroom in triumph, or hope for lynching to be avoided by means of the National Guard. One of the National Guards, quoted in the affidavits of the defense for a change of venue, made the frank assertion that if a lynch mob confronted him while guarding the defendants he would throw away his gun and let the mob take its course.

Class justice can only be fought by mass action. Plenty of time has been lost but it is not yet too late to arouse the mass movement that saved the Scottsboro boys once before.

We need not explain the significance of the Scottsboro case to the workers acquainted with it. It is a struggle of outstanding importance for workers, black and white. Action, Action! Now—tomorrow it may be too late!

Food Union New Aid for Bellussi

(Continued from Page 1)

to find out officially the terms of the hotel code that was signed last Friday. Only the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Guilds, which is an outright company union of medieval origin, was able, thanks to its direct cooperation with the bosses, to inform the capitalist press last Wednesday that 54 hours a week was to be the minimum hours and that tips were to be considered as wages.

A special mass meeting was called and held at the new headquarters of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, 915-17 Eighth Ave. on Wednesday, November 22. Various speakers spoke about the necessity of action. Comrade Giltow said that union organization offers the opportunity for the workers to improve their conditions by resorting to the most effective weapon that organized labor can utilize, and that is the general strike. B. J. Field, the secretary, reviewed all the activities of the Union. He said that the Union had drafted its own code and had its representatives at the hearing of the hotel code held in Washington on September 27. The Hotel Men's Association code was rejected by the NRA. In spite of this rejection, the President signed secretly the hotel code which is much worse than the very one that they rejected.

LITVINOFF AND STALIN

(Continued from page 1)

Communist Party of America was not concerned with the Communist Party of Russia, and vice versa, he said: "The American Communist Party concerns itself with the American working class and the Russian Communist Party concerns itself with the Russian working class, so of course they don't concern themselves with each other's problems. We have our problems, they have theirs. Their problem is to build socialism, we aren't as far yet. Unfortunately, we still have to defeat capitalism."

The *Daily Worker*, which took such elaborate and unnecessary pains to correct the grammatical structure of Litvinov's statement, has not printed a correction or a different version of the Times' report of Bracht's statement. We therefore have no reason to question its accuracy.

There was a time when a Communist—certainly one working in a country where bourgeois legality still existed—was neither ashamed nor afraid to proclaim his membership in the world party of the Third International. But that was before the Communist International was strangled by Stalinism, before the Communist parties were humiliated, debased and forced into the livery of the Soviet Foreign Office, before funkies and office-holders have usurped the places of revolutionists, before the world revolution was exchanged for a promised credit of half a billion American dollars.

At the time of this writing comrade Bellussi still remains confined in the Detention House of the Philadelphia Immigration Station at Gloucester City, N. J., awaiting deportation to Fascist Italy.

Meanwhile efforts are being made by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has interested itself in the case, to secure the release of Bellussi and the right of voluntary departure to some country other than Italy. Roger Baldwin, the director of the A. C. L. U., has promised the full cooperation of his organization in the endeavors to save comrade Bellussi from the horrible fate that awaits him in Italy.

The privilege of voluntary departure has been granted in other cases to other class war prisoners threatened with deportation to countries under Fascist or military dictatorships.

How vital is the need for comrade Bellussi not to be sent to Italy is shown by the fact that the evidence on which his deportation is taking place was the discovery of an old membership card in the Communist Party of Italy in Bellussi's possession.

The penalty for membership in a Communist organization in Italy is long years in a wretched penal colony if not summary execution by a firing squad. The danger facing Bellussi in the event of his deportation to Italy is so much more sinister when one considers that not only his militant activities in the United States but his sterling revolutionary record in Italy has aroused the wrath of Mussolini and his black gangs whose beast-like vengeance against revolutionary workers is well known to militant workers.

Bellussi must and can be saved! It is the first duty of class conscious workers to prevent the deliverance of their fellow-fighters into the jaws of its worst enemies. Let us do our part. We can force the American government to alter its ominous plans for our comrades. Bellussi must not be deported to Italy!

Shoulders to the wheel!

SPARTACUS YOUTH DANCE

Dance & Entertainment, Proceeds For New Club Headquarters

Features:
FOLK DANCES
SKITS
RED HOT JAZZ BAND
Saturday, December 2, 1933
at 126 East 16th Street
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

CHICAGO THANKSGIVING EVE DANCE AND MOVIE

Wednesday, November 29, 8:15 p. m. at

International Labor Center
237 West North Ave.
Private showing of Soviet anti-religious movie:

"THE TWO THIEVES"

MASS MEETING

DOES THE RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA SPELL THE END OF THE 3rd INT'L ?

SPEAKERS
ARNE SWABECK
MAX SHACHTMAN

Irving Plaza Hall
SUNDAY, DEC. 6, at 8 P. M.
IRVING PLAZA and 15th STREET
ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Biased Judge Rushes Negro Boys to Chair

No Reliance on Capitalist Justice; Only Mass
Pressure of Workers Can Save Scottsboro Boys

For the third time in three years Scottsboro there is no essential difference. Scottsboro is a legal Haywood Patterson guilty of the rape of Victoria Price, locally not a rapist, but a victim of a capitalist beast determined not to give up its prey. The wheels of justice are moving now with greater speed than they did last April at the last trial, almost as fast as the Sun and St. Joseph Lynch mobs did, and Clarence Norris is standing trial a second time for the same "crime." By the time this reaches the press the verdict will be in and the trial of the third or maybe even the fourth Scottsboro boy will be over.

The "Impartial" Jury
The jury which tried Patterson and the jury which will try the other defendants are supposed to be made up of impartial men who have no fixed ideas about the innocence or guilt of the boys. They are all white men, and if you wish you can believe that they have no prejudices against other men just because their skins are black. These jurymen are all local residents in a home-town community where the Scottsboro case has been the subject of discussion for years. How many sit in the courtroom during the previous trials? Leastways we are asked to believe that these men have a good deal of argument on the case, participated in it, read the editorials in the Southern papers urging them to "lynch the damned niggers," and still have open minds. One has to be as simple and trusting as a child to believe this fairy tale out of the capitalist propaganda book. These men are all set against the Scottsboro boys no matter what they say they believe or don't believe.

If there was one among them who had any lingering doubt, the way Judge Callahan ran the trial would have removed it. Callahan was fair. He gave the defense its day in court. Sure, he didn't allow the Jew lawyers from New York to play tricks on the court. He defended Southern womanhood. Yes, sir.

Cards Dealt from the Bottom
There isn't a white farmer in the neighborhood who could have held his opinion of Patterson's innocence against the bias of the upright justice's charge to the jury and his bewildering judicial hair-splitting. Callahan dealt cards from the bottom of the deck. That's what he is there for.

Callahan does his job well. There's nothing raw like the stuff Hornton pulled and the speeches prosecutors Knight and Wright made in the last trial. It's all strictly according to Hoyle. Callahan is carrying out the order of the Supreme Court to do it over again and cut out the mistakes.

Callahan made one serious slip. In his charge to the jury which consumed an hour and a half of Patterson's life he forgot to remind the jury that if they found the evidence insufficient to prove the charge against Patterson they could bring in a verdict of acquittal. Strange omission! Convenient memory! Only when reminded by the defense counsel and the prosecutor did he perfunctorily add this detail.

That slip gave the whole show away. What of that? Bias is no ground for acquittal in the higher courts. The learned justices do not arrive at their decisions by obvious facts and simple considerations. For them the question is not whether Callahan showed bias. They will take out their legal yardstick and see whether what Callahan said or did denied the defendant, who is presumed innocent until proven guilty, a fair trial by violating this statute or that law or is not in accord with the decision of Judge so-and-so in this-and-that case. You can be as fanatic on the bench as Holph of California is in the governor's chair, but if you want your stuff to go over with the boys higher up you have got to make it appear that you are sticking within the law. If you do they will give you the official o. k.

Learned from Massachusetts
And whoever heard of a high court saying straight out: the man is innocent, release him? Where and when did that happen? In the Mooney case? In the Sacco-Vanzetti case? Where? When? The cards are stacked against the boys all the way up the line.

The strategy of the capitalists is plain. They want to give the country another "line lesson." In California, they want to say, "and in Maryland they do it with the rope and the fagot; but in Alabama they are civilized. There they burn innocent men in the electric chair according to the law. But first they torture them in jail for years, holding out a ray of hope to them and snatching it away again. They learned that from what Massachusetts did to Sacco and Vanzetti."

Between St. Joseph, Mo., and

American Imperialism at the Montevideo Congress

The Seventh Pan-American Conference convened December 3 at Montevideo, Uruguay with twenty-one nations represented. The American delegation, headed by Secretary Hall, arrived prior to the conference to line up puppet delegates and to attempt to iron out and sidetrack some of the most difficult problems that are sure to be thrown open for discussion on the floor. This is the first Pan-American conference to be held since 1923. It is convened at a time when the economic life of Latin America is almost at a standstill as a result of the crisis within the leading imperialist nations, particularly the United States. These secondary capitalist nations of Latin America have long ago been subordinated to the imperialist powers. The leading capitalist nations, such as the United States, have attempted to shift part of the crisis burden onto the lesser nations of Latin America.

The conference has been compared to the last London conference. The capitalist press says the Montevideo meeting will succeed and will accomplish for America, what the London conference failed to accomplish for world capitalism. However, the set-up is entirely different even if economic problems hold the center of the stage at the Pan-American conference.

At Montevideo there will be a meeting of unequals. The leading capitalist nation in the world is able to hold a conference with 20 other nations under the self-made jurisdiction of the Monroe Doctrine, the enforcement of which Roosevelt hopes to modernize with his "new diplomacy." The London conference was a battle of the leading imperialists of Europe and America; the Montevideo conference is the set-up of American imperialism. Most of the delegates are puppets; others will be forced to cringe before the might of Yankee imperialism or stand the consequences. The other imperialist powers, particularly England are forced to pound away within the conference in an attempt to prevent America from constructing something tangible for itself. England will do this primarily through such forces as she can muster within the Latin American countries for policies that will be cloaked in the form of "national" demands of this or that Latin American country.

In the past, Argentina has been the main opposition force to the United States in the Pan-American conference, not only because of its weight within South America but because England has been fighting American imperialism tooth and nail in the struggle for domination within this first rate Latin American country.

War and revolution will be discussed extensively in the different cancesses. Bolivia and Paraguay are in the midst of the Chaco war. Peru and Colombia have not yet settled the Leticia affair. The Cuban revolution is in the foreground. Secretary Hall attempted to inject America's "good will" into the Chaco war before the conference, but Paraguay rejected his "kind" offer. A labor delegate from Haiti caused uneasiness, and showed that all was not so well in lining up safe and sound delegates to the conference, when on the first day he condemned American's 15-year military action in Haiti, intervention in Latin America, and the present financial supervision in Haiti which reveals how the Roosevelt government is driving ahead with great speed for better imperialist domination.

Revolutionary Cuba has not spoken yet. But it is very doubtful, if the petty-bourgeois government will go beyond words, and this only for the sake of bargaining power and compromise with American imperialism. It is very doubtful if the voice of the oppressed workers and peasants will even get a word into the proceedings. What opposition does materialize will be that of the nationalist bourgeois opposition to American imperialism and of spokesmen for British imperialism.

The economic factors and questions take on a varied number of forms. The American imperialists are attempting to avoid these problems which will interfere with the further development of the NRA and the struggle of the Dollar vs. the Pound. The U. S. Government issued a statement on November 9th, which said in part: "Unsettled conditions, such as European commercial quota restrictions, make it seem desirable for the United States to forego immediate discussions on such matters as currency stabilization, uniform import prohibitions, permanent custom duties and the like."

A real discussion on the above points and not mere talk by puppet delegates, would really be stepping on Uncle Sam's toes. That is the reason America hopes to keep these points off the Agenda. The question of debts is important, but America does not care to talk debts when her creditors are bankrupt and may ask for a moratorium; rather it is wiser to see what can be done to use these debts as clubs to line the countries up for further economic penetration by America. That is what the delegates of the Wall Street government hope to accomplish. America as the creditor, facing this condition, is opposed to debt discussion; many of the debtors, on the other hand, hope to force discussion. As a compromise American imperialism will agree to discuss debts so long as the discussion does not lead to decisive action.

Regardless of what form the economic discussion may take one thing is certain. The conference is an American Imperialist set-up for the benefit of American imperialism. To strip the issues bare, the U. S. imperialists are primarily interested in the following, from an economic standpoint: To strengthen their position and control over Latin America in the struggle against the other imperialists. To arrange long-term credits for private and public projects, which will enable America to export surplus capital so vital for America's internal life and, at the same time, enable her to use these projects to further consolidate her Latin American empire.

The American delegates are empowered to offer a half a million dollars as a start for the Texas-Santiago highway, to assume the major share of the expense of an engineering survey for a proposed Central American-Jo de Janeiro railroad. These projects will open up the doors for capital investment and the further extension of American imperialism. The aims of the U. S. Government in the Pan-American conference are the further extension of American domination, the elimination of other imperialist contenders and a straight jacket for the workers and peasants of Latin America to prevent the Soviet idea that raise its head in the Cuban revolution from becoming a living reality in the Western Hemisphere.

The conference is only two days old. Although it is America's set-up. There are factors within it that may get beyond the control of Wall Street. The results of the conference will be discussed in a later issue of THE MILITANT.

Hotel Union Shows Gains

New York.—The waiters at the Hotel Montclair, have gone out on strike under the leadership of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. The strike is against the wage scale of 64 cents a day for 9 hours forced on the waiters by the management after the new hotel code went into effect. The workers demand \$12.50 a week, no arbitrary firing, no splitting of tips with the captains, the house to keep uniforms clean, and decent food.

New York.—Last week we reported the new orientation of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union organization drive. Already, the workers of the Union understand that they can expect very little from the NRA, and that only the Union is in a position through its strength to put back to work the workers that were discharged without any reason at all.

The huge new headquarters of our Union facilitates much of its activities. Shop meetings of hotels, restaurants and clubs take place every week at which the problems of the Union are discussed and decided. The joining of bellhops, housemen, chambermaids, elevator men and women is bringing about the realization of an ideal industrial union, aided also by the coming together of native and foreign born members.

Mass meetings will be held twice a week, one in the evening and one in the afternoon. Last Friday evening our Secretary, B. J. Field, reported on the fight which we put up in Washington against the Codes which the bosses are using as a means of keeping our conditions miserably low. In addition to a number of shop delegates, James P. Cannon also spoke at this meeting.

On Tuesday, November 22, Burkhardt, Cook and B. J. Field were the first ones to speak for labor's side of the case at the NRA hearing. They took the leadership in presenting the argument for the workers, all the other unions represented except the A. F. of L. taking up our demands.

Irrespective of what the NRA may do about the Code, the A. F. of L. has gained increased prestige in the eyes of the workers as have their representatives.

—A. C.

Shoe Workers to Merge Unions

Independents at Boston Convention

The eyes of the labor movement will be on Boston next Monday, December 11, when the amalgamation convention of the Independent shoe workers of the United States convenes for the purpose of uniting them into a single body. This convention comes as the culmination of a long struggle of the rank and file to bring about the amalgamation in the face of the most stubborn resistance and sabotage of the conservative officials. When the delegates meet at Boston next Monday they will stand instructed by the referendum vote of the organization to take the necessary steps to bring about the unification. The referendum carried by the overwhelming majority of more than 80 to 1.

Directly represented at the convention will be the National Shoe Workers' Association, with approximately 28,000 workers; the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, with approximately 30,000; and the Independent Union in Shoe Industry.

The shoe industry has long been noted for the multiplicity of independent unions. The shoe workers were forced onto this path by the systematic betrayals of the official A. F. of L. body, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Even from the standpoint of typical American reactionary unionism, this "label" union stands in a class by itself as a corrupt and boss-serving organization. The impulse of the workers for genuine trade unionism manifested itself in almost every revolt through the medium of independent organization. The weakness of their movement arose from the inability up till now to bring the various independent organizations together; the conservative officialdom, which fastened itself on the two main organizations, blocked the union.

The strike wave of the past season gave the necessary impulse to the movement from below and carried it forward with a surging militancy to the present result. If the delegates at Boston succeed in carrying out the mandate of the rank and file and come out of the convention with a harmonious program for the final amalgamation of the unions, a new day will dawn for the shoe workers of the country and a bright page of labor history will be turned. The solidarity and hope of the advanced workers everywhere will be with the convention in its deliberations and every progressive tendency in the labor movement will be strengthened and encouraged by its success.

Bright Prospects of New Independent Union

The bright prospects for the emergence of a new powerful union of workers on an independent basis, at a time when the general tide is flowing strongly in the channel of the A. F. of L., demonstrates once again that the labor movement follows nobody's pre-conceived plan or arbitrary pattern, but takes its own course in different industries according to differing circumstances. If the general developments of the past months dealt a crushing blow to those who prescribed the arbitrary building of new independent unions all along the line, the specific situation in the shoe industry, which drove with the force of necessity to the constitution of a completely independent union, refutes the A. F. of L. fetishists no less conclusively.

The new amalgamated shoe workers' union will not be a "dual union"; it will be the legitimate and genuine organization in the industry and will be entitled to the unqualified support of the workers in its struggle for supremacy against the A. F. of L. union, the corrupt and treacherous "Boot and Shoe" Tasks of New Union

In our opinion the new union will have the task of making further efforts to come to an agreement and unification with the Brooklyn Brotherhood (Independent) and in waging a determined battle to organize the entire industry in head-on collision with the corrupt "Boot and Shoe" affiliate of the A. F. of L. The worst danger to the new movement is prevented by those who have some maneuver with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union up their sleeve.

The problem of the new union is to become a power in its own right and drive its corrupt rival from the field with the help of the betrayed shoe workers still within its ranks who only await a favorable opportunity to break away from it and unite with their fellow workers in a genuine labor organization.

The developments among the shoe workers provide another instructive lesson regarding the real trend of the labor movement. In demonstrating the vitality that remains in the independent union movement they prove concretely, at the same time, that the organizations of the Stalinists cannot be the medium for its growth. The Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union, after trying in every way to disrupt the amalgamation movement and to take the place of the other unions, has been reduced to such a weak position that it had to apply for admission into the amalgamation convention at the last moment under pressure of its own members. The Stalinists contributed nothing but disruption and disorganization to the effort to bring the shoe workers together and have completely discredited themselves.

"It is impossible to describe the results of this treatment. The victims almost lost consciousness, and the more they screamed the more pleasure their torturers gained...."

"If this first 'admonition'—so they called this brutal treatment—did not succeed, it was reinforced by blows from the rubber truncheons on the head and back, until the wretched victims admitted anything to avoid further torture.... in some cases the accused were

(Continued on Page 4)

DRIVING FOR THE NEW PARTY

Less than two months have passed since we issued our public declaration for the creation of a new international and a new Communist party in this country. Already there have been a good many indications of a hearty response from the revolutionary workers. They come to our greetings in much greater numbers than before. Serious questions, asked sympathetically, manifest their live interest in the issue. The response is reflected most directly in the actual growth of the League. New branches are springing up and nearly everywhere the existing units are teeming with life and activity, extending the influence of the Left Opposition and its sympathetic circle.

To assemble the forces for the creation anew of a revolutionary party—this is the gigantic task which we have undertaken in this country. It will test the ability, devotion and capacity for sacrifice of every comrade. Our task is facilitated by the present raising curve of the labor movement as a whole. The most momentous problems will be posed before it in the next immediate period. For these a correct solution can be advanced only from the arsenal of Marxism. It is in the crucible of the struggle that all the programs will be tested. To be the most active participant in it is our aim.

We have taken the first preparatory step by openly proclaiming our orientation for a new international and a new party. This first decisive step has been followed by the elaboration of an Action Program for the coming immediate period.

OPEN FORUM

ARNE SWABECK
Just Returned from a Tour of the Country
on
THE PROSPECTS FOR REVOLUTION IN AMERICA
Friday, December 8, 1933, 8 p. m.
JAMES P. CANNON

THE MEANING OF THE RECENT LYNCHINGS
Maryland, California, Missouri, What Next?

Friday, December 15, 1933, 8 p. m.
International Workers School Hall
126 East 16th Street, n. Irving Pl.
Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)
Questions — Discussion
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FILM
The "Russian Revolution" film scheduled for Dec. 3rd is postponed for Saturday, Dec. 23rd. It will be held at the Millant Hall, 154 Watkins St., Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Film Club of the International Workers School. The hall can be reached by the B. M. T. 14th St. Canarsie Line to Sutter Ave., or the I. R. T.—7th Ave.—New Lots to Rockaway Avenue.

Action Program is the popularization of the new party and the establishment of a monthly theoretical organ. We have already made a beginning towards the popularization of the contents of THE MILITANT. We have reduced its price to put it within reach of the workers so that it might be read by the workers of the capitalist crisis and the new pressure of the "recovery" measures. We aim to make THE MILITANT a real bulwark of this new movement which, while maintaining entirely its unequivocal Marxist position, speaks in terms understandable to the workers. We aim to have it yet more fully reflect their struggles and aspirations and serve as an unflinching guide.

We plan the publication of a theoretical organ in the near future. A number of new pamphlets are coming up. Organizers are to be placed in the field.

But all of these aims, which are necessary parts of the big job of assembling the forces for a new revolutionary party, depend for their fulfillment on the financial support we receive now from our comrades and friends. This point now stands out prominently and imperatively. We are depending on you to stand with us now. Funds are urgently needed for current work as well as for the promotion of the new projects in our program of action. Enroll yourself now as a supporter of the new party of Communism in a concrete, practical way. Send your contribution to

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th Street
New York City

«No!»-Unser Wort's Reply to the Hitler Plebiscite

(The following article, reprinted from *Unser Wort*, the German organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists, was published prior to the Nazi plebiscite on the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the sanctioning of Hitler's foreign policy.—Ed.)

There are many reasons for the Hitler Plebiscite and the withdrawal from the League of Nations. In the first place they seem to have been dictated by the daily worries of the Hitler government. While these worries do not permit us to predict the fall of German Fascism, nevertheless we must not neglect them.

First, there is the trial on the burning of the Reichstag which is truly not a glorious page in the history of Fascism, and which seriously compromises the Hitler government before the foreign world. There are also the differences in the leadership which they will not be able to stifle or minimize for very long. There is, moreover, the rapid decline in the confidence and enthusiasm of the petty bourgeois masses gathered from reports of all parts of the Reich. All this makes it necessary to "do something," to divert the attention of the foreign world and the popular masses, to find a slogan which will mobilize everybody for the creation of a new national united front. The field of "external national policy" is quite appropriate to this end. Nowhere had the agreement with the Fascist bandits of all sections of the population been greater; nowhere has the noisy work of the Fascists borne better fruit, in no question is the ideological commemoration of the German proletariat more marked, thanks to the shameful activity of the Socialist and Communist parties, than in this field.

Even if this plebiscite was not an organized comedy—whose results are made to order by the Minister for Reichstag Affairs, that is, the Minister of Propaganda—Hitler could secure votes on this field better than on any other. The "impossible" results of these elections backed by all the methods of Fascist terror, compared with which the "Balkan elections" are orgies of democratic freedom, will appear in the eyes of the outside world—which has no real notion of this German Macedonia—as a demonstration of the German people in favor of Hitler. There are important tasks of activity and propaganda for the emigrants in this field.

Hitler's step—the withdrawal from the League of Nations—has far deeper consequences than the trivial interests of daily agitation. It was dictated almost completely by the development of German imperialism after the war. The imperialist contradictions being opposed to its complete annihilation, German imperialism, suffering in its own forces, struggles forcibly to reach first rank. If it cannot obtain it as an independent force it endeavors to become an equal ally treated with equality and esteem. For only a war, openly posing the question of a new division of the world, could re-establish its own status. In this connection, Hitler is only continuing what was begun by Stresemann and Herrmann Muller.

The move of Hitler in Geneva rests less on his courage than on the utilization of the Japanese experience. The great powers of the League of Nations have so demonstrated their weakness on the departure of Japan, that Germany, still weaker, has permitted itself to do likewise.

The unparalleled economic decadence has forced Germany to look for quick solutions and to desert the path of patient negotiations. Experience has vindicated the position of Germany. No one wants today to engage in war with Germany; no French paper dares to pose the question of sanctions.

On the other hand it would be false to imagine that Germany wants to go to war tomorrow. Several years of preparation are necessary. Still less does it want war against France. In this sense Hitler's speeches are quite "sincere." They want to buy the dearest alliance, but not for war in the west. The real war for war, particularly for Hitler Germany, is the East.

The decision of Fascist Germany has sown the greatest confusion in the socialist and Communist parties. Both of them, kicking over Marxism, have accused Hitler not of nationalism, but of lack of nationalism. The whole agitation of the C. P. G. up to the month of June still tends to demonstrate the national "treachery" of Hitler. The *Deutsche Freiheit* stammers pitifully that the action of Hitler leads to a worsening of the positions of Germany as if it were paragraphs and statutes and not relationship of forces which decide.

Hitler is still not national enough for the C. P. O. We will be curious to know whether the C. P. G. wins a single Nazi with the help of this "tactic." But at the same time the C. P. O. has fallen into another contradiction. While the C. P. O. follows the line of the former foreign policy of the U. S. S. R., Litvinov has already embraced Herriot; Pilsudsky and Molotov send telegrams of protest against the German disturber in the ranks of the League of Nations. The entire policy of the last years has deprived the U. S. S. R. of its independence on the international arena and forces it to follow one or another bloc.

We Internationalist-Communists have a fundamentally different point of view on the national question. For us, the main enemy is German imperialism, the representative of exploitation and the artifice of the next war, and not the treaty of Versailles, whose abolition can only help our enemies. We have never followed a nationalist policy as do the miserable epigones of Bolshevism. We have always fought it as a policy which strengthens the exploiters and brings war nearer. In this sense, we arouse the masses, today again, against this Hitlerite policy which despite its pacifist phrases and by means of its pacifist phrases is preparing for war. There is only one way: to reject this shameful plebiscite of the organizers of hunger and the hangmen!

NO!

Unemployment Insurance - A Slogan to Unite Teachers and Workers

The growth of the population, the struggle against illiteracy, the lack of schools and the increasing specialization of knowledge and improvement in educational methods all make necessary an expansion of the educational system of the United States, particularly what is called the free school system. But no expansion is taking place. On the contrary, under the pressure of the crisis the capitalists are trying to conserve profits or reduce losses, among other means, by easing the tax burden through economy in civil and state government at the expense of the educational system.

The toll this economy has exacted can be gauged from some figures given in a recent resolution presented to George F. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education, by four hundred representatives of forty educational organizations. "More than 2,200,000 children of school age are already deprived of educational opportunity" and "nearly 2,000 rural schools failed to open this fall." To these figures should be added the curtailment of school terms, the shortage of indispensable material like text books, the crowded classrooms and the other easily imagined injurious effects of this economy.

What all this means to the teachers can be seen from statements in the same resolution. "One in every three American teachers is now receiving less than \$750 per year. Thousands of teachers are receiving no salary at all."

Not a Temporary Phenomenon. There is good reason to believe that this contraction is not a temporary phenomenon. The need for economy is not likely soon to disappear. The crisis is not over. The bankers and realty interests will continue to squeeze for greater profits and greater economies. And this crisis, should the capitalists succeed in overcoming it, will be succeeded by others of a deeper character. If our present experience means anything it indicates that the attacks on the educational system will increase and cut deeper.

It follows that the employed teachers will suffer a drastic lowering of their living and working conditions if they do not organize and resist. The thousands of unemployed teachers and the thousands more who are qualifying to teach will never do so if they wait for the capitalist masters of society to provide them with the opportunity. Together they should struggle for the expansion of the educational system and resist its contraction.

For this they need unity. The unemployed should support the struggle of the employed against curtailment of school facilities as every successful resistance increases the possibility of advancing to the counter-attack for expansion of them. The employed should support the struggle of the unemployed for work and relief as every success in this direction removes a threat against the lowering of their own standards through the pressure of the unemployed for work.

Unemployment Insurance for Teachers. The fight for unemployment insurance is one of the best means of uniting the employed and unemployed.

An extensive agitation was carried on by our comrades among the sailors of the Red Fleet during the five days they stopped over in the port of Phalere.

The fleet, composed of a cruiser and two destroyers entered the port of Phalere on Monday morning. The first day was devoted to official visits. The eight admirals paid their respects to the minister of the Navy. The minister returned the visit of the fleet, receptions, speeches of friendship and mutual admiration, etc. The police were mobilized. No one could approach the harbor. The streets of Athens were full of dicks and bulls. But as the admirals left the ministry of Navy, their auto was covered with the leaflets of the organization and the admirals were greeted with

shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet and Army! Long Live Trotsky!"

The second day was the sailors'. The sailors, in groups with officers at their head, went to visit the museums. It was then that we had the opportunity to carry on an extensive agitation. A group of comrades distributed leaflets in Russian to them in the Archeologic museum. The sailors were accompanied up to the station with shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet, Long Live the Red Army! Long Live Trotsky!"

On the Acropolis another strong group of comrades mixed with the sailors and discussed with them. They stated that the sailors showed an intense interest, but the officers intervened and pushed them away. "There were sailors who insulted the name of comrade Trotsky. But a great number remained silent and showed a kind of astonishment to see so many 'Trotskyists'."

A big sailor approached our comrades and said in a low voice "Trotsky is O. K." Another, bearing the insignia of the C. P., pushed him away and insulted him. For three hours our comrades persisted, singling the International and revolutionary partying them with questions on the expulsion of comrade Trotsky and the fate of Rakovsky.

At Every Step. But what caused most surprise among the sailors was the fact that as they strolled along in small groups they encountered "Trotskyists" at every step who greeted them with the shout "Long Live Trotsky!" and handed them leaflets.

There were cases where the sailors answered with insults. But some of them (those who were not accompanied by officers) took the leaflets and hid them. In the stores where the sailors bought footwear and small articles they were astonished to find leaflets of our organization. Our comrades of the trade union of store employees who were well-supplied with leaflets enclosed them in the purchases made by the sailors. There were also characteristic scenes in which on the one hand the bureaucrats showed their wrath and the terror to which the sailors were subjected.

A group of sailors were making purchases at a store. The guide showed them a survey of the party. The sailors said: No, it is Trotskyist. All the Greeks are Trotskyists.

The C. P. did nothing. It could only mobilize a dozen bureaucrats, who gathered in the Acropolis in a very wise manner, so as not to disturb the friendly relations of the two countries. This was the only demonstration of the Stalinists. The journalists were not given the right of entry on the warships. The most characteristic thing was that the sailors did not dare to speak to anyone. Even when people knowing foreign languages offered their services as interpreters, the sailors did not accept them.

The Attitude of the Sailors. As to the general attitude of the sailors—they were silent, austere and "wise." When they entered a store, one of them, always with a party insignia, remained outside and watched. They all bought food

for themselves or for their wives, stockings and watches. They were well-dressed save for their shoes which were in bad condition. During their noon-hour meal (they ate on the Acropolis) they ate a cheap quality of bread and margarine.

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Red Fleet Greeted with Cry: "Long Live Trotsky" During Visit to Greece

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Statement of Goldman on Joining Communist League

In joining the Left Opposition I am doing that which every thinking revolutionary Marxist should not fail to do. That the Stalinist bureaucracy has forsaken the idea of the world revolution and uses the phrase only in the ritual on holiday celebrations should by this time be clear to everyone who keeps fairly well informed with ideas and events.

What it is incumbent upon every revolutionary Marxist to assert and emphasize is that the abandonment of the world revolution represents the greatest danger to the Soviet Union. To the middle class intellectuals Stalin gives evidence of his great "statesmanship" by concentrating on "building socialism in one country." To them comrade Trotsky is the wild revolutionary without a sense of "realism." To the working class revolutionary

Stalin's path means inevitable disaster and betrayal of the international working class, including the Russian. This explains why so many of the New Republic and Nation enthusiasts are flocking to the banner of Stalinism at the time when revolutionary Marxists are expelled from the Communist parties.

When in the early part of 1933 I became acquainted with Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program" I immediately knew who represented the truth of revolutionary Marxism. I hoped, however, that the Communist International would be compelled by the force of events to change its policies. I was not convinced that it was necessary to follow comrade Trotsky in making an open and intransigent struggle against the destructive ideas and tactics of the Comintern. Only my very closest friends knew where my sympathies lay. The party functionaries knew that I followed Trotsky's writings very closely and expressed some displeasure but attributed my interest to the fact that I was not a worker but an intellectual.

My five months in the Soviet Union in 1931 left me more disturbed than ever. On the one hand I saw the successful building of huge factories, while on the other hand I saw evident signs of degeneration in the party, and working class and peasant dissatisfaction. Fortunately in the last month of my stay I came in contact with an American-Jewish worker in Kharkov, and my first enthusiasm engendered by the appearance of huge factories was tempered by a more intimate knowledge of the life of the Soviet worker as revealed to me by this New York machinist who left the United States because he heard (Oligin, in a lecture, describe the Soviet Union as a veritable paradise).

Testimony of Russian Party Members. The economic hardships for the workers and peasants, however, were not in themselves sufficient to cause one to change his views on basic principles. Difficulties and hardships are to be expected. In 1931, the effect of the adventures policies of the "liquidation of the kulak as a class" and "the five year plan in four" was not yet fully apparent. There was a great deal of hope that the end of the five year plan would witness a marked improvement.

What was most disturbing was the intellectually stifling atmosphere in the party. Several times party members, when with me alone, asked me in a whisper concerning the whereabouts of Trotsky. They did not even know that he was in Turkey. The party members had a grotesque picture of conditions in capitalist countries. Discussion in the party units revolved around how best to carry out the party line. It was no longer a Communist party—that is, a living, thinking, functioning group of class-conscious workers but a huge machine mindlessly carrying out the behests of "the leader".

Upon my return to the United States I was determined to give the Chicago workers who were interested a more realistic picture of the Soviet Union. Though more convinced than ever that Trotsky was right in his criticism of Stalin's economic policies in the Soviet Union, I was not yet prepared to begin a struggle in the open. I therefore omitted many things in my lectures on the Soviet Union. I simply warned my listeners not to go to the Soviet Union for the purpose of remaining there.

The German Lesson. It was the German situation and the insane policies followed by the C. I. bureaucrats that convinced me of the necessity of an open fight against these policies. It became obvious that not to struggle against the Comintern "line" amounted to an actual betrayal. Comrade Trotsky was absolutely correct in his open and uncompromising struggle against the revisionism of Stalin and his fellow-bureaucrats. No longer quiet, but speaking openly against the C. I. line, I was immediately expelled.

I know, of course, that I belonged to the Left Opposition. Nevertheless I would not join without getting in touch with the "Love-ones" and reading their literature over again. The more I read of their position, the more I talked with their representatives, the more disgusted I became. The two Stalin ideas—one the correct Stalin for the Soviet Union and the other the incorrect one for the capitalist countries—was sickening. Herberg's article in the *Modern Monthly* explaining the position of the Lovestonites was the last straw. It is pitiful for anyone to attempt to make such a sharp distinction between Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries. It is a denial of Marxism for anyone to say: the principles are correct, only the tactics are wrong.

The Principles of Marx and Lenin. I have joined the Left Opposition because it represents the interests of the international revolutionary working class. It is clear to me that the principles upon which it stands are based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin and free from the filth and revisionism of Stalin and his obedient satellites in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries.

He who understands the principles of revolutionary Marxism and who is not afraid to struggle for those principles has only one road to follow—to build a new party and a new international under the leadership of the Left Opposition.

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The Class Meaning of the Conflict over the Roosevelt Monetary Policy

The government money policy in relation to the national recovery act of the present administration has reached a critical stage. A struggle within the camp of the big bourgeoisie over methods to be used against other imperialists, the middle class at home and the workers of the world has been brought to the surface. In the first stage of the NRA this struggle, which was officially inaugurated with the election of Roosevelt, was somewhat concealed. Now it has broken out in the open.

It is no accident that the present controversy rages around a secondary issue such as the monetary policy. It seems to be an excellent point of attack for the opposition capitalists. At the same time it is a convenient cover for the more important struggle. Due to its government position Dr. Sprague was in a key position to launch an attack. His resignation as treasury financial adviser is hailed by the press as a step that will bring into sharp relief the different views on the monetary question. This is true. Nevertheless the question remains a secondary one.

Dr. Sprague's Statement. Dr. Sprague understands the difficulties of the capitalist system as a whole. More significant on this score than his criticism of the Roosevelt money policy was the following statement by Dr. Sprague: "Capitalism cannot survive unless we get together, tackle and solve these major problems which are breaking it down, which have already partially broken it down. I should say that, failing solution, the final breakdown will come two years from now."

But underlying and more fundamental than the offensive over the monetary policy of the administration is the struggle of the capitalist group working for greater government and industrial centralization against the capitalist individualists. And also there is the struggle over the question of the financial undertakings and expenses of the government for which at present there are no means of equalizing through government income. Some argue that the middle class will have to bear the burden with increased taxes. Others contend that the issuing of greenbacks and currency inflation is the best method. This is not only a conflict between the big capitalists and the middle class, it is a struggle within the camp of the big capitalists themselves as to the best method of consolidating and maintaining their power at home and abroad with the least friction. The struggle against the pound and the franc on the international field is as fundamental as the struggle against the other classes at home. For, in the last analysis, the leading imperialists desire to have the dollar sailing the seven seas as the dominating international exchange when monetary agreement can be reached on a basis satisfactory to America.

Increase in Foreign Trade. The increase in foreign trade for the month of October is reported enthusiastically by the capitalist press which attributes a considerable part of this gain to the depreciation of the dollar in relation to the pound and the franc. Soviet recognition and trade, through credits on American terms, are regarded as a step to increase the exports and regain markets. In addition to this America holds a favorable position in the Pan-American conference.

The tinkering with the financial structure is only a surface scratch of the problems and contradictions confronting American imperialism. At the most such measures can only provide short breathing spells. The more fundamental problems will have to be tackled and solved to prevent a breakdown.

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THE LANGUAGE OF BOLSHEVIK DIPLOMACY

(Note of Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin to President Woodrow Wilson, transmitted through the Norwegian Attaché in Moscow, October 24, 1918).

Mr. President,

In your message of January 8th to the Congress of the United States of North America, in the sixth point, you spoke of your profound sympathy for Russia, which was then conducting, single-handed, negotiations with the mighty German Imperialism. Your program, you declared, demands the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhindered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent development and national policy, and assure her a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. And you added that "the treatment accorded to Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

The desperate struggle which we were waging at Brest-Litovsk against German Imperialism apparently only intensified your sympathy

«Ours Is a People's Government Yours Is Not» - Chicherin to Wilson

for Soviet Russia, for you send greetings to the Congress of the Soviets, which under the threat of a German offensive ratified the Brest peace of violence—greetings and assurance that Soviet Russia might count upon American help.

Test of American Capitalism's "Good Will"

Six months have passed since then, and the Russian people have had sufficient time to get actual test of your Government's and your Allies' good will, of their comprehension of the needs of the Russian people, of their intelligent unselfish sympathy. This attitude of your Government and of your Allies was shown first of all in the conspiracy which was organized on Russian territory with the financial assistance of your French Allies and with the diplomatic co-operation of your Government as well as the conspiracy of the Czech-Slovak agents to whom your Government is furnishing every kind of assistance. For some time attempts have been made to create a pretext for a war between Russia and the United States by spreading false stories to the effect that German war prisoners had seized the Siberian railway, but your own officers, and after them Colonel Robins, the head

of your Red Cross Mission, had been convinced that these allegations were absolutely false. The Czech-Slovak conspiracy was organized under the slogan that unless these mistreated unfortunate people be protected, they would be surrendered to Germany and Austria; but you may find out, among other sources, from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, of the French Military Mission, how unfounded this charge is.

The Czech-Slovaks would have left Russia in the beginning of the year had the French Government provided ships for them. For several months we have waited in vain for your Allies to provide the opportunity for the Czech-Slovaks to leave. Evidently these Governments have very much preferred the presence of the Czech-Slovaks in Russia—the results show for what object—to their departure for France and their participation in the fighting on the French front. The highest proof of the real object of the Czech-Slovak rebellion is the fact that although in control of the Siberian railway, the Czech-Slovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by the order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, have remained in Russia to become the

mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution.

Promises and Performances

Their counter-revolutionary activity, which made impossible the transportation of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which cut off the Russian workers and peasants from the Siberian stores of grain and other materials and condemned them to starvation—this was the first experience of the workers and peasants of Russia with your Government and with your Allies after your promises of the beginning of the year. And then came another experience; an attack on North American troops, including American troops, their invasion of Russian territory without any cause and without a declaration of war, the occupation of Russian cities and villages, executions of Soviet officials and other acts of violence against the peaceful population of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhindered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually, this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czech-Slovak troops, and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in November, 1917. The revival of the Russian counter-revolution which has already become a corpse, attempts to restore by force its bloody domination over the Russian people—such was the experience of the Russian people, instead of co-operation for the unhindered expression of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

Wilson's "Assistance" to Russia

You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for independence. Actually this is what has occurred: While the Russian people were fighting on the South-east front against the counter-revolution, which has betrayed them to German Imperialism and was threatening their independence, while they were using all their energy to organize the defense of their territory against Germany at their Western frontiers, they were forced to move their troops to the East to oppose the Czech-Slovaks who were bringing them slavery and oppression, and to the North—against your Allies and your troops, which had invaded their territory, and against the counter-revolutionary organized by these troops.

Mr. President, the acid test of the relations between the United States and Russia gave quite different results from those that might have been expected from your message to the Congress. But we have reason not to be altogether dissatisfied with even these results, since the outrages of the counter-revolution in the East and North have shown the workers and peasants of Russia the aims of the Russian counter-revolution, and of its foreign supporters, thereby creating among the Russian people an iron will to defend their liberty and the conquests of the revolution, to defend the land that it has given to the peasants and the factories that it has given to the workers. The fall of Kazan, Simbirsk, Syzran and Samara should make clear to you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for us of the actions which followed your promises of January 8. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disciplined Red Army, which is daily growing stronger and more powerful and which is learning to defend the revolution.

The attitude toward us which was actually displayed by your Government and by your Allies could not destroy us; on the contrary, we are now stronger than we were a few months ago, and your present proposal of international negotiations for a general peace finds us alive and strong and in a position to give in the name of Russia our consent to join the negotiations. In your note to Germany you demand the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition which must precede the armistice during which peace negotiations shall begin. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions, and we ask you to notify us when you, Mr. President, and your Allies intend to remove your troops from Murmansk, Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice unless Germany will stop the outrages, pillaging, etc., during the evacuation of occupied territory. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your Allies will order the Czech-Slovaks to return the part of our gold reserve fund which they seized in Kazan, that you will forbid them to continue as heretofore their acts of pillaging and outrages against the workers and peasants during their forced departure (for we will encourage their speedy departure, without waiting for your order).

«Ours is a People's Government, Yours is Not»

With regard to your other peace terms, namely, that the Government would conclude peace must express the will of their people, you are aware that our Government fully satisfies this condition. Our government expresses the will of

«Your Post Is Not Yet Taken by Debs» Said Soviet Commissar to U.S. President

the Councils of Workers' Peasants', and Red Army Deputies, representing at least eighty per cent of the Russian people. This cannot, Mr. President, be said about your Government. But for the sake of humanity and peace we do not demand as a prerequisite for general peace negotiations that all nations participating in the negotiations shall be represented by Councils of Peoples' Commissars elected at a Congress of Councils of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. We know that this form of Government will soon be the general form, and that a general peace, when nations will no more be threatened with defeat, will leave them free to put an end to the system and the intrigues that forced upon mankind this universal slaughter, and which will, in spite of themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments that give exact expression to their will.

Agreeing to participate at present in negotiation with even such governments as do not yet express the will of the people, we would like on our part to find out from you, Mr. President, in detail what is your conception of the League of Nations, which you propose as the crowning work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Siberia, Belgium, and freedom for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean by this that the masses of the people must everywhere first become the masters of their own fate in order to unite afterward in a league of free nations. But strongly enough, we do not find among your demands the liberation of Ireland, Egypt or India, nor even the liberation of the Philippines, and we would be very sorry if these peoples should be denied the opportunity to participate together with us, through their freely elected representatives, in the organization of the League of Nations.

For the Cancellation of War Debts

We would also, Mr. President, very much like to know, before the negotiations, with regard to the formation of a League of Nations, have begun, what is your conception of the solution of many economic questions which are essential for the cause of future peace. You do not mention the war expenditures—this unbearable burden which the masses would have to carry, unless the League of Nations should renounce payments on the loans to the capitalists of all countries. You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the outcome of the policies of all capitalist nations, that the governments of all countries were continually piling up armaments, that the ruling groups of all civilized nations pursued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore, be extremely unjust if the masses, having paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic ruin, should yet pay to those who are really responsible for the war a tribute for their policies which resulted in all these countless miseries. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, the annulment of the war loans as the basis of the League of Nations. As to the restoration of the countries that were laid waste by the war, we believe it is only just that all nations should in this respect aid the unfortunate Belgium, Poland and Sil-

esia; and however poor and ruined Russia seems to be, she is ready on her part to do everything she can to help these victims of the war, and she expects that American capital, which has not at all suffered from this war and has even made many millions in profits out of it, will do its part to help these peoples.

Aims of the League of Nations

But the League of Nations should not only liquidate the present war, but also make impossible any wars in the future. You must be aware, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country are planning to apply in the future the same policies of encroachment and of super-profits in China and in Siberia; and that, fearing competition from Japanese capitalists, they are preparing a military force to overcome the resistance which they meet from Japan. You are no doubt aware of similar plans of the capitalists and ruling circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other peoples. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that the masses of the people created by the masses of the people to export products and capital to foreign countries in order to reap super-profits in return for the benefits forced on them, their struggle for spoils, resulting in imperialistic wars.

"Expropriate the Capitalists"

We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. In your country, Mr. President, the banks and the industries are in the hands of such a small group of capitalists that, as your personal friend, Colonel Robins assured us, the arrest of twenty heads of capitalist cliques and the transfer of the control, which by characteristic capitalist methods they have come to possess, into the hands of the masses of the world is all that would be required to destroy the principal source of new wars.

If you will agree to this, Mr. President—if the sources of future wars will thus be destroyed, then there can be no doubt that it would be easy to remove all economic barriers and that all peoples, controlling the means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging the things they need. It will then be a question of an exchange of products between nations, each of which produces what it can best produce, and the League of Nations will be a league of mutual aid of the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal safety.

Appeal to American Workers

We know very well that the selfish capitalist class will attempt to create this internal menace, just as the Russian landlords and capitalists are now attempting, with the aid of American, English and French armed forces, to take the factories from the workers and the land from the peasants. But, if the American workers, inspired by your idea of a League of Nations, will crush the resistance of the American capitalists as we have crushed the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a serious menace to the victorious working class, and it will then suffice, if every member

of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two hours daily for several months in learning the use of arms, so that the whole people will know how to overcome the internal menace.

And so, Mr. President, though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless accept as a basis your proposals about peace and about a League of Nations. We have tried to formulate with precision your proposals on the League of Nations in order that the League of Nations should not turn out to be a league of capitalists against the toiling masses. Should you not agree with us, we have no objection to an open discussion of your peace terms, as the first point of your peace program demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will gladly agree on the details.

"Which Is the Real President?"

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the president of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion and we have also had dealings with the president of the League of Nations' Peace Program. Is not the first of these—the real president—actually directing the policies of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government rather a government of the American corporations, of the American industrial, commercial and railroad trusts, of the American banks—in short, a government of the American capitalists? And is it not possible that the proposals of this government about the creation of a League of Nations will result in new chains for the people, in the organization of an international trust for the exploitation of the workers and the suppression of weak nations? In this latter case, Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply to our questions, and we will say to the workers of all countries: Beware! Millions of your brothers, thrown at each other's throats by the bourgeoisie of all countries, are still perishing on the battle fields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understanding for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive, when they call to account the criminals who caused the war!

"Your Post Is Not Yet Taken by Debs."

However, Mr. President, since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, even though your government has not yet been replaced by a Council of Peoples' Commissars and your post is not yet taken by Eugene Debs, whom you have imprisoned; since we do not at all desire to wage war against England, even though the cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George has not yet been replaced by a Council of Peoples' Commissars with MacDonald at its head; since we have no desire to wage war against France, even though the capitalist government of Clemenceau has not yet been replaced by a workers' government of Merheim; just as we have concluded peace with the imperialist government of Germany, with Emperor William at its head, from whom you, Mr. President, feel as alien as we, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, from you—we finally propose to you, Mr. President, that you take up with your Allies the following questions and give us precise and definite replies: Do the governments of the United States, England and France consent to cease demanding the blood of the Russian people until they agree to pay them a ransom such as a man who has been suddenly attacked pays to the one who attacked him? If so, just what tribute do the governments of the United States, England and France demand of the Russian people? Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Cassania, or perhaps the Murmansk Coast?

"State Your Demands Clearly"

The Russian people, through the people's Red Army, are guarding their territory and are bravely fighting against your invasion and against the attacks of your Allies. But your government and the governments of the other Powers of the Entente, undoubtedly, have well prepared plans, for the sake of which you will state your demands clearly and definitely. Should we, however, be disappointed should you fail to reply to our quite definite and precise questions we will draw the only justified conclusion—that we are only justified in the assumption that your government and the governments of your Allies desire to get from the Russian people a tribute both in money and in natural resources of Russia, and territorial concessions as well. We will tell this to the Russian people as well as to the toiling masses of other countries, and the absence of a reply from you will serve for us as a silent reply. The Russian people will then understand that the demands of your government and of the governments of your Allies are so severe and vast that you do not even communicate them to the Russian Government.

gram of the Left Opposition—George Ray.

History of the Russian Revolution—Sam Gordon.

Wednesday Evenings: Fundamentals of Marxism—Joe Carter. Principles of Communism—Max Gelman.

LEON TROTSKY

Our Present Tasks

The victory of national-socialism in Germany brought about in other countries not the strengthening of Communist but of democratic tendencies. In an especially clear form we see this in the examples of England and Norway. But the same process is undoubtedly taking place in a series of other countries as well. It is very possible that the social-democracy of Belgium in particular will in the nearest future go through a period of a new political ascent. That reformism is the worst break on historic development and that the social-democracy is doomed to failure—this is ABC to us. But the ABC alone does not suffice. In the general historic decline of reformism just as in the decline of capitalism, periods of temporary rise are inevitable. The candle burns most brightly before it goes out. The formula: either Fascism or Communism is absolutely correct, but only in the final historic analysis. The destructive policy of the Comintern supported by the authority of the workers' state has not only compromised revolutionary methods but has also given to the social-democracy, defiled by crimes and treacheries, the opportunity of raising up again over the working class the banner of democracy as the banner of salvation.

The Workers Dread Fascism

Tens of millions of workers are alarmed to the very depths of their hearts by the danger of Fascism. Hitler showed them again what the destruction of working class organizations and of elementary democratic rights means. The Stalinists kept on asserting for the last couple of years that there is no difference between Fascism and democracy, that Fascism and social-democracy are twins. On the tragic experience of Germany the workers of the whole world convinced themselves of such assertions. Therefore the further decline of the Stalinist parties under conditions exceptionally favorable for the revolutionary wing. Therefore also the desire of the workers to hold on to their mass organizations and to their democratic rights. Thanks to the ten-year criminal policy of the Stalinized Comintern the political problem presents itself to the consciousness of the many-millioned working class masses not in the form of a decisive alternative: the dictatorship of Fascism or the dictatorship of the proletariat, but in a form of a more primitive and vague alternative: Fascism or democracy.

Take the Situations As It Is

We must take the resultant political situation as it is without creating any illusions. Of course, we remain always true to ourselves and to our banners always and under all conditions we say openly who we are, what we want and where we are going. But we cannot force our program on the masses mechanically. The experience of the Stalinists on this score is sufficiently eloquent. Instead of coupling their locomotive to the train of the working class and accelerating its movement forward, the Stalinists set their locomotive with a loud whistle towards the train of the proletariat and sometimes even collide with it so that only scrap is left of the small locomotive. The consequences of such policy are evident: in some countries the proletariat has fallen a defenseless victim of Fascism, in others it has been thrown back to the positions of reformism.

The Struggle for Democratic "Rights"

There can be no thought of course of a serious and prolonged regeneration of reformism. It is really

not a question of reformism in the wide sense of the word but of the instinctive desire of the workers to their "rights". From this purely defensive and purely conservative position the working class can and must in the process of struggle go over to a revolutionary offensive along the whole line. The offensive, in its turn, must make the masses more susceptible to great revolutionary tasks and consequently to our program. But to achieve this we must go through the period opening before us together with the masses, in their first ranks, without dissolving in them but also without detaching from them.

The Stalinists (and their miserable imitators, the Brandenburgers) declared democratic slogans under prohibition for all the countries of the world; for India which did not as yet accomplish its liberating national revolution; for Spain where the proletarian vanguard must yet find the ways for transforming the creeping bourgeois revolution into a socialist one; for Germany, where the crushed and atomized proletariat is deprived of all that is achieved during the last century; for Belgium the proletariat of which does not take its eyes off its Eastern borders and, suppressing a deep mistrust, supports the party of democratic "pacifism" (Vandervelde & Co.). The Stalinists deduce the bare renunciation of democratic slogans in a purely abstract way from the general characteristic of our epoch as an epoch of imperialism and of social revolution.

Deepen the Channels of Struggle

Thus presented, the question contains not even a grain of dialectics! Democratic slogans and illusions cannot be abolished by decree. It is necessary that the masses go through them and outlive them in the experience of battles. The task of the proletariat consists in coupling its locomotive to the train at the masses. It is necessary to find the dynamic elements in the present defensive position of the working class; we must make the masses draw conclusions from their own democratic logic, we must widen and deepen the channels of the struggle. And on this road quantity passes over into quality.

The Bolsheviks In 1917

Let us recall once more that in 1917 when the Bolsheviks were immeasurably stronger than any one of the present sections of the Comintern they continued to demand the earliest convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the lowering of the voting age, the right of suffrage for soldiers, the election of officials, etc., etc. The main slogan of the Bolsheviks "all power to the Soviets" meant from the beginning of April up to September 1917 all power to the social-democracy (Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries). When the reformists entered into a governmental coalition with the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks put forth the slogan "down with the capitalist ministers". This sloganized again workers, forced the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries to take the whole power into their hands! The political experience of the only successful proletarian revolution is perverted and falsified by the Stalinists beyond recognition. Our task here also consists in re-establishing the facts and drawing from them the necessary conclusions for the present.

One Task Today

We, Bolsheviks, consider that the real salvation from Fascism and war lies in the revolutionary conquest of power and the establishing of the proletarian dictatorship.

ship. You, socialist workers, do not agree to this road. You hope not only to save what has been gained but also to move forward along the road of democracy. Good! As long as we have not convinced you and attracted you to our side we are ready to follow this road with you to the end. But we demand that you carry on the struggle for democracy not in words but in deeds. Everybody admits—each in his own way—that in the present conditions a "strong government" is necessary. Well then, make your party open up a real struggle for a strong democratic government. For this it is necessary first of all to sweep away all the remnants of the feudal state. It is necessary to give the suffrage to all men and women who reached their 18th birthday, also to the soldiers in the army. Full concentration of legislative and executive power in the hands of one chamber! Let your party open up a serious campaign under these slogans, let it arouse millions of workers, let it conquer power through the drive of the masses. This at any rate would be a serious attempt of struggle against Fascism and war. We, Bolsheviks, would retain the right to explain to the workers the insufficiency of democratic slogans; we could not take upon ourselves the political responsibility for the social-democratic government; but we would honestly help you in the struggle for such a government; together with you we would repel all attacks of bourgeois reaction. More than that, we would bind ourselves before you not to undertake any revolutionary actions which go beyond the limits of democracy (real democracy) so long as the majority of the workers has not consciously placed itself on the side of revolutionary dictatorship.

Attitude Toward Socialist Workers

For the coming period this should be our attitude towards socialist and non-party workers. Having taken together with them the initial positions of democratic defense, we must impart to this defense immediately a serious proletarian character. We must firmly say to ourselves, we shall not allow that which occurred in Germany! It is necessary that every class-conscious worker permeate himself through and through with the thought of not allowing Fascism to raise its head. It is necessary systematically and persistently to surround workers homes, publishing houses and clubs with a circle of proletarian guards. It is necessary as persistently to encircle the hearths of Fascism (newspapers, clubs, Fascist barracks) with a proletarian blockade. We must make fighting agreements with political, trade-union, cultural, sports, organizations and other working class organizations for the defense of the institutions of proletarian democracy. The more serious and thoughtful, the less loud and boastful character the work will have, the sooner we will gain the confidence of the proletariat, beginning with the youth, and the surer it will lead to victory.

That is the way I picture the basic characteristics of a truly Marxist policy for the coming period. In different countries of Europe this policy will, of course, assume a different form depending on national circumstances. To follow attentively all the changes in the situation and all the shifts in the consciousness of the masses and to put forth at every new stage slogans flowing from the whole situation—in this consists the task of revolutionary leadership.

—L. TROTSKY.

Nov. 7, 1933

News from Germany

... Little by little something worth while is rising to the top above all the confusion and from under the wreckage of the various groups. The old shop is completely in ruins. Of the Thaelmannists nothing remains and no one wants to hear anything of them. There is some talk about the Neumanists, but no one really knows what they want. They have no people with them. There is however one group that does concern us seriously: that is the group of the conciliators. They have put out a circular in which they play the role of "the old experienced ones" who always said what would happen. In the German question they say almost the same thing essentially as we do aside from several stupidities and slander. One stupidity: in their opinion it was not the seizure of power that stood on the order of business but the conquest of the majority of the working class; we had proposed opportunistic bloc policies while they had been for the united front with the middle layers of the S. P. G. Above everything else they attack us on the question of Thermidor without however taking any concrete position. Nothing but platitudes. They issued a thousand copies of this circular. In actuality to be sure, they have only a limited number of solid functionaries around them; they are merely putting themselves at the head of a universal rebellion in order to derail it, in order to hold together the last remnant of Stalinism and to parade as the saviors in step with the strains of the E. C. O. I. march music. In the circular they are very careful to absolve all the blame on the shoulders of the Thaelmannists. It does not breathe

a word about the E. C. O. I. or Stalin.

We also hear that Platinetsky has been gathering material zealously, cross-examining all people coming from Germany in preparation for an attack against Heckert.

(In the meantime Platinetsky has given birth to his scheme in the form of a pamphlet "The present situation in Germany" in which he admits several mistakes of the party to be sure, but only so as to emphasize the absolute correctness of its political line and tactics. Thus the crusade against Heckert has come as a sort of a second addition of a Heckert resolution.—Ed.)

That seems to be the hitch. You will be able to judge much better what it means. In general we say, aside from the fundamental polemics, that the whole hope placed in the new leadership is a deception. The illusion, because Joseph can not admit the mistakes in Germany especially if we are to judge from the capitulation of Zinoviev. In any case it is only a transitory stage for most of them.

Among those members half inclined to think there is a good deal of sympathy for us but a great thirst for material, especially with regard to questions of building further. (Trade Unions). We have over several very important people from the middle and higher party apparatus.

CLASSES OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

The classes of the Brooklyn br. of the International Workers School will begin Monday, Dec. 4th. Classes will begin at 8:00 P. M. and end at 10. Monday Evenings: History and Pro-

EDITORIAL

The Lynching Wave

IN THE outbreak of lynchings that swept the country, striking at three widely separated sections with the fury of a hurricane, an old American custom was repeated with some new and distinctive features which are of exceptional significance. In the present situation such orgies of mob violence as those in California, Maryland and Missouri do not fit into the old pattern.

Mob murder in itself is no novelty in the United States. In the South, as everybody knows, it is an established institution for the repression of the Negroes, operating all the time as an extra-legal supplement to the regular court procedure. In the North, also, lynching has been known before, but it is not "recognized" here as it is in the South and, except in isolated instances, has appeared only in connection with social disturbance.

The frenzied lynching bees of the recent days, however, had their scene in the northern part of the country, or on its border; white men as well as Negroes were victims; there was not one single lynching but three, and these in rapid succession; and the happenings precipitated a hysterical public controversy over the issue, with Governor Rolph, of California, and other prominent people, including—God save the mark!—a New York preacher (who later recanted), openly condoning the bestial actions of the mob. It is clear that last week's lynchings had special features of their own; they represent a new and somewhat different phenomenon, and they arose from a special combination of causes.

The three lynchings did not occur merely because of popular reversion at some crime of a particularly shocking nature. The California kidnapping was the match that set off the explosions of unrestrained morose hysteria and violence, but the explosive material itself for some kind of an eruption was already there. It consists of the unrest, and dissatisfaction of the people, primarily the ruined petty-bourgeois elements, their uncertainty and their sense of frustration which charge the social atmosphere like a leyden jar.

All of this has been accumulating during the crisis years. It presses for outlet and may readily find it in strange, irrational and violent ways. The lynching hysteria which has swept the country derives from the same source as the fanatical million-headed following of Father Coughlin, the demagogic priest. The real author is the social devastation wrought by the crisis.

The material out of which Fascist gangs, anti-Semitism, religious frenzies and morose lynching mobs all may be set in motion is at hand in the social tension which produced three lynchings within a week. The material for the rapid development of a revolutionary labor movement is there also in the bitter discontent of the workers but a leading force capable of organizing it is so far lacking. The disintegration of the Communist movement aids the one-sided expression of the general mass of social discontent in a Fascist direction.

The popular support received by Governor Rolph, in his stand as the champion of the mob, is a significant indication of the extent to which public opinion was stirred by the San Jose lynching, and even of the widespread vicious participation in it. Rolph, a demagogue of the first water, appears in this instance more as the reflector of petty-bourgeois mass prejudice and hysteria than as the authentic spokesman of the decisive sections of the ruling class. There is no foundation for the contention (Only Worker, Nov. 30.) that the mob violence was deliberately unleashed at command of the big capitalists and that Rolph speaks in their name. They will come to such a policy in time, of this there is no room for doubt, but it is no part of their design at the present moment. Just the contrary, as an examination of the facts will show.

The inflammatory utterances of Governor Rolph aroused a storm of controversy and revealed a division of opinion. This division, and its nature, must be perceived and understood, not ignored. The lynching governor was "showered with telegrams of approval". But, on the other hand, the capitalist press, led by the big New York dailies, and an imposing committee of "citizens", headed by ex-president Hoover, condemned him. The real present sentiment of the big capitalists was indubitably expressed by them. And for good reasons.

Unrestrained mob action is a dangerous fire to play with under the present conditions. The leading exploiters will not lightly instigate it. They do not feel the need of it yet. Mob hysteria might easily express itself in a different direction under the slightest incitement. As long as the rulers feel themselves secured by the legal processes of repression they will not deliberately encourage extra-legal mob actions. That is why the most authoritative representatives of capital frowned on Rolph's condemnation of them.

The psychological factors for a rapid transformation of the social conflict out of the realm of legality and parliamentarism into that of open mass violence, and for the lightning-like emergence of a revolutionary movement on the one side and a fascist movement on the other, have an exceptional strength in America; they are rooted in the tradition of the country as well as in the conditions of the present. The American people of all classes, by and large, have very little regard for "law and order" when it stands in the way of something they really want to do. (The almost universal disregard of the prohibitory law is an interesting illustration of this attitude on a wide scale.)

American labor history has been written in struggle violent and bloody. Many a strike took the form of armed conflict; few pass without violent clashes. On the other hand, the American capitalists never hesitated to go outside the bounds of their own legality when the exigencies of the class struggle required it. Frank Little was killed by lynchers. So also was Wesley Everest and many other labor militants. The radical workers were dragged into support of the war or bludgeoned into silence by unofficial lynching mobs which supplemented the legal compulsion of the state authority. A good half or more of the brutal violence against the workers in strikes is the work of unofficial thugs and gunmen. When the two main classes in this country get ready to settle accounts, and long before they come to the final account, the "legal" framework of the struggle will have been shattered to bits.

The reservoir of mass violence in America is a huge one, and the events of the past week have demonstrated how easily it can be tapped, and with what unbridled fury it can rage. The mob of humans turned into wild beasts who mutilated and killed the two helpless prisoners at San Jose, and that far bigger mob of vicious participants who applauded them from afar, have presented a spectacle of menacing implications to the labor movement.

The same mobs can be directed against the workers. They are the material out of which the murderous bands of Fascism can be organized when the big exploiters feel the need of them. The working class had every reason to take alarm at the spread of lynching and to raise a mighty protest against every official condemnation of it. But the bare appeal from mob violence to ordered legal processes—the smn and substance of liberal and socialist agitation—does not touch the heart of the issue. The problem is rooted in the social conditions of the class society just as the whole oppressive system of class justice is. The same class forces which administer the "law" need only to sense a danger to their rule in order to organize and bribe the dregs of society and hurl them against the workers with unrestrained violence. To rely solely on capitalist legal procedure in the struggle against lynching and other forms of illegal mass violence is to clear the way for the latter. Under different circumstances the force behind each is the same.

The movement of Fascism does not come into existence at the command of the capitalists. It arises out of the conditions created by capitalism at a certain stage of its disintegration as a social and economic system. Its troops, for the greater part, are the petty bourgeois elements, ruined and driven to frenzy by the crisis. The movement is aimed, at its inception, against big capital as well as against the labor movement. The former take over the movement and hurl it against the workers if the latter do not show sufficient strength to crush the movement of Fascism and gain the support of the petty-bourgeois masses for their revolutionary program.

These fundamental considerations should be kept in mind in connection with the various manifestations of incipient Fascism in America. The revolutionary labor movement and the movement of Fascism both grow out of the same social conditions. The devastating crisis of American capitalism has prepared the soil for both. What is most alarming in the present developments is the increasing number of signs that the restless and dissatisfied petty bourgeois elements are finding expression in various ways which, taken together, lead in the direction of a Fascist movement. The lynching orgy of the past week was undoubtedly such a sign—one of many. Of the revolutionary counter-movement among the masses there is hardly a trace.

For this one-sided development, which is fraught with so much danger to the working class, the conditions themselves are not to blame. All the objective requisites for the speedy development of a revolutionary movement in the working class have been maturing under the enormous pressure of the crisis. What is lacking to organize it and set it on its feet is a revolutionary Communist party. The disintegration brought into the movement by Stalinism has taken a fearful toll. Stalinism has destroyed the Communist Party. We must build a new one without delay. This is the imperative warning sounded again in the events of the past week.

L. A. Needle Trades Strike

(Continued from page 1)

adoption in order to "make it easier for our union members to do their work in the shops. Los Angeles has been so long unorganized we dressmakers must be content with whatever we can get." Which proposal the strike committee indignantly and unanimously voted against and demanded a strike immediately for the closed shop.

The season was almost over. Only a consistently militant strike would win. The leadership was forced to call a strike, and did so on October 12, after wasting three precious weeks, and laying plans in the meanwhile for the further carrying out of their class-collaboration policies.

Turn-Out of Strikers

From the first the turn-out of the workers was remarkable. Thousands of workers, unorganized, uneducated, 60% Mexican and 90% without understanding of unionism; nevertheless, responded to the strike call, with enthusiasm and militancy. The courage of the women strikers for they composed the bulk of the strikers, is a story that marks a turn in the history of labor unionism in Los Angeles. Scabs in other industries will do well to remember the experiences of the scabs in this strike.

In the midst of such militancy and after about two weeks of striking, an invitation to arbitrate was sent to the union and the bosses by the NKA officials.

At this first call, the bosses refused—but not so the leadership of the strikers. In such haste were they to collaborate, they called together a hitherto non-existent executive committee of the strike and with only one dissenting vote, that of the Left wing leader of the cloakmakers, I. Lutsky, voted for arbitration. Of all the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union leadership, Lutsky is the only one who has consistently fought for a

militant policy with militant action and because of which was forced by the leadership to stay out of the dressmakers' strike and take care solely of the cloakmakers.

Workers Against Arbitration

At the strike committee meeting that night, it was clearly seen that the sentiment of the members of the strike committee was overwhelmingly against arbitration. It was pointed out by them that the only question to be arbitrated was the question of union recognition, inasmuch as the bosses conceded our other demands, and union recognition was the one point which should not have been arbitrated. On the basis of our militant struggle, our successful turn-out and our financial resources, as yet, we were in a position to demand union recognition and the closed shop. Add to that also, public opinion and the admission of the NKA Board that they were powerless to act on the hundreds of coded violations we had sent in. We resented placing our fate in their hands.

In the face of these arguments by the strike committee, Feinberg was forced to expose his hand. First, he explained that the acceptance of arbitration would never come to arbitration because the bosses would never agree. He explained that this was only a tactic to win over public opinion and sympathy. But the strike committee was not so easily hood-winked. Feinberg had to admit that no matter what the decision of the strike-committee was, he had orders from New York to submit to arbitration and that is what was going to be done. He attempted to calm the workers somewhat by urging them to be content to take a little at a time instead of stubbornly insisting for all their demands.

The Reactionaries' "Maneuver"

The stupidity of the bosses, fortunately for the leadership, saved

them that night. In the midst of the uproar which greeted Feinberg's announcement, the morning papers were brought in with the declaration of the bosses refusing to arbitrate, and Feinberg, and Pesotta and Berg were able to crow, "I told you so, our maneuvers were correct!", forgetting that the workers still remembered that it was no mere maneuver but a direct order from New York which sent them to the arbitration board.

Taking full advantage of the situation, realizing it was a matter of hours before the bosses accepted the arbitration, the leadership called a mass meeting of the strikers for the next afternoon. Allowing no one on the floor, they triumphantly came to the membership to prove the correctness of their "maneuvers" and to ask for a vote of confidence. All but 10 of these present voted confidence in the leadership. The strike committee was powerless to act on the question of arbitration when finally the bosses accepted and a group of "fair-minded citizens" were chosen to settle the burning question of union recognition.

Arbitration Dampens Militancy

From the day the Arbitration Board met, can be marked the decline of the militancy and the lowering of the morale of the strikers. They were ordered by the leadership not to yell "Scab!" and to be "peaceful". When you see scabs walking into your shops, escorted by police and taking your jobs and you are instructed to peacefully and meekly allow them to do so, your spirit is broken and with it came a breaking down of the picket-line and the vigilance of the strikers.

When after a week of arbitration, the strikers were again ordered to be militant, few strikers responded to the call for no one felt like going to jail when the strike was already out of their hands. What few were militant were sent to jail and the strikers became cowed.

After two weeks of arbitration, the dress code was received and on the basis of the code, a "truce" between bosses, represented by the Manufacturers' Association, that participated on the Arbitration Board, and the Union was made. Approximately 60% of the strikers were affected. These 60% were to go back to the shops on the basis of the status quo existing 4 days before the strike and were to receive wages and conditions stipulated in the dress code. The rest of the independent shops continued on strike and the Arbitration Board was to continue meeting on the question of union recognition.

Disorganization of Union

When the workers came back, they were met with closed doors. The bosses pleading the slow return, refused to take the militant workers back into the shops. Workers were being discriminated against even more now than before the strike. They have lost time and wages and are rewarded with a disorganized union.

All during the strike the Industrial Union played their usual sectarian role. Instead of participating in the international as class conscious workers, they came in blustering of their membership in the Industrial Union, contributed little militancy on the picket line, and antagonized the workers by their dualism.

The class-collaboration policies of the leaders, the hypocrisy and opportunism of the Lovestones, the dualist sectarianism of the Stalinists makes the problem of crystallizing a Left wing in the union with the object the restoring of the morale of the members a difficult one. Yet the class conscious members of the union must courageously set their compass in that direction.

—F. W.

The Railroad Brotherhoods

Craft Divisions of R.R. Workers

As is quite generally known, the railroad workers are divided into 21 separate and independent organizations, in other words, one organization for each craft employed in the industry. The Engineers were first to organize at Detroit, Michigan in 1863, the Conductors followed suit in 1868, the Firemen came next in 1873, and the Brakemen launched their union in 1883. As the other seventeen crafts employed on the railroads matured for organization the fell in line one after the other until the railroad workers found themselves with one union on their hands for each craft in the industry.

New Methods of Transportation

This form of organization was naturally a progressive force as long as it was able to function in the interest of its members, when the railroad corporations were small and each one putting up an independent struggle for its own existence. But things have changed considerably since 1863, when the first railroad union was organized. Locomotives have increased in size regularly about every ten years. Trains have been lengthened in about the same manner. Repair and maintenance work have been improved and modernized by a constant installation of labor saving machinery. The small railroads have been merged into gigantic systems. Their ownership and direct ownership interlocked. Other modes of transportation, such as Motor and Air transport, came upon the scene, to say nothing about Pipe Lines and the Panama Canal.

However, amongst all this change and development in the field of

First of Series of Articles

The above is but a prelude to a series of short articles, which we hope to contribute to the Militant, between our working hours. In future articles on this topic we will try to point out the several progressive minority movements which are taking on organized form inside of the railroad unions and contribute what we can towards coordinating the efforts of these minorities in the right direction of a proper program.

In concluding this introductory article "On the Railroad Brotherhoods" we urge other railroad workers to contribute articles through the columns of the Militant on the problems of the railroad workers and their solution. Our own Journals and Labor are closed to the ideas of the progressive minority. To print and distribute your own ideas is forbidden by scabwags, Brother "Italks", we need a Minority Movement with a minority press in the Railroad Brotherhoods. Use the Militant to promote these ends.

—A. E.

Statement on Montreal Anti-Fascist Conference

To All Organizations Affiliated to the Anti-Fascist and Free Speech Conference in Montreal, To All Working Class Organizations.

Comrades: At the 3rd session of the Anti-Fascist and Free Speech Conference the delegates of the Left Opposition and Spartacus Youth Club were expelled. This was brought about by the Stalinists who are in control of the conference and who from its beginning made every effort to hush the voice of the Left Opposition delegates going even to the extent of trying to throw them out bodily before the first session opened. This is the conduct of people whose policies have been proclaimed bankrupt by living experience itself, who having no argu-

ments at their disposal, are compelled to resort to such miserable measures to suppress a criticism they cannot bear.

It was these same Stalinists who in Germany before Hitler came to power proclaimed that there was no distinction at all between a capitalist democratic regime and Fascism, that it was impossible to form a united front with the Social Democrats against Hitler, that the socialists were Fascists and he who questioned such wisdom was a Fascist himself. It was these same Stalinists whose senseless policies rendered Hitler the greatest service who served him as a lever without the aid of which it would have been impossible for him to raise himself to power.

At present the conference is reduced to a Stalinist family gathering thanks to their strangulating hold on it. The three sessions held up to now have shown a sharp and progressive decline in attendance. The theories spun by the Stalinists to the effect that one must become a Communist before being able to fight Fascism are a rebalancing of the Red United Front—that notorious united fronting with ourselves that led to the German catastrophe. If this is what the Stalinists want then they have succeeded. The conference is, at present, a hulk void of anything but Stalinist faithfulness.

However, there exists an urgent need for an anti-Fascist and free speech conference in Montreal. Although the Fascist attacks on workers organizations have subsided for

the time being, nevertheless, the Fascist threat remains. The internal consolidation of their ranks is taking place. Efforts are being made to organize a closely-knit party.

Against this many-sided attack upon the workers a genuine united front of the working class is needed with a program of united struggle for freedom of speech and organization and against Fascism, while guaranteeing the right of each organization to express its criticism in a constructive manner. We will fight for the formation of such a united front whether along the lines of reforming the present conference or if it should prove necessary by calling a second one.

The puny bureaucrats of Stalinism are far from all-powerful. Before an influx of working class bodies into the conference their strangulating grip should be definitely broken. We call upon the Verdun Workers' Association to take alarm at the abuse of the conference called by them, on the part of the Stalinists. We call upon workers organizations of every description to enter the conference and fight.

Against Fascism!
For Free Speech!
For a Genuine United Front!
For the Reinstatement of the Expelled Left Opposition Delegates
International Left Opposition (Montreal Branch)
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
OF MONTREAL

Notes of the Week

LYNCHING IS once again occupying the center of public attention. The mob murder of the Clarke kidnappers at San Jose and its public condemnation by California's Governor Rolph brought on its trail a wave of repercussions in mass sentiment. The spectacle of a "law and order" representative endorsing this highest expression of social lawlessness could not help bringing a new courage and new nerve to the dregs of American society engaged in the barbarian pastime. Aside from the repetition in St. Joseph, Missouri and the liberation of the Maryland mobsters, there were just as serious reactions of a more general, wide-spread character.

The Atlanta, Georgia correspondent of the New York Times has the following to report on the subject: "When Rolph's praise of lynching was printed, sentiments in line with the following utterances indicate the reaction of certain groups: 'California's my new address now,' 'Let's send all the niggers to California,' 'That California man oughter be President, etc.'"

The tragic heroes of most of the lynching bees in American history have been Negroes for the greater part. ("From 1880, when records of lynching began to be kept," says the N. Y. Herald-Tribune of last Sunday, "to 1932, 3,745 persons have been killed by mass violence....2,994 were Negroes"). The mob act has ever been a weapon of the white rulers of the South to strike terror into the doubly exploited masses of dark-skinned toilers. By his conduct of the "legal" trial of lynchwood Patterson, ruling class Judge Callahan assured all his fellow barbarians that it will not be necessary for them to "Send all the Niggers to California" to be lynched.

THE TRIAL of Patterson and the rest of the Scottsboro boys dramatized vividly and with striking clarity the social roots of the Lynch madness. The original framework, as is well-known, took place at a time when the black share-croppers of Alabama were stirring in revolt. The boss class and its liberal agencies are well aware of the social basis of the mob-murder phenomenon. The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching has made some interesting observations on the causes.

In its reports, the Commission investigates the circumstances that lead a crowd of people into the killer frenzy against the Negroes. Some half-brained professors, it seems, explained "it all" as a sort of mid-summer madness. Lynchings do, to be sure, occur more often in the Summer than in the other seasons, the commission explains, but

"Working and living out of doors in warm weather, mid-summer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in summer, and other factors greatly modify any all-weather explanation.... During the summer months, after cultivating is done and harvesting begins, there is little to occupy the time of Negro and white workers on Southern farms....Manhunts and lynchings—afford an avenue of emotional escape from a life so drab and unstimulated that any alternative is welcomed."

The honorable Commission has, willy-nilly, hit the nail on the head: "landlord-tenant relations"—that is what makes the Negro share-cropper the butt of the Lynch organizers. "A life so drab that any alternative is welcomed"—that is what makes the poor whites, de-classed proletarians, the instrument in the hands of the landlord Lynch organizers. Can the basis of this species of human rabies be abolished without abolishing the system of boss class dominance which nurtures it? Can the disgrace of Lynching be wiped out in this country without a working class movement to do away with a "life so drab that any alternative is welcomed"?

That is what every sincere fighter against Lynching must ask himself. The workers for their part must make the organized mass protest against Lynch-exponent Rolph and Lynch-lawyer Callahan a forefront task of their class battle.

—G. U. N.

TERZANI TRIAL POSTPONED WHEN 'GENERAL' SMITH FAILS TO APPEAR

Trial of Athos Terzani, accused of killing his anti-Fascist comrade, Anthony Fierro, was postponed until Dec. 11 when the prosecution declared it was unable to produce its chief witness, Commander Art J. Smith of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America. The court was told that a subpoena had been served on Smith in Baltimore but that he had refused to testify.

Dist. Atty. Charles S. Cadden asked Judge Thomas C. Radin for time in which to get Smith to appear "by whatever means possible". Opposing this motion, Arthur H. Hays, chief of defense counsel, declared there was every reason to believe that Smith would never come to testify against Terzani. He asked Cadden to agree to call for dismissal of the indictment if Smith is still missing when the case comes up again, but Cadden refused to do this.

Mass Fight Needed in Scottsboro Case

(Continued from page 1)

the way they have been kept alive thus far. That is the only way they can be snatched free from the blood lust of the bourgeois tiger. There is no other way.

That is where the defense made a major strategic mistake. The mass movement which has kept the boys alive for almost three years has been allowed to die down. Here and there they get up a demonstration, but the militancy and the numbers of the early days of the movement are gone.

Playing Down Class Issue

The policy of playing down the class nature of the case was carried out in the courtroom. There was no talk of the misery of the southern workers which drove the nine boys to roam the country on freight trains looking for work to supplement the pittance their mothers' drudgery eked out. No word was said of the frightful oppression of the negro masses. It was all a strictly legal question with the defense. At least that is how they fought it.

On the legal plane it is all in favor of the capitalists. It is their court, their law, their judge. WE are there on sufferance because of the hard fight we put up for two years on three continents to save these innocent boys from death or

life imprisonment. When we fail to bring that fight right into the courtroom we give the judge a chance to put on a show of a fair trial, we thereby say in effect that the capitalists are right, that justice is above the classes equal and impartial.

Change of Strategy Needed

Without losing any more time we have got to change this strategy. If the boys are to be saved the workers must be mobilized. How? There are four million organized in the A. F. of L. There are a million in the railroad brotherhoods, several thousands more in the T. U. U. L. I. W. W., independent unions, Socialist Party, Communist Party, etc. There are a number of defense organizations. We think that all of these organizations should be asked to come together in one united front movement to fight for the immediate, unconditional and safe release of the Scottsboro boys.

When the united front conferences are organized we will be there to participate in the work. And we are going to insist on one thing: the first duty of the movement is the mobilization of the workers in mass meetings, demonstrations, parades, in every form of protest that is known to the working class.

The banner of the working class

is stained with the blood of Sacco and Vanzetti, with the blood of hundreds and thousands of its sons and daughters, done to death under the wheels of the capitalist juggernaut. It is woven of the sufferings of thousands more, of Mooney and the historic though, so far, unsuccessful struggle to set him free.

If the working class will inscribe on its banner the immediate, unconditional and safe release of the Scottsboro boys, and organize to fight for their freedom they can be set free.

—T. STAMM.

S. W. P. Workers Get Long Term Sentences

(Continued from Page 1)

brought in together and had to witness their comrades' torture, even being compelled to beat each other. "By these methods, in most cases, the desired 'confessions' were achieved. There was no difference in the treatment of the accused, whether they were young or old, men or women....

"This inhuman treatment was increased in some cases....A 23-year-old toolsmith—Gerhard Schwelke—was arrested with others. After an unsuccessful attempt to escape he was beaten up until he broke down, streaming with blood. Then he was thrown into the cellar of the bar-



Finished with Stalinism!

Another Leader of German C.P. Revolts

Editor's Note: After the open letter of comrade Maria Reese, we are in a position now to make public another document, no less important than the Reese letter. We offer to our readers the letter sent to Platinitsky the organizational secretary of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International. From the first he has held important, responsible posts in the Comintern and gained thereby, a thorough knowledge of the workings of the apparatus of the C. P. G. and the Comintern.

Comrade Friedberg's break with the Stalinist apparatus is another heavy blow against Stalinism. We are sure that his letter will be received with the greatest attention by all party members and particularly among those who participated in the first years of the formation of the Communist International.

Up to August last, the C. P. of the Saar was for the return to Germany. The "leader" of the C. P. declared publicly: "Even if we will have to face the gallows in Hitler Germany, we want to return to the Fatherland." For this patriotism, he received the praise of Hermann Roehling over the radio from Frankfurt-am-Main. Let's not be deceived by him. In August Die Rundschau (official Stalinist organ—Ed.) of Basle made public the new position: "A Red Saar in a Soviet Germany." This slogan is just as

The False Policy in the Saar

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(Continued on Page 4)

New Year Eve Masquerade Ball for the Militant

This New Year's Eve the Militant is giving its first masquerade Ball at Germania Hall, 158 Third Avenue (16th Street). It promises to be the gayest affair we have ever arranged. Comrades, singly and in groups, are already planning their costumes drawing inspiration from such historic events as the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, etc.

The spirit of bolshevik competition will be present for prizes are to be given for the best costumes—also for the worst. Take your choice but at all events—compete! A program of revolutionary dances specially arranged will be given by talented comrades and sympathizers. There will also be a fine singer of folk songs. Refreshments of all kinds will be served at low cost.

A special jazz band has been hired.

The admission is only 50 cents. Get your tickets in advance.

Comrades: Make no other appointments for New Year's Eve—celebrate with us the beginning of a big year for the MILITANT and the Communist League of America.

—PRESS COMMITTEE.

N.Y. Hotel Strikers Organize

Food Workers Union Strengthens Ranks

New York.—The strike of the Montclair Hotel workers conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, which we reported in last week's Militant still continues and picketing is very effective. The National City Bank which owns the Montclair is very stubborn in settling the strike with the Union. It employs numerous things who attempt to terrorize the strikers and also to keep the scabs on the job. In spite of this terrorism, the strikers were strengthened last Friday with an additional sixty-five workers from the dining-room and kitchen department.

They use every means to provoke and intimidate the strikers and their leaders. They arrested Organizer Cudis under the false charge of being the leader of a gang beating scabs. These charges, however, were dropped by the very worker who made them because he understood in the meantime that he was unconsciously becoming the tool of the bosses. Upon realizing this he also joined the ranks of the strikers. For the first time in the last 17 years a hotel in New York was forced to close its kitchen and dining-room departments. The bosses are forced to keep the scabs out and night because if they go out from the hotel they immediately fraternize with the strikers and become part of them.

This strike has already succeeded in bringing home to the workers as well as to Hotel Men's Association (but the Union, a branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, is out in the field to secure decent working conditions for the hotel and restaurant workers. Already, many hotels like the Park Central, that up to now have refused to pay any wages at all to their waiters, are calling meetings of their waiters to discuss the question of wages. Many other hotels have increased the wages simply because they realize that the Union is organizing their workers.

Under the leadership of the Food Workers Union, which has brought with it the exclusion of the best revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union as in the Comintern. He repeatedly declared that the expulsion of Trotsky and his friends was one of the greatest crimes of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary strength of Max Hoelz was shackled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. His passionate will to struggle could not bear the tedious bureaucracy. He was kept in inactivity for many years through the chicanery of the bureaucracy. They refused to give him any productive work in order to paralyze his revolutionary energy.

He was a fighter for the emancipation of the proletariat whose militancy will be a pattern for us.

UNSER WORT.

Why I Did It

James McGovern, M. P. for the Independent Labor Party from Scotland has the following explanation to make of his sensational action at the opening of Parliament where he shouted defiance at the King. We quote from the British New Leader for November 24th, 1933:

"Knowing that the present session of Parliament would be opened by the reading of the proposed Government by the King, I thought I would like to hear these proposals at first hand, realizing that the new Insurance Bill would mean to the unemployed of this country."

"I arrived at the Bar of the House of Lords and gazed at the vulgar display of wealth—wonderful and expensive gowns, jewels and tiaras, worth hundreds of thousands of pounds, military and naval representatives of our own and foreign nations. Everywhere I looked I saw wealth, comfort and, self-satisfaction. I thought of the poor, wretched people outside who are to be the victims of future legislation and who, by their energy and sacrifice, provided all this wealth."

"And I could not remain silent. I looked upon the scene and, knowing that their favorite sport was chasing and killing foxes, I saw the workers being hounded down into the gutter, the grave, the asylum, and the workhouse by the legislation of this class. I remembered those who produced the wealth existing in rags, bootless, hungry, and sitting before empty grates or being evicted from their homes."

"Maxton and Buchanan (Independent Labor Party M. P.—Ed.) had for a number of years refused to attend the opening of Parliament because of their disgust with this show. As I saw the performance indignation overcame me when I recalled the human suffering outside, the Means Test, Unemployment cuts, and the destruction of the social services. Something within me rebelled and I lashed out at the enemies of the people."

"Did I do wrong? Is there any worker who believes that I did not voice the feeling of every decent human being? I feel that I spoke for the working class whom I represent."

St. Paul Packing Strike

Adventurist Methods Cause Bad Defeat

St. Paul.—The workers in the packing industry throughout the U. S. have for some time been dissatisfied with their conditions. The failure of the NRA to raise wages created a situation favorable for organizational work. (The press reports that local NRA officials attribute the "unrest" among the packing-house workers to the failure of the minimum wages schedules to affect any but a small number of employees.)

Strikes have been called in various plants in different parts of the country. In Austin, Minnesota at the plant of the Geo. Hormel Co. a strike took place. The workers, who were organized into Independent union which embraced the entire working population of the city, seized the factory and ejected the company officials. With the aid of the local farmers they held out for several days. State and Company officials then prevailed upon the men to return to work pending arbitration. Recognition of the union was granted. One of the main reasons why the bosses were able to accomplish this so easily was the absence of conscious Left wing militants in the union.

But here in South St. Paul the strike under the leadership of the self-styled "Revolutionary Vanguard," the T. U. U. L., yielded far more disastrous results!

Armour's Swift's and Cudahy's are the three large packing companies in South St. Paul. They employ approximately 3500 workers who have long been corralled into company unions. As a result of the terrific speed-up and part-time employment under the Roosevelt "spread the work" plan their wages were reduced to a starvation level. Despite the dissatisfaction of the workers here the A. F. of L., which has a negligible section of the men organized into the Amalgamated Meat-cutters and Butchers Workers Union, conducted no activity whatsoever.

Stalinist Strike Strategy

In the Armour plant the T. U. U. L. succeeded in organizing a small group of men into the Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union. At Swift & Co., a smaller group was formed. The rest of the workers in these two huge plants knew little or nothing of these activities. Instead of a campaign in the three big plants to organize a union capable of conducting a struggle, and, when such a union was formed, to strike the three plants and simultaneously, the union decided to call a strike at the Armour plant immediately!

On November 15th a committee from the Stalinist union approached the Armour officials and presented the following demands: A 10 cents per hour increase; a 32 hour week.

(Continued on page 4)

On the Death of Max Hoelz

On September 15th, Max Hoelz met with an accident in a boating trip on the Oka River (Soviet Union) and drowned. And with that the life of a fighter was extinguished, a militant who will continue to live on in the hearts of the revolutionary proletariat as the courageous one revolutionist who fought with determination and strength against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

The lessons of the revolutionary struggles of 1920 and 1921, which were led by Max Hoelz, have not yet been eradicated from the consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat. If there was only one member of the C. C. of the C. P. U. S. imbued with the spirit of Max Hoelz the disgraceful, capitulatory defeat of the C. P. G. could not have been possible. The functionaries who are whispering among themselves that Max Hoelz was not a Marxist, that his deeds and those of his group had little in common with the fundamentals of the class struggle are well answered by the fact that he was not that kind of a "Marxist" who hides his cowardice behind Marxism.

An Enemy of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

The news of the death of Max Hoelz shocked all the friends of the militant. It is not true, as the social democratic and Communist papers write, that his political career came to an end with his release from prison in 1918. Max Hoelz wanted to struggle on. He was an enemy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The German C. C. covered with guilt for Hitler's victory—he hated and despised it with a violent passion.

During the prison years and the years of his stay in the Soviet Union Max Hoelz, through intensive study acquired a comprehensive

Marxist education. These were to be a strong weapon for him in the coming struggles of the German proletariat. Max Hoelz's mind was set on returning to Germany to engage in new struggles. As late as last February, after Hitler had become Chancellor, Max Hoelz addressed a request to the Comintern to permit him to return to Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy did not allow him to do so. In order to prevent him from leaving, he was forced to become a Soviet citizen.

Stood for a New Party

Max Hoelz shared the views of his friends Wolf and Wollenberg on the collapse of the German C. P. and the Comintern. And also, as early as March he proclaimed the necessity for the creation of a new party of struggle. At the beginning of March there were many discussions in his hotel room on the situation created in Germany and in the Comintern by Hitler's victory. Max Hoelz repeatedly expressed himself in this connection that the defeat of the German C. P. and the Comintern was caused in the first place, by the false policy of the Comintern in recent years and particularly by Stalin's false policy in the Soviet Union, which has brought with it the exclusion of the best revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union as in the Comintern. He repeatedly declared that the expulsion of Trotsky and his friends was one of the greatest crimes of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary strength of Max Hoelz was shackled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. His passionate will to struggle could not

THE LEAGUE FORGES AHEAD

We are now launching another program of expansion. Its main feature is expressed in our decision to assemble the forces for the creation of a new revolutionary party and, in preparation for this, to bring the League much more definitely into mass activity in the class struggle.

This declaration can signalize the beginning of a great upswing of American Communism. It can become the means of new inspiration in place of old disappointments which resulted from the bankruptcy of the official Communist movement alongside the manifest corrupting influence of social reformism. But it can also remain an empty gesture which will bring devastating consequences. The results to be attained depend entirely upon us and upon our supporters. Our proclaimed intentions can be proved only by deeds.

It is from this standpoint that we present our expansion program of today. It is a practical program setting up comparatively modest tasks which can and must be carried out. This Action Program we summarize herewith in brief form:

1. The transformation of The Militant into a popular agitation paper to be sold at a cheaper price

2. The establishment of a theoretical organ—The New Internationalist—to which the heavier and longer articles will be transferred.

3. The acceptance of members into the League on a broader basis than heretofore.

4. The systematic establishment of united front relations and joint class struggle activities with other workers organizations, in particular with those groups with which we have some points in agreement.

5. The formation wherever possible of peripheral organizations (workers' clubs, etc.) on a broad basis.

6. The systematic registration of the League membership for enrollment in mass organizations of various kinds, above all the trade unions which have a mass character.

7. The strengthening of the central apparatus of the League by provision for the full-time employment of qualified comrades and the maintenance of at least one field organizer.

8. A series of tours of N. C. members.

9. The collection of a special fund to finance the Action Program and the execution of each project in order as rapidly as the means are provided.

and appealing directly to the mass of the American workers.

2. The establishment of a theoretical organ—The New Internationalist—to which the heavier and longer articles will be transferred.

3. The acceptance of members into the League on a broader basis than heretofore.

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The Railroad Brotherhoods The Rise and Fall of the Craft Unions

In our first article we touched briefly upon the origin of the railroad unions and their failure to adjust their structure and program in conformity with industrial developments on the railroads. In this article we will say something on the rise and fall of the Craft Union.

It is quite natural that when we first conceive of anything we do so on its narrowest base, and our understanding and outlook on any question broadens with experience. In harmony with this law of development it was, therefore, quite natural that the locomotive engineer who first conceived of organizing in 1863, should do so on a very narrow base or on the basis of his own craft alone. It did not occur to him to take the fireman, whom he often hired and fired, in with him. The conductor felt the same about his brakemen.

Often the fireman had to reward the engineer, the brakeman and the conductor for the privilege of working with them. The problems which confronted these early pioneers in organization work were small and simple when compared with the workers' problems of today. The railroads, as well as industry in general, were in a state of growth and expansion and needed more and more workers, and the organized craft was usually able to bargain with the small companies.

We think it can be truthfully said that the craft union functioned fairly well in the interest of its members until about the beginning of the present century, when the gradually growing problems of the railroad workers ushered in the idea of Craft Federation. The so-called "Big Four" would join hands in concerted wage movements, the Federated Shop Crafts would do likewise. The Eight Hour Day victory in 1916 was about the last successful stand of the craft union

and its federation policy and this victory was aided very materially by the artificial war prosperity which was in full swing by 1916. In other words, during the era of industrial expansion when the railroads had a complete monopoly of transportation, the craft union was able to wheedle occasional concessions from the employers and even conduct successful strikes. But since the stand for the eight hour day in 1916, and more especially since the end of the World War, the craft unions have suffered one defeat after another, and the policy of its leadership has been one of continuous surrender and retreat. And despite the fact that each unit of traffic handler by each unit of manpower has constantly increased since 1920. The railroad workers have taken three smashing wage cuts and two of them were taken without the slightest resistance on the part of their leadership. The day of reaction and decay has definitely set in on the Railroad Brotherhoods. The only ones who benefit by the continued maintenance of the craft unions on the railroads are the swarms of high salaried officials who infest the entire craft system of organization.

In the next and future articles we will take up more in detail some of the symptoms of decay and discuss in the railroad brotherhoods and how to meet and overcome these conditions.

Until we can build a progressive Minority Movement and Press inside of the Railroad Unions, we urge the progressive railroad worker to use the columns of the Militant to express his ideas on the many needed changes in the Brotherhoods, whose reactionary and overpaid leadership cannot afford to grant us free expression in our own brotherhood press.

—A. E.

International Notes

GERMANY.

The Socialist Workers Party (S. A. P.) and the International Communist (Left Opposition) are continuing their close collaboration in the creation of the German section of the new International. They have just issued a joint draft of directives for the trade union work of the new Communist party in Germany. Extracts of this document, which is of exceptional interest, will be published in future issues.

YOUTH.

At the Amsterdam conference for a new Youth International, which is to meet early next January, there will be represented the Swedish Communist Youth Federation (formerly allied with the Brandierites) having within its ranks 8,000 members, the Youth Federation of the Norwegian Labor Party (18,000 members) and the Mot Dag group (the Norway group formerly affiliated with the Brandier tendency. The Marx-Lenin Group of Denmark is also expected to send a representative. The above groups are, of course, only recent recruits. French, German, etc. Youth were reported as represented in previous issues of the Militant.

SCANDINAVIA.

On the question of the new party the following have been expelled or have resigned from the Brandier International (I. V. K. O. International Federation of Communist Oppositionists): Communist Party of Sweden, the Mot Dag group in Norway, the Swiss section of the I. V. K. O. It is likewise at odds with the Brandierites, though no expulsions have as yet taken place. Comrade Bringolf, the Swiss representative on the International Committee of the I. V. K. O., expressed the following opinion at a recent meeting of that committee: the C. I. has been relegated to the position of being an instrument for Russian foreign policy; the C. I. has become a "hopeless case" for the West European proletarian.

The I. V. K. O. section in Alsace-Lorraine, one of its greatest sections, is having similar trouble with the center. In Czechoslovakia the Brandierites have almost disappeared from the scene. Only the Lovestones Group in America (after the split with Gitlow and the present differences with the Zam minority) and the Brandier Group in Germany remain firm with the I. V. K. O.

* A report from Ash, the Brandierite "stronghold" in Czechoslovakia says: "Only some 10 people still attend their 'mass meetings' in this industrial center, as far in stance on November 1."

PHILADELPHIA BANQUET

To Celebrate our Fifth Anniversary Benefit The "MILITANT" On Sun. Dec. 24th 8 P. M. at Our Local Headquarters 524 W. Thompson Street Admit One Subscription 25c Auspices: Communist League (Opposition) Philadelphia.

BROOKLYN SPARTACUS SOCIAL

As a celebration of the second anniversary of Young Spartacus, the Brooklyn Spartacus Youth Club will hold a dance and social on Saturday, Dec. 16th at the Militant Hall, 154 Watkins Street.

A Statement to the Communist Party

To the D. E. C. of the C. P.

To the D. E. C. of the Y. C. L.

COMRADES:

For some time now, the undersigned comrades, members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, have been considering with growing alarm the development of the position of our movement in connection with recent events in this country and in Europe. We have in mind especially what happened in Germany before and after the seizure of power by Hitler, and the significance of the agreement signed at Washington between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States. You are undoubtedly aware that a great deal of confusion and uncertainty, doubts and dissatisfaction exists in the ranks of our Party and League on these questions. The aim of this letter is to arrive as speedily as possible at a clarification.

The German events were a distinct shock to us—this we cannot conceal. We were persuaded by the policy and the propaganda of the Communist International and our party here, that our brother party in Germany was making steady progress in driving back the Fascist gangs and winning over increasing sections of the social democracy. But the outcome of the historic struggle in Germany proved to be exactly contrary to all the forecasts that were made by our leadership. It has now become clear to us that what happened in Germany requires demands—on our part a thorough examination into the situation and the policy that was followed by us, and a drastic revision of our present course. Instead of a successful advance of our party in Germany, it has been defeated, and now lies crushed by the Brown-shirted monsters. Instead of the victory of the Red Front, we had the victory of the Swastika.

On top of all this, we were astonished to see that our party, with its hundreds of thousands of members, and millions of supporters in the elections, failed to strike a single blow at the Fascists in order to prevent them from coming to power. Our party proved, to our great regret, to be incapable of mobilizing any substantial section of the working class for the purpose of organizing their resistance to the advance of Hitlerism. To us this was evidence of a serious, fundamental weakness in our party and its policy, both of which are tested precisely in such moments as the crucial hour in Germany.

It is not that we are discouraged by a defeat, for we know that the proletarian movement will rise again regardless of temporary setbacks. Far from it. We remain today just as confident of our final victory on a world scale as we have always been. But the way to overcome a defeat is to analyze its causes and take the necessary steps to eliminate them or correct them. Far from doing this, our party and movement have been content to remain in a state of self-satisfaction. No attempt has been made to examine into the policy of the past to find out what was wrong. No attempt has been made to correct what we see now quite plainly to have been our radically false policy on "Social Fascism", or the "United Front Only from Below", or our incorrect analysis of Fascism itself. Everything that was done in the past, and the leadership which did it, has been approved without reservations. Consequently, instead of laying the basis for overcoming the defeat and rising again to victory, the basis still remains for the addition of new setbacks for our movement not only in Germany but throughout the rest of the world.

Short Dispatches from Fascist Germany

The Panther Affair. The affair of the British journalist, Panther, accused of espionage (as is well known he had communicated to the British press about a Nazi demonstration in Kelheim reporting military details) and incarcerated in Munich for ten days ended ignominiously for Germany after he was ordered deported. It is not so well known that he got the details regarding the armed strength of the S. A., etc., from a journalist employed by Hugenberg's TELEVISION, a certain Ackermann. The latter has likewise been arrested. Possibly the Hugenberg circles intended to spoil the good relations between England and the Third Reich.

In a telegram immediately after Germany's departure from the League of Nations and disarmament conference, the German munition and heavy industry magnates hastened to express their deepest thanks for the legalization of German rearmament. Krupp von Bohlen assured the Chancellor in a telegram that German industry, without any reservation, will support the nation on "its road of peace and honor" which the Chancellor has shown the German people. Krupp

has every reason to send telegram of gratitude to Hitler. Comparison with last year: Comparing the prices of August 1933 with August 1932 we find an increase in sugar of 2.7 percent, vegetable 5 percent, beef products 4.3 percent, butter 6.5 percent, eggs 14 percent, oleomargarine 34.3 percent. In short the effects of "socialism" (aid to the eastern farm barons) are quite apparent.

Unemployment: The number of unemployed on October 1st amounted to 3,850,000, 150,000 less than the previous month. (As is well known at the end of January the figures stood at 6,014,000). The following facts however complete the picture:

1. The income from wage taxation remains below the level of last year according to the latest statistics of the Ministry of Finance wage taxation brought an income of:

In August 1932, with 52,224,000 unemployed, 60.9 million Marks. In August 1933, with 4,124,000 unemployed, 59.6 million Marks. The figures of those at work compare with those of the unemployed, according to state sick insurance, as follows:

August 1932: 5,224,000 unemployed, 12,284,000 employed. August 1933: 4,124,000 unemployed, 13,716,000 employed. Resulting in: 1,100,000 unemployed, 882,000 employed.

MINNEAPOLIS NEW YEAR'S EVE AFFAIR Bridge—Dancing—Entertainment—Refreshments—Sunday, December 31, 1933, 9 P. M. at 3001 Elliott Avenue Auspices: Minneapolis branch C. L. of A. (Opp.) Everybody Welcome....Adm. Free

CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM 2557 W. North Avenue Every Sunday 3 P. M. Dec. 24—Religion and Social Progress. GEORGE KATSIOLIS Communist orator of note. Dec. 31—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises. (An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internationalists.)

JOSEPH GIGANTI of Chicago Left Opposition **BROOKLYN OPEN FORUM** GEORGE CLARKE on THE MEANING OF THE RECENT LYNCHINGS Friday, December 15, 1933, 8 P. M. MILITANT HALL 154 Watkins St. (cor. Belmont St.) ADMISSION 10 CENTS

CHRISTMAS EVE AFFAIR On Christmas Eve, December 24th, the Brooklyn branch will hold a social affair at its headquarters, 154 Watkins St.

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Vol. XVI, No. 65 (Whole No. 202) SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1933 Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

Montreal Stalinists Answer Marxist Ideas with Hooliganism

Montreal.—The last few weeks in Montreal have been rich in striking demonstrations of the lengths to which the Stalinists are driven in frantic effort to suppress the ideas of the Left Opposition. The organized rowdy attempt to disrupt our meeting a few weeks ago, the removing of posters advertising our meetings, the picket-lines before our doors, the ejection of our delegates from the Anti-Fascist Conference now shriveled to the dimensions of a Stalinist caucus—all these things points unmistakably to a hooliganism become rampant at the promptings of fear.

The workers provoked to thought as a result of these scandalous methods will realize that the question of working-class democracy cannot be relegated to the sphere of mere etiquette. Political bankruptcy breeds inevitably the methods of hooliganism. Gangsterism has long been the weapon of the reformist fakers, the trade union bureaucrats, against the Left wing. The Stalinists, unable to withstand a Marxist criticism, are introducing the same bag of tricks into the Left wing. Comrades alarmed by this foul stench revolting their nostrils will ponder and search until they unearth the cesspool of political cowardice from which it emerges.

A Stalinist Lecture on Germany

On December 3, S. Sarkin, a local mandarin of the general line lectured at the Jewish Cultural Centre on the tactics of the C. P. in Germany. With the contents of the lecture itself we will not concern ourselves here—a loud-mouthed rushing of the latest wisdom of Platinitsky, shrill with contradictions, based on the stupendous check of the speaker and on his speculation on the ignorance of the audience. A sample or two will suffice—"The tactic of the United Front was abandoned after 1922 (the year of the Fourth Congress!) because the Social Democracy became openly counter-revolutionary" (!!). "The defeat of 1933 was to be traced to the error made in 1920, immediately corrected and never again repeated, in withdrawing from the reformist trade unions." "The 15 years of systematic work within the trade unions climaxed with growth of the R. G. O. (1) to a strength (?) of 310,000 in 1933."

"The presence of three 'Trotskyites' at the lecture was enough to impart to it an atmosphere of tension which was worked up by the speaker to nothing short of a lynch-mood. The evening was prefaced by remarks from Sarkin promising a 'lively evening', 'acknowledging the presence of 'guests' (this at the 'non-factional' Cultural Centre), and the exhortation to the faithful to have 'their blood boil'. Never was there a more despicable example of ignorance

and hooliganism. The evening was prefaced by remarks from Sarkin promising a 'lively evening', 'acknowledging the presence of 'guests' (this at the 'non-factional' Cultural Centre), and the exhortation to the faithful to have 'their blood boil'. Never was there a more despicable example of ignorance

A. F. of L. and Mirror Workers

New York.—The Novelty Mirror Workers Union has again been defeated in its aims to constitute itself as a genuine trade union for the safeguarding of the economic interests of all the workers in the trade. This time the aims of the workers were defeated by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, whose desire for fat per capita fees and whose genuine fear of any sign of militancy from the workers, cannot be questioned.

It will be remembered that the union, shortly after its formation, fell under the blundering leadership of the T. U. U. L. After an unfortunate strike—unfortunate in the sense that it was led by the Stalinists—that dissipated the energies of the workers, and almost robbed them of all confidence in trade unionism, it became comparatively easy to convince a majority of the workers that the loss of the strike was not due to a couple of "skunks" but chiefly due to the syndicalist, ultra-Left policies of the Nessin leadership which laid obstacles in the path of the strike and made a number of workers lose hope too soon, causing them to go back to work before the strike was ended.

Apply for A. F. of L. Charter Consequently, at a membership meeting—of 50 workers (out of an original 300)—sometime later called together, for the purpose of discussing the question of affiliation, a majority of workers voted to apply for a charter from the A. F. of L. The remainder still poisoned by Stalinist influence, walked out of the hall, completely disrupting the meeting, and causing a serious split. Immediately, a committee was elected—of which a member of the

A Trade Union or a Sect? The Stalinists succeeded in nullifying the former decision and pushed through a vote on a much smaller scale—to abandon negotiations with the A. F. of L. and affiliate with the T. U. U. L. It is worth mentioning that despite their activity, the vote was so slim that they had to resort to the method of denying a vote to the chairman—the chairman being a Left Opposition worker.

The workers of the Mirror novelty trade must be made to realize that to continue with their present intentions means the end of their union. Affiliation to the paper trade union center of the T. U. U. L. can help in no way to build a genuine trade union able to extend its influence throughout the trade and become a real weapon to better the conditions of the workers. What is needed is a union, not a propaganda-resolutions-writing club for the Stalin bureaucrats.

—MIRROR WORKER.

'Historical Analogies'

(Trotsky and Dan—Workers Age—December 1, 1933.)

The bureau of historical falsification under the leadership of Lovestone (Gm. 5-8903) has manufactured another "striking document". But we suspect that this time the job has been entrusted to an amateur.

That this is amateur's handiwork is evidenced first by the fact that only three pages (and consecutive pages at that) have been put through the Lovestone hopper for synthetic quotations (patent applied for by Stalin) in order to produce a quotation to match the "fundamental similarity" with two sentences written by Dan. An expert Lovestone "quoter" usually concocts a quotation out of a volume of at least 30 pages. In the second place, of the sentences which had been torn out of context and indirectly manipulated—only one has been directly distorted. Trotsky is quoted as follows: "The ruling apparatus enjoys a great relative independence." Here is what Trotsky really wrote, "Without having that absolute independence, the illusion of which lives in the skulls of many bureaucrats, the ruling apparatus nevertheless enjoys a great relative independence." (Only one direct distortion—that is almost a record.) But while amateurish in execution, this performance attains the lowest levels hitherto achieved by the past masters of slander and distortion.

What comrade Trotsky says in reference to the present plebeian regime in the Soviet Union is juxtaposed with Dan's statement in reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky's analysis of the political character of the Stalinist bureaucracy is passed off as the analysis of the class character of the state in the Soviet Union.

But perhaps we imply too much by inferring that the Lovestones themselves know the differences between the bureaucratic apparatus that has usurped the authority of the October Revolution and the worker's state itself. Is it after all, excluded that the Lovestones identify Stalinism with the dictatorship of the proletariat just as Dan identifies the dictatorship—'with its wide flung apparatus'?

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

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Discussion Article

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

(The writer of this article was for over 10 years a member of the Proletarian Party of America, serving for several years on its National Executive Committee, and for a year and a half, as its National Secretary. He has recently resigned from the Party as a result of the decisions of the convention held in September.)

This article is written with the intention to not only throw light on the recent controversy in the Proletarian Party but also to explain the part played by the organization in the American labor movement and to, as nearly as possible, appraise the Party's usefulness to the workers of the U. S.)

Immediately after the entry of the U. S. into the World War a tremendous amount of controversy naturally arose in the American labor movement as to the attitude toward the war. This controversy was most apparent in the Socialist Party, whose leaders, like the leaders of the European parties of the Second International, had betrayed the organization to the capitalist class. Opposition to the leadership became very strong and resulted in wholesale expulsion of the opposition groups by the militant machine. The expelled groups formed themselves into a Communist Party, a Communist Labor Party, a Proletarian Party, etc.

History of the Party

It can be safely said that the Proletarian Party group (known also as the Proletarian Party and later as the Proletarian Party) had the soundest position in regard to the two Russian revolutions of 1917, in the attitude toward the Imperialist War, and in Marxian theory in general. They were at that time good students of Marxism. Many of the numerous blunders of the other Left wing groups could have been avoided had they accepted the ideas put forth by the Proletarian Party group. But the objective conditions of that time were not conducive to careful study on the part of the majority of the Left wing members. The Bolshevik Revolution had just established the rule of the workers over one-sixth of the earth's surface. This great event had kindled tremendous enthusiasm and a keen desire for action in the breasts of the American workers but there was no corresponding desire for careful and painstaking study of the event. Most of the Left wing leaders declared that the time for study was past and the time for action had come.

As time passed the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party became the Workers' Party while the Proletarian Party became the Proletarian Party. Later on the Workers' Party received the recognition of the Communist International and thus became the Communist Party of America. But the recognition of the C. P. A. did very little to correct the errors of the C. P. of A. It remained terribly "left sick." Its programs were grossly reformist and opportunist in character; (the LaFollette incident of 1924 is an example). But the Proletarian Party developed in the opposite direction and opposed to the antics of the C. P. of A. a program of "Education, Education and more Education." In its intense desire for correct Marxian understanding the P. P. learned over too far and became almost exclusively an educational organization. Both parties occupied extreme positions. The great need was an organization that would combine in Marxian proportions both education and action. But such an organization did not appear.

Proletarian Party and C. P.

It is difficult to estimate the part played by each of the two parties named. In driving the other to the opposite pole. Doubtless they exercised some influence on each other. But the objective factors were much more favorable to the growth of the Proletarian Party organization than the C. P. of A. The great working class sentiment in favor of the Russian Revolution was taken advantage of to the full by the C. P. of A. and resulted in a good deal of popular activity such as strikes, demonstrations, demands for Soviet recognition, etc.

In the Proletarian Party a firm and determined stand was taken against any sort of immediate or partial demands. Anything that showed signs of rallying any considerable number of workers to its support was frowned upon as opportunism or left sickness. It was a question only of education, first, and all the time, according to the leaders. The Party's programs were cold, dogmatic affairs and the tactics followed were stiff and inflexible. Party leaders prided themselves on this stiffness and explained their "temporary isolation from the masses" as a sure sign of the correctness of their position. "The masses are not yet ready to accept such an advanced position. It will take time to win a considerable number to this view." The Bolshevik Party was very small up to the eve of the revolution and Lenin

himself said the revolutionary party might be small but good. Such were the arguments used by the leaders. They did not know, or they forgot, that at the time Lenin wrote this, the Bolshevik party had several thousand members in Petrograd alone and that the Bolshevik Party was relatively small but not insignificant so. At no time in its history did the Proletarian Party reach a membership of 500.

Organizational Weaknesses

But in addition to the programmatic and tactical weaknesses there were weaknesses of a structural and organizational nature that prevented the Party from becoming a true Communist party. These last were inherited from the Socialist Party. The Proletarian Party constitution is a typical Socialist Party document, the terminology being in many places vague and indefinite and leaving room for quite different interpretations. In some places there is a definite duplication of authority provided, and this too in the highest bodies of the Party.

This condition might have been remedied years ago when the principles of Bolshevik organization and democratic centralism, as outlined by Lenin, were still unknown to us here in America. But after that time there was no excuse for a party calling itself revolutionary holding to such a constitution. The recent controversy in the Party was based almost entirely on an attempt to have the constitution changed so as to conform to the principles of democratic centralism.

This attempt was not the result so much of deep thought as of changing conditions, particularly with regard to finances. From the time the National Office of the Party was moved from Detroit to Chicago in 1922, and John Keracher was made National Secretary, it was almost entirely a one man organization with Keracher as the one man. There were very few able men in the Party which explains the outstanding position of Keracher. A good deal of the work of the Party that should have fallen on the shoulders of the National Executive Committee was neglected by that body either on account of business or inability. This work was taken care of by Keracher, at least, after a fashion.

A One-Man Party

There was little attempt in those days to restrict Keracher or to criticize his methods of carrying on the work because such criticism would have required a willingness and ability on the part of the critics to undertake more work himself,

as Keracher was always, obviously overworked with work. This willingness and ability did not exist anywhere in the N. E. C. except in a very limited degree. Naturally the Party became a direct reflection of Keracher; a reflection of his weak points as well as of his strong points.

Previous to his revolutionary career Keracher was a small storekeeper in Detroit. He carried into the Party work the same narrow, petty, inefficient methods that he had employed in his own business. His book-keeping and office procedure were something atrocious and as an executive he is on a level with the average small storekeeper. To place a man of this type in the position of chief executive, with almost complete control, was to condemn the organization to sure death.

Not only was Keracher incapable of any important constructive work himself but on those rare occasions when others of some ability tried to cooperate with him he proved quite incapable of working with them harmoniously. He would always oppose them and work for their downfall in the Party. He met honest criticism with trickery and deceit and also with attack on the motives of the critic, all with the object of removing the critic from his position in the Party and, if necessary, from the Party itself. This sort of thing has happened on more than one occasion.

The Peterson-Dixon Group

In 1931 an attempt was made by the Peterson-Dixon group, as members of the Executive Council, to instruct Keracher, as National Secretary, on matters pertaining to the expenditure of press funds. Keracher had no great difficulty in getting this group expelled from the Party chiefly because the group was poorly organized and because Keracher's personal character instead of sticking to the revolutionary principles of the Party, involved the controversy. But in the summer of 1932 another controversy arose in the Party, and as a result of the same conditions that caused the first.

—JOSEPH KNIGHT.
(Continued in next issue.)

LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM

The Pioneer Publishers has secured a limited number of copies of Lewis L. Lorwin's history of the international labor movement entitled "Labor and Internationalism."

Pioneer Publishers secured these books at a bargain which will be passed on to the readers of the Militant who desire the book. The publishers price is \$3.00—it can be secured from the Pioneer Publishers at half price—\$1.50 postpaid. Send orders to:

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Problems of the Cuban Revolution

CUBA AND MONTEVIDEO

The great importance of the Montevideo Pan-American Conference for the Cuban workers and their American imperialist masters can be seen in the latest developments in the world's former sugar bowl. At Montevideo the Latin American capitalists, supported and inspired by the English and Japanese imperialists, are maneuvering for advantages for themselves and Uncle Sam's rivals at his expense. The U. S. is sitting so tightly on the lid that about all they can do is, to borrow a word from the Blue Eagle general, chisel.

Just the same they have the American moneybags in a delicate situation. If he makes a misstep anywhere in Latin America while this conference is on they will squeeze him for all they can get out of him.

Strike Wave Rising Again

The news coming out of Cuba is fragmentary and unreliable, being either capitalist or Stalinist in origin. But it seems the Cuban workers understand that Uncle Sam's necessity for stepping warily gives them more latitude. The strike wave is rising high again. If Harry Gannes, head of the Anti-Imperialist Delegation to Cuba, is to be believed the workers of 30 sugar mills in Santa Clara province have been involved in strikes recently (Daily Worker, December 9, 1933). The scope of this struggle can be seen from the fact that, according to the Cuban Review of February 1932, there were 53 sugar mills in this province in 1926, nearly thirty percent of all the sugar mills on the island, producing seventeen percent of all the bags of sugar of that year.

Other strikes are taking place; tobacco workers are out in thousands; all the Woolworth Co. stores are closed, and have been bombed. Most important among the strikes is the strike against the Cuban Electric Co. of which Machado is a vice-president, an affiliate of the Electric Bond and Share Company. The Emperor of America, J. P. Morgan, is the big shot in both of these outfits. How big the Electric Bond and Share can be seen from the fact that its subsidiaries in 1930 supplied light, power, gas, water and ice to 1,520,000 Cubans, thirty-eight percent of the population.

Importance of the Strike

The importance of the strike lies not only in the size and importance of the company. The Martin government, government of the petty bourgeoisie, is using the strike and the temporary weakness of the

American imperialists' position to consolidate its position and delude the masses of the country. The army high command told the Cuban Department of Interior delegates to the meeting of the electric workers which decided on the strike that it would not interfere with the strike. This is a bid for support by the masses.

At the same time it is part of a more comprehensive scheme. The government has issued an order to the Electric Company to reduce its electric and gas rates by forty-five percent and had forbidden it to reduce salaries or discharge workers in carrying through this necessary and insufficient reduction in the rates. In a previous article we gave the figures for electric rates: 17 cents a kilowatt hour in Havana and 20 cents in the interior; compared to New York which has a high rate of 6 and 5 cents a kilowatt hour. A second order struck at another Morgan outfit, the Cuban Telephone Company, a subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, also controlled by J. P. Morgan.

Strategy of the Martin Government

The attack on the utility rates is a sop thrown to the petty bourgeoisie who have had to bear the traffic; workers' towns in the interior have long without gas and electricity although equipped to use them. The threat to take over the American monopolies if they ceased operations in protest against the rate reductions is a gesture made by the government to the anti-imperialist sentiments of the workers and petty bourgeoisie. The order not to lay off workers or cut wages is part of the bid for support by labor.

Now the Martin government can afford this show of strength. It doesn't cost it anything now. It knows that only the most direct and serious threat to the stakes of Wall Street in Cuba will cause Roosevelt to risk arousing the whole of Latin America and playing into the hands of England, France, Spain and Japan by sending armed forces into Cuba.

At the same time the government is strengthening itself internally.

so that when the conference is over, or maybe before it all goes well, its bargaining hand for recognition by Washington will be a whole lot stronger.

Cuban Workers Need International Support

That is how the government figures the lay of the land. But what about the workers? They are still putting forward only economic demands. We take that as a sign of the absence of an influential revolutionary Communist party. A Marxist vanguard could take great advantage of the situation in the interests of the workers by consciously raising the struggle to the political plane under the slogan of nationalization of industry under workers' control of production. The weakness of the American capitalists' position now is also, in the last analysis, the weakness of the Martin government. The advancing workers' movement could also count on the weakness of the American imperialists' position, its present, necessary reluctance to assist the beleaguered petty bourgeois government.

The momentary weakness of the world's leading imperialist power should be exploited in another way to assist the Cuban revolution. An international protest movement demanding hands off Cuba, entering in Latin America, and on Montevideo would cause Washington great embarrassment and would weaken its position still further. It is in this connection and at this moment that we feel most acutely the collapse of the C. I. and the nationalistic organization of the Communist Parties.

It is not too late to build the defense movement. That task stands high on the agenda of international working class problems. The Stalinists have demonstrated their failure to understand the problem and build the movement. The Left Opposition together with all other revolutionary elements must take the initiative and issue the call to the masses of the United States and Latin America, and the entire world to organize the movement of support and defense of the Cuban revolution.

—T. STAMM.

PIONEER PUBLISHER NOTES

A pamphlet on the history of Soviet diplomacy under Lenin and under the Stalin regime is in preparation and will be published by the Pioneer Publishers. This pamphlet will present documentary material showing the revisionist dilu-

tion of Soviet foreign policy under Litvinov-Stalin, the glaring change from the first Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the present incumbent, from Thrope-Litvinsk to Washington. Send all funds to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

Discussion Articles

Draft Resolution on the Tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs Proposed by National Youth Comm. of the C.L.A.

We print below the draft resolution on the tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs adopted by the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America. With the publication of this draft the columns of the Militant are opened for contributions on this question.

Comrades are invited to send in their contributions. Articles are to not exceed 750 words. The analyses of the causes of the rise and function of the Communist youth movement contained in the theses on the Youth Question of the 2nd National Conference of the Communist League of America (see Militant, August 15th, 1931) holds good in all its essentials today. Particularly is this true of the first three sections.

"1. Capitalism draws the youth of the proletarian families into the productive process. The cheapness of their labor power, their physical and intellectual immaturity, their lack of trade union organization makes them particularly profitable objects for exploitation. These same characteristics and the needs growing out of them—need for physical and intellectual development, for play, 'social life'—were left almost wholly unsatisfied. From a position of helpers and apprentices the youth were absorbed ever more into the general industries and process of capitalism.

"2. The Y. C. L. was founded in November 1919 out of a need for an organization which would attract the working youth towards Communism, win organize and train it for the Communist parties. 'The need for a special organization is called forth by the psychological peculiarities of youth—its immaturity and impulsiveness, its impulsiveness, its special activities—sports, 'social' affairs—and its physical and intellectual requirements. These can be satisfied only by particular methods, activities and organization.

"The Y. C. L.s are broad educational organizers of youth. Communist training and education requires the intimate linking up of the theoretical with the practical, the study-group with the field of the class struggle. The Y. C. L. is in the forefront of the struggles of the working youth; leads and organizes it for immediate economic and cultural needs and demands; struggles inside and outside the armed forces against capitalist militar-

ism; develops itself in the struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois (especially reformist) organizations and influences, as the cultural center and political leader of the youth.

League Subordinate to Party

"The League which aspires to be the leader of a section of the working class, the youth, is politically subordinate to the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat as a whole. The strategy and tactics of the party are the strategy and tactics of the League. This political subordination is accompanied by the organizational autonomy of the League, i. e., its right to elect its own committees and officers, and regulate the League's inner policies and life. Political subordination is maintained by a capable party cadre inside the League, which directs and leads it, exchange of representatives on committees, and a sound Marxian policy in the class struggle which the Leaguers will readily follow. A thorough discussion of the party question affecting the League should take place during the latter's pre-convention discussion.

"The restatement of these elementary and fundamental principles of the Communist youth, laid down by the first three congresses of the Y. C. L. is made imperative by their revision in theory and practice, by the present leaders of the Communist Y. C. L.

"3. Limited experience with Communist youth work requires that youth tactics, demands, slogans and special organizational forms should be put forward not as dogmas or finished products which have universal validity, but rather with a view of testing them in practice, examining the results, and thereby laying the ground for more effective tactics, slogans, etc. The Comintern under Zinoviev and later Bucharin and Stalin converted the Y. C. L.s into factional pawns. Youth policies were completely subordinated to the factional requirements of the moment."

"2. The election of a national youth committee and the establishment of 'Young Spartacus' were two decisive steps which facilitated first, the organization of the youth in the Left Opposition, and second, the establishment of a number of youth clubs. A large percentage of the members of these clubs are

for the first time in a working class organization.

A Uniform Constitution

"3. The action of the National Youth Committee in suggesting to the Spartacus Youth Clubs a uniform constitution which provided for the political subordination of the Clubs to the Left Opposition while organizationally autonomous and making the National Youth Committee the provisional national committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs was a further step forward in our youth work.

"4. Our efforts have been progressively in the direction of a national Spartacus Youth League which would function as the Communist youth League in the United States. This League will undertake the tasks and assume the form outlined in the first three sections of our 2nd National Conference Youth theses (quoted above).

"5. This does not exclude the possibility of forming or cooperating with youth groups which are not Spartacus Youth Clubs, but steps in this direction, in certain localities where a S. Y. C. cannot immediately be formed. Under these exceptional circumstances the groups should bear other names than 'Spartacus Youth' and have the character of discussion groups or study classes. Our comrades form fractions within them and attempt to convert them into sections of our national organization. They should be considered as temporary organizations.

Position Towards Existing Youth Organizations

"6. Our attitude toward the Young Communist League is that it is a Stalinist organization incapable of effectively educating the youth to Communism or leading them in struggle. We continue our work within the Y. C. L. in order to win its members to our ranks. In all fields of activity our organized will appear as a rival of the Stalinist Y. C. L. while at the same time proposing to it and participating with it in united fronts.

"7. The ferment in the American Y. P. S. L. requires that we pay attention to winning the young Socialists to Communism and the Spartacus Youth groups. We should endeavor to build a Communist fraction within the Yipsels through which we can carry on our propaganda work in that organization. Around this fraction we should build a broader Left wing on the basis of concrete class struggle issues confronting the young Socialists. On definite class struggle issues we will attempt to form united fronts with the Y. P. S. L.

"8. It is essential that in the educational and propaganda of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and Young Spartacus, American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and working class, play a predominant role. The revolutionary lessons of the American Revolution of 1776, the Civil War, the early American labor movement, biographical sketches of outstanding revolutionary leaders,

and so on, should be stressed as an essential part of the education of the class conscious youth. For this purpose, popular pamphlets should be issued by Pioneer Publishers under the imprint of the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs (or National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League of America).

"9. A pamphlet under similar imprint should be issued as soon as feasible on 'Who Are the Spartacus Youth?'; this to be the first of a series of uniform pamphlets on the problems of the American young workers—covering youth and industry, youth and the school, unemployment and the youth and so on. Another series of uniform pamphlets on the biographies of outstanding international revolutionary leaders should also be begun under youth auspices.

"10. The Spartacus Youth Clubs (and League) should be extremely careful to avoid the mistake of the Y. C. L. in becoming a 'youth party', that is, assume the same organizational forms, tasks, activities and methods of work as the adult Communist organization. This is inevitable in the first stage of the organization when the initial cadres are being assembled. The Spartacus Youth Clubs should attract into their ranks youth coming to Communism rather than full fledged Communists whose place is in the adult organization. The youth organization should contain youth whose average age is 17. Older comrades should be drawn into the adult organization and gradually drop their membership in the youth groups. When the Spartacus Youth League is organized the age limits should be 15 to 23. Comrades over the age of 21 who have been in the Spartacus Youth groups for more than six months should join the adult organization.

"11. To avoid becoming a 'youth party' two dangers must be avoided: First, the danger of separating the economic work of the youth from the adult organization. Wherever possible the industrial fractions of the youth should work together with those of the adult organization. In this field especially, the youth groups are politically subordinate to, and should work closely with the adult organizations. Secondly, the danger of narrowing down the Spartacus Youth Clubs to advanced or conscious Communists by the formation of permanent periphery organizations. The youth, theses of the 2nd National Conference correctly stated that one of the reasons for the conversion of the American Y. C. L. into a 'youth party' was precisely its policy of forming youth sections of every auxiliary of the Communist party, youth clubs and groups of a permanent nature which duplicated the essential educational, cultural, and sometimes propaganda work of the Y. C. L. The formation of sports teams, dramatic groups and the conducting of social activities should be an important part of the work of the Spartacus Youth

Clubs which will make them the cultural centers of the youth.

"12. Our aim should be to convert 'Young Spartacus' into a live and aggressive Communist propaganda and agitation paper which will attract the youth to Communism and the Spartacus Youth groups. We should strive to make it an eight page semi-monthly tabloid size paper which can actually reflect the problems and needs of the young workers, educate them in Marxism, and play an active role in the class struggle.

"13. We propose that the coming national conference of the Communist League (Opposition) empower the national youth committee, at an early date following the conference, call a national convention of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and all other youth groups which are sympathetic to Communism (as embodied in the program of the L. O.) and agree with the essence of our youth platform, to organize a

With Whom and How Shall We Build the New Communist Party

As far as the Left Opposition is concerned the necessity for a new Communist party has been accepted and has passed the stage of discussion. Though the idea of a new party came as a surprise to many members of the L. O., its advisability and necessity became so clear as the discussion developed that practically not a single voice was raised in opposition.

But, having accepted the idea of the necessity of a new party, we are immediately faced with the question: with whom and how to build the party. This question of course was partly involved in the discussion on the necessity of a new party but only incidentally. At present some more or less clear and definite answer must be given. Otherwise there is danger of our wasting valuable effort and energy without achieving any noticeable results.

If we answer the first part of the question—namely, with whom—the answer to the second part—how—will readily follow. The temptation is to take the easiest road. We want to organize a new party. There are several groups with strong leanings towards Communist principles. Why not enter into a discussion with some of them, win over as many of them as possible to our viewpoint and form the new party? Such a solution has a certain plausibility and, moreover, the path suggested by it presents no serious difficulties.

But to depend upon discussion and winning over of those who claim to be Communists or those who are traveling in that direction for the formation of a new party is to invite sad disappointments.

In the first place, the member-

ship of the various Communist or near-Communist groups in this country is insignificant. So that, even if we should succeed in convincing a good proportion of that membership of the correctness of our ideas, we would not be much better off than we are at present. In the second place, the existing Communist and near-Communist groups have definite viewpoints of their own, viewpoints which they have clung to for quite a long time. It is folly to expect that because we change our position from that of considering ourselves a fraction of the official Communist party to that of a Communist group anxious to build a new party, we should thereby almost immediately succeed in winning these groups over to our point of view. Not so easy as that.

The only possible method of organizing a new party in the near future on the basis of the existing Communist and near-Communist groups is to permit all groups joining in the formation of a new party to lead a more or less independent life in the new party. This of course is out of the question. Whatever it might be it would not be a Communist party. It may be that some kind of a federation of Communist groups would be advisable as a step towards the formation of a new Communist party. This is exceedingly doubtful but not by any means ruled out altogether. At any rate, it would not be a party.

Does it follow then that we should cease discussing questions of principles and tactics with other groups for the purpose of ironing out differences and winning these groups or some of their members to our viewpoint? Decidedly not! We

must merely recognize the limitations involved in such a method and recognizing these limitations emphasize another method which is more difficult but will in the long run yield far greater results.

The turn to a new party means a turn to mass work for the immediate purpose of gathering revolutionary workers for the building of a new party. Needless to say recruiting workers for the building of a new party cannot be successfully accomplished merely by explaining to them the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution in contradistinction to socialism in one country. Winning over workers to our side means participation in the workers' struggles. It means not only struggle but struggle on a correct basis with correct slogans. It means the gaining of the confidence of the workers in our ability to lead.

The superiority and correctness of our theories can be convincing to the workers through our successful activities in mass work. By this time this proposition should require no argument. A logical presentation of the incorrectness of the theory of socialism in one country, if not accompanied with practical revolutionary work in the trade unions, amongst the unemployed or amongst the unemployed will be met by a mere shrug of the shoulders. Effective work amongst the employed and unemployed workers will make them very sympathetic to the idea of building a new party.

To use comrade Trotsky's phrase of the two levers, one can say that there are two levers which we must use in preparing the ground-work for the new party. One is the short lever of discussion with those who have already accepted most of the fundamental principles of Communism and with those who are travelling away from the social-democracy towards Communism. The other is the long and more important lever of organizing employed and unemployed workers, participating and leading in their struggles and by such activities winning over new forces with which to build the new party.

A turn to real mass work will be a very valuable training for our members. It will mean that they will no longer confine themselves to the study and discussion of what might be termed purely Communist and international questions. Our members confronted with the task of talking to workers will learn a new language and will concern themselves, in addition to questions affecting the everyday life of the worker. Our members will learn the intimate connection between international and highly theoretical questions on the one hand and the more immediate problems of the working class.

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

EDITORIAL

The Leipzig Prisoners and the Boycott of Germany

AS the monstrous travesty of a trial at Leipzig approaches its denouement the workers of the world are called to solidarize with the Communist prisoners in the Fascist dock on an international day of protest December 19. We are for this action with all our hearts and bespeak for it the firm and unanimous support of the workers. Regardless of all differences of opinion or affiliation which may divide them, the workers of the entire world ought to stand united in a common bond of solidarity with the Leipzig prisoners and strive by all means in their power to save them from the executioner's knife that is poised over their heads.

The heroic prisoners at Leipzig, facing their Fascist accusers undaunted and proclaiming their Communist faith before the whole world, are the brightest symbols and most inspiring representatives of the liberation struggle of the proletariat. The international demonstration in their behalf on December 19 is a fitting occasion for the workers to roar a might protest against their assassination. We sincerely trust that no considerations of any kind whatever will prevent a united action of the international proletariat on that day.

But warmly as we support the protest demonstration we have to recognize that protest alone, no matter how loudly it may resound throughout the world, is not sufficient in this case. The wild beasts of Fascist barbarism care nothing for public opinion and will not be restrained by it. What is needed is a demonstration of power by the international working class. What is needed is an action that will strike directly at the Fascist regime and compel the brown shirt murderers to pause in their bloody course. Such an action, entirely feasible and possible and flowing with irrefutable logic out of the entire situation, is the boycott of transport and communication to and from Germany for a definite, limited time.

In the proposal for this boycott, which has been made by the International Left Opposition, there is nothing adventurous or unrealistic. Neither is it put forward with an exaggerated estimation of the results it can yield. The boycott is possible; all that is needed is an agreement of the various workers' organizations which will liberate the workers' will to act unitedly in the anti-Fascist struggle. The boycott will not overthrow Fascism—for that a re-vivification of the labor movement in Germany is necessary. But the boycott can deal a heavy blow to the Fascist regime. It can terrify the inhuman monsters with its menacing implications, and wrest concessions from them. It can save the lives of the intended victims of the Reichstag fire frame-up. And it can be an electric message to the tortured proletariat of Germany that it has friends in the world ready to help them to their feet again. The boycott can be a mighty force for the revival of the German labor movement in a struggle for the overthrow of Fascism on the road to Soviet Germany.

For the defense of the Leipzig prisoners and the beginning of a real international struggle against Fascism the transport boycott of Hitler's Germany stands on the order of the day. Let us press forward along this line. Let us make December 19th a day of united protest leading directly to a united front of action!

Cuba and the Comintern

WHAT is the opinion of the Communist International on the tasks of the Cuban revolution? What advice does it offer the Cuban workers for the solution of their complex and difficult problems? And, still more important, what is it doing in a concrete and practical way to help throw off the yoke of American imperialism? These are questions of the greatest importance at the present moment, and the revolutionary workers of the United States, as of Cuba and the whole of Latin America, are entitled to a straightforward answer.

It is no small matter. Cuba may very well turn out to be the Achilles heel of the Wall Street monster. The contradictions between its domination by U. S. imperialism and the life interests of the masses are at the explosive point there. For many weeks now the struggle has been blazing into a conflagration which the whole world could see. The workers on their own initiative have been taking possession of American properties and have even, in some instances, proceeded to the formation of local Soviets. The island is small, but the uprising of its people has an enormous strategic importance and moral power. The Wall Street handits justly regard it with apprehension as the peoples of Latin America and the conscious workers in the U. S. look to it with sympathy and hope. The U. S. handits stand ready to crush the revolt with the brutal force of armed intervention. The workers and the peoples ought to be shown the way to unify all their efforts with those of the Cuban workers for the frustration of these designs.

This is a problem on which the "General Staff of the World Revolution" ought to speak out clearly. The Comintern was organized for just such purposes, and that is the way it acted in Lenin's time. In such a case—under Lenin—it would have put the conclusions of international experience at the disposal of the oppressed and exploited in order to steer the struggle onto the right path. It would have brought the weight of its international authority to bear to unify the struggle and impel it forward. Remember the bold manifestoes of Lenin's Comintern on Ireland and India, the appeals to the Hungarian Soviet, to the German workers, etc. Or, closer home, recall Lenin's famous "Letter to the American Workers" and a dozen other letters and resolutions, openly and publicly advising how to organize the fight against American imperialism. In the present instance, filled with such great potentialities, the Comintern of Stalin remains as silent as the grave. And as for Stalin himself, the "best, disciple of Lenin," his mouth, as the saying goes, might be filled with water—he cannot utter a word of advice, encouragement or hope on the grandiose events in Cuba.

Is this "non-intervention" in the Cuban revolution a deliberate policy? Was an express promise to keep "Hands off Cuba" a part of the Washington agreement for Recognition? If not, please explain the precise meaning of the following clauses in Litvinov's letter: "4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group, which has as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change

in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

This treacherous pledge, which brings the blush of shame to every revolutionist, does not refer to some "territory" on the moon. It refers, directly and concretely, and at the present moment, to Cuba.

In our opinion, and we say it with blunt and brutal frankness, it was explicitly so discussed and understood in the negotiations. If our opinion is wrong, we stand ready to be corrected. The Stalin party has a way to do it. However, for this, bluster and fulmination, lies and boasts will not avail. Only a few simple actions are needed.

Let the Daily Worker print a manifesto of the Comintern on Cuba!

Signs of the Coming Storm

AMONG other characteristics the lynchings wave demonstrated a feature which can be compared only with tropical storms. Like its meteorological counterpart, the lynching wave appeared suddenly and raged with great violence. Like many a hurricane it may reverse its course and sweep back again. That remains to be seen.

Not alone the lynching wave comes up suddenly, and runs its course with unrestrained violence. These features are characteristic now of almost every large scale social event. The strike wave of last summer was marked, among other things, by the speed with which it developed and the violence which accompanied it. In nearly every large strike there was not only the usual capitalist routine of police brutality, but bloodshed: Paterson, Ambridge, the Pennsylvania captive mine strike, etc.

The farm riots of the middle West last spring against foreclosures also shot across the social-political sky like a meteor. They too were marked by violence. At Lemars, Iowa, the farmers dragged a judge from his court by a rope around his neck. The bitterness of the Iowa farmers and the violent enmity engendered by it is explicable when one understands that 60 percent of the mortgaged farms in the United States are to be found in Iowa.

As the capitalist system disintegrates further the social weather is going to get stormier and stormier. The great reservoir of violence which these events indicate is going to burst. Social upheavals, the like of which the world has never seen, are in store and will very likely develop with frightful speed. The events we have described are lightning flashes and thunderclaps that herald the coming storm.

The reservoir can burst in one of two directions: in the workers' interests or against them. Which direction the flood takes will depend on the preparedness of the classes—on whether the vanguard workers have constructed a revolutionary Communist party and established its influence. Without it the flood can engulf them. We have no time to lose. All revolutionary elements should devote themselves to the first task at hand: the building of a new and genuine Communist party in the United States.

The Scottsboro Struggle

THE efficient judge who presided over the third trial of Patterson and the second trial of Norris has sentenced both boys to burn in the chair. The trials of the others were postponed until next spring. The appeal of the defense to the Supreme Court of Alabama acts as an automatic stay of execution.

For nigh on three years the fight has been waged to save the Scottsboro boys from death and set them free. It has been a historic fight, involving hundreds of thousands of workers all over the world. At Chemnitz, Germany, in 1932 workers in a Scottsboro protest demonstration were shot down by police under a social democratic regime.

The execution of the boys was prevented so far only by this fight. That is true. But we are no nearer getting them off altogether. One has been tried three times and one twice; the others once, almost three years ago. Has there ever been a greater travesty on justice? It should be plain to every one that it is not at all a question of determining guilt or innocence. The boys are innocent of the crime charged against them; that is clear beyond a doubt.

The capitalists long ago demonstrated their intention of burning them in the electric chair. If they are still in jail it is our fault. We have not been able to build a mass movement strong enough to force their release. The movement has to be broadened. The trouble with it now is that it is composed almost entirely of Stalinist organizations. And that, today, is far from enough.

The problem is how to get the workers in the A. F. of L., independent unions, under the influence of the Socialist Party and the I. W. W., and all the defense organizations and liberals to get together behind the fight.

The first step is the convocation of genuine united front conferences with guarantees of democratic representation and conduct.

Either way there is no time to lose. The legal lull in the case is not a time to relax. It is an opportunity to work, to build a powerful protest movement.

Why?

FOREIGN COMMISSAR Maxim Litvinov was sneaked unobtrusively into the Soviet Union on December 9 when he arrived home after having scored the most signal "diplomatic victory" of his career in the agreement he entered into with Roosevelt at Washington last month.

Reported the New York Times: "There was no formal reception or demonstration. . . . The public was not informed in the newspapers that he would return today."

Why? Did the Stalinists perhaps shrewdly calculate that prior announcement of Litvinov's arrival might have led, not to a demonstration of welcome by the Soviet workers, but to a popular display of anger and disgust at the Stalin-Litvinov sale of the Third International to American imperialism?

Litvinov had to sink home, but Winston G. Bullitt, the American ambassador, who arrived a day after him, was officially greeted at the frontier and given a reception in Moscow. "It was the first time in the history of the Soviet government," the New York Times reported, "that any foreign ambassador had been met at the frontier or shown any attention whatsoever before arriving in Moscow."

Why?

Soviet Policy and Turkish Terror

Stalinist Diplomats Praise Oppressor of Turkish Workers as 'Best Friend'

The Daily Worker of November 30 reported that a delegation of Turkish workers in the United States would be visiting the local Turkish consul to protest against "the murderous persecution of revolutionary Turkish workers by the Kemalist government. The delegation will demand," it was announced, "the release of 200 Turkish Communists facing death in the Turkish dungeons and the restoration of the citizenship of 35 Communist leaders deported in 1926."

The C. P. organ concluded that the delegation called upon the workers of the United States "to actively support the struggle for the release of these prisoners, for the smashing of the brutal anti-working class terror of the Kemalist government, which is supported by the same Wall Street imperialists who today, under the 'New Deal,' are ruthlessly increasing their robbery and murder of the white and Negro masses of this country."

It goes without saying that every last member of the Left Opposition both here and in other countries, endorses this protest against the vicious Kemalist terror in Turkey, the Turkey that was "liberated" from imperialist domination in the early post-war period with the aid of Soviet arms. But we have a mind to recall to the memories of the Stalinist editors of the Daily Worker, and the readers of that paper, certain historical facts which indicate that the Turkish government enjoys not merely Wall Street support but also the support of the present Stalinist faction which dictates the policies of the Soviet government.

Karakhan and Pasha

It is recorded that at the end of 1929 Lev Karakhan, diplomatic representative of the Soviet government, made an official trip to Kemalist Turkey, where, even at that time, there was proceeding a "murderous persecution of revolutionary Turkish workers." Karakhan took occasion to inform inquiring journalists that the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Tewfik Rüşdi Bey, has his "best friend" and "dearest respect" towards the president of the council, Ismet Pasha.

Conventional language of diplomacy? This attempted excuse is too feeble. For must not Soviet diplomacy be consistently distinguished from the diplomacy of other states, its proletarian character made always clear? And should it not be the duty of Soviet diplomats to avoid sowing illusions? Or did Karakhan really regard Bey as his

"best friend"? If so he was unfaithful to represent the Soviet power. If not, why create an illusion and deceive the masses as to the true character of the Turkish foreign minister and his government?

But Karakhan had more to say. On his arrival at Ankara he said: "This city reflects the calm and firm security with which the new Turkey is built, which supports itself upon its own forces and PUTS ITS HOPES IN THE CREATIVE FORCE OF ITS PEOPLE AND THEM ALONE. What I have seen, especially in this regard, is not strange to me. THEY ARE THE SAME IDEAS AND THE SAME STATE OF MIND THAT PREVAILS IN OUR COUNTRY." We are building up our life, our material and intellectual culture, by basing ourselves on the creative power of the peoples of our Union."

The government, and the economic and social systems of Turkey have not changed since these words were spoken by Karakhan. It is therefore pertinent to inquire how the American Stalinists today can associate themselves with a protest action against a government which has the "same ideas" as the Soviet government?

The "New Turkey"

But let us pass on. The well-known Soviet writer, L. V. Nikulin, returned to Moscow in July of this year from an extended trip to Turkey—the same Kemalist Turkey about which Karakhan before him had enthused so fervently. His impressions of the country were published in the Soviet press without comment, therefore with approval. Nikulin was as enthusiastic as Karakhan had been. He compared the "old Turkey" with the "new Turkey," stating that "the obvious difference between the new Turkey, the Turkey of People's Palaces, schools, universities, industrial construction, and the Turkey of the lex, the yashmak, mental torpor and Arab criteria had become quite clear to me." From the words of both Nikulin and Karakhan, if they were accepted at their face value, the workers in the Soviet Union and in other countries might be pardoned for drawing the conclusion that there is no need for proletarian revolution in Turkey. Certainly, the American workers, deceived and confused by the Stalinist scribbles on the Daily Worker, may be excused if they exhibit surprise at the "discovery" that the Kemalist government—which includes in its ranks Karakhan's "best friend", which rules over a country

Adventurism in St. Paul Strike

(Continued from page 1)
The Armour officials, seeing that the overwhelming majority of the men were taking no active part in the strike, began to utilize the press to induce them to return to work. This was not without effect. The workers began to return despite the efforts of the pickets to prevent them. By Thursday, November 23rd, the men were streaming back by the hundreds.

Repudiated by the Workers
On the following day the union called a mass meeting of the Swift workers. About 250 were present. The union leaders demanded that these men go on strike. They were answered with boos and jeers. The men present then decided to continue to work.

The press reports that on the same day a group of men who claimed to be members of the Armour strike committee went to a South St. Paul lawyer, repudiated the union, and demanded that the "Communist leaders" Ilurwitz, Karlsen, and Schneiderman be run out of town. The lawyer swore out warrants for their arrest on the grounds that they were "obstructing public highways."

Whether or not this is true is hard to say but the fact remains that the police went to the union hall and arrested the three men. The workers present made no protest. Later, on their promise to leave town immediately, these "leaders" were released. At the Armour & Co. gates the few remaining pickets were dispersed by the cops in short order.

In this strike the official party has once more revealed that it can no longer play a progressive role in the struggle of the workers. In place of a realistic appraisal of the situation which demanded careful preparation and persistent work to create a sentiment amongst the workers for a mass strike, the method of bureaucratic ultimatum was employed. Pulling their hand off of followers out on strike they naturally expected the 3500 men in the industry to follow. "We are the leaders—therefore the workers will follow us!"

Fruit of False Policy
The results of such a policy should be carefully considered by every serious worker. The workers in the South St. Paul packing houses are now more than ever in the grip of the bosses' company union. Instead of engaging in militant struggles they are falling victims to the poison of class collaboration. The criminal adventurism of the party has served only to retard the movement of the workers and to discredit Communism before them.

That the South St. Paul workers will rise again in militant struggle against the bosses is certain. And what is equally certain is that as far as the Stalinist "Independent Revolutionary Unions" are concerned the workers in these packing houses are through for once and for all.

—WILLIAM KITTE

With Communist greetings,
KARL FRIEDBERG.

Notes of the Week

THE DOLLAR isn't all that's "baroney" under the NRA. Mr. Al Smith may have a broad wit but he has limited interests. Under his brown derby rests the cares of a member of the possessing class. They have the dollars. And they don't want them transformed into risky sausages.

What do we have? We have unemployment, cold weather, low wages, speed-up—and so far only a lot of nativity promises: about re-employment, jobless relief, a living wage and a 30 hour week. NRA speaks for all these dire needs of the working people but what does it do about them?

Section 7a of the Recovery Act grants the legal right of both individual and collective bargaining. "Individual bargaining"—that means, as so many of us have discovered—the right of the boss to lure and lure at will, to command you to work for a bowl of miserable soup or be thrown out into the street altogether. Collective bargaining—any worker who has successfully participated in the use of this weapon, will tell you—means organized union struggle; workers joining up in big bodies to put across their needs.

In his effort to wrest improvements from the boss, the laboring man has no strength other than the strength of his fellow men. The boss has the banker, the police, the gunman and the dollar on his side. And the employing class has made ample use of the provision for individual bargaining in NRA, not to speak of the many ways they have found for getting around any of the still too few and weak attempts that have been made by workers at "collective bargaining."

What the worker is beginning to feel more and more is the need for more and bigger "collectives" for genuine broad collective effort—so that the "bargaining" won't be all on the bosses' side. It is interesting to note that the first organized expression for this need comes from the employees in an industry that was among the first to be blessed with a NRA code—the textile industry.

THE UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS union, by decision of its executive council—the country's press informed us on Tuesday last—has decided to call upon the American Federation of Labor to prepare for a General Strike to bring about the 30-hour week and other union demands. The General Strike—that is the most effective weapon for "collective bargaining" there is. The fact that the reactionary labor skate McMahon has appeared as the chief spokesman for the U. T. W. in this move, is doubly significant.

When a McMahon speaks for General Strike—that is a sign that the textile slaves under him are pushing hammer and tongs for it. When a McMahon begins to give lip service to labor action—then that means that the McMahonocracy is holding in store for the toiling masses bearing down upon the advocates of class peace, a betrayal far greater than any of those in the past.

Watching his fingers closely, the workers who have determined to stand up in struggle against capitalist misery will use every measure to make McMahon and his ilk live up to their words. A sweeping country-wide collective strike is the best and surest way for labor to advance its interests at this stage. In preparation for it, practical and strategic problems loom up big: how to get together employed and unemployed, skilled workers and the unskilled, those already organized and those still unorganized. Men on the job will be discussing these problems in increasing numbers and with growing interest in the coming days. We will contribute our opinions in the general discussion.

GENERAL DEFENSE AFFAIR
New York.—Important additional musical talent has been enlisted for the General Defense Committee's annual Christmas Fund entertainment, concert, and dance. Three well-known concert soloists will sing—Aida Campenone, soprano; Vincent Tortora, baritone; and Vincent J. Nola, tenor. Accompaniments will be played by Paul Creston, pianist of note.

Class-war and classical songs are on the program, which is to be staged Friday, December 15, in Irving Plaza Hall, 15th Street and Irving Place. Proceeds will enable

Postscript to the 'Portrait of National Socialism'

The first anniversary of the Nazi dictatorship is approaching. All the tendencies of the regime have been taking on a distinct and precise character. The "socialist" revolution which appeared to the petty bourgeois masses as the necessary complement to the national revolution, has been officially liquidated and denounced. The fraternization of the classes reached its peak when the possessors waived their right to hors d'oeuvre and desserts on a day especially proclaimed by the government in favor of the dispossessed. The struggle against unemployment has culminated in dividing the existing half-starvation rations in two. There remains only the equalization of the statistics. Planned anarchy proves to be nothing more than just another stage of economic decadence.

The more impotent the police regime of the Nazis is in the sphere of economy, the more it is forced to place the weight of its effort upon the field of foreign policy. That corresponds completely to the

internal dynamics of the so thoroughly aggressive German capitalism. The startling sudden turn of the Nazi leadership towards peace-loving declarations can astonish only those who are completely limited in their outlook. What other method than this has Hitler, at his disposal to throw off the responsibility for domestic misery on the shoulders of the external enemy and to pile up the explosives of nationalism under the pressure of the dictatorship? This part of the program which was outlined even before the Nazis assumption to power is being fulfilled today with iron determination before the eyes of the whole world. The date of the new European catastrophe is determined by the time necessary for the rearmament of Germany. It is not a matter of months, but neither is it a matter of decades. A few years suffice to stagger anew into a war, if the internal forces of Germany do not themselves stop Hitler in time.

—L. T.

November 2, 1933.



Wall Street Rules at Montevideo Confab

Tariff Plan of U.S. Imperialism Designed as Weapon Against European Competitor Nations

Although the Pan-American Conference is not expected to adjourn before December 24th, it can be clearly seen already that American imperialism dominates the conference; and nothing will be approved that does not serve the interests of Wall Street. Criticism of American imperialism did break through the barriers, but the representatives and puppets of Washington prevented this criticism from jeopardizing the position of the Yankees in Latin America. Giraudy, head of the Cuban delegation, launched an attack against American intervention in Cuba. He correctly pointed out that intervention has taken place even though its form has become more subtle under the Roosevelt administration. Argentina's foreign minister, as chairman, defended the United States and prevented the criticism from developing. He prevented a Peruvian delegate from launching an attack on American imperialism, and guided further criticism from other delegates, who had taken courage, into safe channels.

Secrecy at Conference

Secrecy prevails at Montevideo as it does at all capitalist conferences. Some of the lesser puppets, who were not obtaining as much attention from the U. S. delegation as the delegation of more favored countries, because they had less that the exploiters of the north wanted, put up a protest against the secrecy, but to no avail.

Mexico led in the attack on the conference. This is not surprising. American relations and domination there stand at a more favorable position than in the past, and the Washington delegation desired to devote their time to more troublesome spot in Latin America. The conference itself is little more than a rubber stamp. The real work is conducted by means of audiences with the Secretary of State of the Colonies of the North. The steering committee, which is composed of those who enjoy this privilege, is the real conference.

In considering an action of the Pan-American Conference one must always keep in mind its structure. It was constructed by American imperialism for its own use against the other imperialist powers and against the weak capitalist countries and colonies of Latin America. One of the many jokers in the statistics of the Union, which assures American domination, provides that the United States Secretary of State shall always be the president of the Union.

U. S. Hits at Rivals

Many of the concessions and agreements for America's interest obtained at Montevideo will not be known. But the main proposal presented by Hull, horse traded by the Argentine delegates for the "Anti-War Pact", and since rubber stamped by the conference, is the Tariff Plan. The plan proposes reciprocal trade and tariff reduction in order to lower the present trade barriers. The proposal called for no treaties, conventions or legal commitments by the conference. It left this open for a free scramble. Such "Custom Unions" obtained by the United States will be another blow by America against Europe. The United States-Colombian pact has already been signed as a straight reciprocal agreement. Negotiations with Argentina and Brazil, for similar bilateral pacts, are already under way.

The Hull Plan also provides for safeguarding the internal struggle of the American imperialists through the NRA and similar projects. "The plan provides that the tariff reductions must not interfere with 'the operation of temporary emergency and other extraordinary measures compromising domestic recovery programs.' This plan for tariff reduction has stirred up discussion in the States. Some say it is a complete change in policy on tariffs while Moley, who just recently resigned as Assistant Secretary of State, says the Hull proposal contradicts the NRA. If the NRA is for the construction of a self-sufficient economy, of organized capitalism, or of 'intra-nationalism' minus its internal or foreign part, it is doomed to failure. But the real purpose of the NRA is something else; and so long as the capitalists supplement it with new measures at each critical turn it will more than justify itself as a breathing spell. The Hull proposal does not contradict the needs of the NRA at a certain stage. Neither does it run counter to the interest of American imperialism in general. It is admirably adapted for these capitalist needs.

Behind the Tariff Plan

The attempt to reorganize production on a higher level under the NRA at reduced cost and, at the same time to reorganize labor

(Continued on Page 4)

Celebrate New Years at Gala Masquerade Ball

Keep New Year's Eve open for the gala affair of the season. The New York branch of the Communist League is undertaking to make this New Year's a day to be remembered for every proletarian within its reach. To be on hand at this event will be more than the chiming in of the new year and bidding the old one adieu. We are taking a lot of time and more trouble to give all our friends and sympathizers the times of their lives—and in a revolutionary way.

Firstly, there will be a red hot jazz band present to keep you moving to syncopated rhythm till the early hours of the morning. We are making arrangements so that you may dance to your hearts content and more if your feet will carry you.

And our new years affair will be a splendid one. Costumes of all kinds and varieties will be displayed and you are urged to come in other than your usual garb. A popularity prize—democratically selected—will be awarded to the best costume.

Don't forget New Year's, December 31, at Germania Hall, 16th St. and 3rd Ave. The admission is 50 cents. Be on hand with your friends.

Gangsterism Again!

The Stalinists are endeavoring to defeat the political work of the Communist League in Brownsville by methods of terror. Following the Hoffman Mansion meeting of Dec. 14th, they have systematically attacked our comrades. On Friday evening, Dec. 15th a group of six assaulted four members and sympathizers of the Communist League in front of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum after a Socialist meeting. A much larger group of Stalinists attacked our comrades who were distributing leaflets on Sutter Avenue for this Wednesday's Brownsville Labor Lyceum meeting.

Authentic reports inform us that a number of our comrades have been marked for physical assault. Individuals have been assigned to "lay" for Al Dasch, recently expelled member of the Brownsville section committee of the Communist party.

The responsibility for such actions rests on the shoulders of the leaders of the Communist party. They will be held responsible before the Communist workers and the working class as a whole for the consequences of this reactionary hoodlum campaign. We will take all the necessary steps for the defense of our comrades, organization and meetings. We call upon all workers and workers' organizations to join us in our struggle against these reactionary Fascist methods.

Informed by the fact that Al Dasch, former member of the Brownsville Section Committee of the Communist party, was to speak on the Comintern and the Soviet recognition from the platform of the Communist League, the Stalinists mobilized over fifty members to disrupt the meeting held at Hoffman Mansion, Thursday evening, December 14th. The meeting ended in a riot leading to the intervention of the police, called by the hall owner, who cleared the hall by swinging their clubs at everybody.

As the hall was filling with workers, there was a sudden mob rush of about 50 Communist party and Y. C. L. members to crash through the door. They demanded free admittance. After some commotion and exchange of blows, the staircase was

cleared of Stalinists and the door leading to the street closed. The Stalinist hoodlums proceeded to break the glass of the door and used battering rams to force the door open.

When they could not make much progress, a representative of the mob was sent up to arrive at an agreement with us. It was proposed to them that twenty of their comrades would be permitted to enter free of charge on the condition that they maintain order. They agreed. Twenty were permitted to enter.

No sooner had the chairman, Joe Carter, opened the meeting than the Stalinists began a systematic disruption. A continual heckling ensued. One after another the clique of local Communist party leaders rose and recited his piece. Finally a motion was made and carried overwhelmingly that anyone interrupting the chairman or speaker given the floor would be ejected. Provocative heckling and disruption resulted in a free for all fight, with chairs and fists flying. For a while the cops looked on; then they wielded their clubs against all those present.

A number of serious casualties resulted on both sides. A Stalinist, Kirschner, called a cop to arrest one of the members of the Communist League. Although he went to the police station to press charges of assault, the case of so flimsy that the charges were dismissed.

Insisting on its right to hold a public meeting in Brownsville on the Comintern and Russian recognition, the Communist League has arranged for a meeting on that subject with the same speakers as scheduled for last Thursday's meeting, Max Shachtman and Al Dasch, to be held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Wednesday evening, December 20th.

Various workers' organizations have been invited to send representatives to this meeting so that in case of a recurrence of the scandalous action of last Thursday's meeting, they will be able to place the responsibility on those to whom it belongs.

Nazis Demand Death Verdict for Torgler

International Solidarity of the Workers Alone Can Save Prisoners from Fascist Vengeance

Criminal Syndicalism Trial Ends in Hung Jury

Trial of Phil Chambers, leader of the cotton pickers' strike in the San Joaquin Valley, on the charge of criminal syndicalism ended with a hung jury. He was defended by the Civil Liberties Union attorney, A. L. Wirin, who in this case was also representing the International Labor Defense.

The case is of vital importance because of the effort of the prosecution to make the criminal syndicalism law cover all threats of violence made during a strike. In the past the California courts have sought to prove that the I. W. O. and Communist defendants were revolutionaries, trying to overthrow the government and transfer industry to the workers. Chambers was not accused of revolutionary radicalism but of leading a strike during which he was alleged to have recommended to the cotton pickers that they resist all arrests, even if they put some people in the hospital by so doing. Chambers claimed he had urged resistance only to illegal arrests.

The historic trial of the Communist leaders at Leipzig has come to an end and the Fascist judges are now in session deliberating on the verdict which is to be rendered any day now. The trial designated to justify the Nazi regime and give a legal cover for bestial terror campaign against the Communists was transformed into colossal exposure of the Fascist monsters before the entire world.

The heroic conduct of the defendants in court, the complete collapse of the case against them and the universal revision against the procedure of the Fascists in the case all combined to deal a powerful blow to the prestige of the Fascist beasts who rule Germany. They failed completely to establish any convincing proofs of the guilt of the accused and were compelled to acknowledge their failure in the case of three of the defendants—Dimitroff, Popoff and Torgler.

Despite that, the Fascist prosecutor demanded the death penalty for Ernst Torgler, leader of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag. The life of Torgler hangs in the balance, and the others also, for the Fascist press is already demanding "new proceedings" against them. The strong hand of international working class solidarity is all that stands between them and the executioner's axe.

All the defendants stood by their convictions, and in closing speeches to the court, affirmed their innocence of the framed-up charge against them. Dimitroff protested against the refusal to allow him an attorney of his own choosing and stated that he had no confidence in the Fascist lawyer, Teichert, who had been assigned to conduct his "defense". Continuing, he declared: "I am defending my political convictions as a revolutionist. That is why my language is sharp. My aim has been to prove that neither myself, my Bulgarian comrades here, nor Torgler, nor the Communist movement has had anything to do with the Reichstag fire."

Torgler said: "My whole life I have fought for the vital interests of the German working class. Neither the German Communist Party, nor any member, thought at that time of any armed uprising, because the necessary prerequisites were lacking. I did not have the slightest thing to do with the fire."

There is no doubt that the international exposure of the trial and the protest against the frame-up has partly upset the Fascist plan to proceed smoothly with the execution of the defendants. But the danger remains that they will go through with it in spite of all. The protest of the international working class must ring out louder than ever in the remaining days. The most effective blow that can be dealt to the Fascist murderers at this time, a blow that would free the prisoners, is a transport boycott.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS INCREASE

While in 1932 one worker was killed in road service for every 1,907 employed, in 1931 one worker was killed for every 1,929 employed, according to figures released by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In train service, while in 1929 one worker was killed for every 810 employed, in 1932 the rate had gone up to one killed for every 736 employed.

The following letter from a worker written after the Binghamton wreck last month, gives the depleted maintenance forces as one reason for wrecks and accidents.

Library, Pa.: "There has been in the last couple of weeks an increasingly larger number of train wrecks due to negligence on the part of the railroad companies. The safety devices have all been neglected because of the furloughing of 750,000 maintenance men. This is part of the companies' plans of 'economies'. They lay off the men who maintain safety devices and safety signals. Those who are left at work have to do so much that they cannot take care of all the mileage or the trainmen and engineers cannot live up to the safety rules. It is easy then for the company to shift the buck to the worker involved and escape adverse publicity."

"Any railroader will tell that it's hell if you obey the safety rules and get your train late and it's hell if you don't and get in a wreck. The brotherhoods, to one of which I belong, seem powerless to do anything."

New Upheaval Shakes China

The Fukien Rebellion and Its Perspectives

Shanghai.—Fukien has rebelled. Prepared for several months, it came about all of a sudden as a bomb thrown into the Chinese politics. The public was startled by the radical character it assumed, in casting off the Kuo Min Tang mantle, denouncing its rule, turning such a round-about face towards the people, promising to fight for the abolition of unequal treaties and for tariff autonomy, undertaking to give land to the peasants and granting the right to strike to the worker, and freedom of convention, speech, etc., to the people in general. It claims to establish the producers' power, guaranteeing to such people absolute freedom and equality, "excluding those who are treacherous to the nation and who exploit the peasant and the worker" from enjoying such rights. To overthrow the feudal system and to develop national economy are also points mentioned in the declaration of the new government. What has actuated this independent movement, especially at the time of the low ebb of mass movement? What is its general perspective and relation to the Chinese revolution.

In spite of the fact that this government is called by its enemies as a product of the suchui democrats and "the third party", the former 19th route army regarded as the social-democratic fundamental military force, in fact we have no such a social democracy in China in existence, connected even with the people, not to say with the workers. The military and their politicians and literati may have conceived such an idea but it never existed in any tangible form. What is going on in Fukien is only a revolt of combination of ex-military men, the military rulers of that province, the politicians, the radical intellectuals and the right nationalists. There is a contradiction between the radical program and the composition of the government (military in majority). This shows clearly that the government gives chief attention to the military overthrow of Chiang Kai-Shek by means of combination and intrigues rather than to mobilize the masses for the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuo Min Tang struggle. The radical program and the confused ideology are undoubtedly due to the influence of the existence of the "red army."

It seems unlikely that military operations will begin in the near future because both Nanking and Fukien must have time to seek allies, and to get out of the complicated situation of being attacked in the rear. But the alliance between the peasant army and Fukien is an accomplished fact. This has a great significance. The blockade which Chiang Kai-Shek has enforced against the Soviet districts has broken down as the peasant army now can receive supplies from Fukien. Thus, the only success which Nanking has claimed for its anti-red expedition of the last two years has come to nothing. Further, if the "red army" alone could embarrass Chiang Kai-Shek so much

that he is compelled to change the period for the liquidation of the "red army" from three months to three years, what if the combined strength of both the red army and Fukien would be presented to him? He must have given up the hope of eliminating the red army altogether. Besides, the Fukien movement, if not quickly suppressed, will set an example to the discontented militarists of other provinces who can also come out to denounce Chiang Kai-Shek's kow-tow before Japanese imperialism or to stigmatize the corruption of Kuo Min Tang rule. So in a certain sense we may say that the Fukien revolt spells the beginning of the end of the Chiang Kai-Shek regime.

There may be several perspectives upon before the Fukien government. If it can attain its main objective of overthrow of Chiang Kai-Shek in a quick manner by military combination, then it will degenerate and become conservative, throwing aside the present revolutionary phrases, otherwise it can be made dependent upon the mass movement and draw advantages from it. For example, the finance of the province will become ever more inadequate to feed the growing needs of the army and the way out must be sought in the seizure of the customs revenue and the realization of the tariff autonomy, in putting a stop to the officials' embezzlement and corruption, in relieving the burden of the petty bourgeoisie by diminishing the taxation on them and by a corresponding increase on the big bourgeoisie. All such needs open

(Continued on page 4)

Terzani Frame-Up Smashed

Athos Terzani was acquitted Dec. 13 of killing his anti-Fascist comrade Anthony Fierro, by a jury in Queens County Court which deliberated only thirty-two minutes. It was a victory against heavy odds, since the judge had been openly hostile to the defense.

Prosecutor Harry Huber centered his attack on Samuel Wein, former Khaki Shirts member, who testified that Frank Moller of Philadelphia, a former associate, killed Fierro in the fight at the Fascist Khaki Shirts meeting in Astoria in July. Wein had told the grand jury that the killer was a man in a brown suit, such as Terzani had worn, but said he did this because Commander Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts had threatened his life.

"General" Art Smith testified, charging again that Terzani shot Fierro. He swore he accused Fierro that night before Terzani identified Moller as the slayer. But Patrolman John Nolan, state's witness, testified that Terzani accused Moller five or ten minutes before Smith accused Terzani.

After the verdict had been announced, hand-clapping aroused the judge's anger. Summoning before him the culprit, Fort Vellona, cartoonist for the anti-Fascist daily, Stamp Liber, the judge cut short his apologies with "Don't lie to me. This case has been saturated with lies." The labor jury representing nine labor organizations delayed comment on the trial until a carefully considered statement could be prepared.

United Front at Minneapolis

Labor Organizations in Unemployment Fight

Minneapolis.—On December 10th two thousand workers met in the City Auditorium on call of the Minneapolis Central Council for Unemployed to hear about the need of an all-inclusive unemployed organization in this city. Speaker after speaker piled up arguments for greater unity, more organization, around a common program of demands covering the most elementary needs of the workers today.

A simple formula for a democratic central organization that would tie the unemployed together with the workers organized in the trade unions, labor political, and fraternal organizations was elaborated by V. R. Dunne, speaking for the Central Council. To a central council every trade union, labor political or fraternal organization, and cooperative shall send delegates on a proportional basis. This body in turn shall organize locals for unemployed workers in various districts of this city, which will be represented in the central body on the same basis. Thus every organized worker in the city shall be directly represented in the Central Council, which co-ordinates all separate phrases of struggle and all forces at hand for the most effective struggle against unemployment.

Growth of the Movement

Since the October 29th conference that launched the M. C. C. U. there has been steady progress in growth of this movement; new advocates, new forces, wider scope to its activities. Naturally, there has been much confusion, much talk, and also disruptive activities from the enemies of such a unifying

movement, to put up with, but the fundamental correctness of this form of organization for labor's struggle against unemployment is proving itself every day.

The greatest confusion rises from the almost total lack of understanding of what is a United Front, due to the fact that there has never been a correct united front functioning in this city before. Added to this are the innumerable distortions of the united front indulged in by the Stalinists of the official C. P., which had prejudiced, misdirected, and finally liquidated section after section, group after group, of honest working class elements who had sincerely joined with the Party to effect unification of efforts. The ultra-left policy of the "united front from below" which keeps the C. P. outside this movement, fighting it, is doing yeoman service to the reactionary labor bureaucracy which is quietly working against the movement, behind the scenes, spreading pessimism, lies, and slander among the workers in the union and on the relief lines.

The narrow-minded upstarts in the leadership of the Party locally disgraced themselves by their antics in the October 29th Conference which formed the movement. They represented an insignificant minority of the workers represented there, monopolized the floor while they bragged and lied for two hours or more, booted and bailed when their ultimata were not accepted. Having issued a statement against the conference at the door, calling every one connected with it a "social Fascist", the C. P. then broke into the conference when it decided for the formation of unemployed organizations throughout the city, which of necessity would compete with the defunct, sectarian Unemployed Councils.

Thus the Stalinists with no united-front policy place themselves in a position that exposes them as disrupters and splitters of working class unity before masses of workers. With a correct united front policy the Left Opposition is placing itself in a position to unify the working masses behind simple necessary demands which they need, together with the accepted reformist leaders of the workers, who, if they falter, disrupt this unity, or betray the interests of the workers in the movement, will be exposed.

Incidentally the first group of leadership to disrupt this unity, and to betray the fundamental class interest of the workers for the sake of their immediate organizational interests (the miserable Unemployed Councils) are the Stalinists. The class-conscious workers in the Unemployed Councils should take stock of their leaders and their policies and draw the necessary conclusions. They should join the District organizations of the M. C. C. U. and in these bodies build up a constructive class consciousness and a policy of struggle that will be an aid in advancing our class to the next higher stage of struggle.—C. F.

PUSH THE ACTION PROGRAM

In our last issue we outlined a Program of Action designed to extend the political activities of the League. Some of the points have already been partly carried out. The national war of comrades Swabek has been completed. It was very successful. We have reduced the price of *The Militant* and made a beginning towards its popularization. At the same time *The Militant* circulation has greatly increased. Its influence is thereby undoubtedly extended, but the increase in circulation does not yet compensate for the drop in income by the reduced price.

Live workers' clubs have been established in a number of cities. In addition, language workers' clubs sympathetic to and supporting the work of the League are functioning among Italian, Greek and Jewish workers in Chicago and New York City.

But the real test today by which the influence of a revolutionary organization can be judged lies unquestionably in the trade union field. Progress there will have a decisive bearing on future developments. In regard to this we can record only initial steps. In carrying the Action Program to its completion this particular form of activity must be strengthened.

OPEN FORUM

SAM GORDON
on
HOW CLOSE IS WAR?
at
Friday, December 22nd, 1933
8:15 P. M.
International Workers School Hall
126 East 16th Street, nr Irving Pl.
Sponsors: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)
Questions—Discussion
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

Hooliganism Spreads to Brooklyn

An Open Letter to the District Committee of the Communist Party

December 16, 1933.
District Executive Committee,
Communist Party, U. S. A.
New York, N. Y.

Comrades:
Last Thursday evening, a meeting was scheduled in the Brownsville section under our auspices at the Hoffman Mansion on the Subject "Does Russian Recognition Mean the End of the Third International?" The speakers announced to address the audience included our city organizer, Max Shachtman, and a member of the Brownsville Section Committee of your party, comrade A. Dasch.

Before the meeting actually began, a crowd of some forty to fifty members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League sought to break into the meeting without paying the admission fee and with the obvious purpose of disrupting the orderly conduct of the meeting. In spite of this, and because the subject of the meeting was of such deep concern to the revolutionary movement that we felt it only proper to have present as many comrades supporting your standpoint as possible, we finally proposed to a representative of the party section committee; we will allow twenty League and Party members to enter the hall free of charge if they will pledge themselves to observe the customary procedure and order of a worker's gathering. To this proposal, the party representatives finally agreed. Twenty were admitted into the hall in the manner described above and they took their places quietly.

But immediately upon the opening of the meeting by the chairman, the party representatives—one after another—began a series of violent interruptions calculated to keep the hall in a turmoil and to prevent the meetings from proceeding. Neither the chairman nor anyone else of our comrades was able to utter a full sentence without being heckled and interrupted by the constant interjections of your members. Despite the fact that—as at all such meetings (whether called by you by us, or by any other labor organization)—arrangements had already been made by us, your members presented the outrageous demand that the "workers present elect the chairman"; then that "one of our speakers should speak first and the other last"; etc., etc. These absurd proposals were of course rejected by us. A proposal was however overwhelmingly adopted by those present to the effect that anyone deliberately interrupting from the floor when the chairman had already granted it to someone else would be removed from the hall. The audience, composed entirely of workers, was indignant at the manifest attempt on the part of your comrades (who were obviously acting under orders from superior committees) to disrupt the meeting and prevent it from getting under way.

Tumult Brings Police
Worst of all is the fact that this tumult—especially unnecessary and condemnable in view of our announcement that the party representatives would be given adequate opportunity to speak in the discussion—frightened the hall prior to the police. We sought to have them leave, but they refused. The effect, in a word, was that your comrades brought the police who, under the pretext of "maintaining order" were intervening in workers' disputes with the club.

The upshot of this disgraceful procedure was that the police finally assaulted the entire crowd with drawn clubs and brought the meeting to an end. In view of the growing movement towards Fascist conduct upon the part of the bourgeoisie, the conduct of your comrades is all the more reprehensible. Instead of making it possible to discuss workers' disputes intelligently, that is, on the basis of workers' democracy, you introduce hooligan methods into the labor movement which alienate workers and facilitate the black work of Fascism.

We therefore call upon you to take proper and deserved action against the ringleaders of the group which caused the riot and brought about the disruption of the movement. Their names are Gilbert, Ross, Ruben, and Morris. More particularly, we call upon you to take action against those committees which are responsible for the mobilization of the Party and Y. C. L. comrades who were sent down to disrupt our meeting, for it is the superior instances which are more at fault than the comrades who are really the victims of their instructions.

We wish, further, to notify you that this Wednesday evening, December 20th, we intend to hold a mass meeting in Brownsville on the same subject, and with the same speakers. We intend to take all the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence of the scandal of last week, which was not, as you are well aware, the first time such attempts have been made by you to disrupt our gatherings. At our coming meeting, there will be representatives of various labor organizations whom we are calling upon to attend in order to render their judgment upon the responsibility borne by you or anyone else on any occurrences that may take place.

In conclusion, we feel obliged to declare that a failure on your part to reply to this communication cannot be considered by us as anything but a tacit affirmation of your intention to condone, which means to approve and repeat, the conduct of

your members. In that case, we desire to inform you that we will be duty-bound to take up this question in another manner until it is satisfactorily settled, that is, we shall energetically bring this issue before every working class organization within the reach of our members and friends, before every noted front movement against Fascism and terror and persecution. There we shall have to demand of your representatives a public accounting for your conduct and your tactics given in the presence of workers, of whose attitude towards such methods we feel entirely confident. You must surely be aware that you, as well as every other organization, which is called upon to express its opinion on this question, will be held responsible by the working class for any position it may take.

Fraternally yours,
City Committee, Communist League of America (Opp.)
MAX SHACHTMAN, Organizer.

A Protest Against Stalinist Gangster Attacks

Editor of Militant:
I was present at a meeting of the Left Opposition, on Dec. 14th, Thursday evening, at Hoffman Mansion, in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. The meeting had been called by the above group to discuss the Comintern and Soviet Recognition. In addition to this a former member of the Brownsville Section Committee of the Communist Party, Al Dasch, was to explain his views on the problems before the Communist movement.

The least the party and Y. C. L. members could have done was to come up to the meeting and discuss the matter intelligently. But—no, they chose the method of unliking mass hooliganism to force their way in, and then justified this action on the ground that they were invited by Dasch's statement, a personal attack on the speaker, a personal attack on the speaker, a personal attack on the speaker.

But once in, the party reps, Dolb, Morris, Gilbert, and Ross of the Y. C. L., showed that senseless bureaucratic suppression of thought, heckling, cheap denagogic tactics, attempt at controlling a meeting not their own. I defy, any Y. C. L. or party member to cite an instance in which any opposition was allowed to raise objections from the floor to the established procedure of a meeting.

It was clear to all present that the majority were against the disgusting party tactics, tactics which I have knowledge are carried through with the support of the party leadership. This terrible heckling, which brought remarks from workers, such as "in my reactionary union I have never seen such tactics", or "shut up, you rat", can have no other effect than isolating the party, embarrassing the good work it did, or could possibly do, and rendering it an odious sect. The panic created directly by the party leadership resulted in injury to outside workers.

All this, I am obliged to admit, yet being a close friend of the C. P., despite the bureaucratic handling of my case against the corrupt leadership (Walsh, Horvath and Co.), is a result of a whip being wielded over the heads of the rank and file, the crying death of political education which leads, in general, to a policy of cheap, street-corner gangsterism and the use of the fist instead of the brain.

Every reasoning Communist, every member of the C. P. or Y. C. L., can have no other response to make to the display of repulsive party methods than to urge in his mind a condemnation of the actions of the party at Hoffman Mansion, to press for a thorough-going discussion on the German situation and on Soviet recognition—for, to allow such tactics to continue is to sanction the growth of black reaction in the party ranks, is to stifle that rich energy which streams from true Communist thought, is to sign away the working class, hand and foot, to the police department, is to crush what the bureaucrats have left of the revolutionary vanguard.

Comradely yours,
—W. C.
Former Member of the Communist Party (Brownsville)

MASQUERADE BALL

ON
New Years Eve
HOT JAZZ BAND

Germania Hall, 16th St., & 3rd Ave.
December 31st 1933

PRIZES FOR BEST COSTUMES

Admission: 50 Cents

Auspice: New York Local, Communist League of America (Opposition)

An Open Letter to the International Labor Defense

Dec. 16th, 1933.
International Labor Defense,
District Office
739 Broadway
New York City

Comrades:
We are enclosing to you a copy of the letter we have just sent to the District Committee of the Communist Party, New York, which is self-explanatory. You will observe from the letter that we are inviting a number of labor organizations to sit on the platform with our speakers at the coming Wednesday evening, December 20th, mass meeting of our organization, for the purpose of giving an objective judgment on any outward occurrences that may take place at this meeting, such as a recurrence of the events of last week's affair.

We cannot impress upon you too strongly the depths of our feelings on this question. At such a time as this, when the labor movement should be giving its full attention to the introduction of the methods of reaction into the working class, it is tantamount to giving aid and comfort to the enemy when any section of the labor movement permits itself the practice of such methods as were pursued at last week's mass meeting. The International Labor Defense has as one of its declared aims the defense of workers' meetings from attacks and intervention from the police, and such an aim we and every other class conscious group heartily endorse. Such actions as the Hoffman Mansion meeting, which are directly responsible for the intervention of police in labor gatherings.

On this occasion, the police struck at us, as a small group. Tomorrow, they will use such situations in order to proclaim that no radical group may hold public meetings unless they are under police supervision; or else, they may declare that the radicals may no longer hold any public meetings at all.

It is your obvious duty to help avoid such a situation. We therefore invite you, as one of the organizations involved, to send a representative to our meeting for the purpose indicated in the enclosed letter. We look forward to an immediate reply to our office so that the necessary detailed arrangements may be made.

Fraternally yours,
City Committee, Communist League of America (Opp.)
MAX SHACHTMAN, Org.

PHILADELPHIA BANQUET
To Celebrate our Fifth Anniversary Benefit The "MILITANT"
On Sun. Dec. 24th 8 P. M.
at Our Local Headquarters
524 W. Thompson Street
Admit One Subscriptions 25c
Auspices: Communist League (Opposition) Philadelphia.

MINNEAPOLIS NEW YEAR'S EVE AFFAIR
Bridge — Dancing — Entertainment — Refreshments —
Sunday, December 31, 1933, 9 P. M.
at 3801 Elliott Avenue
Auspices: Minneapolis branch C. L. of A. (Opp.)
Everybody Welcome.... Adm. Free

CHICAGO FORUM
Lecture by Albert Goodman on
SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION
When and How It Will Be Achieved
Sunday Eve, January 7th, 8:30 p. m.
at the
National Socialist Institute
3322 Douglas Blvd.
Admission 10 Cts. Unemployed Free
Questions — — Discussion

LOS ANGELES ATTENTION THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)
Holds
OPEN FORUM
Every Thursday 8 P. M. at
224 S. Spring St.,
ROOM 218
ADMISSION FREE

GALA XMAS EVE AFFAIR
Sunday, December 24, 1933
Hot Band, Entertainment, Refreshments
Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)
Brooklyn Branch
Spartacus Youth Club
Brownsville Branch
151 Walling St., Bklyn., N. Y.
ADMISSION 15c

An Apologist for Litvinov

The November 25th issue of the Militant was one of the best numbers to appear in the last few months. The Militant was the only revolutionary organ which gave a true analysis from the international proletarian point of view on the issue of Soviet recognition by the great imperialist power, the United States. The editorial in this number, the article by comrade Shachtman, and the article by comrade Litvinov, will remain historical documents for the vanguard of the revolutionary movement the world over.

Without fear the Left Opposition contrasted the diplomacy of Lenin's days and the diplomacy of the Stalin faction for the last ten years. The Litvinov-Stalin bargain and the price paid for recognition by American imperialism is a dead blow to the international revolutionary movement. The Militant has pointed out clearly what points 3 and 4 of the pact mean from a Marxist point of view.

The Panic-Stricken Scribblers
As a result of this Stalinist messenger boys, the Freiheit staff, became panic-stricken. An article appeared every day last week by the great theoreticians against the "Trotskyists", the Left Opposition. I am only a worker. Therefore I will not go into a polemic with every one of them but will simply show what Moisseye Olgin writes in the Freiheit of Nov. 29th. "The counter-revolutionary Trotsky," he says, "wrote an article in 1931, and he predicted that the U. S. will become the strongest power in the world hegemony, and the U. S. dollar will be the dictator of the world over. After a year and nine months the world hegemony of American capitalism is now smaller, and the dollar at present is a weak dictator in the world market." According to Olgin all Trotsky's predictions fell through and were not correct.

I am not interested here to defend comrade Trotsky; this I will leave to Trotsky himself or to the editors of the Militant. But I would like to know, and thousands of workers would like to know from the Olgin: if the U. S. is so weak in the world hegemony why did Litvinov grant Roosevelt articles 3 and 4 which mean the partition of the Third International from the Soviet territory? More, why did not Olgin explain to the workers point 3 and 4 in the party? Why shouldn't the workers know about this? And again, if Olgin says that for the last ten years similar pacts were signed with other powers let him show to which country was given such concessions as in articles 3 and 4.

Olgin's "Explanations"
"In 1921," Olgin continues, "the Soviet Government under Lenin's leadership sent a protest note to England, France, U. S., Japan, and China, for not inviting the U. S. S. R. to the disarmament conference. In 1922 the Soviet Government was represented at Genoa at an international conference for the first time. From this we can see that the Soviets under Lenin's leadership did speak about working together with other powers, and were not afraid to participate in international economic and political conferences. This shows that the U. S. S. R. in 1922 did not make larger concessions than she is making now."

I want to say that Olgin is confusing the issue. Who ever said that the Soviets should not participate in economic and political conferences? Only idiots will say so. It is true the Soviets in 1922 participated in the international conference in Genoa under the guidance of Christian Rakovsky who is exiled by Stalin somewhere in Siberia. At the Genoa conference the bourgeoisie of Europe demanded that Russia should suppress upon her territory all attempts to aid revolutionary movements in other countries.

What was the answer of the Russian delegation to the capitalist powers? "Contentment" was ready to give you certain concessions, but hands off the Communist International. Of course this was the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky in 1922. What the imperialist powers could not get from Russia in 1922 during the famine period Roosevelt got from Litvinov in 1933. Is this because the Soviet government is today stronger than in 1922? Why did not Moisseye Olgin explain to the workers the stand of the Soviet delegation at the Genoa conference? Why falsify? Why not meet the issue in truthful manner? Why confuse the workers more and more?

What the Workers Said
After I read the Freiheit articles I went down to the market where the Jewish workers assemble. I wanted to hear their reactions on these articles, so I asked some cloak and dressmakers about them. They laughed, and when I asked them what was the joke one of them said, "Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist just as the Freiheit writes correct labor news every day." The next day I was with Millinery and Pocketbook workers and when I asked them what they thought about the "counter-revolutionary Trotsky", one of them pulled a Militant out of his pocket and said, "This is the first time I buy this paper; if these comrades are counter-revolutionaries I will soon be in their company."

Is it a wonder the last number of the Militant was sold out and is still in demand? The Freiheit articles were good propaganda for the Militant and the Left Opposition.

Impressions on a National Tour

On my recent tour through the country I gathered impressions of a multicolored variety. In the first place one cannot fail to notice that after deceptive glamor of the early appearance of the New Deal the crisis has returned. One does not encounter so much the traditional misanthrope, the traveling salesman, but the countless long freight trains still carry their loads of unemployed workers and homeless tramping youth roving from place to place in quest of some new way of getting by. The aristocratic appearing New England towns radiate the screaming colors of the blue eagle signs, proceeding westward. However, these become rather scarce. Here and there emerge little "Buy Now" banners. But the attempts to stoke them daily fall flat. The throbbing hum of a busy industry is absent. Within the forest of smoke stacks in the Pittsburgh and Gary steel regions only a few hunch forth their pallid clouds. In Buffalo and

League Member in L.A. Demands Proof for Slanders

(Sent to the Los Angeles Section Organizer of the Communist Party)

Los Angeles
Dec. 12, 1933

Fellow Worker:
There has come to my attention within the last few months a constantly repeated accusation against me made by a number of well known party members, namely that I am a police spy.

You are no doubt aware of the incalculable harm that can be done to the working class movement as a whole by the spreading of irresponsible rumors about active participants in the labor movement. You must also be aware that the branding of honest revolutionaries as police spies results in demoralization of the workers ranks and makes it exceedingly difficult to expose real provocateurs when it is necessary to do so.

Because this is generally recognized by all responsible working class organizations there are certain rights allowed to all workers who are so accused.

Also it is well known that no revolutionary organization worthy of the name should encourage the spreading of such rumors simply because they had political or factional differences with the person so victimized, that such action must eventually result in the complete exposure of those who spread such rumors.

When accusations must be made they should be made openly with supporting proof and the accused worker be afforded the right to a trial before his fellow workers. This goes without saying is a generally recognized custom among honest revolutionaries.

In the interest of the movement as a whole and in consideration of the above I demand the following: That Austin Sullivan, Harry Rice, Cope, Lawrence Ross, Stapleton and others who have made a practice of accusing me behind my back be called by the proper party authorities and be asked to submit proof of their accusations and to make them openly in my presence. That, if they are not willing to make such accusations openly that they be disciplined for their dishonest behavior. That a thorough investigation as to the source of these rumors be made because it is a quite frequent tactic of provocateurs in the ranks of the workers to originate rumors of this character in order to spread confusion among workers organization.

I have a right to expect a reply in a reasonable time stating what you intend to do in regard to this matter. That is not a matter to which the party can remain indifferent. No revolutionary organization worthy of the name permits important members of their organization to spread such rumors on their individual responsibility without calling them to task. Hoping to hear from you very soon, I am,
Very sincerely yours,
FRANK HAINSTEIN.

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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A Panorama of Present Conditions of the American Worker

Niagara Falls, however, the war industries and allied chemical industries are running full blast.

Decline of "New Deal" Illusions

Here one of our comrades told me of his work in the plant producing the means of chemical warfare for Uncle Sam. "Three days of work in one stretch is all a man can stand," he said. "After that must follow at least two days in a completely darkened room to avoid instant blindness." But jobs are scarce today. Yet the lifetime of a worker in such an industry is exceedingly brief. The eyesight gives out. Such are some of the blessings of modern capitalism.

But all is supposed to be well with the New Deal policy, although the defenders of its redeeming features, as a means of recovery, say it is at its cross roads. This is true in more than one sense. "Oh, yes," they agree—both supporters and opponents among the agents of privilege—"its social relation features are of positive significance."

They mean by that the code and arbitration board regulations which represent the attempts to tie the workers within definite bonds of collaboration with capital, entirely to the latter's advantage. That aspect has not yet become clear to the workers in general. But it is noticeable throughout, and more apparent as one reaches westward, that of the former implicit confidence in the NRA, which made it synonymous with recovery, with jobs, there is at least only a thin veneer left. What stands out the more clearly is the readiness to organize and the direct response from the workers to organization efforts.

Surge Toward Unionization
The first big "recovery" strike wave had just about reached its ebb when my tour began. Organization activities were no longer at their former height but neither had they entirely petered out with the blasting of the recovery illusions. The truth is that the overwhelming numbers surging towards the existing unions, and decidedly towards the conservative unions, represented the instinctive mass reaction to the opportunities afforded by the NRA, collective bargaining clause, supplemented by the heavily increasing economic pressure upon them. It came about with such a rush that the A. P. of L. leaders were taken by surprise. In fact it was not at all due to any aggressive action on their part. They served as an impediment, gladly collecting the initiation fees which came rolling in but resisting and subverting organization at every step.

In Kansas City, for example, one of our comrades began to undertake organization in a plant of industrial mass production. He collected an imposing list of applicants but found it impossible to pry the trades and labor council loose. He could get no attention from that outfit so entirely oblivious to interests of expansion and growth. What could one expect then from the higher echelons of the hierarchy? It is true that the glutinous mandarins heading the New York garment workers union had a special interest in organizing the whole industry as a means of wiping out the U. P. of L. union in the field. But elsewhere no such competition existed as a serious factor, and their worthy associates did their level best to drive the workers back from struggle for union organization and for union recognition.

Fayette County Miners

That was the case with the Fayette County coke miners in their strike against the steel subsidiary of H. C. Frick and Company. Several times the glib-tongued, expert horse-traders in the class collaboration field, from John L. Lewis downward, pleaded with these miners to return to work and to trust to them and to Mr. Roosevelt to preserve the interests of union organization. But the miners stuck to their own rights and made their own fight for a union, and at that for the very union headed by Lewis and the others. Not that the miners were fooled by this gentry. On the contrary. When William Feeney came on October 3, to address a meeting near Uniontown of 15,000 strikers he was greeted with the shouts "You sold us out in 1922".

"Throw him out." He was unable to speak and left the meeting.

Even this very early stage of the "new deal" for the workers heralded the coming deep conflicts between the rank and file and the reactionary union leadership. The distribution of the roles in this case showed the miners defending the principles of unionism against the officials of the very union involved. It may be argued that this is not a new phenomena in American labor history. That is true. But by occurring at this time it has a special significance for the future. To say the NRA class collaboration machinery is based upon arbitration boards which tomorrow will be turned into means of suppression of strikes and, thereby, suppression of the very life of the trade unions. With this machinery the union officials remain sewed up, for today and tomorrow, because they are agents of capitalism. And with this the rank and file interests will come into ever more decisive conflict. It is from conditions such as these that the coming great labor struggles will and must reflect within the unions in serious revolts against the reactionary policies and against the officialdom. Thereby the path will be prepared for a new unionism.

Failure of Stalinist Unions

That this path will not be found through the U. U. of L. unions only further verified by the most recent experiences. Today one can find no trace whatever of the National Miners' Union in the important fields along as far west as Illinois. The thousands of miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio, who two years ago struck under the banner of the U. U. of L. union, were this time striking, and just as militantly, under the banner of the A. P. of L. striking for the rights of union recognition which the NRA was supposed to grant.

With the NRA came the rising curve of commodity prices the effects of which are felt very directly. "The NRA is just so much bunk," has now become a quite common expression, not only amongst those who still tramp the streets in vain search for jobs, but amongst the employed as well. For them the low wage standard resulting from the crisis is a serious reality. It is difficult to make ends meet. A grim determination is beginning to make its appearance within their ranks. One feels perceptibly that the present lull after the first strike wave is the calm before the next storm sure to break soon with the force of a hurricane.

Conditions of the Unemployed

And the unemployed? Amongst them are many signs of a sluggish adaptation to the low subsistence level afforded by the miserable relief rations. But these do not predominate. Most of the various mutual self-help enterprises, based upon begging and upon barter of labor for goods, which flourished for a time in several smaller cities, could not survive the realities of class society. Instead relief work or "working for the city," as it is called by some who hope to invest it with a non-existing dignity, is becoming a regular institution in many cities. It means to do regular work for a relief pittance either, in cash or in groceries bearing no semblance to a wage. And often it is on such projects that regular wage labor is directly eliminated. Yet it becomes compulsory for those who need the grocery basket.

In spite of all this there is no sign anywhere today of an all-embracing unemployment movement. What exists is only the isolated local groupings; and of them there are few. In Minneapolis the Left Opposition has infused new life into the unemployed movement. In Chicago one finds still the Workers' League and locals affiliated to the Bonkers Committee. On a whole the issues of the unemployed receded into the background for a time with the advent of the NRA bubble. The movement, such as it was, experienced a decline. But that does not tell the whole story.

Catastrophic Position of Official Party

Alongside of the decline is recorded the failure of the movement or the tendencies within, mainly those of the official Communist party and of the social reformists, to at any time seriously aim for the indispensable united front. From this the movement is now suffering the consequences. The unemployed councils, directed by the official party, which first emerged with the powerful spontaneous demonstrations, with the auspicious opportunity, during the early part of the crisis, have either entirely vanished or, went amounts to the same thing, lead a purely paper existence.

In general the decline and the sinking into disrepute of the official party is so outstanding as to be catastrophic. In city after city, not in the least in the mining and steel regions, I made the same observation. The official party is discredited to the extent of reflecting unfavorably upon the ideas of Communism in general. Again and again I would hear reports of workers saying, "I am through with Communist Party", or, "I quit the Daily Worker some time ago." How clearly did this illustrate the reactions thousands of workers who have been repulsed by the emasculated party of Stalinism. For the Left Opposition this means more emphasis on the duty to build anew a revolutionary party in the United States. Our part in this task will be reported in another article.

—ARNE SWABECK.

THE NEW DANGER OF WAR IN THE FAR EAST

Press dispatches from the Far East point to the imminence of a fresh military campaign by Japanese imperialism, intended to carry a stage further the grandiose plan of colonial conquest designed by the late Baron Tanaka. With the military accomplishment of each successive phase of this plan, which is the guiding plan of the Tokyo warlords, the danger of war against the Soviet Union approaches increasingly nearer.

With the signing of the Tangku truce last May 31, resulting in the "demilitarization" of approximately 5,000 miles of Chinese territory south of the Great Wall, there ensued a period of comparative quiet. The Japanese army withdrew to the Great Wall but continued to hold all the strategic passes into Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, including the important gateway at Shuankuwan. The past six months have witnessed intensive preparations for a fresh military drive. Heavy Japanese troop concentrations took place at Mukden and Changchun late in September on the time-worn pretext of "bandit-suppression." Now it is reported that Japanese forces have undertaken the conquest of Inner Mongolia, the next step from which is an intervention against the People's Government of Outer Mongolia, meaning war against the Soviet Union.

Japan Aims at War

All the facts of the present situation in the Far East point indubitably to the clear-cut intention of the Japanese imperialists to push their military might against the Soviet Union without unnecessary delay. The Tanaka plan calls not only for the conquest of Manchuria, sections of China proper and Inner and Outer Mongolia, but also for the forcible seizure of all Soviet territory east of Lake Baikal territory richer than Manchuria in such basic raw materials as coal and iron and possessing mineral and other riches which Manchuria does not possess.

The principal danger spot for the Soviet Union has shifted recently from Russia's western frontiers to the Far East, Germany, as the Left Opposition organ in that country, *Unser Wort*, recently asserted, is in no position to make war on the land of the Soviets. Years of preparation are required. To those who contend that Japan is not adequately prepared either it must be stated that, given the present balance or relationship of forces, Japanese imperialism is as prepared

Attack on the Workers' Fatherland by the Japanese Militarists Imminent

ed for war on the Soviet Union as it can ever hope to be. The difference between the two is that in any absolute sense, prepared for war, but they embark upon war nevertheless. In the case of Japan, the danger of war is in certain respects is lost in the general psychosis of invincibility, stimulated by the military campaigns of the last two years and the still-unforgotten victory over Czarist Russia in 1905.

Effect of American Recognition

American recognition of the Soviet Union has lessened the danger of a Japanese attack on the workers' fatherland, we have been told. This facile contention, embodied in the diplomatic jargon of Stalin-Litvinov and slavishly echoed by Stalinist scribblers who seek to justify a Soviet "peace policy" that involves the desertion and virtual repudiation of revolutionary internationalism, will not bear the test of examination. American recognition of the Soviet Union, insofar as it affects Soviet-Japanese relations, will more probably hasten the onslaught of Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union. There is no prospect of any improvement in Japan's internal situation, and the hopes of the Japanese imperialists of a successful war against the Soviet Union can only become dimmed by delay in delivering the attack (we are not discussing here the actual possibilities of Japan's winning out in a war on the Soviets in the Far East). Moreover, Japan cannot hope to force a united imperialist front against the Soviets by the methods of diplomacy. Fifteen post-war years have proved that impracticable. But Japan does expect to find allies in the west once she has started the fight.

Sharpening Japano-American Relations

American recognition, while tending to hasten a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union, will sharpen Japano-American antagonisms—in fact has done so already. It was announced from Tokyo on December 8 that the Japanese fleet is to be reorganized on a war basis. The fleet is not needed for war on the Soviet Union. Only a few ships would be employed for an assault on Vladivostok. The move is clearly intended as a "hand-off" warning to the United States. Japanese officials are said to have revealed that "secret conversations" have taken place in Tokyo with Manuel Quezon, leader of the Filipino bourgeois independence movement.

Japan will in all probability decide to strike the first blow before the Soviet Union has the opportunity to take advantage of American credits, expected to follow recognition. This view was expressed succinctly enough by George Brown, head of the \$30,000 a year American adviser to the new state of Manchukuo—that is, Japan—in a letter to the *New York Herald-Tribune* on November 18. He declares that: "If recognition is followed by huge credits or loans which will enable Moscow to rush through its plans in central Asia and Siberia, then the outlook for peace is far from bright." As a result of such loans or credits, he goes on to contend, "the jaws of the Communist nutcracker will begin to close and Japan will have to fight for her life."

Quezon, reportedly sought Japanese aid and discussed linking the Philippines to the charter of Japanese imperialism. It must be remembered that the Tanaka memorial envisages the seizure of the Philippines in order to round out the Empire of the Rising Sun and establish Japanese hegemony in the Pacific.

That Japan's first target is the Soviet Union and not America is indicated in a report from Mukden last week, which stated that the exiled Turkish prince, Abdul Kerim, is now en route from Tokyo to Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) on the Soviet borders, to head a puppet government that Japanese agents are trying to set up there. The prince has been the guest of the Japanese government for almost a year, being held in readiness to fill in Sinkiang the role that the ex-Manchu emperor, Henry Pu Yi, fills in Manchukuo. Japanese intrigues in Sinkiang are part of the preparations for the coming assault on Outer Mongolia. Hence, while it is indubitably true that Japano-American antagonisms are growing sharper, the reported reorganization of the Japanese fleet on a war basis, coupled with the whisperings concerning the Philippines, should be construed as a warning rather than as a threat.

Japanese Militarism in a Hurry

If Japan is not yet fully prepared for a war with the Soviet Union, she is not even at the beginning of preparation for a war against her powerful Pacific rival, a Japanese war against the United States.

Discussion Article

The Proletarian Party -- Position and Prospects

(continued from the last issue)

Both these disturbances were a direct result of the depression. During the "prosperous" days, when money was comparatively plentiful, no one in the Party seriously questioned Keracher's judgment and ability as custodian of the Party's funds. This is proved by the fact that his books were never audited. But as the depression advanced money got scarcer and scarcer. It became necessary to not only count the dimes but the pennies too. Some of the bolder spirits even questioned whether Keracher was handling the Party funds in the most advantageous manner. They became very inquisitive and discovered that the different Party funds were mixed together quite indiscriminately. All the money was put into one pot. Press funds, membership dues, organization funds, local rent, C. H. Kerr Co. funds, were all put together and whatever need came along first got whatever money was available. This could perhaps best be described as financial opportunism.

New Opposition in 1932

About September 1932, comrades Anderson, Knight and Novak, as a majority of the Executive Council, undertook to instruct Keracher in the handling of press funds, and when he ignored the instruction they elected Knight as Press Fund Secretary, and instructed him to open a separate bank account for the press funds, which he did. The majority of the Executive Council did not take the stand that under no circumstances could press funds be diverted to other purposes and later restored, but that this should be done only in emergency whereas Keracher did it as a habit. Keracher appealed the decision of the majority of the Executive Council to the N. E. C. as a whole. He made his appeal on the basis of the Party constitution which, while it says "The N. E. C. shall have full power to carry on Party work between conventions", it also says "The National Secretary shall supervise the accounts of the National Office", and also that "The National Secretary shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the N. E. C."

On the matter of this appeal the N. E. C. as a whole, under the influence of Keracher's correspondence, decided that the constitution gave complete control of Party funds to Keracher and that the press funds should be returned to him. They agreed with Keracher that, having been elected by the same body as the N. E. C., namely the convention, he was not only not subject to the Council but was not even subject to the N. E. C., but was on an equal footing with it. He contended that not even the NEC had power to take funds out of his hands, and the N. E. C. agreed. To illustrate the attitude of most of the N. E. C. members it may be said that one of them moved for the abolition of the Council and the placing of the National Office affairs entirely in the hands of the National Secretary till the next convention. Another N. E. C. member moved that the resignation of Novak and Anderson from the N. E. C. be requested.

Questions of Organization Principle

Under these circumstances members of the Party for the first time took up the study of democratic centralism and Bolshevik party structure. Anderson, Knight and Novak soon discovered that the principles of democratic centralism require the election by the convention, or congress, of a Central Committee which shall really have full power over all party affairs till the next congress, and that this committee shall elect from its members

a secretary, who shall be the Secretary of the committee and at all times subordinate to the committee. The Secretary is not elected by the congress and gets no power from the congress. The Central Committee elects a Bureau to carry on the day to day work (to which the Executive Council of the Proletarian Party is comparable) and this Bureau is also under the control of the Central Committee, but is entitled to make decisions for the committee between meetings of the committee. The secretary of the committee is also the secretary of the Bureau. This is democratic centralism as outlined by Lenin, the fundamental principles of which must be incorporated into the constitution of any organization calling itself Communist. There is little room for dualism in such a structure. Under the Proletarian Party has been organized in this fashion Keracher could never have carried the Party in his pocket for so many years even though the intelligence of the rank and file was very low.

As an example of the loose and careless manner of carrying on the Party work and of the complete lack of criticism of the leaders by the rank and file it should be stated that although the Party had for over ten years a functioning body known as the Executive Council, consisting of those members of the N. E. C. who lived in, or happened to be in, the city of Chicago where the National Office was located, and although this body was understood by the rank and file to be the executive and representative body of the N. E. C. as a whole, yet there was never a word in the Party constitution about even the existence of such a body till the convention last September when the opposition group, after a hard struggle, succeeded in forcing into the constitution a modest definition of its powers and functions.

1933 Convention

Since a convention was scheduled for 1933 and a period of pre-convention discussion was approaching, Anderson, Knight and Novak, decided to lay the whole matter before the rank and file. However, with a hostile secretary in the National Office, through whose hands all correspondence must pass and who supervised the issuing of the discussion bulletins, this was not an easy matter. Keracher used all the tricks in his bag (and it's a big bag) to prevent this matter from reaching the membership. After much struggling on the part of Anderson, Knight and Novak, it did get into the pre-convention bulletin but it was at the tail end, just a short time before the convention opened and the membership had too little time to properly consider such fundamental questions and instruct their delegates on them before the convention opened.

But in spite of this the proposed changes in the constitution almost carried. The vote was 12-11 against them, and even this was only accomplished by a pre-convention maneuver on Keracher's part by means of which two prominent members of Local Detroit, Schock and Landgraf, who had proclaimed themselves favorable to the proposed constitutional changes, were suspended from the Party for three months on a minor charge and thus excluded from the convention. For the first time in Proletarian Party history the fundamental principles of Leninism were discussed on the floor of a convention. But the majority still supported Keracher, finding it impossible to believe that a man they had trusted so many years should really have been untrustworthy.

Social Democratic Viewpoints Most of the decisions taken at

the convention were of a Social Democratic character. More so than those of any previous convention of the Party. The decisions on the farm question, the Negro question, partial demands, the Communist International, were all characterized by evasion or obvious misunderstanding, such as for example the decision that the farmer is not a worker and should not be seriously considered by a revolutionary party. Keracher was re-elected, as National Secretary with all of his former power intact.

Anderson resigned at the convention and Knight shortly afterwards. Also a body of about 20 others, members of Local Detroit, have left the Party as a result of the convention decisions. There are indications that those still in the party are progressing as a result of the controversy. Many of them have, for the first time, taken up a study of Leninism. This will probably result in other attempts to change the Party line and doubtless there will be other splits, resignations or expulsions. There seems no reason to hope that the Party leaders will be able to change their position and become revolutionary. It appears that whatever usefulness the organization had in the past has definitely disappeared and the Party is now nothing but a hindrance to revolutionary development.

Workers should be able to gain some understanding from such events as these. One conclusion to be drawn from this controversy is that we should never cease to be critical of our leaders. We must have leaders, and the rank and file must have confidence in those leaders, but those extending the confidence must not be deaf, dumb and blind but always alert and critical. Previous to this conflict in the Proletarian Party it would have been quite impossible for me to conceive of a great leader like Stalin playing any dirty tricks on his fellow party members or in any way failing to serve the best interests of the international working class.

Leaders and Rank and File

While there is little comparison between the size of the Russian party and the Proletarian Party it can be understood that if workers who for years had prized themselves on being super-critical could be so easily deceived by a Keracher it might be possible for good Bolsheviks to be deceived by a Stalin. The actions of our leaders, national and international, must be watched at all times and nothing taken for granted. While watching our enemies we must also watch our friends. If we fail in this important matter we shall pay as the workers of Germany are now paying.

In addition to this very important lesson there is another which deserves attention. That is that parties and individuals cannot be understood apart from their backgrounds. The Proletarian Party's over-emphasis on education, and failure to accomplish anything in practical every-day organizational work, was to quite an extent a reaction to the stupid ballyhoo of the Communist Party, though it was partly due to the conservative tendencies of the leaders inherited from the Socialist Party. The utterly un-Communist Proletarian Party constitution, with its paralyzing effects, must be considered definitely as a Socialist Party heritage.

We must learn to critically analyze our tendencies in the light of past and present influences and to shake off mercilessly all outworn dogma and tradition. Eternal vigilance is the price of success in our work.

—JOSEPH KNIGHT.

ters into the general drive for domination of China—a general drive of rival imperialisms in which Britain and France also have most important interests and roles.

But in the phases of this drive which reflect specifically Japano-American rivalry Japan is in the lead, diplomatically, economically and strategically. Tokyo's overtures to Nanking—to that government which time out of number has declared it would never enter into direct negotiations with Japan—have already produced concrete results. The Chinese bourgeoisie, represented politically by the Kuo Min Tung government at Nanking, has moved steadily toward rapprochement with Japan during the year now closing. Hoping for much from renewed relationships with the Soviet Union, Nanking abandoned all such hope when, to its utter amazement, Moscow declared its readiness to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan. Ever since, with clumsy attempts at secrecy, Nanking has been dicker with Tokyo.

Relations of China and Japan

Nanking's present position vis-à-vis Japan has been defined with a clearness that precludes misunderstanding by the Peiping correspondent of the *New York Times*:

"Remarkable development has occurred during recent months in the relations between China and Japan. Although the Nanking government has not yet chosen to risk public displeasure by entering into formal diplomatic negotiations with Japan for the settlement of the Manchurian and related issues, Japanese diplomacy has made important gains through informal dealings with the North China political faction headed by General Huang Fu. It has been scarcely half a year since the Tangku armistice brought an end to Sino-Japanese hostilities. Yet, in that brief period, the attitude of the North China administration toward Japan has been transformed from one of bitterness to one of utmost friendliness and cooperation. Anti-Japanese elements in the administration have been gradually weeded out. Intimate relations have grown up between Japanese military and diplomatic representatives and the North China government. Within the last month Japan has become particularly assiduous in sowing good will."

N. Y. Times, December 10.

The correspondent goes on to relate how, as evidence of the "new spirit" he describes, there took place a "strange spectacle," when Chinese and Japanese troops, which a few months before had been at war with each other, joined forces to quell the Chinese rebel, General Fung Chen-Wu. But what is of especial importance and significance is the Japanese view of the strengthened influence they have gained in Chinese government circles. It is considered "an important factor in the event of Soviet-Japanese complications," says the correspondent.

Nanking's Deal with Japan

It is plain that Nanking has made at least a tentative deal with Japan—a deal that is directed, obliquely at any rate, against the Soviet Union. This development is very largely the by-product of Soviet diplomacy, which retreated step by step before Japanese aggression during the past two years. The humiliating act in this retreat was the decision to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Current developments in the Far East demand the closest vigilance of the revolutionary movement and of the working-class movement generally. A war by Japan against the Soviet Union, in which the Kuo Min Tung government would be the ally of Japanese imperialism, would undoubtedly engender the profoundest repercussions in the ranks of the Chinese working class and in the broad layers of the poor population. The Chinese workers are still confused and disorganized, largely passive. They have not yet recovered from the catastrophe visited on them by the Stalinists.

—LUCIFER.

in 1927. But there are signs of their revival, indicated in the rising strike movement in the industrial centers.

Tasks of Chinese Communists

The Chinese Communists are obligated by their revolutionary tasks to penetrate the ranks of the workers, aid in the work of reorganization, give sound political direction to the movement. The official party still maintains its false course toward the armed uprising, predicating it upon the existence of peasant guerrilla warfare in remote rural areas in the heart of the country. The raising of democratic slogans around which the city masses can be mobilized for action is still denounced as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism," although only nine months ago the Provisional Soviet Government at Jukih—that government of which Moscow is still not officially cognizant—advanced a series of democratic demands in an official manifesto. Pressed by political needs born of activity, this peasant government, which the Stalinists point to as evidence of the "mistakes" of the Left Opposition, advances a program of demands which the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist International even to this day denounce as counter-revolutionary.

Democratic Demands

What were these demands? They are embodied in a declaration issued to the people of China on April 15 this year over the signature of Mao Tse-tung, president of the Provisional Government of the Soviet Republic of China. Toward the end of the declaration we read the following—note it carefully, you who denounce the democratic slogans of the Left Opposition as Menshevism:

"The Red Army is ready to enter into fighting operative agreements with any army or military detachment in the fight against Japanese invasion under the following conditions:

1. Cessation of the advance against the Soviet Districts.
2. Granting of Democratic rights to the people of China (free speech, free press, rights of assembly, demonstration, organization, release of political prisoners, etc.)
3. Arming of the people, the creation of armed volunteer detachments to struggle for the defense, independence and unity of China."

For A New Party in China

If we add the obviously requisite demand for the National Assembly there is nothing to cavil at in this program. Put forward by radio from the bottled-up Soviet government at Jukih it reached nowhere. As the program of the Chinese Communist Party its slogans could become the slogans of the workers in the cities and acquire a tremendous significance. But it is hopeless to expect anything of the Chinese Communist Party, decayed beyond repair by its own vices. The Chinese oppositionists must construct a new party which will enter into its tasks correctly, seriously and conscientiously, mobilize the masses for the third Chinese revolution and simultaneously for the defense of the Soviet Union. These twin tasks converge and supplement each other. The new party must bury the rubbish heaped upon the Chinese revolutionary field by the Stalinists. It must oppose itself directly to the Chinese ruling class and its government, enemies of both the Chinese masses and the peoples of the Soviet Union, and not lose itself and disperse its forces in nebulous activities against imperialism in general.

In the measure that the Chinese working class, led by a new Communist Party, is successful in furthering its own revolution by fighting the Kuo Min Tung and the Nanking government, and the class forces represented therein—to that extent will it be discharging its share of the task of defending the Soviet Union. The Chinese workers are confronted by great tasks. They must receive the unstinting support of the workers of America and other countries.

—LUCIFER.

The Collapse of the Brandler Movement

(Editor's Note.—The interesting account of the disintegration of the international organization of the Right wing Brandlerists is translated from *Die Neue Front*, organ of the German Socialist Workers' Party.)

L. V. K. O. is an abbreviation for the Internationale Vereinigung der Kommunistischen Oppositionen (International Union of Communist Oppositions). Until very recently the IVKO consisted of KPO-Germany, KPO-Switzerland, KPO-Austria, KPO-Danish group in Norway, KPO-Sweden, the Lovestone group in America and a small group in Czechoslovakia. For some time already sharp differences have manifested themselves in the IVKO. They have now culminated in the declaration of Brandler, made at the Oct. 24th session of the Central Committee of the Swedish Independent Communist Party, to the effect that it is excluded from the IVKO. Thus, the already shaking structure of the IVKO lost its strongest prop.

The immediate cause for the expulsion was the participation of the Independent Communist Party of Sweden in the Paris Conference. But just as in case of the differences in the KPO-Germany the main question revolved around the attitude to Stalinism. The fact that the Norwegian Mot-Dag group answered the call to the Paris conference, and would have participated had not external circumstances prevented it, can be interpreted only that the Mot-Dag group feels itself in solidarity with the Swedish group, so that its official break with the IVKO is not far off.

New Rifts Developing

But with the loss of the quantitatively and qualitatively best elements of the IVKO the process of disintegration did not reach its end. It seems that a rift is also brewing with the KPO-Switzerland, and with the group around Brandler. At any rate the declarations of comrades Placmann and Bringer made at the enlarged session of the bureau are entirely in the spirit of the former KPO minority (present S. W. P. leadership—Tr.). In fact, comrade Placmann pronounced himself in favor of a new party in Germany. Comrade Bringer at one time made a statement that the KPD deviates from fundamental Communist principles, that the C. I. has been degraded to an instrument for the furtherance of Russia's foreign policy and that as far as the West-European proletariat is concerned the C. I. is "absolutely hopeless."

For some time already the relations between the Alsace opposition group and the leadership of the KPO-Germany have been very tense. As we see, only the Lovestone group in America remains steadfast and loyal to Brandler-Thalheimer. But information reaches

us that also in America there are currents "against the stream", so that the group, which is approaching the point of view of the Left Opposition and the S. W. P., has broken with Lovestone.

In face of this mass of ruins we can only hope that the C. C. of the IVKO will clear the path for the international unity of all Communist groups who have recognized that a correct policy today can be carried on only against the C. I. and its sections. Inside of Germany the isolation of Brandler and Thalheimer will undoubtedly hasten the winning over of the best elements of the KPO-Germany for the building of a real Communist party.

Disintegration Also in Bohemia

We have information from Czechoslovakia which shows to what extent the SPD and KPD have been losing and are still losing in influence. Orientation towards the Left Opposition is especially marked among SPD workers. The idea of building a new revolutionary party is gaining momentum.

On the KPD the report says: "Our Brandlerites have almost disappeared from the face of the earth due to their cringing policy before the Stalinists. A half a year ago they were still rather strong. They have since driven the majority of their members to indifference. While formerly they had been much stronger than the Left Opposition, now the L. O. is almost twice as strong. Thus, at the Nov. 1st meeting of Asch only a mere handful of no more than ten participated."

It would be unjust to blame the Asch KPO comrades for this defeat. It is the inevitable result of the opportunist policy which the leadership of the KPD has embarked upon. The workers say to themselves and with absolute right—if the internal and foreign policy of Stalin corresponds to Communist interests, this must also be true as far as the Stalin Comintern policy is concerned. And from this they draw a conclusion, absolutely logical, from their point of view, that the existence of the KPO groups is absolutely senseless.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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Vol. VI, No. 56 (Whole No. 203)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1933

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Movie Review

First National's *Wild Boys of the Road* is the first socially serious picture to be made since the crisis hit us like one of Moses' plagues. It tells the story of the tens of thousands of boys of all ages who are driven from home by the pressure of the crisis on their families; how they live; and the brutal treatment capitalist society gives them.

The break-up of working class families is faithfully recorded, but the scenes on the freight trains as the boys fight with and lick the railroad bulls by throwing fruit at them were written to order in the studio, not copied from life. None the less some effort was made to paint the police as the brutal ruffians they are. They are shown in action swinging clubs against kids. For once they don't appear as moralizing protectors of society.

In the last scene the boys who are hauled up before a juvenile court judge explain how they came to hit the road. They fix the blame on society and make themselves out to be its victims. The words they use are obviously put into their mouths. The sentiments they express are way beyond their understanding. On the other hand this is a new kind of talk for the moving pictures.

The producers vitiated their in-

diction of capitalist society by their treatment throughout the picture and, particularly, by its conclusion. Whenever a scene threatens to carry a biting sting and reach the spot in a man's heart where outrage lives the producers put in some light touch to set the audience laughing. The audience sat with did just that.

Most of them that got by this trick fell for the end. The juvenile court judge turned out to be a kind hearted fellow who let the boys off got them jobs, and told them everything was going to be alright and their folks would get jobs so they could go back home. They left out only the American flag and P. D.'s face. In this way the picture made the whole thing out to be one of those temporary dislocations in society which recovery will set straight. And in this sense the picture is false.

On the other hand the faithful presentation of much of the brutality and suffering which these young workers and workers' children are made to experience by the breakdown of the profit system gives the picture a positive value.

—T. S.

KEEP NEW YEAR'S OPEN FOR THE EVENT OF THE SEASON

EDITORIAL

Building the New Movement

IN breaking finally with the Stalinist party and Comintern, and in striking out an independent path toward the building of a new party, the Communist League has taken a step which flows with irrefutable logic from the realities of the situation; it corresponds completely to the burning needs of the working class and the political movement of its conscious vanguard section. The political wisdom of this decision will be verified in life, as in a certain measure it has already been verified, to the extent that we steer a resolute course on the new path.

Our break with Stalinism, its organizations and its treacherous policy, is irrevocable; there is no turning back. The time when the faction struggle within the ranks of the Comintern occupied the center of our attention is behind us. The main weight of our activity has to be shifted now directly into the broad class struggle. Delay or hesitation with this radical transformation of our work can only militate against the movement and our own influence in it.

It is not enough to recognize the logic of this decisive turn and to accept it formally. The next problem—and it is a crucial one now—is to assimilate the idea, with all its implications to the very end, into our blood. A complete break with narrow factional activity and the psychology engendered by it is an imperative necessity. Only then will we be able to translate our decision into action. A check-up of our activity and its results since the publication of our resolution on the question of the new party, which is in order now, will convince us of this.

One of the most conspicuous examples of the fruitful results of the new orientation of the League is to be found in the experience of the Minneapolis comrades in the unemployment movement. For a long time there, as elsewhere, while we maintained our position as a faction of the Stalinist Party and of its peripheral organizations, the League members and other revolutionary workers attempted to participate in the Unemployment Councils of the Stalinists. A futile task and a waste of time, as experience demonstrated. These Unemployment Councils, like all other Stalinist "mass organizations" are narrowly-constructed family affairs, isolated from the actual movement of the masses and serving the special interests of the bureaucratic machine. They far more concerned to keep "Trotskyites" out than to get workers in. The attempt to work in the unemployment movement under such auspices became a notorious process of sneaking into the so-called Unemployment Councils and being thrown out again. The more the burden of mass unemployment pressed the workers toward action the more the Stalinist clique blocked the way. A resolute break out of this vicious circle became the condition for a real activity among the masses on the issue of unemployment.

An independent course of action was commenced by the Internationalists in this field. The sterile "Councils" were left to stew in their own juice. Unemployed workers and workers' organizations were approached with a program of united action. This tactic brought gratifying results in a comparatively short time. The will of the workers generally to get together in the fight against the scourge of unemployment was shown in the widespread response to the initiative of our comrades. The relative insignificance of the Stalinist clique in the broad movement, and the absurdity of their claim to a "monopoly" of leadership, were likewise revealed with striking force.

Several conferences, embracing the bulk of the workers' organizations, have already been held; a big mass meeting on the unemployment question has taken place; the movement is growing and broadening in scope and the decks are being cleared for a real demonstration of working class unity and discontent that will wrest concessions from the masters. The developments to be seen in Minneapolis already are a heartening sign of the moving power that resides in the slogans of struggle against unemployment once they are taken out of the closed circle of a clique and made an issue of the class.

In the broad united front of the real workers' movement in Minneapolis the Stalinists appear only as a small minority of disrupters. The workers turned against them. Before the workers, who are concerned vitally with the united fight to make the conditions of their lives more bearable, the Stalinists appeared as enemies of the movement, resentful of its success and bent on disrupting and disorganizing it. In this way they convince the workers, on the basis of their own experience, that the Stalinist Party, which serves the special interests of a bureaucratic clique, is a sabotaging obstacle to the development of the workers' movement.

These lessons derived from experience are not the least of the benefits accruing to the general movement from the wide-scale unemployment activity which is being unfolded in Minneapolis. The members of the Communist League, while proceeding with their constructive work in the forefront of the movement, are true to its interests in exposing the fundamental meaning of the Stalinist tactics and aiding the workers to draw the necessary conclusions. Nevertheless, it appears to us, that too much time and effort should not be devoted to this aspect of the problem. In the broad movement of the working class it is most important to see things in their true proportions. We should be careful not to carry with us too many relics of the internal faction struggle that dominated our activity for so long a time.

The completely independent course in the class struggle, which our preparations for the new party enjoin upon us, gives us at the same time the opportunity to contrast our policy to that of the Stalinists before the workers in actual practice. This is the most effective way now to complete the task of annihilating Stalinism and liberating the vanguard labor movement from its disruptive influence. Our strength in the broad workers' movement will grow most rapidly if we appear there, in relation to the Stalinists, not as one faction fighting another, but rather as the representatives of the fundamental interests of the class opposing a policy of sabotage and disruption based on interests alien to those of the class. That, in fact, is how the conflict stands in reality. It is up to us to make it clear, in practice, in the whole course of our activity, as well as in words.

That is the way to ensure success in our aim to establish a new and genuine party of Communism without too much delay and to line up the forces for a great forward leap of the revolutionary movement in America. We have not yet set our feet firmly on this path—this we must acknowledge. Our long years of existence as a small faction fighting to restore the line of Marxist principle—a position inseparable from a certain tendency toward sectarianism—have left marks in our habits of thought as well as in our method of work. We have broken with the old position as a faction. Now we must break with the psychology of a faction and appear in all our work as the banner-bearers of an independent party.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

TEN YEARS—History and Principles of the Left Opposition by Max Shachtman. 79 Pages. 10c. Pioneer Publishers, New York.

At last a pamphlet on the history and fundamentals of the Left Opposition! A serious handicap in educating the newcomers to our movement has been precisely the absence of such a historical sketch. The simplicity and lucidity of style and presentation makes it interesting and informative reading even to the uninitiated.

In reality the pamphlet is a history of the ten years' struggle of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists against Stalinism in the Soviet Union, as well as internationally, in England and in China. The proof that the "Russian Question" is in reality a problem of world Communism is clearly presented by the author's well-knit story of how the basic theories of the Stalinist bureaucracy flow from the defeat of the West European working class; and the logical consequences of these theories in the Centrist zig-zag of Stalinism in its policies in the Soviet Union, England and China.

"Ten Years" commences by a clear explanation of why a militant worker should be interested in the factional struggle which has wracked the world Communist movement: the absolute indispensability of a revolutionary vanguard organization of the working class, as Comrade Shachtman points out in the introduction. Comrade Shachtman then proceeds with the struggle in 1923 for party democracy in the Russian Communist Party. The struggle is placed on the background of the economic and social difficulties of the Soviet Union. This method, of connecting the political conflicts with their social conditions, and the employment of well chosen quotations from leading spokesmen of the official regime, make the struggles realistic and easily understandable.

The controversies over "The Lessons of October," the theory of socialism in one country, the Anglo-Russian Committee and the British General Strike, and the Chinese Revolution, are so analyzed that, despite the brevity of the sections, all the essentials are expounded. The highly complicated problem of the danger of Thermidor and Bonapartism in the Soviet Union is explained in very simple language.

Because of the highly difficult task of condensing the ten years' struggle of the Left Opposition in a small pamphlet, a number of important omissions are to be expected. In discussing the Opposition's

criticism of the draft of the First Five Year Plan, it is essential to stress the contention of our comrades in 1927 that the Plan of the Stalinists meant industrialization at the expense of the working class, rather than at the expense of the non-proletarian elements in Russia; that the living conditions of the workers should increase with the development of industry. These points cannot be overemphasized; the stupendous gains in production of the First Five Year Plan were achieved, to a large degree, at the expense of the living standard of the workers—to a far greater extent than was necessary.

In speaking of socialist planned economy, it would have been well to include a brief paragraph contrasting scientific planning, with constant check-up and experimentation, as against the bureaucratic planning of Stalinism. In this connection, the reference to Trotsky's prediction, in "Whither Russia," on the possibility of a 20% annual increase of production is insufficient. A few words should have been added on how he arrived at this figure; in that way it could be made clear why his figure was realistic and superior to Rykov's and the State Planning Commission.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern (1928) is handled inadequately. The "third period" of the Sixth Congress was as different from the "third period" of the 10th Plenum (1929) as the views of Bukharin-Lostovets differed from those of Stalin-Molotov. Comrade Shachtman states in reference to the 10th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern: "It was the Plenum par excellence of the 'third period' which was at first denounced as an opportunistic idea by the Thaelmann-Neumann delegation to the Sixth Congress" (Page 66).

Hardly! The German Stalinists were not inconsistent! Bukharin's "third period" stressed the fact that European economy had exceeded its pre-war level the strengthening of capitalism economically; the conflict between the imperialist powers which would lead to war. According to this theory, the "war danger" was the paramount factor which accelerated the class struggle. Who is there who was in the American C. P. in late 1928 who does not recall how every strike was called a "manifestation of the war danger"?

Molotov's "third period" was a "horse of a different color." The emphasis was on the weakening of capitalist economy, the growing strike wave as a result of "inner

contradictions"—Lodz (Poland) strike, Ruhr miners strike, etc. The "third period" became the period of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, the "final period" of capitalism!

The Sixth Congress was compelled to criticize the policy of Communist building workers' and peasants' parties. (This did not stop the Stalinists from building such parties in India a few months after the Congress!). The Sixth Congress not only accepted the theory of socialism in one country for the Soviet Union, but for the first time divided the countries of the world—and the tasks of the Communists in these countries—according to whether they could build a complete and isolated socialist economy or not! This is important because such is the theoretical basis—despite inconsistencies—for the slogan of "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants."

"Ten Years" was written about a year ago, before the victory of Hitlerism. Comrade Shachtman's preface briefly explains the consequences of that fatal event. It would be well if the present pamphlet would be followed by others, on Germany, united front, trade union policies and problems of the American workers. "Ten Years" should be read by all workers who want to understand the conflicts of the past decade in the world Communist movement; so as to better equip themselves in the struggle of today.

Comrades should note a typographical error in the pamphlet. The eighth line of page 6 "Ten Years" should be the last line of page seven; the last line of page 7 should be the eighth line of page 8.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

The Fukien Rebellion

(Continued from page 1)

great fields for the revolutionary agitation among the masses in demanding the real democratization of the government and the arming of the people. It should be our task to put forth the democratic slogans in a most energetic manner to support the government so far as its practical steps are really anti-imperialistic, to criticize the tendencies toward compromise. Much can be done if we utilize the declaration of principles of the new government to deepen the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuo Min Tang movement among the masses. It is usual that the violent collisions of the ruling factions give rise to revolutionary movement. What is now lacking is revolutionary leadership. Let us hope that the political crisis created by the Fukien movement will rouse the

Conditions in the Soviet Union

An American Worker's Report on Labor and the Five-Year Plan

Some time ago, a criticism appeared in *The Militant* for publishing experiences of delegates to Soviet Union on the ground that it would make a bad impression on the average casual reader against the Workers State. Maybe so, but that is just where our weakness lies. Can one fight against disease successfully if he hides its symptoms? I spent almost two years working in the Soviet Union, mostly in meat industry; and even though I wasn't much developed politically one could not help seeing the disastrous effects of the adventurous policy which undermined all the principles of the October revolution. If you will permit, I will give a short sketch of my experience in the Soviet Union.

In August of 1931 I started from New York. On the boat I met a worker from Chicago who also was going to work in the meat industry of the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Communist Party and, just like many of Stalin's followers, he went to the Soviet Union to get a nice soft place and stay there for good. Arriving in Moscow we were taken to a hotel, and, after a little rest, went out for a walk passing by numerous broad fields. My friend, in his disillusionment, always managed to avoid passing by them. After one week of our stay in Moscow we were sent to a city called Amvovir in the Caucasus. There we started to work in the meat packing house. At that time the working week was four days' work, fifth day rest, 8 hours day. But because the 14th anniversary of Red October was near it was decided at the trade union meeting that we all work four Soviet weeks (20 days) straight (with no rest) and 9 hours day. The aim was to fulfill the quota that was given to our plant for the months of October and September.

Labor Conditions in Factory
Going to work in the morning we often passed groups of about 150-200 peasants dressed pitifully, some of them bare-footed in the cold winter, escorted by 10 to 12 police officers back to the house of correction (Prison). They are kulaks, said my foreman with whom I walked to work.

Again a new quota was given to our plant to produce a certain minimum number of tons of meat in the next 2 months. A meeting was called after work which was attended by all workers (the guard at the gate will not let anyone go home until the meeting is over). The speaker reads the new plan from the center and tells the workers not to be frightened by the big task given to them, since there is nothing too hard for real Bolsheviks. A functionary proposes that we add to the quota 25%. Does anyone oppose that? Silence. Accepted. The political papers next

day bring reports on the great enthusiasm of the workers for building socialism; they not only accept the plan given them but add a 25% stretch plan; the factory works 9 to 10 hours a day until the plan is fulfilled.

Stalinist "Political Education"

A couple of days later the workers in my department complained that they are getting pigs as small as 25-40 pounds and with that they cannot fill the share given them. It can't be helped. The government brain quota was so big that the kollektives had to give all their grain to the government and there was none left to feed the pigs, cattle, etc. When in the end of two months our plant fulfilled the plan 85% too much counter-revolutionary influence in the factory and our plant got on the black list.

At the political school which is held in factory two times a week and three classes are taught, my friend tells about Trotsky's counter-revolutionary propaganda in America. He should have been killed, said one of the functionaries. Why don't American Communists kill him, asks another. Then my friend explains that Trotsky is in Turkey and not in America.

The New Wage Policy
Again there is turn in line of wages. Comrade Stalin says there must be a wider difference in wages between the professional and non-professional workers. Many Party members who hold responsible jobs cannot be enthusiastic in fulfilling their tasks because the wages of Party members is limited to only 250 rubles a month. From then on there is no limit to the wages of members. (The lowest wage for unskilled is 45 rubles a month) and the wages of lower status should be fixed according to his own efficiency. A few days later I noticed a man with book and watch standing behind me and checking up the work performed within certain period of time. It reminded me of an incident when a revolutionary union controlled by Stalinists in America issued a call to the workers of Chicago parking houses to strike against such enslaving methods (bonus system).

Then came the fever of liquidating classes. Some local newspapers declared that by spring, 1933, the classes will be liquidated. (I did not read Pravda because I did not receive it although I subscribed to it). The Police used Stalin's methods in liquidating classes by throwing in jail those peasants that tried to sell their produce in the open market. That often led to violent outbreaks and often the peasants got support from the workers in the struggle against the red Police, the workers knowing that the bazaar is the only place where there is still something to buy.

The following liquidation of

"Gimme a Match"

The timber trunks of the Diamond Match Company are located on the steep slopes of the Nevada mountains. Here workers daily risk their lives in the dangerous task of felling the trees for the miserable wage of three or four dollars a day. In addition to this they are employed for at least five months out of the year due to the heavy snows which make logging impossible for the winter months.

They are forced to live in camps or "barracks" hastily and poorly constructed. Built low and of third grade cut lumber, they are not in summer and cold in winter. There are no bathing facilities and the workers can use their rest (Sunday) in "bathing" only. For this they must use our old tin can or bucket they can find. The bed clothing consists generally of old, ragged blankets which have been in use for years; since the camps are seldom or never fumigated bug bugs and other vermin abound. The food served is of the poorest quality.

In the box factories of the company in California women and girls are employed doing the same work as men but at a much lower wage. In the match factories proper the exploitation of children is common, the match companies being one of the worst for this.

But "the picture of life's other side" in the case of the Diamond Match Company is quite different. While the workers toil at these low wages and under such inhuman conditions the company reports net profits of nearly \$2,000,000 every year since 1927 and in 1928 announced undistributed profits of \$500,000. The Capital Stock of \$16,000,000 is held by about 3500 stock holders.

No starvation here. No heart-breaking back-breaking toil for these. No sleeping in filthy vermin infested bunks for these parasites. They may live in palatial homes, take vacations to Europe and marry their daughters to the counts and no accounts of the degenerated nobility of the Eastern Hemisphere. And to the latter at least they are welcome.

The Diamond Match Company is opposed to labor unions and all

other "anti-American" organizations. They believe in the "freedom" of the individual. For the maintenance of this "principle" they are willing to spend thousands of dollars which they have squeezed from the hides of the workers. So long as the workers remain merely as "individuals" the profits of the company are not endangered. But when the workers organize and conduct their struggles against their exploiters as one man it will be time then for the bosses to march forward with the American flag in one hand and a club in the other and try to drive the workers back into line.

What is true of the Diamond Match Company is true for all the others of the American boss class. That is why they are for the industrial control bill and the NIRA. They want to make strikes and labor unions illegal. That is why the workers must solidly organize today to be ready for the big fight tomorrow.

The Montevideo Confab

(Continued from page 1)

power and obtain greater control over it, encounters the necessity, at a certain stage, of new markets for capital and commodities. This the Hull Tariff proposal seeks to prepare for. In fact the most urgent need of American imperialism is a greater share in the already divided world. Otherwise the decay will be faster and the class storms more violent. No matter which road America follows she cannot avoid these problems.

The administration knows what is needed in relation to the internal reorganization attempted under the NRA. Besides the Dollar-Pound struggle, Washington is taking four other important steps. Two of them are well under way. They are the recognition of the USSR and the Hull Tariff proposal and Tariff agreements with other countries in Latin America and Europe. The two others are the plan to establish a privately owned export credit bank, through which the RFC intends to finance American exports, and the setting up of export expansion machinery with George Peck in charge. Each step listed is a part of a general plan to cope with the above burning problem of American imperialism.

American imperialism must do things in a big way in order to maintain her dominating world position. At the Pan-American conference the U. S. handles a whole continent which she hopes to place more firmly under her domination.

—HUGO OEHLE.

masses from the political apathy and will help the spread of the opposition ideas, as the latter represents the most consistent democratic view in the Chinese Revolution.

—NIEL-SIH.

November 26, 1933.

Notes of the Week

"FORTUNATELY, I think," thinks General Electric's Owen D. Young, "it will be easy to persuade our people that it is their duty to consume luxuries in order to provide an import balance so that our cotton and our copper may be exported. Such a personal sacrifice for the public economic welfare can be safely predicted."

Mr. Young made this warm spiel for a cold winter evening in the New York Times last Sunday. As luxuries he classes: Coffee, tea, fruit, wine, bananas, etc. Considering all sides of the question very carefully, we cannot help reaching the conclusion that the G. E. S. man is not too unduly optimistic. We know at least half a dozen unemployed ourselves that would readily make the sacrifice, in course, in line with the worthy gentleman's "division of consumption" theory of economy, and corresponding to current codes of fair competition, the American unemployed might ask, in return for the conviction that it is their duty to consume luxuries—the concession that it be their privilege to consume also some necessities: Such as bread, butter, pork chops and potatoes, for instance.

But until the necessary arrangements for this sort of a square business deal are concluded, we must unfortunately content ourselves with the luxury of Mr. Young's ingenious philosophy. We could not quite make the sacrifice of consuming it whole. Yet we will nibble at it.

The gist of the idea is that the old conception of world economy being based on an international division of labor has gone haywire. Modern technique, communication, transportation have made it possible for every country to build up its own manufactures, its own industry. And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Young rightly finds, most countries are quite content that this should be so. This is called the new trend to nationalism.

Of course England needs India's cotton and France the Saar's iron ore and Germany the potassium of Alsace-Lorraine. But that lies in the realm of a division of consumption rather than of labor. And in this same realm of the division of consumption, our nation is the most advantageous. Its labor is to consume the luxuries and to furnish for the consumption of the others, our cotton and our copper. Out of pure goodness of heart we will also offer for consumption to the budding national industries our motors and generators and dynamos.

So much for the general outline of the future. The whole plan is based on an augury that Mr. Young has plucked from his own intellectual Olympus that we have been wrong in thinking that a compressed world—compressed by the material rapprochement offered by wireless and radio and aviation—breaks down national barriers. It raises them instead. An ordinary mortal might be inclined to ask, how? This is because he is not acquainted four-dimensional approach of Mr. Young, however.

Still, if our oracle leaves us in doubt as to how—we can be made quite clear as to why it should be so. American business stands to gain all around by the new nationalisms. While fostering cultural exchanges with the other countries, American big business, in addition to the philosophic satisfaction of nurturing all the new nationalisms, can, as a sort of a by-product find a market for its capital export. And if the different nationalisms come to a clash of arms in their consumption of cotton, potassium or iron ore, that's just too bad. But Uncle Sam will always be there to pull the remnants out of the fire and the big boys of Wall Street will be expecting the American masses to lend a hand—it will all be for the sake of doing their duty to consume more luxuries.

Finally, as an illustration that it is possible for a nation militated in the old order of industrial nations to build up a national economy all its own without dependence on the rest of the world, Mr. Young offers as the example of Russia. If, by some mystic or messianic formula socialism can be built in one country, why can't capitalism. Another big victory for Stalin's diplomacy.

In the meantime, since the "re-adjustment in this field (the new division of consumptive power) may not be abrupt," Owen Young consoles us, "Russia... will provide a cushion, temporarily at least, for diminishing trade in manufactured necessities."

—G...n.

CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM
2557 W. North Avenue
Every Sunday 3 P. M.
Dec. 31.—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises.
(An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers internationalisms.)
JOSEPH GIGANTI
of Chicago Left Opposition

International Workers School. The hall can be reached by the B. M. T. 14th St. Canarsie Line to Sutter Ave., or the I. R. T.—7th Ave.—New Lots to Rockaway Avenue.

Proletarian Party Youth Group Out

(Editorial Note.—The crisis of the labor movement, which affects all workers' organizations more or less, is seizing the Proletarian Party, a sectarian offshoot of American Stalinism, with particular devastation. Now it is bringing a convulsion in the Proletarian Youth League, the youth section of the Party, as the following statement of resignation signed by thirteen members, reveals.)

PROLETARIAN PARTY
Detroit, Michigan
December 5, 1933.

Comrades:
Following is a letter that was submitted to the P. Y. L. (Proletarian Youth League) of America, local Detroit on Thursday, Nov. 30, 1933; severing our connections with that organization. We are sending this letter to *The Militant*, *Workers' Arg*, *Proletarian News*, and *Daily Worker* for the purpose of showing our reasons for resignation:

Comrades:
Due to the following conditions existing in the P. Y. L., we the undersigned do hereby resign from the above mentioned organization:
1. The P. Y. L. makes no attempt to become the revolutionary vanguard of the working class youth. This is proven by its failure to participate in the everyday struggle and the demands of the workers, the means by which they can prove to the workers the correctness of their position.

2. The P. Y. L. maintains that there is no Negro or Agrarian problem and that the approach taken toward them should be the same as that taken toward all other workers, which means that the P. Y. L., in presenting no demands for these groups have no way of contacting them.

3. The P. Y. L. as an organization does not give its members the right to formulate its activities, even on the principles laid down by the parent organization, the P. P. (Proletarian Party). Instead, the Proletarian Party insists that the P. Y. L.'s entire N. E. C. be composed of members of the Youth League who are also party members, which is an open attempt by the P. P. to establish a bureaucratic element of P. P. members to control the problems of the P. Y. L.

4. Although the P. P. has a member sitting in on all business meetings of the P. Y. L., a non-party representative of the P. Y. L. cannot sit in on any meeting of the P. P., even those in which the problems of youth are discussed.

We feel that because of the P. P.'s absolute control of the P. Y. L.'s business, it is our duty to either join the party, so that we can help formulate the line of action which the P. Y. L. shall follow, or else leave the youth league.

Therefore, the principles and organizational structure of the P. P., being of a sectarian and bureaucratic nature, which makes it impossible to serve as the political party which will emancipate the workers, we, as Communists, hand in our resignations.

C. Jones E. Lovett
D. Gabe L. Walters
A. Wiencek N. Wiencek
R. Jones R. Romm
S. Walters R. Brenner
K. Jones F. Jones
R. Nagle

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FILM

The "Russian Revolution" film scheduled for Dec. 3rd is postponed for Saturday, Dec. 23rd. It will be held at the Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St., Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Film Club of the In-

PRICE
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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, NO. 57 [WHOLE NO. 204]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30 1933

PRICE 2 CENTS

Philadelphia Gripped by Transport Strike

NRA and Labor Leaders Combine to "Outlaw" Workers' Fight for Bread

Philadelphia.—Philadelphia is labor's latest battlefield. Class struggle looks horns with class collaboration and outright strike-breaking. The movement of the workers demonstrates its inherent strength, unspent vitality and capacity for struggle by breaking out of the bonds set for it by labor administration "friends" and "leaders". And, also it is refuting those disciplines who for years have been shouting "all is dead in the A. F. of L. company unions." Pushing upward against tremendous pressure 15,000 workers in various fields of transportation are out on strike. The entire police force is on "riot mobilization," howls are up for U. S. Marines, the leading gentry of the National Labor Board plead for "peace and patience," the local "friendly" Record shouts "Do Not Strike". To finish it off in classic manner, Daniel J. Tobin, International President of the Union denounces the strike as "outlaw".

Causes of the Strike

What is this strike? In short it is a revolt against the conditions the NRA is defending. With inevitable logic the organized workers found their way to class struggle. The urgent need of labor to protect itself and its organizations made this action imperative. The NRA is demonstrating the hollow-ness of its impartiality and defense of labor. Facing the realities of class conflict it can betray and betray, but not with impunity nor for long without a crack-up. This is what is happening.

Three weeks ago the drivers of the "Yellow," "Quaker" and "Brown and White" Taxicab companies went out on strike in defense of their union, one hundred percent. The cab companies are all part of Philadelphia Rapid Transit Co.—the transit trust here—backbone of the open shop and company union (Mitten plan). The taxi men are organized into the Taxi Drivers Union of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of the A. F. of L. and the socialist influence. A militant strike policy and sympathy of the city's workers found the P. R. T.—bankers—Vare machine combine adamant. Attacked from all sides—police and gangsters on one hand, and pressure of the National Labor Board on the other, the union agreed to arbitration. The P. R. T. rejected the offer and refused to reinstate the strikers to their jobs.

The Workers' Strike Back

Aroused to a fight against this arrogant attitude of the bosses the workers struck back. Despite the

(Continued on Page 4)

Hold Torgler Despite Fire Trial Verdict

The Leipzig Supreme Court has found Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanev not guilty in the infamous Reichstag fire-trial recently concluded in Nazi Germany. The flimsy character of the frame-up against these comrades was clear to all. Even the world capitalist press was compelled to admit the innocence of the defendants.

The decision of the Leipzig Court is a maneuver to quiet the rising wave of protest against Hitler terror. It further attempts to whitewash the German Fascist Party, which according to all available evidence, is directly responsible for the notorious Reichstag fire. The verdict does not mean the freedom of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanev. Their lives are still in danger. The Nazis blood-bath will release these working class prisoners only under the greatest pressure. Already, reports in the press tell of Hitler's plan to put Torgler on trial for "high treason". The threats of Goebbels, Rosenberg and other Fascist murderers against the four defendants can only be frustrated by the active protest of all workers and workers' organizations.

A movement has been set on foot which demands "the immediate and safe release of Dimitroff, Torgler, Tanev, and Popoff into the hands of the International Committee now in Leipzig." The existing "National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism" should be broadened into a genuine united front of all workers' organizations which will be able to arouse the American working class in defense of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanev.

OPEN FORUM MAX SHACHTMAN

THE WAR AROUND INFLATION

Sunday, January 7, 1934
8:15 P. M.

International Workers School Hall
136 East 16th Street, at Irving Pl.
Audience: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)
Questions — Discussion
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

Roosevelt's "Planned Work" A Worker's Report

"Six months of this and I'll be fit for the lunatic asylum"—this remark of a former taxicab driver sums up the attitude of the C. W. A. workers to the diabolical nonsense which they must go through in order to qualify for the Roosevelt Dole in Prospect Park, Brooklyn.

It is not that we are forced to do hard work, for long hours at low wages. No, we spend 8 hours a day going through the motions of work. Shovelling dirt on a truck only to see it dumped back exactly where it was taken from. Carrying sand in shovels for about 25 yards while wheelbarrows to say nothing of trucks are going idle. Then being told "don't take a full shovel, that piles got to do you, men, for the rest of the day"—Then when we get into a group to talk to the foreman again speaks. "Say boys, don't stand around talking, you'll be getting me in wrong. Take it easy but act as though you were doing something." So, we start to "work"—push the shovel slowly into the pile of dirt, lean upon it for a while, pick it up, dump half the dirt off and with slow and measured tread carry a couple of hand-fuls of earth some 25 yards.

What the Workers Talk About

We walk back in a group and the mental confusion of the unemployed is revealed in the conversation. "Father Coughlin is right. What we need is to bring silver back." "You know Roosevelt is using some of Stalin's ideas." "What this country needs is two or three Mussolinis." In two things the great majority are agreed. 1. Roosevelt is doing his best for us. 2. The bankers are fighting Roosevelt and are also responsible for the crisis. The third most popular illusion is the wisdom, courage and militancy of Father Coughlin as a champion of the "people".

Our gang started to work November 1, just before the city election. We were all "relief cases". We are assigned to Prospect Park. Since our transfer to the C. W. A. we work 8 hours a day, three days a week and get \$13. The tasks are varied. Gathering leaves, planting trees, spreading a compost of earth and manure around trees, digging ditches, sweeping streets, etc., etc.

One of our first tasks under Roosevelt's "Five Year Plan" is characteristic of the rest. We were put to work on a pile of manure. The pile was quite large and of irregular shape, high in the center and sloping down towards ragged edges. A couple of men, with an "engineer" in charge, took stakes and cord and marked the pile off into a rectangle. Then with shovels and forks our gang of 25 went to work with a will. At the end of the day the manure pile was a beautiful rectangle, edges square and straight as a die, and of uniform height throughout.

A Pedestal of Manure

A pedestal of manure! A statue of the author of the New Deal from the same material would have com-

pleted the picture. Two or three days later the pile was carted away. "If you all take an interest in this here work, they'll promote you to the lunatic asylum," said a Negro worker after that incident.

"There'll be no work on Christmas but you'll have to come in another day to make up for it," we were told. "Give me some real work to do, and I'll make up for a work of Christmases in the next two hours," said an old man.

Former building trade workers, chauffeurs, bakers, clothing workers—we stand and question our own sanity for putting up with this nonsense. There is nothing to do, it is cold and miserable and we wait learning on our shovels, waiting for quitting time. A whistle blows, we stop doing nothing and start for home.

At first we were under the jurisdiction of the City but have since been transferred to the C. W. A. Two weeks passed without pay. The word was passed around—"No pay, no work", and in short order a parade of about 50% of the entire crew were marching to the main office. There, with plenty of police around, the cause of the delay was explained. Similar and much more dramatic action by other groups in the City and also throughout the nation show that the spirit of the unemployed is not at all broken and also reveal a deep dissatisfaction with the nature of the "work".

—RELIEF WORKER.

Vandals Wreck League Hall

Brooklyn.—In recent weeks two attempts were made to destroy the Brownsville headquarters of the Communist League. Last Wednesday morning, Dec. 20th, the banner on the wall reading: "For a New Communist International" was burned; the wall itself displaying black marks of burning. No other part of the hall was touched showing that the vandals were frightened by their own deeds.

Wednesday, Dec. 27th, another raid of the headquarters took place. Banners, articles on the bulletin board, and pictures of Lenin and Trotsky were torn from the wall. The picture of the latter was torn in shreds. The tea-cups in the kitchen were broken, open, Mil-litants and pamphlets ripped, thrown over the floors and some stolen. Again some fear of discovery must have ended the raid at this point.

There is little doubt as to who is responsible for these raids. It is not the first time that the Stallions have broken into headquarters of the Communist League and have stolen or destroyed some of its material.

Hotel Workers Driving Toward General Strike

Amalgamated Union Formulates Program of Demands

A LETTER FROM MOONEY

California State Prison
San Quentin, Calif.
November 18, 1933.

My dear Comrades and Fellow Unionists:

During the month of January of this year, I issued a call for a United Front of all working class organizations to send delegates to the Free Tom Mooney Congress, held in Chicago, April 29 to May 1, inclusive.

Under my direction and instructions, the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee spent almost \$2,000 to organize that Congress. It was not my intention with the Mooney case. Such a procedure would naturally cause confusion in the minds of the working class, receiving appeals from two separate organizations, from two different parts of the country, for the same purpose.

No Report of Congress

Out of the Free Tom Mooney Congress came the NATIONAL TOM MOONEY COUNCIL OF ACTION, with headquarters in New York City. This information I learned several weeks after the Congress adjourned. During the Congress, I received one telegram. I never did receive a report from the Congress, or any one connected with it, as to just what took place. I did not receive a copy of the Congress resolution, until three weeks after its adjournment. No one attending that Congress has taken the trouble to make a report to me of what actually happened there.

A month after the Congress adjourned, I was told that a debt of \$2,000 connected with the Congress, was still unpaid. From another source, I learned that each of the delegates to that Congress were pledged to return to their home organizations, and collect their quota to pay off that debt.

During the latter part of May, the National Tom Mooney Council of Action organized a National Tom Mooney Tag Day, using the organizational machinery of the International Labor Defense to carry this work to a conclusion. The first object of this Tag Day, was to liquidate the Congress debt of which I was first informed to be \$2,000, and which I have since been informed, by Roger Baldwin, the Treasurer of the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, to be only \$1,500.

Want to Hear from Delegates.
Since the Free Tom Mooney Con-

gress adjourned, and the formation of the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, the activities of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee has been suspended for the lack of funds to carry on the fight. Whether this was deliberately planned or not, I am not now prepared to state, but I would like to get the actual feelings of all of those delegates that attended that Congress—a sort of personal report from each of them as to just took place there—what was the spirit of the delegates towards me, personally, and also towards the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee. Also telling me what sum was raised by you and your organization in the National Tom Mooney Tag Day Campaign, and what other sums have been raised by you or your organization, as pledged as your quota to liquidate the debt left from the Free Tom Mooney Congress and the later sales of Free Tom Mooney stamps.

The Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee is penniless, with a debt of \$4,000. I have just 60c to my credit on the prison books, and have not been able to order any prison commissaries for the past four months. In spite of this tremendous obstacle, my defense committee is now having prepared a 132-page booklet, exposing this foul conspiracy against me. It will tell the story that I had hoped to tell in my recent trial, but was prevented from doing so by the powerful bankers and industrialists who are in complete control. Just as soon as my defense committee can secure the necessary funds, this booklet will be published. Will you help me do this? I want to circulate these booklets by the hundreds of thousands.

Appeals for New Campaign

Some time during November or December, my attorneys, Frank P. Walsh of New York City, and John F. Finnerty of Washington, D. C., will attempt to secure my freedom on a writ of Habeas Corpus in the United States Supreme Court. A tremendous wave of agitation, demanding my freedom, should precede this move. The United States Senators and Representatives from your state, together with the President and the Attorney General of those United States, should be appealed to cooperate in this move to secure justice for an innocent man.

I am herewith enclosing a Press (Continued on page 4)

The efforts of the hotel and restaurant-workers of New York City to obtain a serious improvement in the intolerable conditions now existing in their industry through building up their union, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, have now entered on a new and higher phase. Up to now, the major tasks have been to gather forces, and to lead the workers away from the illusions of the NRA and toward a militant policy based on the formulation of concrete demands and the struggle for their enforcement. The new phase consists of the preparation for the enforcement of these demands through a general strike.

Substantial successes are being achieved by the organization drive; thousands of workers have joined in the last few months, and hundreds more are coming in every week. What is still better, the number of workers coming in has been increasing still faster in recent weeks, and particularly since the beginning of the stubbornly-contested strike at the Hotel Montclair.

Big Hotels Organized
Considering the total number of the unorganized workers in the industry, much still remains to be done. But a magnificent beginning has already been made, particularly in the kitchen and dining-room departments of the large hotels, dozens of which are 70% to 95% unionized. In this field, the task is to complete unionization. In those hotels where the union already has members, to organize the houses where the workers are becoming attracted to us because of our consistent program and our activity, and particularly, to broaden the base of the organization among the hundreds and thousands of smaller restaurants now that the peaks of the industry are well on the way to complete organization.

As to the NRA and the codes, the workers are increasingly realizing that they have nothing good to look for in that direction. Both the hotel and the restaurant codes are understood to be nothing but blows directed at the workers, and the apparatus of the NRA for the enforcement of any provisions which seemed to offer some protection for the interests of the workers, has been proved by living experience to be nothing but a hollow sham. The workers now realize that only their own organization can do anything for them.

Demands of the Union
The first step in the new phase of the development of the union was taken last Friday, December 22, when meetings of the dining-room and the kitchen departments dis-

by sacrifice of principles can never operate to disillusion workers.
Brooklyn Brotherhood to Come In
Paul Sal-aggio, originator of the planning board and the leading spirit for amalgamation in the early days of the movement, was honored by the assembled delegates and it was unanimously voted to constitute his sisters' local of Boston as Local No. 1 in the new United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union in recognition of his pioneer efforts that culminated in the amalgamation.

The Brooklyn fraternal delegates representing the Brotherhood of Allied Shoe Crafts with 10,000 members announced that they would join the new union very soon, that they had been double-crossed by their leaders and that one local had already torn up its charter. In anticipation of trouble with defiant officials of the old union whom it was voted to depose, the planning board (the original rank and file body) was directed to continue its existence until the last bolt is in place. As matters stand at the time of writing certain officials of both the National and the Protective have expressed defiance of the order directing them to give up January 15, but it appears that this time the momentum of the amalgamation movement is too great for them to resist.

It was voted to hold the next biennial convention in St. Louis on the first Monday of November 1935. —SHOE WORKER.

Shoe Workers Amalgamate Unions at Historic Convention at Boston

Boston.—The amalgamation convention of independent shoe workers' unions which has been meeting in Boston since early December came to a close on the 21st after a stormy but successful session of 10 days. This convention transformed amalgamation from a hope to an accomplished fact by bringing into being the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. It was marked by threatened sabotage from out-going reactionary officialdom on the one hand and by disruptive maneuvers of the Stalinists on the other, but repulsed both determinedly. New hopes of strength in unity have been aroused.

Resolutions of a political nature adopted by the convention are the harbinger of a more developed political consciousness in the minds of the American worker. Already bitter experiences have stripped bandages from the eyes of this group of workers concerning the NRA and its paraphernalia.

60,000 Workers Represented

A group of 184 delegates represented some 60,000 shoe workers of 5 formerly independent unions with locals from Maine to Missouri. The National Shoe Workers' Association had 79 delegates, the Shoe Workers' Protective Union 59, the Independent Shoe Workers' Union of Salem 16, the Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union of New York 28, and the Brotherhood of Greater New York 2. In addition there were fraternal delegates and observers from other independent unions in other parts of the country.

The Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, furnished the first discordant note in the convention by their shameful attempt to back-down on their previously written agreement with the provisional committee, which was that they would attend the convention as an independent union like the others, that they would sever their connection with the T.U.U.L.

Bitter Fight over T. U. U. L.

A bitter fight on the floor followed their attempt to have the question decided by referendum. Their plea of misunderstanding the terms of the agreement was completely exposed as the lie it was by two members of their own delegation who subsequently took the floor. The first, Frank Costello, secretary of the resolutions committee, dramatically offered his resignation in view of the attitude of the leaders of his New York delegation who obviously placed the interests of the T. U. U. L. ahead of amalgamation. This was a high point of the convention as this worker tore his badge from his chest, declared any communist leanings and declared himself "in fact a regulation catholic". As he prepared to leave his place, he was surrounded by agitated delegates who, with cries of "No! No!" persuaded him to remain.

He was quickly followed by another member of that delegation who seconded Costello's views, and made clear to all delegates that the New York rank and file were overwhelmingly in favor of amal-

gamation. He stated further with some bitterness that the principal cause of the delay in their joining the amalgamation movement was their being misinformed as to the attitude of the New England shoe workers toward the A. F. of L. As far as he was concerned he was "against the A. F. of L., the T.U.U.L. or any other hell"—which sums up the disillusionment of most of these workers. The Industrial Union delegation was finally forced to comply and pledged itself anew to sever its connections with the T. U. U. L.

Old Officers Removed

A resolution to abolish all offices of the several independent unions on January 15 and to elect a coordinating committee of 15 to handle the affairs of the new union until newly elected officers take up their duties in April, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. This body-blow to deposed salaried officials of the old unions set off fireworks.

W. B. Mahan, general organizer of the National Shoe Workers' Association openly defied this convention decision in a statement published later in a newspaper stating that he would not give up control of his organization, unless so instructed by the Lynn Shoe workers, and if the new coordinating committee expected him to comply then they lacked intelligence. A Mrs. McGee, official of a Lynn Stitches' local, unsuccessfully attempted to recall that local's delegates at a meeting the same night. Officials of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union at a similar meeting

decide likewise to resist being supplanted.

When this news broke on the floor of the convention the next morning the anger of the delegates threw that body into an uproar and the hooting and jeering of Mahan's name bodied ill for any attempts of old union officials might make to sabotage the amalgamation about to be realized after a difficult year's work. There was no mistaking the temper of the rank and file.

New Constitution Discussed

With the opening of discussions on the floor of the draft of a constitution prepared by the constitution committee a difficult part of the convention's task started. A 53-page document it was first decided to discuss and vote on each article separately. After a day and a half it became apparent to all that such a procedure would require several weeks to complete consideration of the entire document. The major cause of the slow progress lay in the petty obstructive tactics of the Stalinist delegation of the New York Industrial Union. Their extended criticism of petty details in each article acted to further discredit them. As a consequence they failed to arouse sympathy and support for the really meritorious proposals of industrial unionism when it was put forth.

The role of the T. U. U. L. delegates as impediments to rapid progress was recognized by the convention when a motion was finally made and carried to recommit the draft to the constitution committee

which should confer with 2 representatives of the New York delegation and iron out further differences and then return the document to the delegates for consideration. This was done. The constitutional committee reappeared before the convention the next day with the results of their conference. The two added delegates had requested and were granted changes amounting in all to twelve words!

Local Autonomy in New Union

Following further consideration by the convention delegates of certain parts of the proposed constitution it was voted to submit the proposed constitution to referendum of all locals for discussion and amendment or approval.

As finally adopted for submission to referendum the constitution incorporates certain features of a progressive nature compared with this industry's old unions. Among these are provisions for including in their ranks workers in industries closely allied to them: leather workers, counter-makers, wooden-heel makers, last and pattern-makers and workers in foot-wear industries generally. There is also provision for the recall of officers by vote of 5 locals of a District. Provision for local autonomy means no local charter may be revoked except after trial by other locals of its district, and means also that the form of organization shall be decided by each district. Thus the New York Industrial Union may retain its present form. General officers are to be a General organizer and a

General Secretary-Treasurer. A general executive board of 21 members will represent 3 major districts.

Contradictory Resolutions

Among the resolutions adopted by the convention were these: (1) Condemnation of the NRA as not operable to the interests of workers (2) Demand for the freedom of the Scottshoro boys. (3) Demand for the unconditional release of Tom Mooney. (4) For unemployment insurance, cost to be borne by the government and employers. (5) Petitioning the National Recovery Board for an appropriation by the Federal Government of \$25,000,000 for the purchase and distribution of shoes for the needy. (6) All labor leaders should withdraw from the National Recovery Board and the Labor Advisory Board. (7) Against compulsory arbitration. (8) For reopening consideration of the NRA shoe code and a demand for the 30 hour week and minimum weekly wage for unskilled of \$18. (9) In commendation of Father Coughlin, the radio priest for the good work he is doing for the workers!

In connection with this last resolution it must be told that Israel Zimmerman, a well-known Lovestonite, voted in favor of the Coughlin resolution. This rankst kind of opportunism that fails to tell the workers, for example, that the inflation program advocated by Coughlin is the most vicious attack on the income and the welfare of the working class, cannot be roudminded to be a General organizer and a

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ADMISSION: 50 CENTS

The Railroad Brotherhoods

The Reactionary Union Officialdom

In discussing the rise and fall of the Railroad Unions in this series of articles we want at the very beginning to make ourselves clear on a few questions. In the first place we not only admit, but point out to the workers repeatedly, that every thing we have got so far such as shorter hours, better wages and working conditions, have been brought about by the craft unions on the railroads. We further admit and also point out that the craft union was a progressive force as long as that kind of organization was in a position to function to the interests of its membership. It was only when industrial development outgrew the craft system of organization that the Brotherhood leadership and program gradually became more and more reactionary.

We must bear in mind that no human institution ever became so useless and reactionary that it did not benefit a few who live on special privilege. This was true of chattel slavery and Czarism, and it holds equally good in Fascism. This fundamental principle now operates in the railroad brotherhoods. A few, the well paid officials, benefit by keeping the railroad workers divided in 21 independent unions in one industry, while the members, the many, suffer by this arrangement. It is just on account of this development that the interest of the brotherhood officials becomes more and more separated from that of the rank and file, and we run into the contradictions which flow from these conditions constantly when we are trying to introduce needed changes in the structure and program of the railroad crafts.

We find the officials against us on every turn because they benefit by keeping things in the railroad unions as they are. Their fat and easy jobs depend upon keeping the railroad workers divided and ignor-

ant concerning their best interest. That is the reason why such leadership must protect itself from the rank and file by gag laws and a censored labor press. A craft union official cannot afford to permit progressive ideas to circulate freely among the membership. It would be detrimental to his interest no matter how beneficial it would be to the members.

It is to the interest of the R. R. unions to amalgamate, but it is against the union officials. It is for the best interest of the railroad workers to have free expression in their unions, but such a change from the present gag rule would be destructive to the special privileges enjoyed by the craft bureaucrats.

Any proposal for concerted and aggressive action for wages, pensions or working conditions and shorter hours by the railroad workers would be against the best interest of the officials because the craft system will prove itself out of date in such a movement and its leadership would be compelled to expose its bankruptcy to lead in such a struggle. In other words, we have arrived at a stage of development in the railroad brotherhoods where the membership will find its leadership arrayed against them on every constructive proposal.

It is to the interest of every railroad worker to understand this and act accordingly. But we cannot remedy these conditions by leaving the union and doing nothing. We are only entitled to criticize the performances of others when we propose something better ourselves. We must stay with the organized workers wherever they are and do good and faithful work behind constructive proposals and, by this practical method in dealing with every day problems of the workers in their unions, show them the needed changes in the program, leadership and structure of the railroad unions.

—A. E.

The Teachers and the Class Struggle

One reason teachers have been slow to struggle is that they constituted an aristocratic stratum of the working class. Their wage level was higher than the average wage level of the workers. They enjoyed job security to a great extent and all sorts of perquisites of the worker in minor or factory never had under capitalist rule. And on top of that they are permeated with bourgeois ideology to a degree that places them, in this sense, at the rear of the class.

But all that is beginning to change now. The crisis is affecting them ruthlessly. The signs point to resistance by them against the attacks on their teaching and living conditions.

Teachers' salaries in New York and elsewhere are fixed by law and are changeable only by legislative action in the state legislatures or local governmental agency. In the first three years of the crisis prices fell precipitately. Teachers' wages, consequently, which apparently remained fixed actually rose in purchasing value. This appreciation together with the yearly increments made mandatory under the law in some cities, constituted a more or less steady improvement in their condition.

Only when the crisis began to interfere with the smooth functioning of this ideal set-up, as in Chicago where no wages were paid for the better part of a year, did the teachers put up some kind of a fight. In New York the state legislature cut wages about six percent. Five hundred teachers joined the Teachers Union in New York City in the period of the wage cut fight. Schools everywhere are closing or curtailing their terms. Teachers' wages are in arrears and are piling up. Further wage cuts are impending. The conditions for organized resistance are maturing.

In New York the defense fight is centering around the attempt by one means or another to prevent legislative reduction of wages and reduction or abolishment of increments. In itself this fight is correct. But it is not sufficient even from the point of view of defeating attempts to cut wages.

Wages are reduced in other ways than by legislative action. The government is making determined efforts to drive prices up to, at least the 1926 level. With wages fixed up by legislative action the rising cost of living will constitute a wage cut. If the government resorts to currency inflation to accomplish its purpose the real wage cut will be drastic.

The experience of the inflation of 1918-19 is very instructive. Teachers' wages then were fixed by law. Within that period the average wage of the teachers on a national scale was increased by 37.4 per cent. But, as a result of the currency inflation prices rose 116.8 percent. Consequently, teachers' salaries, measured in terms of their real purchasing power, fell to 62.3 of the 1918 basis a practical wage cut of 37.7 per cent.

It follows that even a successful fight against legislative reductions of wages will not, necessarily, prevent wage cuts. That does not mean that this fight should be abandoned. It means that it should be broadened.

Just as the workers struggle for higher wages to keep pace with rising prices so should the teachers organize and fight for higher wages to meet the increase in the cost of living.

—F. STANM.

Successfull Meet in Brownsville

Defying and protesting the threats of the Stalinists, over 500 workers, including several dozen Communist party members and sympathizers, and a labor jury representing five workers organizations and the American Civil Liberties Union attended on Wednesday evening, December 20th, the Brownsville meeting of the Communist League on Russian recognition and the Communist International. This meeting was held after the disruption by the Stalinists of the previous Thursday evening's meeting on the same subject. The workers' guard was well prepared to insure an orderly meeting. In addition, representatives of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the Jewish Workers Party (Left Poole Zion), the Industrial Workers of the World, the Workers Unemployed League, the 22 A. D. Branch of the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union were present as a workers jury to place the responsibility for any attempted disruption of the meeting.

Two speeches from the floor attracted much interest. First, that of a Jewish worker who prefaced his criticism of comrade Shachtman's speech by condemning the hoodlunk tactics of the Stalinists which he witnessed at the preceding Thursday evening meeting. Second, that of a young girl, former member of the Young Communist League and Unemployed Council, who is well known to the Brownsville Left wing workers for her militancy. She stated that she did not agree with the program of the Communist League, but strongly condemned the members of the Communist party who had criticized A. D. Schachtman's record in the C. P. She sharply scored the disruptive hoodlunk tactics of the Stalinists in breaking up workers' meetings and cited the previous meeting of the Communist League, at which she had been present, as an example. Her speech was received with great enthusiasm by overwhelming majority of the workers present. They showed their approval of workers' democracy. The Communist League scored another victory in Brownsville. It will nonetheless remain on guard.

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS
HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES
OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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A Picture of the League Today

A look at the League today, in its palpitating growth throughout the country and the excellent types of serious fighters in its ranks, offers a really encouraging picture. It is a far cry now from the time when those who expelled us from the official party scornfully dubbed us the "three generals without an army." Still, there is no intention at all on my part to exaggerate our numbers and influence or to create false impressions of a greater strength than actually exists. But the League is making a place for itself the conditions now developing in the country.

Growth of the League

With a total of 28 branches spread today from coast to coast, including Canada, we have more than doubled our membership since the last National Conference two years ago. On the recent national tour larger audiences than before were attracted to our meetings. Including those held in New York City, a total of over 4,000 advanced workers participated in the meetings and heard our proposal for a new party. We can say today that the League has definitely become the standard bearer of the future revolutionary party. It reflects not only this new current but steps on the scene as the herald of the future upward curve in the working class movement as a whole. That is why the revolutionary youth responds so readily to the extent that the Spartacus Youth movement has grown up within the last year, and a half from almost nothing to about a dozen live active branches. It is also the explanation of the particularly frantic onslaughts upon us by the Stalinist bureaucrats.

What a glaring contrast this presents. On the one hand the League surging forward, teeming with life and vitality, attracting to its banner the more conscious Marxist students; the League surging forward in accordance with the trends and direction of future struggles. On the other hand the Stalinist party, belonging to the past, bringing out from the arsenals of reaction the methods of gangsterism which have long ago been properly branded as a curse to the American labor movement.

The Youth on the March.

In Chicago where the Stalinist party, infuriated by the progress we had made, came organized in large numbers to break up the meeting held on my tour, two new League branches have since emerged. That is a most fitting answer. To it can be added the fact, which augurs well for further progress, that in Chicago our youth movement is perhaps the most active of any place in the country. Two live Spartacus clubs already exist there. The Chicago Workers' School, directed by comrade Goldman has become an excellent supplementary institution reinforcing the Marxist foundation of the movement. With a total of over one hundred enrollments, the school is now expanding and forming branches in various parts of the city. The Friends of the Militant Club and an influential Italian workers' club complete the Chicago picture.

To the misguided workers who participated in the Stalinist black-jack expedition these developments should be telling proof of the falsity of such methods. They will only produce the kind of repercussions which return to annihilate their instructors. In the final analysis the issues of the movement, and the positive ideas which grow out of them, will always have to be considered squarely. Personally, I noticed that those who performed the hoodlunk role in this instance were not at all enthusiastic about it. On the other hand the League members and other workers who defended the meeting were in high spirits. They were defending the principles of democracy and free speech in the labor movement. This is something worth making a fight for. In this the League already today performs a service which will be of much greater importance in the future sharp conflicts to be fought with the capitalist agents in the ranks of organized labor.

Test of Political Position

Will the League play a serious part in the grandiose perspective for rising labor militancy speeded on by the structural changes of American national economy? That, after all, is the decisive question. For a young organization there is no great tradition to point

to. But there is such a thing as a test of political position in the crucible of events. In this respect we have found our position standing firm as a rock.

There is the great hope for the future. Still we are today very small for the big job ahead. In recognition of this one of our comrades, a well drilled from Oregon, wrote us the other day asking the very pertinent question: "In the awakening which is now beginning will not our forces be too small? There is so much to be done. Will we not be altogether too late?"

Today we stand before the coming storms. A few recent strikes, notably the Philadelphia transportation strike, indicate the resistance which is gathering against the pressure of degrading working class conditions. And we need not expect in advance that international union officials or the N.R.A. labor boards will in every case succeed in smothering the light. On the contrary, even the very conservative unions will be forced to take some steps forward. In preparation for that the League is also taking its first steps towards its announced objective of rebuilding the Left wing in the trade unions.

The Trend of the Future.

The accomplishments are modest so far. Not only that, but it must be said that in view of the imminence of the job ahead our own weakness in this field is all the more apparent. The steps which have been taken are reflected in *The Militant*. In union and strike activities of our comrades in New York, Minnesota, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. But, as an indication for the future, it is noteworthy that in two separate points in the Pittsburgh steel region members of the League have already taken the initiative and become the most active organizers of newly established local unions of the A. F. of L.

The Unemployment Movement

A further good indication for future trends is afforded by the examples of the Minneapolis comrades. They have been in the very

Militant Builders

We want to address a few remarks to our builders. It is upon them that *The Militant* depends for extension into new and wider fields. It is to them also that the planned transformation of *The Militant* into an agitation paper will have great significance. It will facilitate their work.

We aim to popularize *The Militant*, to develop it into an authentic spokesman and guide of the American working class in their daily struggles. We mean to make it more plain spoken, more understandable to the workers in general and, above all, more directly concerned with the problems of the class struggle as they unfold in the United States at this time. In that sense it would be more "American." It will translate the language of Marxism into terms understandable to the American workers.

We can take steps in that direction now. We have already made a small beginning, but the complete transformation will come with the establishment of our theoretical magazine to which the heavier articles, now printed in the *Militant*, can be transferred. That is on the way. Meantime we must organize our forces to build our circulation. The larger the circulation the greater the influence of the paper. The larger the *Militant* circulation the greater will be the revenue, the sooner it will solve our financial problems, the sooner we will have the theoretical organ and the transformation of the character of *The Militant*.

What we need above all today is an active staff of Militant builders throughout the country—live comrades who will take bundles of *Militants* under their arms, go out to sell them at working class gatherings or in working class neighborhoods and solicit subscriptions. We need more of them. We consider essential that these builders constantly renew their activities and continue without let-up. We have a number of actual builders already but we are now preparing plans for a much wider extension of the *Militant* circulation. In anticipation of this we ask all those comrades who are ready to enlist amongst the staff of active *Militant* builders to notify us by mail.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

"There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory"—said Lenin. A revolutionary theory cannot be spread effectively without the help of a publishing house.

The problem now is to develop our work on a broader scale. An efficiently functioning publishing house is indispensable. Every conscious worker, every sympathizer of the revolutionary movement, every anti-Fascist has, therefore, to do his utmost in the building of such a revolutionary publishing center. Here is a practical way for you to help. Buy a \$5 certificate in Pioneer Publishers. This will entitle the holder to get any book published by us at a 40% discount and books of other publishers at a 20% discount.

P. S. All comrades who have previously made full or partial payments for certificates should send them in their names. Properly signed and sealed certificates will be sent to those who have paid \$5 or more.

forefront organizing the local unemployed movement and founding it firmly on a trade union basis, thus establishing the unity between employed and unemployed, with the unions taking up the fight for the needs of the unemployed. There was a similar example in Toronto, Canada, although somewhat different in its nature. In that city our comrades were leading and moving forces in a united front Anti-Fascist demonstration which brought out between 15 to 20 thousand workers in a demonstration coupled with a strike of brief duration. It became a powerful thrust against the infamous Section 98 of the criminal code and restored free speech in Toronto.

In the unemployed movement the League is entering a broader field of activity. It is now collaborating directly with the Workers' League of Chicago to extend this organization to the unemployed to other centers. Despite the general sag in the unemployed movement it has maintained several branches intact with more than a thousand members and a few additional hundred members outside of Chicago. The Communist League is cooperating in the work of this organization with a serious determination to help revive the unemployed movement.

New Forces in the West.

On the Pacific Coast our new branches in San Francisco, Oakland and Vancouver were almost entirely recruited from forces coming over from the official party. In New York City, where we have our largest membership, there are at this moment considerable new forces also taking the step from the official party to the Left Opposition. Within the official party itself there is a dead calm, all the more ominous after the Soviet recognition "baggage." Unquestionably many of its members feel very uneasy and there will be new forces turning away from Stalinism to become supporters of the new party. This was already indicated by the official party organizer in New Castle, Pa., when he attended our meeting of my recent tour. He said, "Yes, the Left Opposition rests upon a sound foundation and it has excellent forces while the official party in New Castle is dead."

—ARNE SWABECK.

MANIFESTO OF THE SPANISH BOLSHEVIK-Leninists

Madrid, Dec. 5, 1933.—The calling of the recent elections for deputies to the Cortes (Spanish parliament—Ed.) coincided with the period of the reorganization of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists in the light of the decisions adopted on an international scale concerning the new orientation towards new parties and the new International of the working class. In line with the radical change which has taken place in our international organization, we decided to participate in the elections in complete independence and under our own banner. The following are the most important decisions adopted.

1. Being unable in any way to justify abstention from elections so important as those which have just taken place, we decided to support the candidates of the official Communist party, despite the deep-going differences which separate us from them, in such places where it was impossible for us to present candidates of our own. Naturally, while recommending to the workers the support of the candidates of the official C. P., we did not forget to raise all the differences which we have with this party. On the contrary, the election campaign has been an occasion for us in which to make the Spanish proletariat understand the urgent necessity of organizing a real Communist party, inspired by the doctrines of revolutionary Marxism, and in the traditions of Bolshevism-Leninism.

2. In accord with the line of struggle followed in the elections of November 19th, we recommended voting for the workers candidate having the greatest opportunity of election, on the second run. It was opposed to the tactics of the Stalinist party, which maintained its own candidates on the second run, even where the Socialist candidate had the greatest chance for election. Even in this case, while recommending to the workers to vote, on the second run, for the socialist candidates, our criticism of the policy of this party did not cease to be the sharpest.

We are in the process of gathering the details of our participation in the election struggle. But now

it is well known that reaction emerges from this struggle strengthened by the victory of the Right wing. For that reason we see the great urgency in making known the position our organization adopted toward the present reactionary threat. This position is summarized in the following leaflet distributed in tens of thousands of copies throughout Spain.

TO THE WORKERS

Reaction has taken a great step forward. A mortal danger faces the proletariat.

But the situation is not hopeless.

The treasure of energy and combativity of the working class is not exhausted. But this energy and this combativity must be organized and directed. There is only one road for that: the formation of a solid bloc of all workers organizations to oppose an impossible front to reaction. The immediate aim of this bloc should be:

1. Not to tolerate the least attempt against the conquests of the working class.
2. The defense of the workers organizations.
3. To make the assembly of the elected Cortes impossible by means of formidable movement.

WORKERS

This is a decisive hour. Demand the immediate constitution of the united front.

There is no time to be lost. Each lost minute is an hour gained by reaction.

To make the assembly of the elected Cortes impossible by means of formidable popular movement is the immediate rallying slogan of the Spanish section of the League of Communist Internationalists (formerly the International Left Opposition—Ed.), issued in order to block the road to the return of reaction. The new Cortes must be dismissed through the pressure and the anger of the popular masses grouped in organizations for anti-Fascist struggle. In this struggle our organization will take its place in the front ranks and point out the roads to be followed to save and broaden the democratic conquests of the toiling masses.

in order to make them conform.

Thus Chang is convinced that a necessary feature of Communist society is the disappearance of the division of labor. He reaches this conclusion by misinterpreting Marx's statement to the effect that in a Communist society the subjection of labor dependent upon the present division of labor will disappear, and that there will be no opposition between brain and manual work. To Chang this means that the division of labor itself will disappear. (Marx's own words are: "when the slavish subordination of the individual to the yoke of the division of labor has disappeared, and when concomitantly the distinction between mental and physical work has ceased to exist...") Chang then bolsters his misinterpretation, by reporting that Engels agreed with him. Engels (according to Chang) held the view that the division of labor "lies at the basis of the division into classes." (The point being that since classes will disappear as will the division of labor!) Here is what Engels actually wrote. "It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes." Of course, the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor as it exists in class society is one thing, and the division of labor itself is something else again. Among the outstanding characteristics of Communist society is that it frees the individual from subjection under particular types of the division of labor; but the Communist society itself has no intentions of doing away with division of labor. It is based upon international division of labor. And of course the law of the division of labor is one thing, and the division of labor is another. But Chang is law unto himself, and having confounded so many things, and understood so little, he confounds Marxism with himself.

A Typical Ph. D. Thesis

What has been said is sufficient evidence that Chang's thesis is a typical Ph. D. performance on the American standard, pretensions, presumptions, and second-hand. From the Marxist viewpoint it is worthless. We caution those who, seeking the easy way, would use this book as a source book of quotations. For one thing, Chang quotes Lenin through Stalin. But then what else could be expected, from one indebted to Bedacht, except to cite Stalin as "one who follows Lenin's theory of the proletarian dictatorship very closely"? Is it astonishing that Chang therefore lists as minor extensions of Marxism, Lenin's "theory of colonial revolutions and the theory of the unequal development of capitalism." And that he also includes among Lenin's contributions to Marxism "the theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country." For a summary of all these minor extensions, he refers the readers not to Lenin but to—Stalin. But the good doctor is not being funny, he is serious!

In all respects, his performance qualifies Chang not only for a doctorate but for a professorship in the present Marx-Lenin Institute, under the leadership of Stalin.

—JOHN G. WRIGHT.

BOOK REVIEW

The Marxian Theory of the State, by Sherman H. M. Chang, Ph. D.

This book is advertised as "the first scholarly book on the Marxist theory of the state." Dr. Chang came to write it by chance. Beginning merely out of curiosity with a chapter on Marxian theory, he discovered that no one had written fully on the political theory of Communism, and therefore decided to make a deep study of "this formidable theory of the state." He devoted two years to this deep study, and accomplished precisely what he intended. In that time, he managed to become acquainted with a half dozen pamphlets by Lenin, a few extracts by Trotsky, and absolutely nothing of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and Mehring, not to mention such "non-entities" as Plekhanov or Kautsky of the pre-revolutionary period.

Chang's "Slant" on Marxism. In view of the fact that this book bristles with classic quotations of Marxism, and also because such outstanding theorists as Bedacht and Trachtenberg seem to have been somewhat involved in providing Dr. Chang with a genuine "slant" on Marxism, we intended to go somewhat into the scope of this purported interpretation of Marxist theory, and Chang's qualifications as a scientist and scholar in general.

In this "Marxian" study of the state, there is practically no mention whatever made (to say nothing of analysis) of the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the October Revolution. One is led to the suspicion that Chang's reason for studying the Paris Commune, is the fact that it has had some mention among "his authorities."

Chang's scholarship is upon that level which does not transcend scholasticism. The bulk of his bibliography consists of the works of such authorities on Marxism as Max Beer, M. M. Rober, one Kleene, and the like. To prove that his historical materialism is monistic, he refers to the "findings of Kleene and Rober (which serve to strengthen our contention that historical materialism is monistic). Although he refers slightly to Plekhanov as another "great Marxist," Chang obviously never read Plekhanov's classic defense of historical materialism. It is only when his own authorities fail him that he resorts to such dubious sources as Trotsky—for example, "since even such an authority... as Max Beer overlooks this character of the Commune, it is worth while to quote Trotsky."

A Surprising "Discovery"

It is not surprising therefore to find that the Doctor is surprised at the deliberate falsification of Marxism by the revisionists. And, moreover, that from the heights of his erudition, he suspects that even most devoted disciples of Marx were not quite so well informed as he. Chang indirectly imputes to Lenin ignorance of Marx's "The Class Struggles in France." On what grounds? On the grounds that he did not include two well

known quotations from that book in his pamphlet "The State and Revolution." According to Chang, "it is interesting to note that such a devoted disciple of Marx had made no mention (of these passages) in his State and Revolution." Had the doctor devoted a few more weeks to Lenin he might have discovered that a number of people had written rather fully on the political theory, and that Lenin had far closer first-hand knowledge about the quotations than Chang! He might have also learned that the "State and Revolution" was never completed, as planned.

But his two years research authorizes Chang not only to note with interest but also to comment on passing upon the relative merits of Marxists. No work of Mehring's is referred to in Chang's book, but he did read a book of Ryazanov, and this leads our doctor to the scientific conclusion that Ryazanov ranks higher than Mehring. "It should be noticed in passing that Ryazanov as a historian of Marxist literature (sic!) ranks higher even than Franks Mehring." We need only remark that Ryazanov ranked Mehring as the greatest historian of Marxism.

Literature and History

Chang not only has hazy notions as to what Marxist literature consists of, but he confounds literature with history, and is blissfully unaware that there is a distinction between dialectic materialism (the philosophy of Marxism) and historical materialism (Marxist sociology). He thinks that "historical materialism is also known as dialectic materialism." In Pennsylvania this passes for scholarship. But these are only the artificial pearls of his erudition, the genuine jewels are still ahead.

The learned Doctor has a preface and an introduction to his book. In the preface he informs us that in his book there is "little mention or use of Marxian economics." But in the introduction he informs us that "it is presumptuous to draw a rigid line between economics and political science." He is convinced of this, on the authority of professor J. H. Laski. On his own words, and upon his own authority, Chang pleads guilty of having been so presumptuous as to draw a rigid line between Marxian economics and Marxian politics.

His lack of knowledge of Marxian economics does not, however, hinder him from speaking authoritatively about it. According to him "one of the productive forces is wage-labor." He confounds productive forces with productive relations. Wage-labor is a productive relation. It is a bourgeois relation of production.

The Marxian concept of "class" is a closed book to Chang, but this does not prevent him from being very erudite in his chapter, "The Class Domination Theory of the State." According to Chang the intellectuals are a class in society. It is perhaps safe to say that even Bedacht knows better.

When the classic quotations of Marxism run counter to Chang's own conclusion, he simulates them,

Leon Trotsky

HITLER THE PACFIST

Hitler wants peace. His speeches and his interviews on this theme are constructed on an ancient formula: war is incapable of solving a single question, war threatens the extermination of the superior races, war brings the ruin of civilization in its wake. The classic argumentation of the pacifists for hundreds of years! No more consoling is the fact that the Chancellor of the Reich has already succeeded in convincing several foreign journalists of his absolute sincerity. It is true that another pacifist, whose sincerity is not open to the least suspicion, Karl Ossietsky, can ask why he continues to remain in a concentration camp, if the leader of the present government applies his fundamental theme assiduously. If not with very much talent. But Ossietsky is imprisoned for the very reason that he is able to pose embarrassing questions.

The Arguments of Hitler

The arguments of Hitler are convincing in the degree that they have volume. All the ministers, all the orators, all the journalists swear that the Third Reich has been called into being to realize the fraternity of people. If all of National Socialist Germany is learning to handle arms, it is only in order the better to become impregnated with hatred for them. Even von Papen who, as early as May 13th, still preached that the true Germany ought to die young on the field of battle and not from hardening of the arteries, does not cease to repeat now that there is nothing more worthy than to give up the ghost peacefully surrounded by one's grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

The peoples of Europe passionately want the preservation of peace. No wonder that they lend an ear full of hope, to the bulky argumentation from Berlin. It is not very difficult to dispel their doubts. Many are asking: and what is to be thought, for instance, of Hitler's autobiography which is entirely built up on the irreconcilability of the interests of France and Germany? An appealing explanation has already been given: the autobiography was written in prison, when the author's nerves were disordered and it is only through an obvious negligence of the minister of propaganda that this disturbing book continues to this day to serve as the basis for national education.

"Peace" Instead of "Struggle". Once the question of "equality of rights" was determined in favor of the Third Reich, Hitler will prepare the publication of a new edition, more reassuring. If the book has been called up to now, "My Struggle", the principal object of "My Struggle" being the Versailles Treaty, in the future it is very probable that it will be called "My Peace" and that they will append to it a report of the National Socialist physicians attesting that the nerves of the author are in better order. And the Leipzig trial shows that the mediocre surveys of the Nazis exist in the world, life will probably be made an eternal delight. But unfortunately side by side with these virtues stupidity and credulity still live on. Who will have to pay for them?

The author of these lines has already at one time attempted to draw the reader's attention to a remarkable document, the "Open Letter" from Hitler to the then Chancellor of the Reich, von Papen. Unfortunately our weak voice obviously has not reached its destination. The "Open Letter" has not become, as we had hoped, the brief of all editors and all diplomatic chancelleries. And it is well deserving of that. The recently published political document of German propaganda are also incontestably very instructive. But they have the drawback of being secrets. One can always suspect a falsification.

Hitler's "Open Letter". The "Open Letter" is not a secret document. This pamphlet was officially published by the Nazi party on October 16, 1932, three months before Hitler's seizure of power. His nervous system at all time had succeeded, we must believe, in completely recovering from the tests of 1932. Hitler already felt himself almost in the government. There remained only the huddling of the last obstacles. The ruling classes looked towards him hopefully, but not without fear. They were particularly apprehensive of any adventure in "romantic" chauvinism. The aim of the "Open Letter" was to assure the possessing classes, the bureaucracy, the generals, the immediate retinue of Hindenburg that he, Hitler, contrary to the light avenger, von Papen, would pursue his ends with the greatest caution. The "Open Letter" discloses a complete system of foreign policy, which only now assumes its full importance. The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations was received throughout the entire world as an unexpected and unreasonable improvisation. However, it is stated with absolute precision in the "Open Letter" why Germany would leave Geneva and how it would be necessary to arrange this break.

Nazi Foreign Policy. The exceptional value of this letter consists in that Hitler, still inclined in those days to battle and polemic, rashly unveiled the secret springs of his future foreign policy. The point of departure of the "Letter" is the same as that of the "autobiography": the interests of France and Germany are absolutely irreconcilable; from its whole inclination France can come to an agreement only on the basis of a change of relationship of forces in favor of Germany. Germany cannot

hope to obtain "equality of rights" by means of discussion in international conferences; in order that international diplomacy recognize Germany's right to rearm, the Germans must rearm at once. But that is precisely why it is impossible to demand aloud the rearmament of Germany as von Papen must. It is the slogan of a "popular movement" but in no case of diplomacy. A government conscious of its responsibilities—that is the government of Hitler and not of von Papen—should demand only the disarmament of France. And since France is no case could agree to that, Germany should leave the League of Nations in order thus to free its hands. So as to make war? No. Germany is still too weak for its government to speak in the near future in any other language than that of pacifism.

Recreating German Militarism. Invoking the "danger" which threatens it in the East, and utilizing the antagonisms among the states of the West, Germany should regenerate the basis of its militarism, gradually, by proceeding from the general to the particular, to the special. In order to conduct this work to a successful end, there must be a national conspiracy of silence; above all the Ossietsky must be kept under lock and key! A government conscious of its responsibilities must take the instruments of pacifism in its own hands. By following this path they will succeed, in the course of several years, in preparing a radical change in the relation of forces. After that they will be able to pass over from "My Peace" to "My Struggle" and even to "My War".

Such is Hitler's plan. The plan flows from the whole situation, external and internal. Hitler himself has taken care to give humanity a key—or, to use a better known expression, a passport—in order to penetrate the secrets of his future

international policy. Despite all the respect we have for the two sympathetic journalists, we prefer to base ourselves on the declarations of Hitler himself, supported by an imposing system of direct and indirect proofs. From a fact, even a strongly established one, different practical conclusions can be drawn. Various answers can be given to the policy of Hitler. It is not at all the intention of the present article to give counsel to those, whoever they may be, who decide the fate of Europe; they truly know themselves what they have to do. But the premises of a realistic policy, whatever its aims and methods, is an understanding of the situation and the forces at work in it.

Hitler's Calculated Plan. We must see what is Hitler's left the League of Nations not under the blow of a nervous improvisation, but in conformance with a coldly calculated plan. Hitler has himself assured the "national" conspiracy of silence. He carries on his work in the direction of a radical change in the relationship of military forces. It is precisely now, when this work has already begun but is still far from having given decisive results, that Hitler must employ the greatest caution in the European arena. Do not frighten anyone, do not irritate anyone; on the contrary, open wide the arms. Hitler is ready to cover the walls of his war factories with pacifist speeches and non-aggression pacts. Paris would rather have a knife. If a clear, simple, non-diplomatic formula of the pacifist of today is necessary, it is the following: for the next two or three years Hitler must painfully avoid a preventive war on the part of his opponents. Within these limits his pacifism is absolutely sincere. But within these limits only.

—L. TROTSKY.
November 23, 1933.

Wicks at Large Again

After a long period of silence, Wicks is heard from again. H. M. Wicks is now touring the country with a Marx-Lenin exhibit which he supplements with a lecture. But this angle of the affair is only an external covering. The essential purpose of the tour is to incite a program spirit against the Left Opposition and, like all revisionists of Marxism, to do it under the mantle of Marx and Lenin. And who could do that better than H. M. Wicks?

The speech is divided into a discussion of the three Internationals. Wicks is a calm and deliberate man when he speaks of the first and second Internationals. But when his speech covers the ground of the Third International he is changed man. The calm and deliberate Wicks becomes a blustering ignoramus whose speech is filled with invectives against Trotsky and the Left Opposition. "Counter-revolutionaries" and "renegades" are nicknames that pale alongside the new language, the sum and substance of which is the instruction to carry on a campaign of gangsterism against the Left Opposition. True, this policy is not a new one. The Stalinist International and all its sections have carried on a policy of violence against opponent workers organization for a number of years, increasing or decreasing in intensity in equal degree with the credit or discredit of the Parties. In the United States the Central Committee directed this policy of gangsterism. Because of pressure, this policy was put aside for a short period. The C. C. denied that it was responsible for this policy, but it refused to instruct the ranks of the Party to cease employing Fascist tactics in the labor movement.

Revival of Gangster Methods. Now the Parties of Stalin are again making use of the tactic of gangsterism. The heavy defeat in Germany, the weakened position of the Soviet Union at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the decline of the International—these are all motive forces behind this policy. In recent months there has been revived the tactic of physical attacks on the Left Oppositionists. These attacks are prefaced by theoretical speeches of justification! This Wicks tours the country with a Marx-Lenin exhibit in order to make lynch speeches against the "Trotskyites". He fumes and frets, bellows and howls, with a language characteristic of Wicks. But why Wicks? Why should he be resurrected for this campaign? Why shouldn't Hathaway or Browder make this tour and do this dirty job? They are the leaders of the Party. They stand out as the face of the Party. And there is probably less to fear from them. It would be better, it seems to me, to say, very political, to have the National Secretary of the Party or the editor of the Daily Worker make such a tour; although we assure our readers, there would be little to choose between them. But then, why Wicks? And thereby hangs a tale.

The Record of Wicks. When the Opposition was first organized in this country, H. M. Wicks, it was, who wrote a series of vicious articles against it, comparing the sterling revolutionary character of the Stalinists with the counter-revolutionary make-up of the Left Opposition. Those who know Wicks, and there were a few, could not take him seriously, because to them, the record of Wicks was an open book. But to many,

Wicks stood out as the emblem of all that is good, and honest. We thought it in the best interest of the working class to tell who this Wicks is.

In the early days of the foundation of the Communist movement, Wicks played an active part. For a time he disappeared from the scene. Then he returned once more to take an active part in the Party. What happened in the meantime? Wicks turned apostate! He who should renegade so loudly played the role of a renegade. We quote from the Gary, Indiana, Post-Tribune, the issue of March 25, 1920, pages 1 and 9:

"H. M. Wicks, of Chicago, a reform socialist, spoke on the revolutionary tendencies of the times to some forty Gary men last evening. . . . Bill Hayward and his satellites should not be tolerated in this country. Mr. Wicks said, he had been advising American Legion members not to permit these vermin to talk to them, but to knock them down. That he said is the only language they understand. . . . He commended the deportation proceedings that have rid the country of many agitators and urged that other foreign troublemakers be given the same treatment. He urged an Americanization program for the foreign speaking workers and he said the American Legion is the one organization in the country which is doing good Americanization work. . . . He told of attending the congress of the Communist Party in Chicago. By use of a caucus about one-fourth of the delegates controlled the meeting. The caucus is a dictator. The speaker could not find words to describe his disgust for the I. W. W. He charged them with being cowards and the scum of the earth. . . . Wicks is preparing to tour the country on the Chautauque platform this summer in order to let the American people understand the true situation."

Once Excluded from Party. Wicks applied for membership in the Communist Party in 1921, after his excursion into the ranks of true renegades and provocateurs. The "Official Bulletin of the Communist Party of America (Section of the Communist International)" issued by the General Executive Committee, No. 2, page 1, under the heading "Some Important C. E. C. Decisions", declared:

"The recommendation of an investigating committee that Harry Wicks shall not be admitted to the Party was approved. The information proves him to be absolutely undesirable within the Party ranks."

Some years later the matter was brought up in the Party but was squelched by Lovestone and Pepper then in control of the C. E. C. They have since admitted their error! Isn't it understandable now why a Wicks was chosen for such a delicate work? When he spoke for the renegades in Gary he boasted and gloated because he advised the American Legion not to permit the vermin (Hayward and his comrades) to talk to them but to knock them down. He doesn't have to change his act now, because experience has made him fitted for this filthy work. There is no one better suited to calumniate the "Trotskyites" than one who has been a renegade, such as Wicks has been. That is why he was chosen for this task. At any rate we feel it incumbent to warn the workers everywhere that H. M. Wicks, erstwhile renegade and unofficial advisor to the American Legion, is at large again.

MOVIE REVIEW

As movies go Noel Coward's *Cavalcade* is an old picture. Fox turned it out almost a year ago. The thing got so much publicity, and was talked about by so many people we got curious about it. And we figured that workers felt the same way about it. So we went to see it.

This is what we found: a story which begins in the Victorian era in England and takes us through to 1885. In a way it is a love story. But it is a much more ambitious production than a mere tale of heart beats. The producers think, no doubt, that they have made a faithful chronicle of an epoch that has passed into history and truthfully recorded the life of a generation.

Let us take them on their own terms. What do they tell us about these years and the people who move across the screen? The central figures' men and wife, who are happily married ten years at the opening of the picture, obviously belong to the upper class. They live in a big house, have servants, and move in elite circles. The source of their income is not even indicated. A sordid detail in a story of love that endures through the ages!

The war against the Boers separates them for a time. In the elaborate scenes of the fervor that overtakes every patriotic British citizen the producers who are, no doubt, opposed to propaganda in the movies have an opportunity to tell us the truth about the brutal course that empire treads. Do they? Not a bit. The war is only an incident in the love life of four people.

Do men die in the brush? Are Boers murdered to establish Britain's might? These are unimportant details, are not mentioned in polite society. But our hero comes back at the head of his troop, safe and sound, very much in love with his wife, and is knighted.

The queen dies and everybody dresses in black. That signifies the close of the Victorian era. The world moves on. The butler and his wife, the maid, leave to open a pub. The children grow up. The butler turns out to be a drunkard who dies in a street accident.

The elder son goes down with his bride on the Titanic on their honeymoon. The World War comes. Father and son do their duty. The latter falls in love with the daughter of the dead butler. She is now a famous musical comedy dancer.

The girl's mother goes round to see the boy's mother about the affair. Servant confronts mistress. The mistress is still the same courteous, kindly, sweet woman she has always been toward her servants. But the former maid; she dresses ridiculously and put on airs. Her pretensions of equality are so much vulgarity. Oh, the lower orders! Unworthy wretches, drunkards, ungrateful, offensive. They don't know that quality is inherent.

It is armistice day. The painful interview between mistress and former servant is terminated by a telegram announcing the death of the boy. The girl becomes a night club blues singer. Her mother disappears from the chronicle.

Come crises, revolutions. The world moves at a faster tempo. It is restless, nervous—the twentieth century is full blast. But the old house—it is still the same. Nothing changes here, not custom, not the very furniture (only the curtains are changed one week before the close), and certainly not the people in it. At the end as in the beginning they love each other; they are still in love; that counts more than all else in the world.

Is there a moral to this story? You bet. Old virtues are the best. Just how to the line of bourgeois morality and the world will muddle through somehow. It is not your business to remake the world. Just look at the butler; he was not satisfied with his station in life and kindly treatment. He tried to remake his world and he came to an untimely end. Do your duty; be content with your lot; love your wife! It is written—by Noel Coward and Fox.

—T. S.

"The New Deal"

A NEW STAGE IN THE NRA

Government proclamations dealing with economic measures are issued so often it is difficult to keep up with them. This in itself reveals the mounting difficulties which confront the dominating imperialist power in the decay stage of capitalism. The resort to governmental economic measures in an attempt to "bring back prosperity" is a game that has no end simply because capitalism has contradictions which the most powerful of governments cannot solve or eliminate. In this circumstance the task of the capitalist government is to adopt such measures as will place the ruling class, in the preliminary struggles and preparations for a re-division of the earth, in the most favorable position against the other imperialist powers and the working class at home.

Such is the purpose of the NRA and all of the other measures taken by the government since it was compelled by the situation to work more in the open. As soon as one government measure is used up and faces breakdown new decrees are issued. At one stage the slack is taken up at a critical moment by the Civil Works Program—a form of government relief which is half charity and half stagger plan. At another time the cracks are plastered over with an expanding monetary policy in a series of steps which range from going off the gold standard and placing unlimited power in the president's hands to the gold-buying policy and now to the silver policy of the government. At other times critical stages are maneuvered through by the recognition of the U. S. S. R., the Hull Tariff proposal, or the establishment of the Federal Surplus Relief Association, etc.

President Roosevelt has extended the blanket code four more months, to May the First. This was necessitated by the fact that the process of reorganization, at the expense of the workers and the mid-

dle class, has not gone fast enough. There are only two variants possible—or modified forms of these two variants—that the ruling class can take in relation to the NRA and its international supplementary measures. They must either return to the past and give up the "governmental experiment in business," or proceed further on the present path. It can be answered with certainty that there is only one road ahead for American imperialism. That is the road of increased governmental control and regulation of American economy. A rich variety of forms leading toward state capitalism is possible, providing the proletariat does not interpose its own solution and made short work of the whole mess.

The government measures designed to insure a more favorable position for American imperialism on the international field dovetail into those measures which aim to reorganize production within the country. None of the government measures is exclusively internal or international. However, the NRA is primarily an internal object; the majority of the other measures supplement the NRA internally and extend the economic war out into the international arena.

The government monetary policy in its successive stages is not merely a series of internal measures to boost prices, as the administration would have us believe. In the final analysis it has greater international importance. (One may safely say that the central contradiction concealed within the monetary policy is the struggle between the Pound and the Dollar for world supremacy. But England and the United States are not the only two countries striving for a bigger place in the sun. Other imperialists are putting up a desperate fight for the same goal. These struggles inevitably cross this struggle between the Pound and the Dollar, and often

monetarily stand out more prominently. An example of this is to be seen in the ratification of the international agreement for the reorganization and stabilization of silver and the president's proclamation on this question.

A new government organization of far-reaching powers, recently established is the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation. The New York Times says it may exercise "any and all powers" that may legally be delegated to it under the NRA, the AAA and the Emergency Relief Act. It may "purchase, store, handle and process" surplus commodities of any kind. It may attempt to "adjust the severe disparity between prices of agriculture and other commodities." Subject to Federal and State laws it may "purchase, hold, own, mortgage, sell, convey, or otherwise dispose of" real and personal property of any sort, and in general, carry on any and all business necessary for the relief of the existing national emergency.

This will act as a sort of a second line trench behind the NRA. It brings out into relief the great difference between the present organization for capitalist reproduction and that which followed past crises when capitalism as a world system was "healthy" and developing. It exposes the spots of decay even in U. S. economy, the dominating section of world economy. Capitalism has now reached a stage where the process of decay is "organized." There is such a thing as "organized capitalism," but in a sense completely opposite to that conveyed by the capitalist theorists. Decay on a world-wide scale proceeds on an "organized" plan; only in this way can the capitalists retain power.

In Germany, the main defeated nation in the last world war, this "organized decay" took on its most violent form—Fascism. America, the main victor of the war and the strongest power now, has been able, up to the present time, to escape both the revolutionary destroyers and the Fascist saviors of capitalism. Nevertheless, it does not escape the need of reorganization by the curtailment and destruction of productive forces that must not be replaced. In previous crises during the growth stage of capitalism the process of reorganization always proceeded by the destruction of certain productive forces and commodities; but the new cycle started out with a more highly developed technique of production than that which obtained before the crises. This destruction of productive forces and commodities is not the new feature of the present stage. The important new fact is that the process of destruction is proceeding in an attempted "organized fashion" by means of government subsidy where political expediency requires it, and without a reorganization on a superior technical level. In the decay stage of capitalism, within which American economy is included, iron shackles are fastened on the productive forces.

This does not mean that the cycle of reproduction and the creation of surplus value cannot again proceed. The NRA and the other measures are working toward this end. However, the rate of surplus value will diminish progressively unless war and revolution alter the whole situation.

The NRA already has greatly assisted the process of reorganization and centralization of industry and government. But by no means has it solved the problem. A new problem confronting the present rulers is the army of permanent unemployed and the prospective Europeanization of the American workers, that is, their political awakening. Against this new and added danger from the working class the executive committee of the capitalist class has created the NRA. They foresee this danger and aim, by means of the NRA, to shackle the rising class in advance. The NRA has a far reaching economic effect but its effects on social and class relations will be even greater.

The middle class has not been roused to action yet. The NRA is only being set through the NRA to squeeze them on a far larger scale. No one can predict which way this class will move. Already the farmers have shown open hostility to the NRA. This has forced concessions and has only postponed struggle on a wider scale. A section of the capitalists which had enjoyed monopolistic positions in certain industries have been opposing the NRA. They already enjoy a special position within their field. The government measures are of no value to them unless they are on the "inside track." That group of capitalists which has the inside track is carrying on a struggle for domination within America against other groups of competing capitalists and is using the NRA for this purpose. Many of the higher-ups in the "sound money bloc" and "gold-bloc" happen to be with that group of capitalists which is under attack.

The working class is being disillusioned. New measures will be attempted to keep the discontent from crystallizing into definite channels of class struggle against the NRA and all that goes with it. The reduction of the living standards of the whole class is proceeding as rapidly as the NRA becomes a "success." The political awakening of the workers will be greatly advanced in the general process now taking place.

—HUGO OEBLER.

From Nazi Germany

Hamburg.—I spent my time in Hamburg not only with many social democratic workers but with leading comrades as well (local, district leaders, old trade union secretaries). All these men feel that they were betrayed by their leaders and they do not dream of continuing to work together with the old leaders of the social democracy. The Prague Vorwarts was distributed here up to three weeks ago.

Following the arrest of a courier, they are examining the boats in the harbor with extreme scrutiny. Most workers utilize the Vorwarts only as a source of information, other distribute it despite its content, only so as to do something against Hitler. Others burn it because they do not want to run any risks, but many burn it because they consider its contents despicable.

The political line of these people is very vague although they have begun to discuss with the Communists and the small groups. Discussion circles were created in this way. A Reichsbanner group is particularly noteworthy. This group was well equipped technically, but its positions were very bad ideologically. They worked on the principle of authority and omniscience of the leader. They showed the S. A. P. with insults considering the latter as undisciplined because they wanted to break the discipline of the ranks of the organization at that time.

Their position towards national socialism was very poor. They explained that they had to attach themselves to the nationalism of the people. Most of the Germans are nationalistic and they cannot be won over by internationalism. Only after the conquest of power can the question of internationalism be posed. Nationalism was only a tactic for them, they said. But I think that there was much sentiment hidden behind this stand.

The Communists with whom I came into contact in Hamburg suffered severe losses throughout. They seldom admitted that they were almost completely annihilated by agent provocateurs. The repression becomes stronger from month to month and men are arrested en bloc, 40 to 50 at a time. They are very dogmatic in their stand and they invariably abide by the old party line. They still have good organizations and they publish printed papers. I received the Rote Fahne, the Junge Garde and the Trommel (children's paper) in Hamburg.

BERLIN.

Berlin.—Wells is still in the leadership of the S. P. D. Four social democratic papers are in existence. Vorwarts has not been circulated here for some time. The workers refuse to take it. The Proletarische Pressendienst (Proletarian Press Service) is much better and even very much liked among Communists. It has a circulation of 2,000 copies. Each copy has 5 readers. The same circle publishes Initiative. The latter is only an information organ for leading functionaries. Roter Stoerup has the same function in Hamburg. They are against all discussion and they are connected with the Reichsbanner who have been taken into the illegal leadership. Their ideas on dictatorship and the principle of authority are very bad.

The Young Socialists who have struggled with K. for a long time are truly revolutionary and are brilliantly active. The Young Socialists keep in connection with

the Proletarische Pressendienst on the one hand and work with the Left Opposition on the other.

In 5 weeks 5 printing presses were seized from the Communists. The Rote Fahne, despite all, continues to be published, but only in mimeographed form. The content remains the same. I had an opportunity to speak with a leader of the Brandenburg district. He and others were very sceptical and are now working in discussion circles with the Left Opposition. They feel the pressure from the Communist workers for the united front.

The Left Opposition works marvelously. Relations with Communists and even leading functionaries are established easily. We have equally good relations with the Young Socialists who are now considered "Trotskyites." These comrades reject the straggling discipline of the C. P. G. They have made this crystal clear to K.—and St.—. The Left Opposition can today not only double but triple its membership. But it should be very careful of details and admit only vanguard elements.

Due to the catastrophe not only large sections of the social democracy, but also a section of the Communists have finally understood that Trotsky's analysis of Fascism was correct. Everywhere the question is asked: "What does Trotsky say?" Many voluntarily enter into relations with us. It confirms to me the new relations between the social democrats, communists and Left Oppositionists. It can be seen everywhere that the active comrades are very young. The average age is from 20 to 25 years.

Exploitation and wage cutting have been intensified. I know of a place where they pay 50 pfennigs an hour. The cuts extend from 20 to 25%. The cost of living has risen, which means greater exploitation. Most of the workers earn between 25 and 50 marks, i. e., hardly more than the relief rates. Those receiving aid are forced to work 75 pfennigs a day. Due to this arrangement another worker is unemployed for the three days.

The forced labor camps grow incessantly. Thousands of workers who refuse to go to the forced labor camps have been cut off the relief lists. The general purchasing ability is lowered from day to day. Statistics for beer show that 51% less of this beverage is consumed now than before the war.

Naturally there are many more unemployed than previously. The manner in which the Nazis deceive the people is shown in the case of a young comrade in the Left Opposition at H.—. The comrade was sent from the employment office to K—. They said there was no more unemployment in K—. The workers of K— protested because there were obviously more unemployed there than in all Germany. After 15 days they all returned to H.—.

As I see it there now exists very good opportunities for a rise of the workers movement if the responsible comrades of the Left Opposition can conduct extensive activity in Germany. But lack of money paralyzes the forces. The comrades simply have no money with which to send the most urgent letters.

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Sunday, January 7th — 3 P. M.
Subject:
"RESOLVED THAT A POLITICAL
PARTY IS NECESSARY FOR
THE EMANCIPATION OF
THE WORKING CLASS"

Affirmative: HUGO OEBLER
of Communist League
Negative: S. WEINER
of the I. W. W.
Sunday, January 7th, 3 P. M.
at Marine Workers' I. W. W. Hall

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THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail
matter November 28, 1928, at the
Post Office at New York, N. Y., Under
the act of March 3, 1879.
Published Weekly by the Communist
League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spektor
Arne Swabeck
Vol. VI, No. 57 (Whole No. 204)
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1933
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

EDITORIAL

Strike the Hotels

ONE of the bright spots in the rising labor movement is the sensational rise of the Amalgamated Food Workers and its militant challenge to the big New York hotels which have been completely unorganized and immune to "labor troubles" for many years. Within the space of a few months' time, thanks to the strong sentiment for organization in the ranks of the fiercely exploited workers and a competent leadership in the union, the Amalgamated has bounded forward to a commanding position in the situation and is the indicated medium for the organization of a general strike to smash the infamous NRA code and enforce the workers' demands.

The action of the union in putting the preparation of the general strike now definitely on the agenda, after the arduous preliminary work in spreading the message of unionism and gathering the forces of the workers together, raises the prospect of a battle that can mean much for the labor movement in general as well as for the workers directly involved. Shut off from unionism for so many years, the biggest industry in New York—for that is what the hotel and restaurant business is—remained a stronghold of super-exploitation which helped to depress the standards and undermine the organizations of all the other workers.

In invading this field and establishing the firm basis of a union there the Amalgamated Food Workers has rendered a signed service to the whole movement of organized labor. In the projected strike it will be entitled to the solidarity and support, which are needed to ensure success.

To wrest concessions from the big New York hotels is no small undertaking. It cannot be accomplished without a real battle, and the battle cannot get a good start without serious preparation and a fair basis of organization beforehand. In proceeding from this point of view, and in moving step by step along a consistent line—gathering forces, building up the union, popularizing the idea of general strike action instead of reliance on the NRA—the Amalgamated has already stamped itself in the minds of thousands of disoriented hotel slaves as an organization that means business, not bluff and balldoo. The steady stream of new recruits into the union bears testimony to this. These demonstrations of confidence in the union presage a widespread response to the strike call when it goes out.

The challenge to the NRA code and the hotel magnates in whose interest it was drawn up leads with iron necessity to a strike. There is no other way but by a show of strength to convince these people who refuse to hear or heed the bitter grievances of the workers. The demands gained and the organization established in this way will be all the more secure. There will be no ground for the illusion that anybody gave the workers anything. It will be clear that everything gained is the result of organized struggle and it will not be easy to take the gains away again.

The general strike of the New York hotels will be an undisputed fight between capital and labor under modern conditions. The New York hotels are not one-horse concerns—they represent a huge concentration of capital closely tied up with the banks, and in some cases directly controlled by them. This policy is anti-union from start to finish. The Amalgamated union, on the other hand, is a modern type of labor organization, industrial in form to include all workers in the industry, militant in policy and relying on its own strength.

The A. F. of L. unions in the industry have never tackled the big hotels; they have confined themselves to smaller units—little cafes, caterers and night clubs—leaving the big and powerful concerns and the workers enslaved by them pretty much alone. Antiquated craft unionism demonstrates its inadequacy and the whole theory of the "partnership of capital and labor" goes to pieces when large-scale aggregations of capital are confronted.

The Amalgamated Food Workers arose as an independent industrial union in a field that was deserted and unoccupied just as similar organizations must and will take shape in other big industries which the craft unions are unable or unwilling to organize. It is not a "dual" union but the legitimate organization to serve the needs of the workers. The foremost and fundamental task in preparation for the general strike is to build and strengthen the Amalgamated Food Workers.

Concentration on this fundamental task of organizing the workers into the Amalgamated does not, of course, prevent cooperation with other unions in the industry and, in our opinion, the Executive Board of the Amalgamated was right in declaring its readiness to engage in joint actions with the A. F. of L. unions in case the latter are really prepared to act, that is, to call a strike of the workers under their jurisdiction. Such a proposition can very well remain as a standing attitude provided it does not lead to illusions among the members that some nebulous combination or instrument outside the Hotel and Restaurant workers branch of the Amalgamated can

be the driving force of a real strike. The Amalgamated itself is the driving force! It would be fatally wrong to shift attention from the fundamental task of organizing the unorganized hotel workers into the union to the field of negotiations, discussions and re-arrangements with other organizations which have no basis in the hotels. The mechanism for a strike is first of all membership in a UNION. A hundred "joint committees" and "United Front Conferences" cannot be substituted for it.

As the hotel and restaurant workers move toward a show-down with the rapacious exploiters who coin their lives into dollars one warning cannot be repeated too often. That is: Put no faith in the NRA, distrust every move it makes, rely on your organized strength and the solidarity of your fellow-workers alone!

There is no doubt that many hotel and restaurant workers believed in the NRA at first and expected that Roosevelt would really do something for them. They have reason to know better now. After the approval by the NRA of the shameful hotel and restaurant code—one of the very worst of all, with its 54-hour week and similar odious provisions in favor of the bosses—it should be clear to every thinking worker that no help can be expected from this quarter. Just the contrary. The whole NRA scheme was hatched to head off the independent action of the workers, fill them with false hopes, dampen down their militancy and harness them for a long time to the old conditions. The proof of this, which has been amply provided already in the experience of the hotel and restaurant workers, is driving them to unionization and to concrete preparations for a strike. That is the only way to success in the struggle to improve conditions and make life more bearable for the cruelly exploited workers of the hotel and restaurant industry of New York.

Mooney Appeals Again

YEARS pass, the case of Mooney becomes an old story, the movement for his release ebbs and flows and ebbs again, militants grow tired and neglect the fight, but there is one who never tires, never quits and never surrenders, and that is the indomitable rebel, white haired and aging in prison, who carries the burden of the case on his own shoulders. The letter from Tom Mooney which is printed in this issue of the Militant is another reminder of this fact. It is an appeal which no militant worthy of the name can read without emotion and without a resolve to take up the fight again in his behalf.

Only a few weeks ago Mooney passed his 51st birthday—more than a third of his years have been spent continuously in prison. To our shame his birthday passed without a wave of public demonstrations and tumult in the street. To our shame the fight for his release has again become a perfunctory, routine affair. It must not remain on this plane. We must gather all our forces and energies together again to make the labor movement ring with his name, to make the demand for his liberation a living and burning issue of the whole working class.

The Mooney case is not an extraneous issue; it is fused together inseparably with awakening revolt of the American workers against capitalism and all its works. The name of Mooney is a banner of struggle. His spirit is the expression of the aspiring struggle of labor for life and freedom. And just as he symbolizes by his dauntless rebel spirit the undying struggles of the workers, so also does the barbarous and inhuman punishment imposed upon him tell the true story of the class justice of today. The fight for Mooney is a fight against the whole system of slavery, exploitation, hunger and injustice. The fight for Mooney is the workers' own fight.

The weight of the class system bears down ever more heavily on the masses. They feel every more intensely in their own daily lives the inequities of the hateful regime; their grievances bring them into closer sympathy with all who suffer oppression and injustice. They can become one with Mooney who symbolizes their rebellion and pays for it with a living death in the California prison. It is our task to hasten this fusion in a renewed fight for Tom Mooney.

The remarks of Mooney about the Chicago Congress and its aftermath are painful to read. It is clear from these remarks, as has been pointed out in these columns many times, that those who monopolized the leadership of the Left wing labor movement in recent years are able only to disorganize and to destroy. The blight of their influence is felt even in the defense movement for labor prisoners, and the Mooney case is not the first example of their capacity to sacrifice the interests.

A genuine and legitimate non-partisan defense organization is an urgent need. This is widely felt and recognized already. Mooney's letter brings the issue out into the open more prominently. There is much to be said on the questions raised in Mooney's letter. In next week's Militant we shall return to the subject again.

Transport Tie-up in Philadelphia Sympathy Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

appeals of Senator Wagner and Dr. Leiserson, secretary of the National Association of Taxicab Drivers, the local union of the International Brotherhood declared for a strike of all transportation workers in Philadelphia on Friday, December 22nd. Nine unions with the additions of hundreds not yet organized responded. The following were included: Brotherhood of Transportation Workers, 11,000; Railway Express Drivers, 3,000; Teamsters, 3,000; Milk Wagon drivers, 2,000; Bakery wagon drivers, 2,000; Laundry wagon drivers, 1,100; Dry Cleaning drivers, 75; Piano Movers, 500. Thousands of transport workers stood in the cold for hours outside the strike headquarters and enthusiastically cheered the strike call.

Through striking under a call to make "the bosses agree to a deal by the Labor Board's decision," (from the strike leaflet) the drivers are in conflict not only with the bosses directly, but also with the governmental NRA itself. This must be fully realized by the strikers and all workers as a guard against deception.

Many already understand. They say, "We'll die of old age or starvation or both waiting for the NRA to do something." The strike call itself speaks of the strike as labor's only weapon now.

Supporting Taxicab Drivers

The strike approached but did not become a general strike in transportation. It was called in support of the embattled taxicab drivers. But it is not that alone. The individual unions have their own grievances and demands. Thus the milk drivers who are the strongest enforcement in the strike and are out almost solidly, are striking for better hours and higher wages and union recognition. They have been organizing all Summer long and are now stirred into action by the practice of the milk companies singling out union militants and firing them off the job. The same applies to the laundry drivers and cleaners drivers. The Brotherhood of Transportation Workers, an independently organized union which entered the A. F. of L. as a second local at the conclusion of a successful strike a couple of months ago, is using the strike to further strengthen its organization.

Betrayal of Bakery Drivers

The bakery drivers union has once more been betrayed. Three months ago they went on strike and were misled into returning to their jobs under old conditions, under promise of favorable action by the National Labor Board. For two months the National Labor Board considered their demands—for two months the Bakers' Club (the association of the bosses) have been busy demoralizing the workers by firing the active unionists from the job.

But when it comes to strikes, breaking the NRA and all its boards and officers are on the job. Within two days of the general walkout the National Labor Board "grants" the bakery drivers a 44-hour week maximum and a \$27.50 week minimum pay, obviously prompted by efforts to break the unity of the workers. Without any agreement on the part of the bosses, the union officials called off their strike and sent the men back. Now the drivers, who see no indication on the part of the bakers to recognize the award of the union, are demanding action. In fact not all of the drivers went back, hundreds are still out despite the union order. This Thursday the union is taking another strike vote.

Labor Fakers in Action

As soon as the American Federation of Labor Executive Board became cognizant of the sweep of the strike and the enthusiasm it aroused it came to the aid of—the bosses. "Lieutenant" Daniel J. Tobin, International president of the Teamsters' Union came out with his wire to the local state organizer of the union, Thomas O'Brien, that the strike is illegal! "No permission was asked and none was given to call a general strike..." This stab in the back has had its effect. At the present writing five unions remain out on strike, four having gone back. The taxi, milk, laundry men now constitute the backbone of the strike.

It is imperative for the speedy success of the strike—that of the taxi men as well as that of the other unions—that the strike be extended to a complete general tie-up. The strike must go to the P. R. T. workers—subway, bus and street car; and, if need be, to call out not only the drivers but the inside production workers as well.

To date neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist party have made public any announcement on the strike. The S. P. is in the background of the taxiab union and, to a lesser extent of other unions. In this way it hopes not to embarrass the A. F. of L. officialdom and to absolve itself from any commitments before the workers. The C. P. has made no other contribution than a miserable leaflet by the sterile T. U. U. L. The T. U. U. L. Butcher drivers has been given representation, on the strike committee as has the Independent Retail Laundry Drivers.

The leaflet issued by the local branch of the Communist League calls for a complete transport strike, the six-hour day five-day week with union wages and for a policy of class struggle against class collaboration.

—LEON GOODMAN.

Hotel Workers Drive Toward General Strike

(Continued from page 1)

cussed and approved definite wage-scales which are now part of the official demands of the union, specifying in detail the minimum rates of pay for different types of work of varying degrees of skill and responsibility. The union demands include:

Full recognition of the union. A minimum wage of \$20 a week for the lowest-paid workers in the industry.

Specific minimum wage-scales for higher pay for the more skilled workers.

Tips to be entirely separate from wages.

A minimum working-week of 40 hours, consisting of 5 days of 8 hours each.

No split watch.

No charges for meals, uniforms or laundering.

The next stage in the development of the union will be marked by the increasing popularization and agitation for these demands, which will be put in the center of the organizing activity, and the preparation to enforce the demands by general strike action.

A mass meeting has been called for Thursday evening, Dec. 28, at 9 p. m., at the union headquarters, 915-917-919 Eighth Avenue, to put the demands of the union before the hotel and restaurant workers and explain the preparations which are necessary to obtain them.

The Confidence in NRA

Every worker will have to realize that these demands will not be conceded merely by asking for them. The hotel and restaurant men themselves are well-organized, and prepared to resist every serious demand for improving conditions. This is shown not only by the vicious conditions which they have attempted to saddle firmly on the industry through the codes (54-hour week which is really 60 hours, concealed wage cut through introducing charge for meals, taking wages out of tips, etc.), but by their efforts to promote company unions in one form or another, refusal to deal with unions, attempts to discriminate against active union men, etc.

Here and there, particularly in those where the Amalgamated is well-organized, the bosses have thrown out a few concessions—scattered wage increases, even rearrangements of shifts to shorten hours. This has been particularly true since the Montclair workers went out solidly on strike, cooks, waiters, husbands, dishwashers, etc., under the banner of the Amalgamated. The workers generally un-

derstand, however, that these are only sop to keep them quiet and head off further advances of the union.

The American Federation of Labor locals have been coming forward with particularly militant phrases, threatening a general strike of protest against the codes, in which they have claimed to have the support of the Amalgamated and of the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Guilds (the company-union type organization recently built up out of the previously-existing fraternal clubs and professional societies such as the Geneva, Vatel, Helvetia, etc.). The Federation at once repudiated any connection with a strike, although it appeared to vacillate a little later; meantime it has been advertising for extra workers for New Year's Eve.

Preferring for General Strike

The Amalgamated has made its position clear with regard to the A. F. of L. publicity as to the threatened protest strike. It is unconditionally opposed to the codes, and as long ago as Nov. 21 at a mass meeting passed a resolution denouncing the codes and stating that the workers were prepared in defense of their conditions "to use the effective weapon of the general strike". All our organizing work is directed to this end and we intend to make the general strike a real one.

As opposed to the bosses' demands, embodied in the codes, for perpetrating and aggravating the miserable conditions which prevail in the industry, we set up the working class solution to the problems of the industry: higher wages and shorter hours to raise the standards of the workers and relieve unemployment. We know that we cannot get these things without a struggle, and specifically a general strike.

It is important and necessary to make every effort to obtain the greatest possible unity in action of the labor organizations in the industry in support of any serious action for the purpose of enforcing these class demands, including not only a well-prepared and powerful general strike movement but also such actions as joint mass meetings or protest actions to prepare for it. It is essential, however, that every such step should be a serious part of a definite program calculated on the basis of the real forces available and have behind it the full weight of the organizations concerned.

—A. F. W. WORREER.

New York Printers Organize Union

New York.—A general meeting of their organizations. The printers unorganized printers took place on December 17, 1933 at Germania Hall. It was called by the Independent Printing Employees. A prominent feature was the presence of a number of union men who encouraged the new body with warm words from the floor. Official representatives of Big Six and Pressmen's Local No. 51 were also given an opportunity to express their views. Numerous applications for membership were filed with the committee after the speeches and discussion.

These workers listened with attention and enthusiasm to a member of the Organization Committee, D. S. Gordon, who described the wretched conditions in the trade, the disastrous competition between union and non-union printers and the advantage taken of this division by the employers. He pointed out that while the printing bosses were combining to secure higher prices from the NRA code now under discussion more than half of the printers in this city are unorganized and ignored by the A. F. of L. unions, which through their prohibitive initiation fees, their closed membership books and long periods of apprenticeship have become closed corporations to a huge section of the unorganized. Concluding with an appeal for organization and action as the only effective method for the unorganized to improve conditions, Gordon stated that it was the intention of this union to work as closely with the other union men and their organizations as possible and to work for the establishment of one union in the industry.

The floor was thrown open for discussion and printer after printer got up on his feet describing conditions urging the need for organization and counseling courage and determination for the Independent Printing Employees. The printers present took heart and hope when members of "Big Six" and the Pressmen's Union No. 51 told them that they too were opposed to the policies of the leadership of these respective organizations for unions, that they were fighting for an industrial instead of the craft union, for the organization of the unorganized. They wished the new union success and offered to fight for it inside the A. F. of L. unions.

The presence in the meeting of Thomas J. O'Connell, Label Representative of Typographical Union No. 6 and Edwin L. Duck, Special Representative of the N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, gave the new union recognition, however informal, almost from its inception. These A. F. of L. representatives, soft spoken, silver-tongued, confidential back-slappers, consumed considerable time of the meeting explaining to the workers the great work they were carrying on and how easy it was to join up in

Notes of the Week

MR. ERNEST T. WEIR, steelmaster, very quietly challenged Section 7a of the NRA last week. He held an "election" in the mills of the Weirton Steel Company (a subsidiary of the National Steel, of which he is president) at which 49 company union men were delegated as "representatives of their own choosing" by the mill-hands. To keep up face, the Labor Board and General Johnson protested, fretted and threatened.

But Mr. Weir, the papers tell us, read "David Copperfield" for the hundred and first time. "It gets better with each reading," he remarked.

The steelmaster, "a rugged individualist who came up from the ranks in the old American way", has every cause to maintain his equanimity. "The next step is up to the administration," and that the administration will merely mark time is self-evident from all past experiences.

This is not the first and we don't believe it will be the last instance of the utter contempt with which big business regards the ever so solemn agreements concluded from time to time by the code authorities in Washington. The National Steel made more profit in 1931, according to reports, than all the other steel companies put together. That is a persuasive enough argument to counter any of the General's forceful paper ultimata which serve as a veil for feeble action. Such arguments abound in the ranks of the rugged individualists.

In most cases, the next step on the part of the administration is a surrender to the caplains of industry all along the line. A case in point is the latest development in the needle industry. There the code authorities, after arbitrating the great New York strike last fall with a seeming victory for the workers, have now made public some rulings which practically turn the tables in favor of the employees. A so-called "sub-normality" clause permits the payment of a wage below the established minimum to "slow" workers. What other effect can this have but the granting of a loophole to the needle bosses by which they can abolish the minimum wage altogether? Another ruling in the same industry gives the Southern and Western employers the right to pay their workers from 30 to 40 per cent lower wages than in the East. What other effect can this have but the enforced reestablishment of the Sweatshop?

At a meeting of unorganized workers and union men, an A. F. of L. official who is also serving on one of the NRA Complaint Boards told those present that he believed the chisellers had won their way clear into the NRA itself. Being all hopped up by the propaganda against the chisellers, the good man appeared to be quite outraged by this fact. It never occurred to him that an administration which stands four-square for a system—the profit system of capitalism—which upholds the free-for-all grab and may the best chiseler win, cannot help being swamped by them.

While the American workers may not as yet have come to the realization that it is up to them as a class to take the works into their own hands and run industry for the benefit of all the people, they are nevertheless gropingly doing something about it. They are realizing already with increasing clarity that NRA won't do a thing for them unless they themselves get together in formations of their own and see that they get whatever they can out of it. They no doubt notice with growing apprehension the fact that out of 3,000,000 Blue Eagles issued to the boss class—and how many million violations?—the National Recovery Administration announces only 65 (thirty-eight!) withdrawals....

—G. L. N.

Another «Friend» of the Soviet Union

The great wit of the bourgeoisie, George Bernard Shaw, has discovered a new love. Before the war it was the Fabian Society, the pinkiest of all pink organizations. During the war he served God and Empire. Recently his love was the Soviet Union, whose hotels at last had hot water, and whose trains at last ran. And now it is Herr Hitler.

"Describing Hitler as 'a very able man' Mr. Shaw said he had the genius to realize 'that Germany had been kicked long enough.' (New York Times.)

We cannot blame Mr. Shaw. He always was just one thing—a bourgeois, a very clever and, at times, a caustically critical one, but none the less a bourgeois. And Mr. Shaw is perfectly right. Adolf is a great man—for the bourgeoisie. For the workers Hitler is hell incarnate.

The danger lies not in Mr. Shaw being a bourgeois, but in the willingness of so-called proletarian leaders to take him for something else. And the danger becomes disaster when the Stalinist leaders of the Comintern rely upon Mr. Shaw

and his fellows as the "friends" and defenders of the Soviet Union. Shaw and his friends are only petty bourgeois or bourgeois masqueraders, and when they get tired or scared of the red get-up, they'll change it for black, brown or blue. Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Lord Marley, and all the rest will very probably disappear long before the battle which decides whether the Herr Wessel song shall be sung in Moscow's streets by Hitler's brown shirts—or whether the Internationale shall be heard in Berlin.

Mr. Shaw has shown these people the road. It is useless for Communists to blame them for taking it; they are what they are. But all workers must watch with suspicion those leaders of the Soviet Union, the whole Stalinist bureaucracy, who prefer such friends and defenders to the revolutionary proletariat.

—M.

LECTURE

on the
PERMANENT REVOLUTION
by JACK WEBER
Monday, January 1st at 8 P. M.
at 126 East 16th Street

CHICAGO FORUM

Lecture by Albert Goldman
on
SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

When and How It Will Be Achieved
Sunday Eve., January 7th, 8:30 p. m.

at the

National Socialist Institute
3322 Douglas Blvd.

Admission 10 Cts. Unemployed Free
Auxiliaries: Friends of the Militant Club

THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION

"The Communist Party of America does not concern Russia, and the Communist Party of Russia does not concern America." Transport this formula of Livinoff to Europe and you have: "The Communist Party of Germany does not concern Russia and the Communist Party of Russia does not concern Germany." OR: "The World Communist Parties do not concern Russia and Russia does not concern the World Communist Parties." Thus Spoke Stalinism!

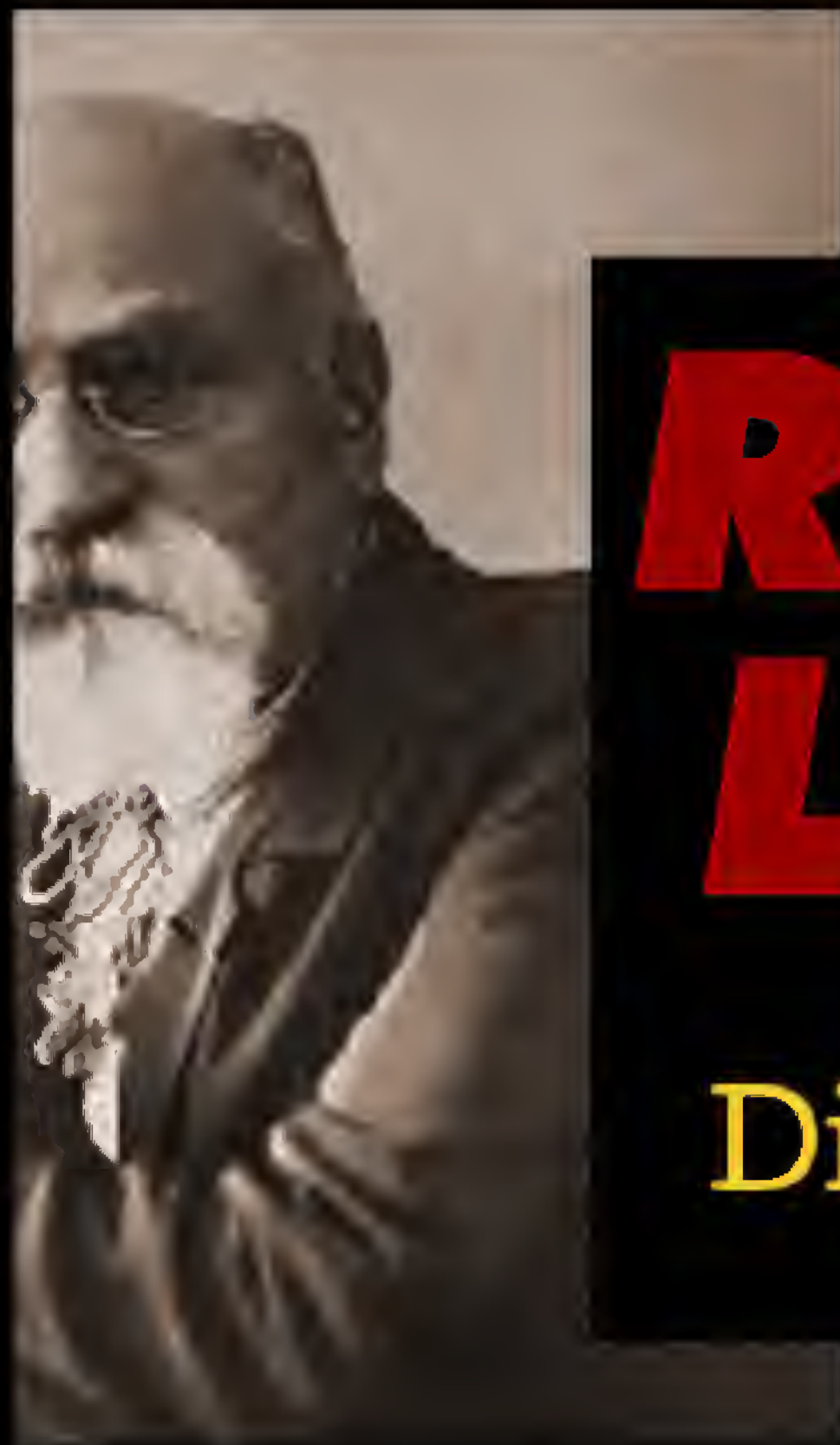
man—buried alive in this tomb of forgotten men—for seventeen of the best years of his life—denied and deprived of all that life holds dear. How would you feel if you were so brutally treated? Won't you do as much for me as you would like them to do for you, if in a similar predicament?

Accept my heartfelt thankful appreciation for any consideration you may show this desperate appeal.

With my warmest personal regards and best proletarian greetings, I am,

Comradely yours,

TOM MOONEY 31921
SAN QUENTIN PRISON



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