

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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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 new 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 will be eliminated in the process 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 liars 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

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Ill. Miners in Mass Action Women's Auxiliary Takes Valiant Part in Struggle

The militant mass character of the strikes, demonstrations and meetings of the Progressive Miners and the Women's Auxiliary of Illinois is shown by the reports published week by week in the *Progressive Miner*. The headlines tell the story: "2000 at Pekin Meet", "McDonald Addresses 6,000 at Springfield", "5,000 in Women's Parade", "Allard speaks to 5,000 at Gillespie", "15,000 Miners Move Out Franklin County", etc., etc. 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 practising on a base ball diamond in that city. With no provocation whatsoever the uniformed thugs charged the women, levelled 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 our speakers 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 I. L. 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.

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
Second Avenue and 9th Street

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 Bergery, 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 preliminaries attending the meet, a distinct impression may be gathered of the fierce 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 BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS!

At a regional Anti-Fascist Congress in the Grange-Aux-Belles (Red Trade Union Headquarters of Paris), Left Oppositionists, delegates from the Ligue Communiste and local unions were forcefully unseated and disgracefully battered by slugsger 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 masquerade 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 (!). 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 means to cover up its criminal shipwreck in Germany. It is upon this self-made rotten fundament 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

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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 language groups, must cry 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!

S.P.G. Vote Shakes 2nd Int'l

May 17, 1933: A Comparison With Aug. 4, 1914

I. The policy of coalition and tolerance, ever typical of the Socialist Party of Germany, found an ignominious end when Hitler seized power. As a nurse raises a child so did the Social Democracy raise Fascism. 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 pitiable 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

Hitler Clashes with Hugenberg for Control

The Hitler-Hugenberg rift has more than an internal significance. Especially is this so when simultaneous 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. Dollfus, 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-

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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 bull-headed determination 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 MacDonal 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 replied after MacDonal 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. MacDonal 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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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 writhes 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 party of Germany and 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 swerved 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 PMA 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 UMW (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 charted 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 was built upon the foundations 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 flunkies 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 PMA into reactionary channels. This offensive launched by the reactionaries met a healthy rebuff in the rank and file of the PMA. The leadership of the PMA, sad to say, 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 PMA, 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 UMW, 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 UMW 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 reaction against the Lewis machine, arose primarily, 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-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 UMW? 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 UMW, 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 contradistinction 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

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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

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 managers 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" leaders 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 Mittenenthal, Kadlin 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, Chick, Morris White, Maxik, Stone and Groper, Blum and Mittenenthal 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 teacher's 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 backdoor 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 and 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.

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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 an other statement issued by the union, over the signatures of Linville, president; Lefkowitz, Legislative Representative; and Charles J. Hendley of the CPLA, Treasurer, the administration stated: "(1) Mayor Walker has asked all civil service employees and teachers to accept a voluntary salary cut. (2) 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 hosannas 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 treacherous sell-out!

The union administration failed 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.

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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 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 OEHLER

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 13 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 in our ranks 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)

(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 Dollfuss 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" Dollfuss 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 Dollfuss 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 scantiness of foreign valuta, the government fears, that it has been hit in its sorest spot. An immediate political consequence of the German measures could also wreak havoc in the Christian Socialist party in the tourist country, Tyrol, Salzburg and Kaernten, where the Nazis already dispose of a considerable following.

The Austrian Christian Socialists, however, do not desire to share the fate of the Centrists in Germany. Dollfuss carries on a desperate fight against his Brown shirt opponents and their backer, Hitler. To weak 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 influential 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 Comintern has been stripped of still another function.

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 cared to think critically inside the party and to defend his opinion was unalterably stamped as

Dollfuss 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. Hockert'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 Viennese 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 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 Dollfuss 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 over Dollfuss'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. But Communism 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.

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THE MILITANT

126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

The End of Austro-Marxism

A Review of the Past That Helps to Understand the Present

cialist world as if it were some miracle.

Its prominents, 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, unassuming. 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 Dollfuss 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 "Dollfuss 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 Unger 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 battles 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 fists 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 conservatism. All these state conspirators who made the mien of being so intransigent and irreconcilable were in reality mercenary, had the souls of petty shopkeepers and were masters 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—cannon fodder for voting 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 cretinism 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 immanent laws of capitalism and capitalism becomes filled more and more with a socialist content. That was the secret lore of Austro-Marxism. Public opinion it 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 episodic, 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 Legitimists 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, to mobilize the masses for Revision. 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 Slovenska Liga marched in full force against revision. For the demonstration there were mobilized: the Sokol, the Legionnaires, the social democrats and the representatives of Rumania, Yugoslavia 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 imperialist war. Only revolution can save us from imperialist 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. Without 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 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 has not carried on its valiant 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 is 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 led to the institution of his policy of class collaboration with the employers, to the detriment of the coal miners. These acts of the leadership of the P.M.A. do not stand on a much higher plane. It will become clearer day by day, that their weakening of the democratic rights of the members of the P.M.A. is only a reflection of the introduction and strengthening of such policies, as are coincident with the policies of Lewisism.

The strength of the new union lies precisely in that all Left wing and militant elements in the union are permitted to exist and function actively. If this right, gained by a heroic struggle against Lewis, is to be snatched from them in the new union, then it is only a question of time, when this organization will follow the path of the old. There is no pre-ordained guarantee for the new union. Its existence will depend entirely on how it applies its policies by which it came into existence, on how it extends and enlarges them. By beginning a campaign against those very elements that distinguished themselves in the first days of the new organization, the leadership is preparing its doom. It must by no means embark upon the course of expulsions. It must maintain the character of its early militancy. It must truly attempt to become a national union, to struggle for wage increase, for improved working conditions, to fight for the unionization of the unorganized miners.

If the union leadership were following this line, there would be no need for it to resort to those dangerous and false steps that characterize its recent activities. But it is precisely because it does not meet its test, because it has fallen down on all its early promises, because it is preparing to revise its whole line of action, that they must needs resort to a diminution of the democratic rights in the union, through the threat of expulsion against Left wingers in the union.

The miners must understand these developments. The greatest need in the union is the organization of its Left wing, not only as the safety valve against the methods of Lewis in the P.M.A., but to foster and fight for those policies of struggle, by which the union may live and gain greater life. That, at present, is the most important 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 Cartels 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 falling 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

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 VEILY LOW REAL WAGE for the American workers.

It is an attempt to side-step the dole and social insurance and in its place, give the equivalent of the dole, 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 Education 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. American means while 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 affiliated gold standard satellites are fighting this proposal tooth and nail, as it will remove one of their strongest pieces from the chessboard—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—hastily withdrawn by the American delegation itself and labelled as simply a "suggestion by the experts" This showed the emptiness of the phrases of the American delegate Hull in his opening speech on the desirability 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.

Meantime 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, "urged recognition of 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 plea 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 "long-term 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 path 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 refused 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 Kuehlmann at Brest-Litovsk, or Chicherin to Lloyd George, or Rakovsky to the French concessionaries, 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 "Foeler"

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 Hitlerite 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 run 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 "khvostism",

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 state 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 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 unionize the industries."

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 beat 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 fear 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's 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 united front from organization to organization, beginning with the problem of Austria and proceeding to 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 undetermined 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 overflying 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.

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 numbing newspaper articles, the intonation was thrown again and again at the masses. "Germany is not Italy". This mystical dictum, 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 out 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 unabashed henchman'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 flower 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 hellish work of the Italian Fascism will probably appear as a pale, almost humane, 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 us 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 to 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 had vanished. The theories, and the practice, that Stalinism 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 Wesels and Breitscheldts tried to win a reprieve. They moved away from the Marxism that they never belonged to. They "tolerated" the persecutions of C. P. G. 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 Leipart 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?

III.

The odor of the decay of the beleheaded 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 their 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 Socialist International—to declare the Hitler comedy null and void by their absence,—to unmask 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 seapagoats "completed" with such consistency on May 17, 1933.

In the meanwhile, Stampfer 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 terror, "the consciousness of responsibility" "try to the workers who were thus to be protected against further terrorism." Herein the role of the social democracy shows itself in complete clarity. It did its henchman'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. exorted: "Remain true to the idea of Socialism." Too late for the leaders to think of loyalty to Socialism. At any rate, it is a unique 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 renegacy 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.—R.

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