

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Com

munist League of America (Opposition) at 126 E ast 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1909

VOLUME VI, NO. 33 [WHOLE NO. 180]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

Workers Slave for Pennies in Penna. Sweat Shops

Paul Comly French, writing in the Nation of May 31, gives an almost unbelievable account of conditions in factories in Pennsylvania: hours of labor of from 55 to 90 a week; wages as low as 3 cents an hour; girls in their early teens forced into sexual relations with their bosses, superintendents and foremen to keep their jobs. There is no limit to which capitalist exploiters will not drive their starved and stunted child slaves.

In the earlier days of capitalism, under the banner of "freedom and equality", children were chained to machines so that orderly production would continue. In 1933, as capitalism welters in its decaying stage, under the banner of "rugged individualism" and the "New Deal", girls just emerging from childhood, who are working 55 hours a week for 3 cents an hour, are dragged to New York at night by their masters to give up their half starved bodies to prospective buyers of the shirts their sweated labor created.

At the session of the Pinchot investigation committee on sweatshops the following revealing testimony, taken from the Nation article, was made by the Burgess of the borough of Northampton where a child-labor mill is located:

"If I had my way," he told the Governor's commission, "I'd give no food orders to unemployed persons who urged factory workers to strike." And his wife who handles unemployment relief in Northampton, has even more amazing ideas. "I don't believe the strikers should be entitled to any unemployment relief," she testified before the commission, "because they don't have souls."

"In Gottlieb's Sewing Factory at York the usual wage is \$3 or \$4 a week; girls in Bernstein's factory at York reported a payment of \$2.90 for two weeks' work—an average of three cents an hour. At the York Suit Co. button sewers receive from \$3 to \$4 a week for fifty hours; York tobacco workers said they received \$2.50 for a week's work totaling fifty hours, while workers in a second cigar factory in this rich Lancaster Co. agricultural section said their wages averaged \$1.50 for fifty-four hours. A silk mill in York charged girls \$10 for "teaching them how to become operators." Pressers in the Lehigh Valley Shirt Co. in Allentown receive \$4 a week as against \$14 paid for the same work two years ago. At the Adkins Shirt Co. in Allentown only three girls in the place were over fourteen; their pay averaged from \$1.30 to \$2 a week, while one girl, with seven years' experience, earned the munificent \$2.00 a week. One boy in an Allentown shop earned ten cents a week for a ten-week period. . . ."

STALINISTS BREAK UP LEAGUE MEETING IN N. Y.

On Wednesday night, June 28, the Communist League of America (Opposition) held a meeting at Pitkin and Bristol Streets where about two to three hundred workers, including a number of party members and Y. C. Lers, assembled to listen to the point of view of the Left Opposition. When the last speaker had concluded his remarks he asked for questions from the workers. Up piped a party member, J. M., and demanded nothing short of the platform for as long as he wanted. It was explained to him that it was our platform and our meeting.

The party members then set up a howling and howling that would undoubtedly have brought the police had not the speaker from the platform promised to grant him the three minutes that many from the audience urge that he get. He was asked if he would confine his remarks to three minutes and he promised that he would. When he got the platform he immediately reversed his promise to speak for the time granted him and set about telling the workers gathered there that he was going to speak for as long as the workers (read: party members) demanded: "whether for three minutes or one hour."

This was too much for even some of his own followers. One worker declared: "You will speak over my dead body and I am a party member." He was asked to leave the platform and a general melee began. Cries of shame were heard throughout the audience. Many workers were frankly disgusted with the party and Y. C. L. members' tactics.

The meeting was then resumed. Because of the shouting on the part of the party members it was impossible to conduct an orderly meeting with the announcement that we were not going to be driven away and would return to this corner. Our comrades struck up the Internationale which, to the shame of the workers present, the party members refused to sing, and left in a body.

—M. GLEE.

Return to Narrow Basis at N. Y. Mooney "United Front" Confab

New York, N. Y.—The great promise for the broadening of the united front to free Tom Mooney at the recent National Chicago Mooney Congress was given a deplorable setback by the narrow and overwhelmingly party-packed conference held last Sunday at Irving Plaza in New York. Not only were the delegates for the greater part from the C. P. and its auxiliaries, but the atmosphere of the conference harked back to the old "third period" days when any criticism was met with a hysterical howling from the party followers.

There is a great danger, if the indications at the conference mean anything, that the party will give up its recently adopted turn on the united front and reverse to its ultimatum "united front from below" policy.

The Left Opposition delegates were refused the right to address the conference on the ground that preference must be given to trade union delegates. That this was merely a pretext to prevent the Opposition's voice being heard at the conference was plainly evident by the bureaucratic antics of Robert Minor who carefully sifted the speakers' list before anyone was permitted to get the floor. Minor, who was introduced as the impartial representative of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee and gave the key-note speech was tireless in his efforts to make what was called as a united front conference into a C. P. convention.

When comrade M. Goldman, L. O. delegate, made a motion that representatives from trade unions and political organizations be given preference on the speakers' list,

Minor snavely and demagogically made an appeal that the motion be voted down and that all delegates be given equal opportunity to speak. How much interest Minor had that all delegates have an equal opportunity to speak was plainly to be seen when in the late hours of the conference he introduced a motion that the last speakers be three trade union delegates and spoke against the amendment of the L. O. delegate: that a representative of the Left Opposition who had not yet been included succeeded in getting the floor amongst the last few speakers.

Despite Minor and the bureaucratic procedure of the conference the delegate of the Left Opposition succeeded in getting the floor when the resolution to be adopted at the conference came up and read a statement. Comrade Goldman, speaking for the L. O., upon being given the floor for a couple of minutes, made the following statement: "The delegates of the Left Opposition accept the draft resolution for the N. Y. Free Tom Mooney Conference and pledge themselves to carry out all the provisions contained therein. We protest however against the undemocratic procedure of the chairman in excluding our representatives from the opportunity of addressing this conference. We state categorically that unless the conference follows the democratic procedure the fight to free Tom Mooney is in danger and a united front of working class organizations which Tom Mooney asked for is irreparably harmed."

This statement was received with some degree of sympathy by some of the delegates.

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The Textile Code Shows Real Face of the 'New Deal'

The past week has seen the publication of the first few proposed industrial codes drawn up under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The most important one advanced is that by the textile industry. The code as proposed exposes in all its viciousness the present program. Where Roosevelt spoke of a maximum 30 hour working week, the manufacturers propose a 40 hour week. Where Roosevelt spoke of a minimum wage, these shameless gentry translate this into the terms of the inflated dollar, and quote ten dollars for the south and eleven dollars for the north.

Protests against this brazen despicable proposal were heard from even the most reactionary of labor leaders. All those labor fakers who for years have done nothing to better the conditions of the most exploited section of our industrial population, the textile worker, have today decided to attempt to rebuild their lost prestige in officially protesting the miserable proposals. It is thus that we find Thomas F. McMahon of the A. F. of L. proposing that instead of ten dollars the minimum wage be set at fourteen, and instead of the forty hour week, the maximum number of hours be set at thirty-five. Today, with the more than 17 million unemployed, with the dollar rapidly falling in value, the proposals of the official A. F. of L. can be looked upon as nothing but an attempt to forestall a real effective movement to resist this starvation program.

Finally, to complete this new deal picture, we see the provisions

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Roosevelt Program Long-Range Plan to Stabilize U.S. Capitalism On the Backs of the Workers

Situation of American Imperialism in World Economy Forces «New Deal» Demagogues to Reverse Historic Policy - at Expense of Agriculture and the Proletariat. Program Disguised to Enlist Support of Toiling Masses.

Congress has adjourned, leaving in Roosevelt's hands the most far-reaching authority which any American president has ever had in peace-time. How he proposes to use it is becoming increasingly clear—the consolidation of capital into cartels, the beating down of wage standards, the course toward inflation, the aggressive assertion of nationalistic policies at the risk of disrupting the economic conference (allegedly based on international cooperation).

Why is American capitalism, which for so long has raised the slogan, "Take the government out of business" now in need of the Roosevelt program, which does the exact opposite? Why, particularly, is the policy of government intervention in business carried further and further the more evidences accumulate of a temporary and limited upturn in business? Is it not a paradox to see a doctor rebuking his efforts the more signs of convalescence his patient shows?

The answer is that the doctor's efforts are not directed to the immediate symptoms which already show some improvement, but to an inner cancer which threatens the very existence of the system. It is not a question of overcoming the

immediate crisis, which had already begun to show signs of slackening a year ago, but of preparing for a long period of violent shocks and disturbances; of economic, social and political upheavals with which the "normal" forces of capitalist recovery are insufficient to cope, but which on the contrary, demand the utmost concentration and mobilization of the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.

A valuable key is furnished by the famous sentence in the President's inaugural address in which he likened the present emergency to a state of war. The facts themselves clearly show how unlikely it is that he was talking about the immediate banking crisis, or even about the cyclical crisis of business as a whole. The banking crisis began to improve rapidly from the second half of March on; over \$800,000,000 in gold came back to the banks, Federal reserve notes in circulation declined by \$1,500,000,000, and interest rates declined with increasing rapidity.

What the Government Accomplished General business, following the sharp slump caused by the banking developments of the month between Feb. 18 (the Michigan moratorium)

and March 15 (reopening of the New York Stock Exchange), resumed the upward trend which had begun as far back as July of last year and had flattened out in the fall, to begin again in the early weeks of the present year. Carloadings, electric power consumption, automobile sales, steel production, and a host of similar indices showed the scope of this improvement. The basis for it is to be found in the establishment of a low level of production costs through the stabilization of commodity prices at a low level; the extensive reductions in wages, leading to an improvement in profit margins; and in the re-accumulation of a substantial fund of liquid capital seeking investment, as the result of far-reaching liquidation and low interest rates. The direct intervention of the government was effective in bringing about recovery, at this stage, only by contributing through prompt action to the reopening of the banks. Since then it began to steer a course toward inflation, which accelerated but did not create the tendency to increased activity.

The emergency with which the Roosevelt legislation is concerned goes further and deeper, and looks forward to a period of years. This can be seen by the scope of the measures themselves, and of the government apparatus which must be provided to make them effective. It involves, in short, the long-term future of American business, that is, an attempt to readjust American economic life to a new set of conditions apart from the "natural" and "spontaneous" recovery which is taking place before our eyes.

Every previous crisis has closed a similar recovery, which has then passed on into the stage of stabilization or definite prosperity and then into a boom, marked by new high records in production and trade. Sometimes the driving force has been the opening of new territory, or new markets; sometimes big crops, or foreign wars which have stimulated American exports; sometimes the growth of new industries.

None of these factors making for peaceful stabilization and prosperity are even in sight today. On the contrary, the outlook is that the whole post-crisis period will be marked by severe shocks and violent readjustments, both within American economy and in its relations to other countries.

The Long Range Perspective of U. S. Capitalism

When America was changed in the course of the World War from a debtor to a creditor nation, a tremendous readjustment was needed in every single phase of the national economy. A debtors nation is one which has not fully grown up economically; it imports capital, exports raw materials and foodstuffs, needs a large export surplus with which to pay its debts, has relatively small industry and an imperfectly developed or dependent banking system, a shortage of labor and high wages. Exactly the opposite is true of the economically mature, capital exporting (imperialist) creditor nation. America even before the war, while still a debtor nation, had begun to partake of some of the characteristics of the creditor nation especially in its high state of industrial development.

Since the war, however, its whole economic structure has been shot through with anachronisms and contradictions. Its banking system remained a contradictory two-story affair, on top a few score banks of world importance but with few or no branches at home, and below them, 30,000 country and neighborhood banks, were steadily decimated down to 20,000, by failures in good times and bad. Agriculture, through rapidly giving way to industry, remained the most important single phase of economic life, providing a huge export surplus annually, contrary to the food deficits of every other important industrial power. Industry itself, while rapidly increasing in size and concentration, has been exporting only 10-11 per cent of its output, a much smaller proportion than any other economically advanced power. The huge export surpluses continued, while returns from capital exports were beginning to come in and complicate the transfer of international payments, which the other industrial powers have solved by accepting annually more imports than they

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The Paris Anti-Fascist Congress ... an Anti-Trotskyite Slug Fest

Empty Parade is a Complete Failure

Paris.—The specter of "Trotskyism" haunted the organizers of the "Pleyel parade" (Pleyel is the name of the hall where the Congress was held—Ed.) from the beginning to the end of the debates. Defeats like that of the German proletariat threw a burning light on all the perspectives established by the Marxist wing years ago. In order that the Centrist policy would not be wiped out by such a congress the bureaucracy had to gag us. In order to mask the responsibility for its criminal policy it had to hang out the white sign of such a comedy of the united front.

The bureaucratic measures were in vain. The Marxist wing of the International, which represents the strength and expresses the hope of the proletarian vanguard, showed the way.

Every day the Centrist bureaucracy reveals to what depths it has degenerated. It is a thermidorian bureaucracy in which the term "revolutionary" serves only as

a pretext to express the pressure of the class enemy on the workers' ranks.

The "Pleyel parade" has come to an end. The pseudo-congress has shown itself unable to solve the problems which confronted it. Deep cracks were revealed in its ranks; the illusion of strength which gave the congress thousands of men, optimistic speeches, brutal sergeants-at-arms were nothing else but expressions of Stalinist impotence.

The Congress Utilized by French Imperialism

Better yet is that if this congress was not under government protection it played the game of the foreign policy of the Daladier government. By means of an alibi of a letter from the police department Daladier took all the precautions of foreign policy by his dealings with the organizers of the congress, he knew how to use the congress as a "national" reserve.

Soviet Workers Excluded from the "European" Congress

What is more eloquent on this point was the absence, from this European Congress of any Soviet worker's delegation. That demonstrates, once again how low this parade stood in the estimation of

U. S. S. R. government circles and the desire of these circles not to break faith with the Hitler Government and Mr. Daladier in any way at all.

The Marxist Wing Excluded from the Congress—the Preparation Roullange, Gourdeau's lieutenant, the party's confidence man, maneuvered through the medium of several tricks of the organization committee so as to serve as bait for the socialist "rank and file".

We have already revealed how, in the Parisian district, the Oppositionists after being methodically slugged were systematically thrown out of the district "congress". This was only the expression, on a district scale of a strained international system. The date of the Congress approached; the stitches of the bureaucratic lining drew closer, and more, it appeared that the Organization Committee desired to systematically eliminate the sections of the Opposition and the Oppositionists from the Congress; in fact, every delegation had to receive the stamp of its national leadership, that is, the Stalinists.

In face of all of these facts, the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition sent a delegation to openly pose the question of our admission to the Anti-Fascist Congress. This delegation received an evasive reply. On Saturday, June 3, on the eve of the Congress an official answer was sent us. We publish the letter of the Organization Committee below.

The Explanations of the Organization Bureau "TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE C. I.

"In reply to your letter of May 23, we answer the following:

"The European anti-Fascist workers Congress is a mass congress, to which the largest sections of the toiling masses have given their adherence and have elected, through the prosecution of a common and active anti-Fascist struggle, representatives of the masses of all countries. The groups connected with you do not represent any masses and we know nothing of their participation in the anti-Fascist struggle and in the strengthening of the anti-Fascist front, in connection with the European anti-Fascist Congress.

"The appeal of the organization bureau of February 26 for the convocation of the Congress was addressed to all workers' political and trade union organizations inviting them to adhere to the Congress and to send delegates to it. Participation in the congress presupposes the acceptance of the platform of common anti-Fascist struggle presented in the appeal of the organization bureau.

"We have no communication on the subject of your acceptance of the platform of the Congress and

of your adherence on this basis. On the contrary, Trotsky, your International Secretariat, and the groups connected with you have conducted an infamous campaign against the Congress. (See Under Wort, organ of your German section). You can no longer ignore the fact that your German group in Paris has made a decision expressly against the Congress and for the boycott of the latter. In your struggle against the Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress, that is, of men for the decisive struggle against the advance of Fascism and for the overthrow of the murderous Fascist dictatorship, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist group finds itself in a fitting front with the leaders of the 2nd International.

"This is our answer to your request. "Organization Bureau of the Convocation of the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress." Needless to say, we expected such a maneuver; they had already rejected "political organizations" as well as others, with the exception of rank and file organizations, at Amsterdam. All the delegates of the International Opposition who were present in Paris were at the

Left Opposition's Delegates Beaten

same time delegates of workers organizations and, as such, had the right to enter the Congress. But there also the bureaucrats were watchful. A note appeared in L'Humanite demanding that those wanting to receive his credential had to appear at the Grange aux Belles (Red Trade Union headquarters).

The Left Oppositionists, at this time, were in possession of credentials of the following organizations. These organizations, for material reasons, were not able to multiply the number of delegates nationally contrary to the Stalinists who multiplied their delegates for each local group.

Spain.—Spanish section of the Left Opposition; Autonomous Building Workers Trade Union; Oil Workers Trade Union of Astillero; United Trade Union of Ilerena; Belgium.—Belgian section of the Left Opposition; Knights of

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Scottsboro Decision Reversed

The verdict of guilty brought in against Haywood Patterson one of the nine Scottsboro defendants, was set aside on June 22nd by Judge Horton.

This is the second reprieve granted to Patterson, the first having been obtained some time ago through a decision of the United States Supreme Court.

In his statement of opinion accompanying the order for a new trial Judge Horton merely repeated what the defense has been saying from the first. "The testimony of the prosecutrix (Victoria Price) in this case is not only uncorroborated but it also bears on its face indications of improbability and is contradicted by other evidence, and in addition thereto, the evidence greatly preponderates in favor of the defendant."

The change in the point of view of Judge Horton, who but on last Palm Sunday sentenced the convicted youth to death, was hardly the result of "preponderance of evidence". The frame-up evidence had in no whit changed since that day the sentence of death was read to Haywood Patterson. The change was not one in the "preponderance of evidence" but rather in the tearing to pieces of the crude frame-up by the united efforts of tens of thousands of Negro and white workers in the struggle for the freedom of the boys.

For the granting of a new trial,

for the saving of the lives of the framed-up Negro boys, the chief credit goes to the I. L. D. and the Communist movement as a whole. Despite all mistakes in the united front maneuvers, despite the playing up of Tammany Hall lawyers, the International Labor Defense was able to make the "Save the Scottsboro Boys" an international slogan that helped to weld the international bonds of the proletariat.

This temporary respite must in no way produce any lull in the building of the only thing that will completely free the boys—a mass movement. The present move on the part of the southern court may be just such a maneuver to foster illusions in the minds of the working class as to the "honesty" of the Alabama Courts. Massachusetts "honesty" sent Sacco and Vanzetti to their death, California "honesty" sent Tom Mooney to 15 years of a living death, and Alabama "honesty" will attempt to send the Scottsboro Boys to their death. As surely as the present reprieve is the echo of the working class shout in their defense, so will their complete freedom be the result of a mighty protest movement demanding their release. This decision for a new trial must be made the starting point for a whirlwind campaign that will force the complete freeing of all nine boys.

—W. M.

Discussion of the German Tasks

The draft resolution (unfortunately undated) clears up some differences (real and imaginary, that is, based on misunderstandings), but at the same time left others untouched. The task of the present criticism consists in defining as exactly as possible the real character of the differences today.

1. The resolution ascertains right at the beginning that "the collapse of the C. P. G. has deprived the slogan of its reform of all content", in other words, that the C. P. G. cannot be regenerated. Needless to say this declaration, which signifies the renunciation of the position that we all held up to March 6, bears a tremendous significance for all of our activity.

Paragraph 3 of the resolution says: "The development is in the direction of a new party". This thesis completes the preceding one and thus restricts extremely the sphere of differences. The leading comrades of the German section recognize that the Stalinist party in Germany is politically liquidated and that the German Communist Party will reconstitute itself as a new party, outside of the Stalinist organization.

2. But let us quote more extensively from paragraph 3: "Although the development is in the direction of a new party, the slogan of the creation of the latter would be premature and false." The whole sense of this sentence lies in the content that one gives the term "slogan": it may be interpreted as both an open proclamation of our new position with regard to the official party as well as an appeal for the immediate creation of a new party with the existing elements. Insofar as the second interpretation is concerned, it would be the most ridiculous sort of adventurism. Among ourselves, no one has made such a proposal. If at the opening of the discussion, such misunderstandings could arise, the exchange of opinion during the last few weeks has created absolute clarity on this score. It is not a matter for us of decreeing bureaucratically the creation of a new party, but of proclaiming openly our position towards the old party as well as our new perspective for work. It would be impossible to diminish or to mask the significance of this turn. Our course is one of propaganda for a new party and preparation for it. It is necessary to speak out clearly and openly about this change. Are we agreed on this? The draft resolution does not offer the necessary clarity.

3. After a correct point of departure the resolution then falls into a number of contradictions, masks its fundamental declarations and does not give any practical directives. The slogan of the "new party", says the resolution, will repel all critical or semi-critical Communists. Why? Obviously because they still believe in the reform of the old party. The devoted but shortsighted revolutionists, who at the cost of great sacrifices will attempt to reestablish the Stalinist party in illegality will naturally show themselves to be hostile to our affirmation that the "perspective of the reform of the C. P. G. no longer bears any content" and that "the development is in the direction of a new party". But it is precisely on these two theses that we find agreement with the German leadership. What shall we do about it? Shall we keep these ideas to ourselves without expressing them out loud in order not to repel from us the partisans of reform? Such a position would be altogether unworthy of Marxists and I do not doubt that the German comrades do not have this in mind. Under the blows of experience the utopians of reform will become convinced that we are correct. The more firmly and the more swiftly we shall establish our position, the greater will be our political authority.

4. The draft resolution poses the question of the creation of cadres. In itself this slogan is absolutely irreproachable. It is only necessary to reply: for what purpose, the cadres? For the reform of the old party or for the construction of the new one? If under such conditions, we take the road of diplomatic silence, the Stalinists will demand an answer just the same of us and we shall appear before the rank and file Communists like those augurs who have two doctrines, one for themselves and one for the uninitiated. It is clear that the authors of the resolution cannot want and do not such a duplicity.

5. In the draft resolution as well as in other documents the idea is often repeated that the perspective of a new party is correct, but that the advanced workers are not prepared "psychologically". If it's a matter of creating a new party immediately, then the workers are not prepared not only "psychologically" but also politically and theoretically. The necessary cadres are lacking and the existing cadres have no masses. It is impossible to understand the reference to "psychology" otherwise than as follows: our own partisans and even our sympathizers and semi-sympathizers are not prepared "psychologically" for the sharp change of perspectives. The authors of the resolution confuse, quite obviously, two questions: the preparation of the proletarian vanguard for the creation of a new Communist party and the preparation of our own organization for a courageous and decisive change of our own orientation in the question of the old and the new party.

A Reply to the N. C. of the German Opposition

Here we are not concerned with anything but this second task. It results not from any "psychology", that is to say, from the state of mind of various layers of the proletarian vanguard, but from the whole of the objective conditions: from the victory of Fascism and the collapse of the policy as well as the organization of the Stalinists. The state of mind of the workers can yet change—especially in the sense of an ever clearer understanding of this historic fact. But the political attitude (perspective) of the Left Opposition should not have as its point of departure the fluctuating sentiments of the heart, but the objective changes in the situation.

6. To interpret the slogan of the new party as a mechanical unification with the elements of decomposition of the old party (Brandenburger, S. A. P., Leninbund) would not only be an absurdity but a simple mockery of our entire past. With regard to one group or another, we can only speak of taking some steps together, steps dictated by the situation. So, for instance, at the anti-Fascist congress we should seek an understanding with the Stuevistik group, the S. A. P. (German Socialist Labor Party), etc., against the bloc of Muenzenberg with Barbusse and the Ilindun bourgeoisie. There is not the slightest reason for confusing tactical understandings of this order with the question of the new party. Only one thing can be said: skilful tactical agreements, on the basis of a correct strategic line, can accelerate the process of the formation of cadres for the Communist party.

7. In the German documents, the slogan of the "new party" is counterposed with the slogan of a "new Zimmerwald". It is absolutely impossible to understand this counter-posing of things. Zimmerwald represented a temporary bloc of Marxists and Centrists. The former marched under the slogan

of the Third International; the latter under the slogan of the reform of the Second International. There were, to be sure, some participants who avoided answering the question: for the II. or the III. International? by hiding their hesitation under the banner of Zimmerwald "in general".

The accord proved to be an episode, while the slogan of the Third International has determined the revolutionary policy of the whole new epoch. At the present, the questions are the same. The accord, let us say, with the S. A. P., can become an episode (much less important than that of Zimmerwald) on the road to a new party; but these are two different questions.

8. By the way, how is the question of the S. A. P. posed? In the struggle for their own preservation, the leaders of the S. A. P. without giving an answer to any of the programmatic questions, dissociated themselves from the Left Opposition, alleging that we still nurtured illusions about the C. P. G. This fundamental argumentation has been eliminated since, by the march of events. Addressing ourselves to the S. A. P. we say: "After March 5, we are also concerned with the creation of a new party. But a party is created on the basis of a program. What is your program?" It is necessary for us to be able to utilize the advantage of our new position. If the leaders of the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the only new in the process of elaborating their program, we can offer them quite openly our participation in the program discussion and propose even the creation of common theoretical discussion organ, naturally preserving our entire independence of organization as well as our political journal. The question of the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the decisive question. Neither do we want to substitute it for other questions, but only to place it side by side with them, as a serious partial question.

I will sum up: the discussion has already brought this result: it has cleared up a number of obvious misunderstandings and has thus restricted the sphere of the difference. Nevertheless, before getting

a clear and distinct reply from the leading German comrades to the questions posed above it would be premature to say that the differences have been overcome. We must recognize, not only formally, the perspective of a new party, but we must draw from this perspectives the necessary practical conclusions and fight in common agreement for them.

April 21, 1933. —G. G.

Note: The Resolution of the German leadership (Reichsleitung) referred to above was published in *The Militant* several weeks ago.

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Vol. 6, No. 33 (Whole No. 180)
SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1933
 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
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crossed arms, like the ancient Christians in the circus. We shall be ready, fists clenched, certain that the future belongs to us.

The violent repression being prepared for us will also be met in a violent form by the workers, who closing the ranks of the proletarian revolution will know how to put force and violence at the service of society.

For the bourgeoisie can no longer continue as the guide of human destiny. Under its direction humanity degenerates and rots. It is now the turn of the proletariat to take in its hands the reins of power in order to make possible the progress of civilization under the historic perspective of a socialist organization of economy, destroying without pity all that which stands in the way of the success of such an organization.

Referring to democracy, Trotsky, one of the most beloved leaders of the world proletariat, said: "There is no hope of conquering power peacefully as long as the bourgeoisie retains the instruments of domination. Triply crazy is the hope of attaining power by the road that the bourgeoisie itself simultaneously indicates and in-trenches for itself, by the road of parliamentary democracy."

But this does not at all mean that we Communists should forego the opportunities, offered to us by the bourgeoisie itself, to make use of the national tribune in behalf of the revolutionary proletariat. "Battle must be given to bourgeoisie in its own terrain of democracy, thus tearing from the masses the illusion that the bourgeois parties can solve the problems of democracy."

In the measure that the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system become more acute, the bourgeoisie will abandon all liberal demagoguery and will resort to open government by force, thus hoping to postpone a bit longer the crumbling of the present social structure. All governments' all systems, about to fall, resort to brutal measures in order to retard the fall. However, no repressions, no massacres, can succeed to hold back the proletariat in its revolutionary mission.

Impelled forward historically, the proletariat will have to sweep aside the outworn forms of bourgeois society, in order to create on its ruins a society without classes without exploiters or exploited. Through the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will construct the socialist society. A beginning has already been made in the Soviet Union.

The social panorama is becoming more definite every other day. Everywhere, on all continents, amidst wars, dictatorships and diplomatic comedies, capitalist society is crumbling. As soldiers of the revolutionary army we Communist members of the parliament refuse to hide our ideas, but will continue to shout them and to defend them—today in the tribune of this parliament, tomorrow possibly in your prisons, in exile or in front of the machine guns of the same White Guard, the legal existence of which the Government and the majority of this Parliament recognizes and even justify—for what purpose? For the purpose—so cynically made plain in the famous reciting slogan of the Guard: "To shoot down the riff-raff!"

The End of Austro-Marxism

(Continued from last issue)

The war came and as its most immediate consequence, the Habsburg empire collapsed. As to Austro-Marxism, it lost the ground underneath its feet. But it did not notice this. It believed that its period of bloom had only begun. That was only natural. The domination of capitalism was heavily shaken and the bourgeoisie could not even think of rehabilitating itself by its own power. And so it transmitted the task of reconstructing economy—this is how it came to be called instead of: reestablishing the capitalist regime—to the social democracy.

And the latter went about this work with the greatest of enthusiasm, for according to its view the "reconstruction of economy" was the prerequisite and beginning of "socialization". And had not democracy anything else but the automatic generator of socialization? Things were quite simple: If capitalism developed, the working class grew, and side by side with the working class grew, and the social democracy would grow. Ultimately it would have to get the majority in the house of parliament and then, no obstacle would any longer stand in the way of socialization. Society would thus grow into socialism, without revolution, without blood-shed, without a dictatorship and without a reign of terror.

The dream is punctured, but... But one fine day the cup overflown. The bourgeoisie parties discovered that they could now get along even without the social democrats and took leave of their coalition brethren. But that did not rouse the social democrats from their democratic intoxication. The unfriendly attitude of the bourgeois parties only went to prove to them the correctness of the theory that the social democratic camp there arose a contest of calculation as to the chances of the party for the conquest of parliament.

While the latter wallowed in the delights of this socialization-mathematics, the bourgeois parties accomplished a less romantic but much more effective task. They cleaned up all those conquests of the revolution which the socialists

A Review of the Past That Helps to Understand the Present

praised as irrevocable. One after the other of these conquests came under the knife, so that a short time ago a madame social democrat voiced the complaint in the National Assembly: "From the commonwealth state, which we were supposed to be building up, nothing has remained any longer."

The bourgeoisie parties were, however, of a different opinion. They believed that there was still a great deal of "revolutionary garbage" that had to be cleaned up and that this work could not be done at all by democratic means, or at least, not as fast as they would like. Fascism raised its head and is today about to establish its own domination.

The Rise of Fascism, Unnoticed...
 The oldest Fascist associations, the Heimwehren, arose as early as the days of the overthrow. Originally they were only to be border guards (therefore their name, Heimwehren equals Home Guards). But the reactionaries recognized in them, with their unfailing intuition, the possibility of playing a role as self-defense organizations against the "internal enemy".

"The social democrats naturally did not recognize this. As good patriots they even handed out arms to the Heimwehren. And when the Communists brought attention to the 'white guard danger', the social democrats, at that time on their honeymoon with the coalition, put them off with a jest: they were sowing white mice.... White Guards? Something like that could exist in backward Russia, but not in a highly civilized democratic republic; this was all the more so, because the democratic wing of the 'Christian Socialists', which was at that time still strong, did not have the slightest inclination for the adventure of a civil war."

"Heimwehren? What for?", said Prelate Hauser, "I can get everything done that is necessary by agreement with Renner" (leader of the social democracy). And that was god's own truth. Everything

necessary for them could be got done in collusion with Renner. That was the pride of the social democrats and this pride allowed them to ignore the Heimwehren.

Of course, this could not go on for ever, because the Heimwehren soon began to show very distinct signs of life. Here and there, they went about assassinating one worker, then another.

The Incident of July 15, 1927
 After every one of these murders the *Arbeiterzeitung* would write: if this should happen again, then... What was to happen "then", was shown on July 15, 1927. On this day, when the Viennese workers, embittered over the acquittal of several Fascist labor assassins, put the Palace of Justice on fire, the social democrats thought of nothing better to do than to propose the formation of a new coalition to the Christian Socialists!

And along this style they have continued to carry on the struggle against Fascism to this very day. The frightful aggravation of the crisis brought over new forces to the side of Fascism. Side by side with the Heimwehren there arose National Socialism (the Hitler Brown Shirts). The unification of the workers' enemies kept on making rapid strides of progress in spite of squabbles within their own camp. Their plans became constantly more distinct. But the social democratic party persisted in complete inactivity.

It is not even doing anything now, after the collapse, half encouraged and half terrified by the events in Germany, has gone about creating those advantages for the bourgeoisie which a Fascist regime has to offer to it, while at the same time protecting it from the irksome consequences which such a regime brings with it for the ruling classes.

Even Dollfuss Can Put One Over...

When Dollfuss cast aside the parliament and announced a new constitution on the basis of the Empowering Act of Wartime Economy, intending thereby to clean up the rest of the "revolutionary garbage", they had no other resistance to offer him than their democratic oratory. Austro-Marxism stands there just as helplessly today before the advent of Fascism as the theoreticians and practitioners of reformism did before the advent of the war. It starts out with the assumption that the normal condition for capitalism is prosperity and that through increasing prosperity the class antagonisms will be straightened out by the collaboration of the classes, leading up to a perfected socialism.

As to phenomena which appear to contradict this assumption—it does not know even how to begin to tackle them. To the question as to what can be done about the crisis and its offspring—Fascism—they have as little an answer as they have to the question: how socialism will be realized in case the earth should collide with some other heavenly body.... Austro-Marxism one will hear, is not astronomy, but economics and politics. It concerns itself, in spite of the arsenals of the Republican Schutzbund (the social democratic defense organization) which Dollfuss is so feverishly searching for not with shooting irons and other weapons of destruction, but with elections and parliamentary negotiations. Austro-Marxism is democratic and if the others do not stick to the democratic rules of the game, then it falls into that same condition as that whimsical Austrian general, who whenever he was asked why it was that Napoleon always defeated him, called out despondently: "How can one conduct war against a man who doesn't stick to the rules of military science?"

What can be done against Dollfuss when, going against all human and divine justice, he simply thumbs his nose at the whole democracy, the most democratic of all constitutions included? In that case only one thing is left: submission. And in actuality, the *Arbeiterzeitung* has repeatedly declared that its party realizes that after the overturn in Germany, a good many things will have to change also in Austria and that it is prepared to negotiate with Dollfuss about the new constitution.

That means only this: the social democracy does not object if the democracy is beaten to death and, so long as, in consideration of propriety, the democratic ceremonial is retained. Naturally, the *Arbeiterzeitung* brings not only such declarations, but also others, contrary to these. It threatens, mocks' walls, hatches the most ridiculous plans, vacillates between hope and despair, just as bedits such a condition of headlessness, into which that terrible Dollfuss has cast Austro-Marxism.

What does the social democracy still hope for? Naturally, it has no hope in its own powers, but—in the intervention of the foreign countries and in the quarrels within the Fascist camp. It does not see in the dispute between the Heimwehren and Nazis a war of unification, it does not see that it resembles a lovers' quarrel which ends in a warm embrace! It does not see at all any more, it does not understand the world, and more' it is incapable of acting and that is why it will go along the road of debasement and devitalization to the bitter end, paralyzed in mind and body like the German social democracy. The Austrian workers can expect nothing from the Exemplary Party of the Second International except disgrace and defeat.

—AUSTRIACTUS.
 (From "Unser Wort")

A View of the Labor Scene in the British Isles Today

Edinburgh, Scotland.—British capitalism is still in the throes of the crisis but a temporary boom in the building trades and a slight improvement in certain luxury trades has been responsible for a reduction in the number of the unemployed. The capitalist press has seized upon this pretext in order to announce a "British trade revival" and the usual cry of "Prosperity Coming" has again been trotted out. So far as the majority of the wage workers are concerned, the position remains the same.

Although relatively better off than many wage earners in Central Europe, the British worker is beginning to feel the strain of speeding methods, while thousands of unemployed men and women have long since given up hope of ever working again. Especially is this the case in the heavy industries such as steel, iron and coal and on the Clyde-side on the west of Scotland many famous factories and shipyards are standing derelict or being used as rough-house dance-halls, gambling shazalons or scrap-iron stores. This was once the proud home of British shipbuilding, engineering and iron-working capital. The objective conditions are certainly favorable for a great advance on the part of the British working class movement, but unfortunately never was there greater chaos and confusion in the ranks of labor.

The Labour Party still holds the majority of politically thinking workers within its ranks but its policy continues to be a welter of everything under the sun and still is based on class collaboration. It therefore serves as a smokescreen for British capitalism and by the skillful use of "Left" phrases its leaders draw away from the Communist party thousands of healthy recruits. The many small sects such as the I. L. P., the S. P. G. B. and the anti-Parliamentary groups have been hammering at the "Reformist Labour Party and Trade Unions" for about thirty years but with little to show for their work.

After thirteen years, the Communist party is still isolated from the main strata of the working class and has completely failed to gain a foothold in the factories and workshops while the trade unions are still in the safe-keeping of the reformist bureaucracy who are conducting a policy of peace-at-any-price and brazenly selling the workers over the collective wage-bargaining counter.

Divorced from the employed, the C. P. makes great endeavors among the unemployed and has been successful in staging several big unemployed demonstrations and hunger marches. The last attempt was a Scottish hunger march and on Sunday June 11, about 1000 poverty-stricken unemployed men and women marched into Edinburgh in order to demand an interview with Sir Godfrey Collins, Secretary of State for Scotland and in order to discuss their demands.

Some of their demands were: 1. The abolition of the means test; 2. That children of unemployed and adult dependents be granted extra relief subsidies. 3. That rents be

reduced 25 per cent. 4. That relief work be provided at trade union wages and conditions. 5. That social service schemes be repudiated.

Sir Godfrey was not in Edinburgh and made it known that he had no intention of seeing the hunger marchers. No accommodations were available for the marchers to sleep but they declared that they would stay until Sir Godfrey climbed down from his high horse. The position resolved itself into a duel between the Edinburgh magistrates and the marchers' leaders among whom were Harry McShane and Aileen Ferguson of the C. P. and John MacGovern and Heenan of the I. L. P.

The marchers at first obtained halls to sleep in, then they were refused them and on Monday night that week they slept out in Prince Street, the main boulevard of the Scottish capital. By Wednesday their funds were getting low but they managed to threaten and cajole the magistrates into paying the marchers their fares back to the various parts of Scotland from whence they came. So the hunger march ended. It created great excitement and undoubtedly gave the Edinburgh authorities many a fright, but it failed in its main objective because of the sectarian nature of its make-up.

The members of the C. P. and National Unemployed Workers Movement, the party controlled unemployed organization were there to a man, but the large mass of the unemployed and employed treated the affair as "none of their business". As a consequence, the whole march savored more of a stage-managed stunt than of a real attempt to strike a blow on the part of the masses. All the recent marches and demonstrations have been of this nature and until the C. P. strikes a sound line, stunts will continue to be the order of the day.

Despite the fact that with each passing year thousands of sympathetic workers are turning their backs on the C. P. in disgust, the leadership still continues to whoop about imaginary victories—if not in Britain, then in Russia—but gradually the real situation is beginning to burn itself into the minds of many sections of the rank and file and with the recent German debacle and subsequent crazy united front antics of the Comintern, the Politics and Co. are skating on thin ice.

—T. C.

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Roosevelt Long-Range Program

(Continued from Page 1)

export. Wages in many fields remained high in comparison with Europe, although the shortage of labor has disappeared as witnessed by the restrictions on immigration. The situation confronting American economy gives little reason to think that through the peaceful operation of natural and spontaneous forces, the present crisis will, like all previous ones, go on through a phase of stabilization and prosperity to a boom which will again set new high records.

The recovery which now seems to be under way is essentially a breathing-spell in a long, hard and painful process of readjustment, marked by internal shocks and disturbances, and abroad by increasingly sharp conflict of interests with the older powers in the effort to find a bigger place in the world markets.

The driving force of American industrial expansion supplies the motive power; the machinery readjusts itself by displacing agriculture and raw material production with the increasing production of manufactured products, small scattered industry and banking by powerful aggregates of capital and large-scale branch banking, production directed to the extent of 90 percent toward the home market by an increasing proportion of exports, and isolationism by a life-and-death interest in world affairs.

Roosevelt Contribution to Capitalist Technique
Roosevelt's contribution to capitalism's technique for getting out of the crisis appears to lie, first, in the recognition that natural and spontaneous recovery is not enough to assure, as heretofore, the transition back to "normal" prosperity after the crisis, inasmuch as his most energetic actions are taken precisely in the face of such a recovery, and to take effect over a period of years.

Second, he proposes to treat this coming period evidently on the basis of an emergency comparable to a state of war. That implies a mobilization of the full powers of the state, the coordination under Federal control of economic activities such as railroad, the encouragement to banks to consolidate and unify operations under Federal (or Federal Reserve) control, the unification of whole branches of industry in all important respects except actual ownership through trade associations, the concentration of all holdings of

gold under the control of the government, etc.

This feature of concentration and coordination is one of the most marked characteristics of the Roosevelt policies. Its result must be to shorten the period of readjustment and to combine as much as possible of its burdens with those of the cyclical (1929-1933) crisis.

The currency policy of the government, the much-mooted question of inflation, must be regarded as part of a general mobilization of control in the hands of the Federal government on a "war-like" basis. In its most extreme form, it becomes a policy of "managed currency," thus fully integrating finance and banking into the system of government controls.

The Mobilization of Public Opinion
Third, corresponding to the concentration and mobilization of industry, transportation and finance, is the mobilization of "public opinion," comparable to that of wartime except that the element of compulsion is lacking. This accounts for much of the demagoguery in the President's official statements and in his legislation. The incident of the reception of several hundred aggressive bonus petitioners at Fort Hunt, where they were allowed to wear themselves out in inaction and finally split, a joining in the reforestation camps, is especially illuminating, not only in contrast with the methods used by Mr. Hoover last year in dealing with the "Bonus Expeditionary Force," but also in the light of the substantial reductions in expenditures for veterans carried through by the Roosevelt administration.

Similarly, the farmer, feeling the increasing pressure of the crisis on top of the general crisis of American farming, has been politically restless for years. By concessions such as the promise of inflation and the agricultural relief bill, it is proposed to win his sympathy or at least acquiescence in the whole program, while at the same time carrying out the work of reducing the production of American farms to as large an extent as possible with the consent of the farmer himself. The only alternative policy would have been to let him be starved and foreclosed off the farms by the naked operation of economic forces.

Similarly, in face of the real attacks on its standards and organizations, the support of the working class is sought through the ap-

peal to employers to increase wages voluntarily; through the announced intention of including binding agreements on wages and working conditions among the subjects on which trade associations are to agree, through the friendly attitude toward minimum wage legislation, and the Black bill for the thirty-hour week. All this in the face of the \$1 a day forced labor, the 10 per cent wage cut for the railroad workers, the anti-labor provisions of the Industrial Recovery Bill, etc.

A Period of Drastic Readjustments
So long as American business looked forward to automatic recovery and new high records of prosperity after every crisis, the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover policy of minimum intervention of government in economic life was a natural corollary.

Under present conditions we see American economy, to provide an outlet for its rapidly growing productive forces in a cramped world, readjusting itself by closing small banks and businesses and enlarg-

ing big ones, expanding its production of manufactured goods at the expense of its production of foods and raw materials, reaching out more and more for export markets as its home markets diminish, and above all, throwing the main burdens of these readjustments on to the working class. This means that the next period is one of drastic and painful readjustments internally, and of sharpening conflict of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt program is not to stem or reverse these tendencies, nor, as in the old days of unalloyed optimism, to let them work themselves out blindly. On the contrary, it not only accepts the existing trends of American economy, but put itself at their head to give them leadership and support during the critical period to come. Through mobilizing and concentrating economic control, with a corresponding mobilization of demagogic propaganda, it attempts to hasten the necessary domestic readjustments and present a solid front against the outside world in the struggle for international markets, and against the working class, the farmers, and broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie at home.

—B. J. FIELD.

Stalinism Weakens the U.S.S.R.

I.

The revisionist conception of Socialism in One Country and the policies flowing from it have not only helped to lay the political foundation for a cyclical revival of capitalism but also have aided in creating a danger for the Workers' Fatherland far greater than active support of revolutions outside of Russia could have done. Stalinism with its theory of the "united front from below," together with the social democrats, has helped to lead the German working class to defeat. It has helped to destroy the second strongest Communist party of the world. At the same time its impotence has been instrumental in creating a condition the workers fear.

With the rise of Hitler to power not only has the revolutionary movement had a set-back but we are beginning to witness an alignment of social forces favorable to a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union itself. In spite of the so-called "non-aggression pacts" between the USSR and other nations, particularly France and Poland,

the contradictions between the imperialist world and an isolated workers' state are developing toward the point of explosion.

If the Workers Triumphed

Had the German working class defeated Hitler, thereby taking a step toward social revolution, the influence of their success would have spread. Workers throughout the world would have been heartened and the objective revolutionary factors created by the present world crisis might have been matched by a growth of subjective factors now lagging behind. A political crisis for capitalism, as well as its economic crisis, might have developed.

History is replete with examples of revolutionary movements in one country leading to progressive reforms in other parts of the world. As comrade Trotsky pointed out in *Whither England?* the great French Revolution served as a powerful stimulus to the growth of the labor movement and democratic tendencies in England; the July Revolution of 1830 in France was largely responsible for the first English Election Reform Bill in 1831; the revolutionary movement of Chartism contributed to a reduction of the English working-day in 1844-47 and to the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846; the influence of the Russian Revolution in 1905 helped to raise the Labor Party to the position of an important fraction in the English Parliament, while the Russian Revolution of 1917 was to a large extent responsible for the new Election Reforms of 1918.

In short, an examination of history leads us to the conclusion that a triumph of the workers in Germany would have strengthened the international working class in general.

Defeats Bring Reaction

But with the rise of German Fascism the reverse is true. Both the German workers and the international working class movement have suffered a tremendous defeat. Just as the defeat of the great French Revolution led to the restoration of the Bourbons in France and the Corn Laws in England, the defeat of 1848 dealt a blow to the English working class, and the defeat of the German workers in 1923 gave American capital the opportunity to begin with the realization of its plans for the (moderately, peaceful subjugation of Europe," so today, a similar wave of reaction is beginning to set in.

Instead of a series of advances a series of set-backs are likely. Nor has the tension between the imperialist nations and the USSR lessened because of the silence of the Comintern. On the contrary it has increased. The existence of the Soviet Union still remains a threat to the capitalist world. Its territory is needed by the imperialists during the present period of their decay and it is the one power all of them wish to destroy. But now political conditions for intervention have shifted in their favor. The Soviet Union's first line of defense (the possibility of effective workers' resistance in other countries and particularly in Germany) has been temporarily weakened.

(To be continued)

—SIMMONS.
Kansas City, Mo.

The Textile Code

(Continued from Page 1)

calling for labor representation being turned to precisely what they were intended for—the formation of company unions. Even the American Federation of Labor is not acceptable to our industrial magnates, unless it is needed to head off a real class conscious union. Particularly the steel and coal industries have been active in the formation of these company unions. The New York Times reports of "numerous instances of coercion to force the workers into the company unions. In some parts of Kentucky, workers have been evicted from company houses for refusal to sign company union rolls." This practice will within the next few weeks probably assume national proportions.

These are the first few signs of the trend of the future developments. Many workers undoubtedly believed that the Roosevelt program will lead the country back to "prosperity." Their disillusionment will be both soon, sharp and complete. The working class cannot expect aid from the Roosevelt administration; this the hard master of events will make only too clear. To secure a living wage, to secure a thirty hour week, no conference board will suffice. For this the American working class must be organized into powerful industrial unions that will learn and know how to fight for better conditions.

—H. S.

THE EUROPEAN ANTI-FASCIST CONGRESS . . . AN ANTI-TROTSKYIST SLUG FEST OF THE STALINISTS

"Let these Gentlemen Hold the Congress in Peace!"
-- Say the Police to the L. O. Protest Delegation

(Continued from Page 1)

Labor (Gilly miners); Delegation from a meeting of 500.

Greece.—Greek section of the Left Opposition; General Federation of Wounded War Victims; Union of War Veterans; Union of Widows and Orphans Woodworkers Trade Union of Athens; Barbers Trade Union of Athens; Bakers Trade Union of Athens;

Poland.—Polish section of the Left Opposition; Meeting of Polish Emigres of the Paris District;

Switzerland.—Swiss section of the Left Opposition; Young Socialists of Zurich; Marxist Circle of Zurich;

Jewish Workers.—Clarke group of the Paris District;

Germany.—German section of the Left Opposition;

Italy.—Italian section of the Left Opposition; Group of anti-Fascist emigres of the Paris District;

Hungary.—Hungarian section of the Left Opposition; Hungarian language group of building workers; Factory meeting of building workers of the Paris District;

France.—French section of the Left Opposition; Amsterdam Committee, Charente-Inferieure (Oleron); Public meeting in Lille, Red Aid (Chavigny section); Railroad workers; Several meetings in the Paris district; Workers meeting at Montigny-en-Gohelle; Indo-Chinese group of the Paris District; Trade union section, Committee for the Defense of l'Humanite, and various other sections of the Red Aid and workers meetings.

The sum of these credentials represented about one hundred delegates. We repeat, we limited the number of delegates from the provinces and from abroad for material reasons.

According to prattle of the Stalinists, the Oppositionists "represented no one"; but, one of the organizations represented by us; the General Federation of Disabled War Victims of Athens consists of SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBERS!

Bureaucratic Sifting
All the credentials of Oppositionist organizations were automatically rejected.

The comrades who appeared with regular credentials officially stamped by workers organizations passed through the sifter of the national leaderships; all those recognized as "Trotskyists" were subject to the following maneuver: Their credential was demanded from them in order to issue a delegates card against it; they were requested to wait a minute, then they the bureaucrats cynically refused a card and retained the credential! Then, more diplomatically, they requested

them (the delegates) to return and upon returning, since they no longer had a credential nor a card, they refused them admission into the Grange aux Belles Hall! That did not happen without protest but the sergeants-at-arms brutally squelched the protests. In a word, they systematically robbed the credentials from the members of the Opposition.

Bureaucratic Measures Breed Arbitrariness

Besides this, many of the scenes were comical: A delegate from an anti-Fascist committee was deprived of his credential and sent back to his district because they suspected him to be a Trotskyite, one of our comrades having previously presented a credential from Charentes (the same place). The suspected "Trotskyite" was "liquidated" the real "Trotskyite" profiting by this bullabuloo secured a delegates card.

Another case is no less comical: A delegate from a Spanish trade union was recognized by a bureaucrat from his country and refused a card; accidentally, they returned his credential. A Swiss comrade whose credential had been rejected from Switzerland appeared with the Spanish credential. The Spanish Stalinist did not know him, he secured his admission card to the Congress!

However, they discreetly distributed credentials to members of the Young Communist League and the party; notwithstanding, that caused many surprises to the Stalinist apparatus.

The Congress Begins

The detailed instructions given to the sergeants-at-arms were directed at us. The organizers succeeded in creating a sentiment of violent reaction against any revolutionary intervention; the pretended struggle against the Young Patriots was only a means of striking at us. The management committee was organized with several guards and a corps under the leadership of a "specialist."

The sergeant-at-arms was baffled from the very first day, and not knowing whom to suspect, he bullied everyone: "And that one, isn't he a Trotskyist?" In this way a member of the party was violently thrown out because he didn't have his membership card on his person! The slogan was to hound the Trotskyists. A special squad was assigned to that task. The squad was completely put off the scent when they learned that a plain clothes detective was in the hall. "Take him out quietly! No provocations!" ...Get him to go out! ... Outside on the sidewalk, two young workers who listened very attentively to "a Trotskyite" much to the chagrin of the sergeant-at-arms, were thrown into the street under the fallacious pretext that they weren't delegates.

Two Regimes, the Detectives and the "Trotskyites": Example of the Press Cards

Two detectives of the North-African police, Gaudin's agents, well known to the Algerian workers, presented themselves to the organization committee. Press cards. Invitation. Admit the bearers of the cards....Come in, gentlemen; this way, gentlemen! And the dicks passed the zealous sergeant-at-arms.

Saraceno, former editor-in-chief of *Unita*, the central organ of the Italian Communist Party, possessing a regular press card, entered the Congress.

Led away into the cellar by the agents of the "political control" to the "special Italian committee" comrade Saraceno was forced to surrender his right to enter. Before allowing him to leave, the Stalinist "naziizer" (twenty against one) threw themselves on our comrade striking him with their feet and their fists. Our comrade had his glasses broken and was bruised on his left temple by the bureaucrats.

Welcome to the Delegates

Comrade Atlan was unable to obtain his delegate's card at Grange aux Belles and appeared at the Pleyel Hall on the first day of the Congress. They wrested his credential from him, drew him to a corner, violently slugged him and then threw him into the street. Since he protested and a crowd had already gathered about him, the sergeant-at-arms spoke to him in this tone: "You really want to enter! Oh well, come in!" Atlan once again entered the Pleyel Hall. Many delegates were commenting on the incident. Beaugrand reassured them, saying: "We will check up on his credential and then give him access to the hall." They drew Atlan into a small retreat, closed the door to the retreat. A member of the 13th Section of the Red Aid, Beaugrand, and Rouffange insulted him and slugged him, shouting to the disturbed comrades who were massed behind the door: "You see how they examine his credential, they are dealing with him in a comradely way". But in subdued tones they told Atlan that he would remain sequestered until the conclusion of the Congress and they beat him brutally. Atlan's cries drew the attention of numerous delegates who energetically insisted that they let him go.

To the delegates that protested they declared that Atlan was a police agent that they found in the hall. We have told above just how they received the police agents.

First Day in the Hall of the "Congress"

The packed hall at the first session bore the aspect of a mass meeting rather than a Congress; no real discussion.

The delegates grouped according to languages had to obey national discipline, to make known the number of delegates desiring the floor. An Italian comrade requested the floor. The individual responsible for the group came to see him and demanded that he submit the out-

line of his speech.

The evening session was marked by a violent incident. A Belgian comrade, Vereken, handed in his name at the very beginning of the session and, unable to get the floor, made a point of order; they saw him from the platform, pulled him out of the hall, and kept him in the cellar. When several comrades protested against the violence committed, they were themselves violently dragged from the hall, their delegates' cards were demanded and taken from them and they were thrown out. Other delegates who protested against this violence were threatened with expulsion if they did not keep quiet.

The same afternoon two members of the Unitary Trade Unions, a railroad worker and a metal worker, were expelled from the hall. The sergeant-at-arms thought they had a "doubtful attitude".

The first day of the discussion, after the hollow and official optimism of the reports which contained neither analysis nor general perspectives, was devoted to anti-Trotskyist speeches of the usual type, and a theatrical scene in the course of which the Belgian delegate on the platform ripped the Hitlerite flag. The session concluded with collective singing.

The Parade Ends

Upon their entry into the corridor, two delegates, Oblin of Montigny and Devreyer, were simply thrown out of the hall because they were recognized as Trotskyists. Their credentials were torn up!

On the opening of this session comrade George Vitorisio delegate from the General Federation of Disabled Veterans of the Imperialist War of Greece submitted a written request to the presidium demanding the floor. The chairman wrote back that each delegate who wanted the floor had to get it through an intermediary, the leader of his "national" section, who was always a Stalinist. Thus the floor was denied to any Oppositionist delegate.

The Left Opposition refused to submit to this anti-proletarian and bureaucratic decision. That is why on Monday morning at the moment when the chairman announced that Bergery, petty bourgeois radical, would take the floor, comrade Vitorisio stood up and addressing himself to the Congress, shouted out: "Comrades, in the name of 60,000 disabled Greek War veterans I protest against the exclusion of the Left Opposition. I demand the floor in its name. Long live the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky! Long live the proletarian revolution! Down with Fascism! Long live Trotsky! Free Rakovsky!"

Bands of bureaucratic funkies coming from all parts of the hall threw themselves on him with savage bestiality, dragging him by the hair and beating him with their hands and feet. Comrade Marie Dimitriedes, delegate of the War Widows and Orphans of Greece; comrade Paget, delegate of the section of the Red Aid of Chavigny (Meurthe-et-Moselle); an Indo-

delegates to future Mooney conferences.

The conference, though adopting the principle of the united front of all working class organizations departed in actuality from this principle and set itself the task of winning the local organizations and disregarding entirely the central bodies.

It is necessary at this time to issue a warning to the Left wing workers who for years have been in the thick of the struggle to free Tom Mooney from the capitalist jail which has held him since 1917; that unless a real united front of all workers organizations is forged, Tom Mooney will not be released. The Left Opposition, as its statements and actions have shown, stands for such a policy of united action, a policy which, through a correct application of the united front, will force the S. P. leaders and the A. F. L. labor fakers to answer before their following and the whole working class, if they will obstruct the unity with the Left wing and Communists in order to force the capitalist jailers to free Tom Mooney.

—M. GELDMAN.

Long Live the Proletarian Revolution! Down with Fascism! Long Live Trotsky! Free Rakovsky!

under guard at that time. A group from our headquarters came down to get them out. They demanded their immediate liberation of the squad leaders. A loud argument ensued in the hallway. Cops passing by interfered and reproached our comrades for not letting "these gentlemen hold their congress in peace."

The intervention of the group from our headquarters was, however, effective. Our comrades were immediately afterward released.

Bergery Prepares the Break

The opponents of the united front from organization to organization soon found themselves in an uncomfortable position with their combinations. The Pleyel Congress emphasized how the already miserable results of the Amsterdam horse-deals have sunk to even greater depths. Not only wasn't any advance achieved but an obvious retreat is also being prepared by elements foreign to the party to break away from Amsterdam.

Bergery is prepared to take an important part of the Amsterdamers under his influence. Bergery does this with ease. He publicly advertises his support of Amsterdam. He cements his positions which will permit him to slam the door with greater advantage accusing the Communists of unimportance.

Bergery already has an undertaking, the "Common Front", which groups most of the independent personalities of Amsterdam on a platform which is on the same level as Amsterdam.

Many conferences have been held between the party and Bergery in the corridors and behind the scenes. Doriot represented the party at the initial meeting of the "Common Front".

The situation is serious. The party is trying and will still try many compromises. All that, of course, is happening without any party. Bergery's speech paved the way for his eventual break. From the Communist point of view Doriot's reply was no less odious. It shows just where "the sympathies of the Political Bureau" rest.

Last Day of the Parade

After much petty discussion, one of our comrades, representing the Belgian Knights of Labor (the Gilly miners), requested the floor. The leader of the Belgian delegation stated that he could have the floor but only on the condition that he first submit to him the outline of his speech. Our comrade answered that his point of view was that of the Left Opposition. This was enough to gag him.

Most important in this last session was the intervention of comrade Aulas from the Unitary Federation of Teachers. Aulas demonstrated the responsibility that the R. I. L. U. bore in the German catastrophe and in the failure to

call a genuine Congress. He was continually interrupted by the bureaucrats and when he placed the criminal policy of the German Communist Party in its proper light his voice was drowned by a hue and cry from the howling pack.

The chairman proposed that this delegate from a red trade union be ruled out of order. In spite of a great number of votes against this bureaucratic decision Aulas was forced to leave the platform and the hall.

Unanimity at Any Cost

At the conclusion of the discussion the chairman made a long appeal proposing that the delegates show their agreement with the resolution presented by a demonstrative acclamation. He put the resolution to a vote and a half dozen hands were raised against it. Stupefied, the chairman believed, at the time, that the German delegates who had voted against it had not understood the resolution. He had the resolution translated and again they voted demonstratively against it. One of them explained his position by shouting out: "Long live Trotsky!"

Then a German delegate from Frankfurt stood up and said: "When I came to this Congress I was not a Left Oppositionist. But by your slanders against the Left Oppositionists who, in every case work as revolutionaries along with us in Germany, you have driven me closer to them and I vote against your resolution of confusion."

The organizers of the Congress who wanted a unanimous vote at any cost were thrown into confusion. They surrounded the French and Belgian delegates who had voted against the resolution. The chairman made a new ballyhoo appeal for unanimity. The Left Oppositionists who protested were thrown out of the hall. But even after they were ejected new hands were raised against the resolution. Nevertheless this did not prevent l'Humanite, French Stalinist organ, from declaring that the vote was unanimous.

Results of the Masquerade
The Congress has succeeded in neither in improving the relation of the party to the masses, nor in sinking its roots among them nor in raising the fighting power of the party and the masses. The Congress was a party gathering and its results are already apparent.

The problem of Fascism and the struggle of the workers against it remains before the international working class. The Pleyel parade has not only not solved any of these problems but has augmented the confusion. The Left Opposition through its struggle against the criminal Stalinist policy alone can solve these problems.

From *La Verite*, organ of the French Left Opposition