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# THE MILITANT



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## 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 national 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 from 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 say yet. 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 coupled with actual decreases observed 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 Woodins 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

is left to the discretion of the President, the same Franklin Delano Roosevelt whose three months' record has already branded him as the sugar coated starvation President. The most important items of the bill may be condensed as follows:

#### 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

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### C.C.N.Y. Students Expelled for Fight Against War

New York, N. Y.—Twenty City college students were expelled for participating in the anti-war demonstration on May 29. Eleven more were suspended. The charters of the Social Problems Club, the Student Forum, and the evening session Liberal Club were revoked.

This action followed a special investigation which involved about a hundred students. Of course the school authorities found a technical excuse for the expulsions. According to Dr. Gottschall, acting dean, "the issue is, whether students shall be allowed to interfere with a stated college function, to conduct them in a grossly discourteous manner and to defy with impunity college regulations in regard to the holding of meetings on college property."

The Board of Higher Education, at a special meeting, ratified the action of the faculty.

The anti-war demonstration was held outside the Levensohn Stadium while the annual review of the college R.O.T.C. unit was taking place. There were about five hundred students present. When president Robinson appeared escorting a group to the exercises, among whom were the officer in charge of the event and a woman representative from the D.A.R., the students gathered in front of the entrance to the stadium, began to "boo" and "hiss" the group. The boos and hisses were primarily intended for the officer in uniform. The president, however, got hot under the collar and waved an umbrella; not to cool himself but to

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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 Laffertist (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

### The Anti-Fascist Congress to Meet in Paris Soon

The European Anti-Fascist Congress will at last take place on Whitsuntide 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 degrees: "It must be said openly: the present congress, especially because it has the composition of an accidental, international meeting, has been called together to create the impression of activity precisely where there is no activity." In the meanwhile all of the busy preparations of the "Organization Bureau for the convocation of the Workers Anti-Fascist Congress" speak in unmistakable tones: the intention is to make this Congress an empty parade. We ask: What political preparations were carried on for this congress? As much as we look there remains only the answer: none! Besides the declaration of the I.L.O. we know of no other political document that has emerged from the work of the Congress. The organ of the Congress, the Anti-Fascist Front contains, besides news from Fascist Germany and reports of elected delegations, nothing but superficial political articles and petty, meaningless remarks of the recruited "free lancers." Nevertheless many numerous and strong delegations from workers' organization will attend. But—what will they tell these delegations, what road will be pointed out to them, what lessons will the Congress draw from the fresh, disastrous events? Not a trace is left of all the preparatory work which will give a clear and concrete answer to present questions. It is just as tragic as it is true: the sponsors and the initiators of this congress, themselves, cannot answer the problems which history has posed before us today.

The congress meets under the sign of the German catastrophe. The policy of the social democracy prepared Hitler's road to power. The policy of the Stalin faction made it possible for the social democracy to lead its ranks to the end on the road of treachery. The German lessons speak in clear tones. Are the guilty ready to admit their errors and to weed them out? No, they are not ready

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### 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, with 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 tipples. Taking advantage of cover the pickets advanced and succeeded in disarming 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 fight.

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 lent 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.

## 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 conduct of the banking business in the United States. This investigation takes place in the fourth year of the greatest crisis in the history of world capitalism. If there were a spark of sincerity

in the demagogic pretensions of the "new deal," the obvious elementary task of the committee would be to investigate the manner in which the private control of banking results in the private control by banking of capitalist industry, how this control is used to concentrate the ownership and control of capital in fewer and fewer hands, and how this concentrated control for private profit has led not only to crisis in general but to the devastating enormity of this

particular crisis.

Instead of this, the committee proposes to see if it can find anything abnormal or irregular in the banking system, deliberately closing its eyes to what is normal and regular in capitalism, which is exactly the only 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; or according to the highest-priced legal advice; or some little violations 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 governmental 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 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 & Co., Inc., or possibly even 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," cop 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, the attendance of which kept increasing, despite the arrest. The meeting lasted until 10:30 p. m., with comrades Cary Morgenstern and Roberts as the speakers.

We called upon the workers to be

## 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 comrade 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 capitalistic 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:

### Nazi-Austrian Tension Brings Sharp Clashes

The tension between Nazi Germany and the Bonapartist Dollfuss regime in Austria has again caused sharp outbreaks, due to high-pressure Nazi propaganda, involving a bombing terror in the country on the Danube. The Hitler plans to force, if not the long yearned "Anschluss," then at least a friendly Nazi coalition government at Vienna, have brought the relations between the two countries at the breaking point.

Dollfuss and his supporters, especially the "Heimwehr" which tends toward a Hapsburg restoration, have the backing of Italy, France and all the powers that do not care to see the Hitler state strengthened. The fight between the Heimwehr fascists and the Hitler fascists in Austria proper is therefore part of a larger scheme of imperialist struggle and that is why it assumes the long and drawn out character that it does.

The Austrian authorities reacted to the increased Nazi agitation and terror by the expulsion from their territory of the Reichstag Deputy Habicht, who had been smuggled into the country as director of the Hitler campaign under the guise of press attache to the Reich legation. The Hitler government retaliated by the expulsion of the Austrian press attache, the Catholic priest Wasserbaeck, who is said to have been closely in touch with the High Councils of the Centre Party in Germany proper.

If we take into consideration the attacks of the fascists on the Catholic Church, we can see that the

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present at the hearing. A group of about 10 besides members of the branch were present.

We have drawn up petitions against comrade Goodman's arrest. We have also issued leaflets.

We will hold a mass protest open air meeting at the same corner June 15 at 8:30 p. m. We have invited the I.L.D. to send a speaker.

#### SUBS!

Since the close of the sub drive on June 1st which comrade Caplan of Kansas City won hands down subs have been rollin in. The following list gives a partial picture of the good work that is being done by our comrades and friends. Altogether 43 more subs have come in.

H. Oehler, Illinois Coal Fields 13  
A. Caplan, Kansas City . . . . . 6  
L. Goodman, Philadelphia . . . 5  
All the others, one apiece.

Now this is what we call something. But there is no satisfying us. Like Oliver Twist we want more. And it can be done. The above record and the record of the sub drive proves that conclusively. Every sub puts the Militant up a notch. Every sub puts a firmer base under the Militant.

"You have asked my opinion of the economic conference. I have not the slightest illusion about its results. If the innumerable 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 Four 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 it 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 Czarist bureaucracy in the first years of the present century.

"But it is precisely these grisly operations of irresponsible military camarillas 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 relationships will inevitably become extremely unstable.

"All the greater significance is thus acquired by economic collaboration of the two republics, European-Asiatic 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.



## AMONG THE YOUTH

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# The Platform of the Brandler Group

Number 5 of "Gegen den Strom," the organ of the Brandler-Thalheimer group, 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 Brandlerites 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 Brandlerites 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 Brandlerites 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? What is its social content? Who is its bearer? On this score, just as in the past, we do not hear a single word. Yet the Brandlerites acknowledge that the false policy of the Communist International, which led to its ruins, 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 Tang 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 opportunist adaptation to the chauvinist psychology of the German petty bourgeois? 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, but a radically false tendency. 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 Brandlerites 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 Brandlerites are compelled to evade this central question because, by their whole character and spirit, they are only a proscribed, insulted 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 Brandlerites 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 against Trotskyism. The Brandlerites but 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 backsliding from the line of Leninism to the line of the "ultra-Leftist" course (in actuality, to the line of bureaucratic Centrism).

10. Were the Brandlerites Marxists, internationalists, they would be unable to declare the policy of the Centrist 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-

tonomy), but of a false evaluation of the international groupings within the ranks of Cimmunism.

11. The theses declare that outside of the Brandler organization, no forces exist that are able to reconstruct the German party and the Comintern. Even if one were to recognize this inordinate claim with regard to Germany (we are, as everything we have said shows, far from such a recognition), then what about the Communist International? The Brandlerites are right in saying that for the last ten years the Comintern has been systematically decomposing. But why has the International of the Brandlerites themselves decomposed in the last two or three years? In 1929 they represented an appreciable force, but today all that is left of them is fragments. The reason for it is that in the epoch of imperialism, an opportunistic current is not capable of creating any sort of virile international organization and consequently is equally incapable of regenerating the Communist International.

The theses contain a number of erroneous or ambiguous tactical considerations to which we may still have the occasion to refer. For the moment, we wished only to demonstrate that the German catastrophe has unfortunately taught the Brandlerites nothing. In the domain of tactical questions they are right only insofar as it is a question of the fight against ultra-Leftist zigzags; but they share all or almost all the mistakes of the Right wing zigzags of Stalinism and, what is much worse, they are incapable of raising themselves from the questions of tactics to the questions of strategy. The policy of the International is to them a sum of national policies. Even now they are incapable of understanding the fundamental currents in the world labor movement and to take their place among them. That's why the current of the Brandlerites has no future. — L. TROTSKY

## 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 CPG is in Moscow. Their reports are of the same character as the Heckert speech. The "Leitmotiv": 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 Vollenberg 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

Remmele expressed a critical opinion on the theses of Heckert. Thereupon he got a rebuff from the E.C.C.I. and is at present completely isolated. He has not even any connections with the Central Committee any more.

The work of the party in the Reich is very bad. Only in the Ruhr region heroic sacrifices are still being made in the carrying on of work.

### 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 irregularly and rarely.

"Unser Wort" Strikes Fear into Bureaucratic Hearts  
The E.C.C.I. has criticized the Representation of the CPG 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.

cially useful men and women. Last December the teachers won a fight to force the B. of E. to retain on the list from which appointments are made the teachers who had qualified for jobs in 1928 and were still unappointed to regular teaching positions.

But the system is not only not expanding. It is contracting. The B. of E. has set about "economy" in earnest. There is a growing tendency to avoid the employment of additional teachers by increasing the size of classes, forcing the teachers to put in extra time in summer schools, "voluntarily," etc. Worst of all is the employment of substitutes at a fraction of the regular salary schedule to avoid making regular appointments at a higher scale. 20 percent of the high school teachers are substitutes employed on this basis.

The Left wing, of course, must stand for the interests of the teachers as a whole. But it must lay special emphasis on the cause of the "lowest" stratum. Its appeal must be made, not to the "aristocracy" of the teachers which has special interests in contradiction of the teachers as a whole. Its appeal must be made to the interests of the working class, to the large mass of the lower-salaried, unemployed and substitute teachers.

It must make this appeal through the union by pursuing a course in the union which aims to make the union the defender of the interests of all the teachers and particularly the worst off. On this basis it must conduct its struggle against the union administration.

The defense of the interests of the mass of the teachers cannot be successful on the basis of the methods and tactics of the conservative union administration. These have demonstratively failed. Something more is required.

Against the philosophy which motivates the policies of the union administration the Left wing has raised the principle of the mass activity of the teachers in defense of their interests. The Left wing correctly claims that the lobbying delegations in Albany can have effect only if they are supported by the mass pressure of the teachers in mass meetings, demonstrations,

## 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 Nanking 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 time, almost four hundred million bushels. This huge supply of wheat is being left 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 intentions 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.

— H. S.

## New Falsifications of the Stalinists

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 accentuation of the emigrant struggle, Lenin angrily called Trotsky a "Yudushka" in a note which he wrote. Whoever is even slightly acquainted with Russian literature knows that "Yudushka" (Golovlev) 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, Yudushka Golovlev 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 puffs up trifles and makes an elephant out of a goat" towards the same pedagogical 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 to-do 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 conduct of Zinoviev-Kamenev in October 1917—it was not a question of a "trifle" at that time, nor a "mistake"—can nevertheless be completely applied to that third-rate episode which produced Lenin's note from exile on Yudushka Golovlev.

That Lenin had violent encounters with Trotsky in the years of emigration, is known to everyone. But all that 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. Ulianov-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 that letter which N. K. Krupskaya, 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 he 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

when you came to us in London from Siberia, did not change to his dying day. I wish you, Lev Davidovich, strength and health, and I embrace you warmly.—N. Krupskaya."

The overzealous agents of Stalin would have acted more prudently had they not raised the question of moral confidence. Already ill, Lenin urged Trotsky not to come to an agreement with Stalin: "Stalin will make a rotten compromise and then he will deceive." In his Testament, Lenin urged the removal of Stalin from his post as general secretary, giving as his motivation the **disloyalty** of Stalin. Finally, the last document dictated by Lenin the day before his second attack, was his letter to Stalin in which he broke off "all personal and comradely relations" with him.

Will this perhaps suffice, Messrs. Calumniators?

— ALFA

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## Chilean Left is Organized

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fundamentally necessary and correct.

### Delegations Represented

The Congress, begun on the 19th, adjourned on the 22nd after thirty hours of significant council and debate. It has made a serious theoretic and political contribution to the proletarian movement in Chile and represents a considerable organizational effort. There came to the Congress delegations from Talcahuano, Talca, Temco, Talagante, Molina, Barrancas, San Antonio, Santiago, Valparaiso, Vina del Mar, Quilota, Ilo Ilo and Puente Alto. The following localities could send no delegation by reason of distance and economic difficulties, but dispatched their expression of support and unqualified adhesion: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, the entire province of Coquimbo, Vallenar, Copiapo, San Rosendo, Chol-Chol, the Isle of Maipo, Ocoa, etc.

There came to the Congress many Laffertist comrades (members of the Stalinist faction), who fruitlessly attempted to justify the political line of the national official section and of the C.I. In the international field, they were shown the absurdity of the theory of "socialism in one

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 Laffertist ranks; secondly, they recognized the errors and the internal discussion 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 Laffertists themselves that our party was growing and developing in scope and influence at an accelerated rate in contrast to Laffertism, 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 Laffertist 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 Laffertist (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 Prinkipo, 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 Laffertism 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.)

## Problems of New York Dressmakers

(Continued from Page 2)  
organization drive. This is the kind of measure by which the Left wing can make the tight wing bureaucracy show their true faces and prove to the workers their (the Left wing's) absolute sincerity in the question of united dressmakers' action.

At the time the Left Opposition made this proposal, we were held down by the Stalinists as "agents of Dubinsky" with whom it was unthinkable to sit down at one table. But much water has passed under the bridge since. Not only are the Stalinist leaders sitting down with Dubinsky now, but they do so without any previous preparation of the membership and without an expectation of the change in face. It is necessary that they make their proposals openly. The leadership of the Industrial Union must go the whole way with the policy outlined above if it is really to make an impression on the rank and file workers, if it is really to give the necessary push to united action and a revival mass militancy in the trade.

### The Question of a Progressive-Left Wing Bloc

The Lovestonites, at that time, proposed individual reentry into the I.L.G.W.U.—in other words, shameless capitulation and liquidation of the Industrial Union. Under the pressure of militancy within the ranks of the International itself, they have been forced to change their tune. Together with the Progressives, they now also demand the readmission of the Left wing in a body. It is necessary to put them, too, to the test. The elaboration of a bloc with the Progressives and Lovestonites inside of the International has thereby become an actual possibility. The bloc for the establishment of a single union should be concluded with them forthwith, a common minimum program should be worked out together with them immediately.

—N. B.

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## 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 Marxian policies (more or less), they have become a sort of "students' union" basing 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" fraud, the dimensions of the present fight were to a great extent laid down before-hand. 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 imperialist war, heroic though it may be, will be of little or no consequence. Instead of calling for a genuine united front with the bungees 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 imperialist 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.

— K. D.

**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 irretrievable 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.O. of Colorado, rank and file of the U.M.W., 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 tripe that "action is needed, not talk, 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 exposed the straw man set up by the Stalinists, pointing out that although none of his opponents gave a substantial 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)

olic Journeymen's Congress in Munich, the whole amplitude of the situation becomes exceedingly clear. Austria is predominantly a Catholic country. In case of union with Germany or of an alliance with it, the strength of the Catholic Centre would be of a quantity far more formidable than it is in the Reich at present and would constitute a serious obstacle in the path of Hitler's progress. The attacks on the Catholics in Germany itself and the high-pitched campaign of the National-Socialists in Austria would therefore indicate that the time for a forcible solution of the question of power between Dollfuss and Hitler is drawing near.

In this internecine struggle between the Fascist factions, which offers such tremendous possibilities for a working class movement, it is impossible to overlook the ignominious role of the Austrian social democracy, the most powerful single political party in the country and the all-time pride of the Second International. Seitz, Bauer and Co. lift, literally, not a finger to gain a proletarian solution to the crisis, but sit back with their puny hearts beating and their reformist hopes fluttering for some miracle to save them. The indolent excuse of "Communist splitters" is here completely lacking, the social democracy, caught like rats in a hole, have no one to cast the blame on. They present the most pitiful spectacle, a veritable epitome of reformist impotence.

Only a new movement rising out of the ranks of the workers themselves can save the Austrian working class from the sorry fate of its German brothers. The Left Opposition is hard at work, exerting every bit of energy in dual efforts, to constitute such a government.

— S. GORDON

### 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 and 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 (1)." (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 prosperity of 1929 to a new high level by piling one house of cards 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 arrive at 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 it inevitably breeds.

— B. J. FIELD

## Plot Pogrom on L. O. at Anti-Fascist Meet

(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:

**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 Rundschau*.

"This time it was not only Wells, Stampfer 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 intellectuals who wanted to fight for the cause of the working class . . . etc." Together with this and in the same breath comes the unheard-of 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.

Appropos 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 written in the throes of rigor mortis—but the Third, the Commu-

nist International, remains silent and actually hides behind paper organizations and behind "free lancers". Why? For years there has been no congress of the Comintern. Isn't it high time to step forward and to raise the voice of Bolshevism before the world proletariat? The Comintern is duty-bound to speak up! A Leninist Comintern would have held in the course of the last few years, not only its regular congresses, but even extraordinary congresses. Unfortunately the Leninist Comintern has become a Stalinist Comintern. And Stalinism of necessity fears to give an account before the international proletariat! That is why the Stalinist Comintern is hiding behind pacifist organizations and behind "free lancers". Thus it was with the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam and thus it is planned for the Anti-Fascist Congress. To beat the alarm against this—that is our duty as Bolshevik-Leninists!

"Trotsky makes fun of the factories that participate and elect delegates to the congress"—writes the conscienceless slanderer in the *Rundschau*. There is not a single word in our Declaration that could be "interpreted" in this sense. The International Left Opposition considers itself responsible before the proletariat and it is this sense of responsibility that guards us against "making fun" of the working class. Before the working class we consider ourselves responsible, but not before the soulless, bureaucratic apparatus; not because of little posts and stipends; not before "superiors." They "make fun" of the working class who today still have the tragic audacity to offer to the misshandled and persecuted working class—"Gala" Congresses. They "make fun" of factories and delegates who went to deliver the proletariat to a state of defenselessness, of despondency and depression with a policy which has already suffered bankruptcy and which leads to perdition. To fight against this with all means is the task which stands before us, the International Left Opposition, at present. No one will prevent us from doing this, in spite of vilification and pogrom incitement. And in order to carry out this task, we go to the Anti-Fascist Congress.

### Role of L.O. at the Congress

"We Bolshevik-Leninists come to this congress, not in order to bolster up any illusions or reputations. Our aim is—to clear the road for the future . . .

"Only under one condition can the present congress play a progressive, even though modest role; if it shakes off the hypnosis of the bureaucratic, behind-the-scenes improvisations and puts on the order of business — the free exchange of opinions as to the causes of the victory of German Fascism, as to the responsibility of the leading proletarian organizations; and proposes a genuine program of revolutionary struggle. In this way and only in this way will the congress become a factor of revolutionary rebirth. The platform of the International Left Opposition gives the only correct directives for the struggle against Fascism . . .

"We Bolshevik-Leninists propose, to make the experience of the collapse of German Communism the point of departure for the rebirth of all the remaining sections. We are prepared to contribute toward this end with all our forces. In the name of this task we will stretch out our hands to our bitterest enemies of yesterday. Needless to say, in the struggle against Fas-

## 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 refused 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 government proclamations of non-interference, together with the reality 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 which 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—true, in their mild manner—begun 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 transferred into a company union program. The "minimum 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 the 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 can 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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