WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

# [ILITA]

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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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 forced into sexual relations with their bosses, superintendents and and stunted child slaves.

under the banner of "freedom and the party followers. equality", children were chained to machines so that orderly productions at the conference mean Despite Minor and the bureaution would continue. In 1933, as anything, that the party will give cratic procedure of the conference capitalism welters in its decaying up its recently adopted turn on the delegate of the Left Opposition stage, under the banner of "rugged the united front and reverse to its succeeded in getting the floor when individualism" and the "New Deal", ultimatistic "united front from be- the resolution to be adopted at the girls just emerging from childnood, 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

Governor's commission, I'd give tee and gave the key-note speech no food orders to unemployed per- was tireless in his efforts to make sons who urged factory workers to what was called as a united front free Tom Mooney is in danger and strike.' And his wife who handles conference into a C. P. convention. unemployment relief in Northhampton, has even more amazing ideas. 1 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 Empty Parade is a week's work totaling fifty hours, while workers in a second cigar factory in this rich Lancaster Co agricultural section said their wages avearged \$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 Allentown receive \$4 a week Shirt Co. in Allentown only three threw a burning light on all the The Congress Utilized by French girls in the place were over four-perspectives established by the 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.

a yowling and hooting that would L. controlled organization, the Stuundoubtedly have brought the police dent Forum. Their expulsion, bashad not the speaker from the plat- ed on the flimsiest and most transform promised to grant him the parent charges of inactivity, comes expelled for Trotskyism. three minutes that many from the as a result of the feeling of alarm audience urge that he get. He was among the Stalinists and the asked if he would confine his re- growth of influence of the ideas of marks to three minutes and he the Left Opposition among the promised that he would. When he young workers and students of the got the platform he immediately locality. reversed his promise to speak for the time granted him and set about become worried over the class on telling the workers gathered there the "History and Principles of the three minutes or one hour".

This was too much for even some of his own followers. One worker 30. Joe Ross, president of the declared: "You will speak over my Student Forum, attended one sesdead body and I am a party member." He was asked to leave the "exposing" the Trotskyists. Unforplatform and a general melee be- tunately for himself, he succeeded gan. Cries of shame were heard in exposing only his own ignorthroughout the audience. Many ance.

part of the party members it was impossible to conduct an orderly meeting with the announcement ican Youth Club. Elliott made an orderly menting with the announcement ican Youth Club. Elliott made an orderly made an orderly meeting with the announcement ican Youth Club. Elliott made an orderly menting one minute apiece. that we were not going to be driv- application to the Student Forum. the Internationale which, to the he had been expelled from the dents are interesting themselves in bureau. shame of the workers present, the American Youth Club. Their proparty members refusd to sing, and posal was defeated by a vote of gram of the Left Opposition.

There is a great danger, if the

Opposition's voice being heard at tion for the N. Y. Free Tom Mooney At the session of the Pinchot the conference was plainly evident where a child-labor mill is located: tial representative of the Tom opportunity of addressing this con-" 'If I had my way,' he told the Mooney Molders' Defense Commit-

When comrade M. Geldman, L. asked for is irreparably harmed." O. delegate, made a motion that representatives from trade unions and political organizations be given preference on the speakers' list,

New York, N. Y .- The great pro- | Minor suavely and demagogically mise for the broadening of the uni- made an appeal that the motion be ted front to free Tom Mooney at voted down and that all delegates ceeded in getting the floor amongst the last few speakers.

This statement was received with (Continued on Page 4)

The past week has seen the pubthe recent National Chicago Mooney Congress was given a deplorable speak. How much interest Minor industrial codes drawn up under setback by the narrow and over-whelmingly party-packed conference equal opportunity to speak was Act. The most important one adin New York. Not only were the hours of the conference he introduced a motion that the last speakstry. The code as proposed exposes in all its viciousness the present foremen to keep their jobs. There the C. P. and its auxiliaries, but ers be three trade union delegates program. Where disosevelt spoke is no limit to which capitalist exthe atmosphere of the conference and spoke against the amendment of a maximum 30 hour working ploiters will not drive their starved harked back to the old "third per- of the L. O. delegate: that a re- week, the manufacturers propose ind stunted child slaves.

In the earlier days of capitalism, met with a hysterical howling from who had not yet be included sucshameless gentry translate this in- in Roosevelt's hands the most far- ready begun to show signs of slack- New York Stock Exchange), re

> but an attempt to forestall a real efforts are not directed to the im- ed with increasing rapidity. starvation program.

Finally, to complete this some degree of sympathy by some deal picture, we see the provisions (Continued on Page 4)

# Workers Slave for Pennies in Penna. Sweat Shops Return to Narrow Basis at N.Y. The Textile Code Shows Real Face of the 'New Deal' Sweat Shops Return to Narrow Basis at N.Y. The Textile Code Shows Real Face of the 'New Deal' On the Backs of the Workers

a week; wages as low as a cents whelmingly party-packed conference equal opportunity to speak was vanced is that by the textile industry. The code as proposed exposagogues to Reverse Historic Policy - at Expense of Agriculture and the Proletariat. Program Disguised to Enlist Support of Toiling Masses.

mediate symptoms which already What the Government Accomplished show some improvement, but to an General business, following the

Congress has adjourned, leaving immediate crisis, which had al- and March 15 (reopening of the to the terms of the inflated dollar, reaching authority which any Am- ening a year ago, but of preparing sumed the upward trend which had and quote ten dollars for the south and eleven dollars for the north. Peace-time. How he proposes to and disturbances; of economic, so-year and had flattened out in the

ment: "The delegates of the Left Opposition accept the draft resolution for the N. Y. Free Tom Mooney Conference and pledge themselves Conference and pledge themselves Thomas F. McMahon of the A. F. Roosevelt program, which does the Roosevelt program, which does the Selve's clearly show how unlikely it that he was talking about the At the session of the Finence was plainly evident investigation committee on sweat-shops the following revealing test-imony, taken from the Nation article, was made by the burgess of Northhampton of Northha opportunity of addressing this conference. We state categorically that unless the conference follows of mumber of hours be set at thirty cumulate of a temporary and limit-began to improve rapidly from the ed upturn in business. Is it not second half of March on; over ference. We state categorically that unless the conference follows democratic procedure the fight to free Tom Mooney is in danger and a united front of working class or-

> inner cancer which threatens the sharp slump caused by the banking very existence of the system. It developments of the month between is not a question of overcoming the Feb. 18 (the Michigan moratorium)

Indications at the conference mean anything, that the party will give up its recently adopted turn on the united front and reverse to its ultimatistic "united front from bellow" policy.

The Left Opposition delegates were refused the right to address were refused the right to address the conference must be given to trade union delegates. That this was merely a pretext to prevent the following states merely a pretext to prevent the following states merely a pretext to prevent the opposition's voice being heard at the party will give anything, that the party will give catic procedure of the conference on the conference of the conference extensive reductions in wages, leading to an improvement in profit 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 tendemcy #0 increased activity.

> The emergency with which the Roosevett 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 ne 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 zation or definite prosperity and Roufiange, Gourdeau's lieutenant, the fact that your German group right to enter the Congress. But trade. Sometimes the driving force the party's confidence man, manin Paris has made a decision exthere also the bureaucrats were has been the opening of new terri-Anti-Fascist Congress, that is, had to appear at the Grange aux sometimes the growth of new indu-

The Left Oppositionists, at this peaceful stabilization and prosperlent readjustments, both within

### lations to other countries. The Long Range Perspective of U. S. Capitalism

When America was changed in Building Workers Trade Union; the course of the World War from Oil Workers Trade Union of a debtor to a creditor nation, a Astillero; United Trade Union tremendous readjustment was needed in every single phase of the Belgium.—Belgian section of the national economy. A debtor na-Left Opposition; Knights of tion is one which has not fully grown up economically: M 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. Ex-Despite all mistakes in the united had begun to partake of some of

Since the war, however, its whole Scottsboro Boys" an international economic structure has been shot 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 building of the only thing that will 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 imlife, providing a huge export surplus annually, contrary to the food deficits of every other important industrial power. Industry itself, while rapidly increasing in size vanced power. The huge export surpluses continued, while returns from capital exports were beginning to come in and complicate ments, which the other industrial "We have no communication on white workers in the struggle for whirlwind campaign that will force powers have solved by accepting the complete freeing of all nine annually more imports than they

(Continued on Page 4)

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

# Complete Failure

ism" haunted the organizers of the ranks; the illusion of strength larxist wing years ago. In order edy of the united front.

in vain. The Marxist wing of the gress, he knew how to use the con-International, which represents the gress as a "national" reserve. strength and expresses the hope of the proletarian vanguard, showed the way.

Every day the Centrist bureau-

Paris.—The specter of "Trotsky- Deep cracks were revealed in its

### **Imperialism**

t is that if

Soviet Workers Excluded from the "European" Congress

What is more eloquent on this point was the absence, from this cracy reveals to what depths # European Congress of any Soviet has degenerated. It is a thermi- worker's delegation. That demon dorian bureaucracy in which the strates, once again how low this term "revolutionary" serves only as parade stood in the estimation of

the class enemy on the workers' the desire of these circles not to break faith with the Hitler Govanks.

The "Pleyel parade" has come to criment and Mr. Daladier in any conducted an infamous rampaign Delegates Beaten

teen; their pay averaged from Marxist wing years ago. In order better yet is that it this congress to the for- thrown out of the district "con- Fascist dictatorship the counter."

The Left Oppositionists, at this time, were in possession of credenwith seven years' experience, earned the munificent experience, earnweek. One boy in an Allentown

The wiped out by such a congress the eigh policy of the Daladier governweek. One boy in an Allentown

The wiped out by such a congress the eigh policy of the Daladier governeigh policy of the Daladier governit is of the following organizations, for mathe whole post-crisis period will be
leaders of the 2nd International.

The wiped out by such a congress the eigh policy of the Daladier governitself in a fitting front with the
leaders of the 2nd International. out the white sign of such a com- Daladier took all the precautions date of the Congress approached; of foreign policy by his dealings the stitches of the bureaucratic quest. The bureaucratic measures were with the organizers of the con-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 well as others, with the exception of its national leadership, that is, the Stalinists.

Left Opposition sent a delegation 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 SEC-RETARIAT OF THE LEFT OP-POSITION OF THE C. I.

"In reply to your letter of May

"The European anti-Fascist workers Congress is a mass congress, to pulsions have been put on the or- toiling masses have given their ad- trial Judge Horton merely repeatder of business. At the meeting of herence and have elected, through ed what the defense has been say-June 25 a motion was introduced the prosecution of a common and ac- ing from the first. "The testimony by a Y. C. Ler to expel Sam Gor- tive anti-Fascist struggle, represen- of the prosecutrix (Victoria Price) don, B. Caesar and B. Lerner for tatives of the masses of all coun- in this case is not only uncorrocirculating a petition protesting the tries. The groups connected with borated but it also bears on its expulsion of the three "Trotsky- you do not represent any masses face indications of improbability to the petition. The motion was gle and in the strengthening of the evidence greatly preponderates in postponed to the next meeting be- anti-Fascist front, in connection favor of the defendant." cause some entertainment had to with the European anti-Fascist

The sum total of all these bu- acceptance of the platform of com-

the subject of your acceptance of the freedom of the boys. -GEORGE RAY. the platform of the Congress and For the granting of a new trial, boys.

a pretext to express the pressure U. S. S. R. government circles and of your adherence on this basis. of the class enemy on the workers' the desire of these circles not to On the contrary, Trotsky, your In-We have already revealed how, against the united front of millions Belles (Red Trade Union head stries. in the Parisian district, the Op of men for the decisive struggle quarters). Fascist dictatorship, the counter-tials of the following organiza-"This is our answer to your re-nationally contrary to the Stalin-American economy and in its re-

ists who multiplied their delegates "Organization Bureau of the for each local group. Convocation of the European Workers Anti-Fascist Congress. Needless to say, we expected such maneuver; they had already rejected "political organizations" as of rank and file organizations, at Amsterdam. All the delegates of In face of all of these facts, the the International Opposition who International Secretariat of the were present in Paris were at the

## Scottsboro Decision Reversed

States Supreme Court.

and we know nothing of their par- and is contradicted by other evid-

tens of thousands of Negro and made the starting point for a

The verdict of guilty brought in for the saving of the lives of the against Hayward Patterson one of framed-up Negro boys, the chief economically mature, capital exthe nine Scottsboro defendants, was credit goes to the I. L. D. and the porting (imperialist) creditor naset aside on June 22nd by Judge Communist movement as a whole, tion. America even before the This is the second reprieve grant- front maneuvers, despite the play- the characteristics of the creditor ed to Patterson, the first having ing up of Tammany Hall lawyers, nation especially in its high state been obtained some time ago the International Labor Defense of industrial development. through a decision of the United was able to make the "Save the In his statement of opinion ac- slogan that helped to weld the in- tradictions. Its banking system which the largest sections of the companying the order for a new ternational bonds of the proletar-

Spain.—Spanish section of the

of Ilerena:

Left Opposition; Autonomous

completely free the boys-a mass movement. The present move on the part of the southern court may 20 members signed their names ticipation in the anti-Fascist strug- ence, and in addition thereto, the be just such a maneuver to foster illusions in the minds of the working class as to the "honesty" of portant single phase of economic Alabama Courts. Mass-The change in the point of view achusetts "honesty" sent Sacco of Judge Horton, who but on last and Vanzetti to their death, Calif-"The appeal of the organization Palm Sunday sentenced the con- ornia "honesty" sent Tom Mooney workers were frankly disgusted with the party and Y. C. L. memwith the party and Y. C. L. memwi bers' tactics.

The meeting was then resumed.

The meeting was then resumed.

Because of the shouting on the shouting of the s to Hayward Patterson. The change ing class shout in their defense, so tion in the congress presupposes the was not one in the "preponderance will their complete freedom be the of evidence" but rather in the result of a mighty protest movethat we were not going to be driv- application to the Student Forum. The student requirement away and would return to this The Stalinists wanted to refuse reaccastic expulsions is that more mon anti-Fascist struggle presented tearing to pieces of the crude ment demanding their release. This en away and would return to this The Stalinists wanted to refuse and more young workers and stuck of in the appeal of the organization on the grounds that don't not a new trial must be the transfer of international pay-

This temporary respite must in

no way produce any lull in the

### (Continued on Page 4) to openly pose the question of our admission to the Anti-Fascist Con-Stalinists Expel 3 L. O. Youth gress. This delegation received an

Joe Elliott, Sam Shabel and George en masse. The party members then set up Ray were expelled from the Y. C.

In particular, the Stalinists have taht he was going to speak for as Left Opposition", organized under long as the workers (read: party the auspices of the N. Y. Spartacus members) demanded: "whether for Youth Club. This class, led by George Ray, began with an attendance of 18 and has now risen to sion of the class with the aim of

-M. GLEE. 19 to 18. Since then the Y. C. L.-

New York, N. Y .- On June 18, ers have been joining the Forum From the Brownsville Yout

Club, Morris Shapiro, a member of that organization for seven years and one of its founders, has been S. Caesar and H. Conroe have

been expelled from the Y. C. L. also for Trotskyism. Neither these comrades has endorsed the 23, we answer the following: program of the Left Opposition, but have been studying it.

In the Student Forum new ex-

be prepared for the evening. How- Congress. ever, this was no obstacle to pass-

## Furniture Union Accepts Left Wing Proposals

"The correctly understood task ers", was the demagogic ery, "only of the Communist party does not with the rank and file!" And so consist solely of gaining influence the Stalinist leadership in the Inover the trade unions, such as they dustrial staved off the responsibilare, but in winning, through the ity of approaching the A. F. of L trade unions, an influence over the organization. the tasks of the latter....If the wing proposals stricken from the Federation of Labor: A strike of party buys its influence in the trade minutes' and without much conunions only at the price of a nar-lidence in the outcome of the negoto auxiliaries of the party for momentary aims and preventing them local 76. Why was it necessary to conceal our policy from the memfrom becoming genuine mass organ-bership by expunging it from the trom becoming genuine mass organ-bership by expunging it from the are a super-exploited section of the izations, the relation between the record and then resurrect it as Southwestern proletariat. These party and the class is wrong.... though it were their own? Unques-Out of this springs the policy of contraband". And second, because workers are generally migratory or semi-migratory. Entire families hushing up, of adapation to the it didn't jibe with the party line... ideas and slogans of others, and In our next article, we will confinally the complete passage to the clude the account of the fight for adults. The wages paid range from positions of opportuntsm."-Leon unity of the furniture workers to six cents an hour for seven year Trotsky.

American industry is beginning for its achievement. to stir into open class struggle. Uppermost in the mind of the work ing class is the burning question: How can these miserable depression wages meet the rising cost of living. Spontaneous, elemental hold the following discussions at strikes and protests break out with open meetings. increasing frequency from unexpected quarters and in a surprising the discussion leader will be commanner. What distresses the boss- rade Mannie Garrett. es and annoys the trade union bunor does it wait for the"busy season", or for the "better moment" or for the thousand and one ex-"strategists" for delay. It bursts out for wage increases; it bangs its fist, even in anticipation of the "season"; it gives the bosses foretaste of what is to follow in the "season".

The furniture industry is no exception to the trend of the day. On the contrary it strikingly illu- ing the Marxian postulate that "socialist" or "labor" or "agrarstrates how determined, militant there is no middle course between action, in most cases without union the dictatorship of the capitalists

Of the three to four thousand upholsterers in greater New York, holsterers in greater New York, barism. As revolutionary Marxists celebrate the "New Deal" in a fit-munist, after these struggles, will we can go into the united front ting fashion. They introduced a with any and all groups in a strug-gle for immediate, concrete issues workers, amongst whom were a three contributions of the Upholsterers Inter-gle for immediate, concrete issues workers, amongst whom were a The activities of the L. O. in the Local 76 of the Upholsterers Inter-Local 76 of the Upholsterers Interdational, of which the latter'
though smaller in actual number,
with three lides.

The activities of the L. U. in the agricultural fields, in the Needle such treatment to his workers in the unemployed street and brought the Golden or putting the Left wingers, and at the same time not give up nucleus of Left wingers, stopped agricultural fields, in the Needle such treatment to his workers in the unemployed of the L. U. in the deaf ears. Morris White gave the union, testified against Begun! ed version of the shop delegate such treatment to his workers in the unemployed of the union, testified against Begun! N. Y. and in Bridgeport that the union exists for the purpose of details a similar to shut off minority. or four shops. Local 76, in the manner of all A. F. of L. unions, is social problem will be solved by The victory at Golden Bros. bener of all A. F. of L. unions, is sectal problem will be solved by the talk and inspiration of our membership is growing in an the control of certain shops through col owrkers know that by elections the millinery workers who are most agreement with the employer' which and trade union activity alone it is desperately in need of militant orallows the latter to use the union impossible to permanently raise the ganization. The union is growing and with the growth of our impussible to permanently raise the ganization. The union is growing and with the growth of our impussible to permanently raise the ganization. The union is growing and ence, organizationally too, we can gentlemen's agreement between the lutionary Marxists the Communists page at Golden Bros. tains wages and conditions in the ployed organizations, the fraternal representation of Communists and tains wages and conditions in the proved organizations, the fraternal representation of Communists and union shops above the general level groups, etc.; we can unite in action sympathizers. The new spirit book Workers of the unorganized industry, and with any and all working class amongst the workers also had a tively creates a barrier between the plain to the workers why we are ing. The next fruits of their agiunorganized mass, to whom the trying to organize them around a tation has been a strike at Lubes "union cannot give jobs". This revolutionary program. condition stimulates the development of reactionary policy, machine control ignoring of the unor- the CPLA through the leadership division of work, recognition of a ganized and the stifling of the rank and file in the union.

### The Left Wing in the Trade

The Furniture Workers Industrial Union was born out of the old Left wing of Local 76 under the old Left wing of Local 76 under the particularly the Communsits, to monstration of solidarity. The leadership of the T. U. U. L. Under patiently explain the role of the "Red Squad" did not succeed in inthe hysterical lash of the Stalinist "third period" policy, it was not to persuade them to actively oppose strike. In forty-eight hours, the difficult to break off (or have exists formation. (In this respect we pelled) a substantial group of the might advise the Stalinist Central the demands of the workers. union who together with a number of rank and filers who had lost ers are patiently "waiting for the astir with hope after the first vic- the lockout with a strike against have been a death blow to these threatened to carry them, were their confidence in the reactionary A. F. of L. union' formed the Left are, in the meantime, hesitant in the workers' minds after the secwing union. In the period of its existence it has advocated the principle of one union for the entire industry and has stressed the shop as the basic unit of the union. It has championed the democratic has championed the democratic port to a "labor party," then our rights of the rank and file and the task is not to pooh-pooh it from sident of the Millinery Ass'n, the idea of an international revolutionary movement of labor. On the within." That is, if, in order to ently planned attack, the bosses of other hand, it has succumbed to the adventurist practice of the united of the working class, we are forced the ground work of again attemptfront from below and the theory into a "labor party," then we must ing to introduce the piece-work of "social Fascism", which has pro- organize ourselves inside as a frac- system. The workers who are sible as the administration for not duced within the union the atmosphere, and without, the policy, of

the revolutionary sect. the furniture workers of New York "labor party" as an arena in which out to the number of 70 out of 90 has had a marked effect on both we shall tactfully agitate for a employed. Of the 20 remaining, unions Suddenly Local 76 an Communist party . . . of course, most of them were relatives. This nounces an organization drive. The this is a hard job, but then Lenin was about a week ago. Industrial union intensifies its ef-taught us by example that we should forts. Local 76 makes some head- | "not drag the labor movement along way; the F. W. I. U. leads some line of least resistance" He taught comrade Elsie Meyers and Helen united with the "Fraternal Club" small strikes and stoppages. But us to avoid the "easy," opportunist Costello. This did not in any way against the rank and file. This deeach, naturally must undermine road and to "combat spontaneity" frighten the strikers. Picketing monstrates that the administration the basis of the other union in or- by "diverting" the labor movement der to proceed. And they are both from its spontaneous trade unionist, met with stony indifference and "labor party" course into the chanownicism on the part of the furni- nels of revolutionary preparation, ture workers who say: Two houses organization and activity. divided against each other cannot EXPOSE THE "LABOR PARTY!" pickets were arrested. They are way it was explained by our manstand. A plague on both your

Realizing the burning need for the unification of the industry, the Left wing elements in both unions have come forward with the demand for trade union unity on the basis of a fighting policy against reads: "The workers know that the boss upholsterers in the coming they can have no faith in Shiplaseason' In the Industrial Union, coff, Wolinsky and Co." should we have fought for close to six have read "The workers know that months to put the question of the they can have no faith in the preunity of the unions on the agenda sent 'Fraternal Club' administraof the union. Our proposals were tion which is the heir and protect-ridiculed and rejected. "No united or of the Shiplacoffs and the Wolfront with the social Fascist lead- inskys."

gether with the Left wing program olds to eight cents an hour for

-CARL COWL -SOL LANKIN.

### SPARTACUS CLUB LECTURES The Spartacus Youth Club will

July 6: The Student Question-

July 13: History of the Marxist rocrats is that this upsurge does The New rock the Planum of the Draft 5,000. Arrests of pickets are a not wait for the unions to act, Thesis of the Plenum of the Y. C. L. Meetings are at 8:15 Thursday nights at 126 East 16th St.

On Sunday, July 2, there will be cuses of the conservative labor a hike to Forrest Park in Queens. Meet at 126 East 16th St. at 9:30.

### The Columbus Meet and Muste's Labor Party

Current history is harshly provpath of Communism and build their Union. About four or five weeks ca or else endure a period of bar- est shop in the city attempted to

History has proved that no great Bros. to their knees. label on his goods and limits the standard of living of the working daily. It has increased its memmark some progress. membership to little more than class or put an end to economic bership ten-fold at least in the last those working in these shops. This crises, unemployment, etc. As revo- month, since the triumphant stopunion and the boss, while it main-can go into the unions, the unemoffers protection in the form of a groups in an effort to win immedi- thawing effect upon the Communstrike fund and other considera- ate demands, and, at the same time, ists and Left wingers. Long silent, tions; nevertheless, it quite effect retain the above position and exthey have once more begin agitat-

At the July 4th Columbus Convention of Unemployed, called by week, (they were working 48 hours) of the Ohio Unemployed League, shop committee and the cessation the Musteites hope to organize a of wage cutting. "mass labor-farmer party," or a A picket line was thrown around "united mass party of workers and Lubes. This line was re-enforced Committee that its faithful followparty's line and instructions" and tory at Golden's, the condition of the association shops only. condemning Muste's Labor Party ond brilliant victory can only be

However, should our efforts fail ers were inspired, but the bosses' to win the support of the workers chief emotion was one of fear and and they, in turn, pledge their sup- alarm. without but to "revolutionize it from bosses' organization. In an evidkeep contact with a good element the Golden Bros. shop began to lay the workers of the insufficiency and Golden Bros., the giving up of inevitable treacherous impotence of these plans. When the Messrs.

The discontent and unrest among such a party. We must use the Golden refused, the workers walked

SUPPORT THE COMMUNIST

PARTY!

—N.

CORRECTION The passage in the Pocketbook workers article last week which

## ON THE WORKERS' FRONT The Teachers Union and the

### Militant Strikes on West Coast

Los Angeles .- The city of Los Angeles has witnessed, and is witnessing, the beginning of a wave of majority of the working class. This is possible only if the methods employed by the party in the trade it could not be postponed for long. The trade of the union scorrespond to the nature and the first day of the strike. The long the first day of the strike. The workers are girding themselves for the long time struggle. The bosses what a deplorable situation is affiliated to the American what a deplorable situation of Labor: A strike of the latter and the struggle. The bosses workers are girding themselves for the latter and the first day of the strike. The workers are girding themselves for the latter and the first day of the strike. The long time struggle at the strike ing. About six weeks ago, the workers are girding themselves for the latter and the first day of the strike. The long time struggle at the first day of the strike. The latter and for read-union administration. In sounding the alarm in time and conductive set-up the administration ing the alarm in time and conductive set-up the administration are doing like-wise.

The two most important strikes. rowing down and a factionalizing tiations, the Stalinist leaders of the agricultural workers and of the milliners the union sent a unity proposal to

> workers are generally migratory or work in the fields, from the little children of six and seven to the twelve year olds and thirteen cents an hour for adults. Payments for work is highly speculative, as

have now reached the number of

Mexican agricultural proletariat.

strike is the attitude of the Mex- side of the government. Ex-president ican Calles has sent the strikers \$750 ian".

Milliners in Militant Strike

Hat Works, where forty workers

dirt farmers." It is the duty of with girls from other shops, partievery revolutionary worker, and cularly from Golden Bros. in a de-"labor party" to all workers and timidating the girls and men on ployers Association took the of- the union been in touch with the accompanied by the most flagrant

If the millinery market was

The first day of the strike witnessed the arrest of two pickets,

In Defense of the Russian

Revolution

nearly one hundred per cent.

THE MILITANT

strikes as the workers are com-Meyers, an active Left Opposition- the present agreement. mencing to think that it is as well ist, are as enthusiastic now as on to starve fighting as to starve work-

> Angeles the "white spot" of the country.

However, like a pack of wolves, the other manufacturers are The Mexican agricultural workers away as deliveries are not made. apply correct policies.

should bear the character of a united front. The issue is elementary and appeals to the proletarian inthe Mexican laborer, under conquick to take advantage of the Mexican agricultural proletariat front-from-below" only? Or what tion?

parroting sectarians. In the class own Soviet United States of Ameriago, Golden Bros., the second larg- the views of the Left Opposition

The activities of the L. O. in the organizations are putting the Left extremely slow pace disproportionate with the growth of our influ--C. C.

## The millinery trade has a large Bosses Lockout Pocket-

BULLETIN

As we go to press we learn that the leadership of the Pocketbook Workers' Union were forced by the pressure of the New York.

we described the present situation turned to N. Y., a shop meeting paign from the union waged by tive initiative of the union memin the Pocketbook Workers Union. was called. At this meeting the Now we will show in brief the de- workers forced the union to take this, too, the union administration forward toward the destruction of velopment that took place for the a stand and it was decided to call must assume its share of responsi- the union. last few days.

Since last week, the Industrial shops. Council of the Leather Goods Em-The union was forced to answer

tration did not carry out the degeneral strike in the industry. A strike in the Association shops will give the bosses a chance to make their samples in the indepenstruggle of the workers in the Association shops. The progressives and the Leather Workers Society who are the leaders in the general strike committed are just as responwhole industry.

Furthermore, at the last meeting of the general strike committee when election of all important committees to lead the strike took place, the Mattins, the David Myers, the Drevnowitzes voted against the Left wing to be represented in the important committees. They again kept right on in spite of the almost and their alliance are not interunbelievably brutality of the most ested in a struggle against the despicable collection of human filth employers. They are more interwhich bears the title of "Red ested in the fat plums (for them) Squad". Thursday night six more of the Industrial Recovery Bill, the

Soviet Economy in Danger

10c

Workers' Pocket Series

By Leon Trotsky

72 pages

is being placed against them mak- ing last Monday. The Left wing ing bail impossible to secure. The must be on guard, mobilize its original strikers, however, are out forces, explain to the workers that our leaders together with the Strike meetings, held under the cliques are not interested to fight the bosses, but rather patch up an

sented Mr. Golden with a \$5,000 Pocketbook Workers. We have a union to energetically resist the nominated and elected as the fifth check to be used in keeping Los manufacturer by the name of Moris today one of the largest manu-White, as many other employers, why it won the sympathy of a num- to whom the draft of the report snatching the Golden Bros.' orders gambled at Wall Street and invested in other speculations. lost the money he made from the too high. Victory is possible for sweat and blood of his workers to this campaign of the Left wing difference between the Left wing the strikers provided the leadership during the Wall Street crash. Af- was an attempt to silence it by of the union can formulate and ter the crash, Morris White de-expulsions. In this the administraclared himself bankrupt, and closmass picket line. This picket line ed the streets and starved with wing in 1931. In that year it pro-

union would have sent out an or-The strike can be won provided ganizer or a committee from time this the strikers' morale is still L. O. in Los Angeles will attempt to organize the Bridgeport to point out this correct policy is followed. The A curious phenomenon in this steady retreat of the administration in the steady retreat of the administration in this steady retreat of the administration in this steady retreat of the administration in this steady retreat of the administration in the steady retreat of the administration in the steady retreat of the administration in the administra ers of the Bridgeport shop. The result was that Morris White dessectedly aroused against these This strike wave particularly in cided to make up his money he reactionary proposals. The expulsion proceedings, which were be of the administration. The most imthem \$1,000. The explanation for U. L. group of anywhere near a quick as possible, naturally at the gun in June 1932 reached the memthis most probably is that in order bonafide character in Los Angeles, expense of the workers as his man-bership for action April 29, 1933. this most probably is that in order to succeed in present-day Mexican has caught the party unprepared. Long paralyzed by the ultraLeft-politics with the radicalized workars and peasants one has to be is of the C. I., the worker Compared to it that his workers in the N. Y. the administration changed its their respective schools. This assembly will be elected to represent the members in to it that his workers in the N. Y. the administration changed its their respective schools. This assembly will have the powers—delibermunists are re-learning the art of shop should not make more that plans in the meeting and proposed bly will have the powers—deliberleadership in the every day strug-gles of the workers. Once liber-protested were not given any work risks as the Left wing! ated from the effects of the "Third alterether relative any work leadership, can wrest conditions and the dictatorship of the indus- and wage increases from the boss- trial working class. The American that of the milliners led by the full Communist organizers and not his workers from \$4 to \$8 a week and wage increases from the boss- trial working class. The American that of the milliners led by the sporadic strikes and stop- workers must eventually choose the Needle Trades Workers Industrial full Communist organizers and not in N. Y. shop he made samples, in Bridgeport he made the work of the N. Y. shop, and the workers in the N. Y. shop went around idle.

No matter how many times the workers in N. Y. pleaded with the union officials to take a stand Opposition on the map. Our influrevolted two weeks ago and went of the union. According to information, even the Chamber of Comgrant a raise in wages. The employer did grant a raise of a dol-

place there. When Morris White ally.

a strike against Morris White's bility. What does this signify? Had against Morris White. This would Left wing proposals and

tions lead them to disaster and defeat. -N. D. F.

THE BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION Articles by LEON TROTSKY Letters from the SOVIET UNION

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# still in jail' as charge after charge ager Stein at the Rand School meet-

(Continued from last week) It will be of interest for the and aggressiveness and pressed the mittee were among those who pre-He ranks.

The reply of the administration tion was continuing the policy which ed his factory. The workers walk-it had adopted against the Left their families. When the workers posed the expulsion of the Progreshad been starved out, Morris White sive Group. This was not realized. opened his shop again. He signed In June 1932, it attempted to expel the Mexican laborer, under constant threat of deportation, is very type of labor organization. Will threw out some 60 per cent of the By September of that year the additional threat of deportation, is very the leadership of the union make reluctant about going to the legal this appeal to every workers of every the first three out some 60 per cent of the By September of that year the additional three characters and the part of the Left wing) as to workers from the shop. This was ministration changed its plan and the proper functions and objectives an agreement with the union and the entire Rank adn File group. channels to collect his wages. The labor organization or will they retrain the take of make been labor organization or will they retrain the snop. This was ministration changed its plan and hailed as a victory by the adminislabor organization or will they retrain.

The Delevate train. Morris White opened another shop of the Progressive Group. The Beginning as a spontaneous struggle the strikers in this field beginning the strikers in this field beginning to the strikers in the s conservative administration, the welve. By the time this proposal reached the membership of the union the number slated for expulsion was reduced to six.

The steady retreat of the advictory for the Left wing!

### Disloyalty

campaign, the administration re- of the Committee's proposals dissorted to a disloyal act. Upon the torts this strucural change in an request of Lefkowitz, Begun was outrageously bureaucratic manner:" summoned to appear at a hearing Business meetings of the memberbefore O'Shea to answer charges ship to discuss, deliberate, and sugwhich involved his possible dis- gest to the Assembly but not to missal from the school system! At commit the union to any policy". against Morris White but it fell on deaf ears. Morris White gave the hearing, Linville, president of (Our emphasis). By this distortible union testified against Rogunt ed Wrsion of the show delegate N. Y. and in Bridgeport that the non-union workers in Bridgeport union exists for the purpose of derevolted two weeks are and went fending the teachers against abuses expression and deaden and further out in strike without the knowledge the B. of E. to intervene in its inby the B. of E. It cannot permit conservatize the organization. ternal affairs. And it cannot toler- tions of policy cannot be solved merce urged the workers not to go filers or leaders, informers to the measures. The recourse of the adate in its ranks, be they rank and mechanically nor by administrative

It is unquestionable that the general strike in the trade in members and tried to frame the system by the B. of E. which the union membership. committee men. But he failed in involves the outstanding militants If it is not defeated the adminihis efforts. The committee was of the Left wing, is, in large part, stration may succeed in stifling, not In the past issue of The Militant freed. When the committee re- the fruit of the expulsion cam- only the opposition, but the collec-

### Democratic Rights Violated The expulsion campaign was also

fensive and locked out 2000 work- workers of Bridgeport, both shops violations of the democratic rights would have struck together, and of the union membership. Meetings ployers are demanding open shops. victory would have been assured which manifested symapthy with methods and a warning against arbitrarily adjourned by the ad-The "Fraternal Club" adminis other employers, especially against ministration on technical protexts the Industrial Council who demand- Motions, resolutions, etc., presented for fear the C.C. might support it.) left to the imagination. The work- cision of the membership to call a ed open shops, and refused to re- and supported by the administranew the agreement with the union. tion were railroaded through. Min-Our "Fraternal Club" administra- ority points of view were ruled out tion have acted the other way of order, or denied the right of around. They have not utilized the expression. Contrary to the charge dent shops. This will prolong the discontent of the workers, they of the administration, the friction have not been in touch with the and disorder at the union meet workers in Bridgeport, and lost the ings, must be attributed, not to best opportunity to organize the the Left wing minority, but to the workers. The workers of the Mor- arbitrary practices of the adminiris White shop in N. Y. are waging stration, which sought mechanic a militant struggle, but the situa- ally to retain its hold over the tion in Bridgeport is not so rosy due membership, often in direct conto the negligence of the administradiction to the will of the memtration to be on the spot in time bership itself, in short, by its perand make the necessary prepara-sistent refusal to recognize, in practice, the right of minorities to ex-This shows the workers cannot ist and function as organized have any illusions that this lead-groups, an essential condition of ership can lead the workers to vic- trade union democracy, the admintory. On the contrary, they will istration has demonstrated its re actionary character.

The fight between the administration and the Left wing has been a tense and heated one. If the issues involved have not been made as clear to the union membership as they should have been, due to false policies of the Left wing on many questions and the division in its ranks, this served only to make the fight more heated and to produce a situation in the union which threatened to paralyze it and even included the possibility of a split. The responsibility for this situation lies, principally, on the here, and ten days for the sub to shoulders of the administration.

The Special Grievance Committee

wing. The Special Grievance Com-ter remittance to us. mittee which was elected to hear the administration's charges port on them, also took up the Street, New York City.

situation in the union and pro-It is no accident that in the posed a solution for it. The reperiod of the "salary attack", from port is the "supreme" effort of the strike committee, comrade Sam Meyers, an active Left Opposition-like present agreement. September, 1932 to the present administration in its fight against date, the Left wing grew in size and influence, increased in boldness members of the Grievance Com-

> Over this flagrantly bureaucratic set-up the, administration tried to present leadership brought the ing a persistent agitation for the draw the veil of respectability. It attack on the teachers' salaries the member of the Committee-John ris White. This employer was and Left wing was only doing its duty Dewey, noted liberal, father of the and serving the interests of the League for Independent Political facturers in the industry. Morris teachers and the union. That is Action and instrumentalist, Dewey, ber of teachers and increased its is attributed did his job well. The report is a mountain of confusion. It asserts several times that the and the administration involves fundamental questions of union policy; "-the union is faced not with a matter of personal controversy, but with differences of policy that are fundamental to its existence"; "-(the) main cause (of the conflict in the union) is the existence of a conception (on

### The Delegate Assembly

Notwithstanding, the report carefully refrains from analysis of the fundamental questions of policy involved. It deals only with "secondary" questions. Its thesis is that the fight over the fundamental questions produced an intolerable situation in the union which threatened its continued existence. For ministration reflected the pressure this situation, like the administration, it holds the Left wing responmembership which the Left wing sible. On this motivation, principalhelps put the union in the pocket portant changes the structure of business meetings."

This effects a radical change in At the height of its expulsion the structure of the union. Point 2 A fight over fundamental ques-

ministration to these methods says, The expulsion campaign was ac- on the one hand, that it cannot lar or two a week. Under the in- companied by an undercover cam- match its policies against the Left fluence of the Chamber of Com- paign of incitement of the conser- wing and on this basis defeat it. merce-left without union guid-vative, and even reactionary pre On the other hand this proposal ance—the workers went back to judices of a large number of the and other resolutions introduced by work without union conditions and union membership against radicalwithout recognition of the union. ism and Communism. This was ecutive Board sole power, to sus-At the same time, a committee the counterpart in the union to pend and expel, the outlawing of of the N. Y. shop went to Bridge, the same campaign conducted by opposition groups, etc., which are port to investigate what was taking the B. of E. in the system generating distribution of the system generation of the sy ı reality. blows directed workers in the Union to call a saw the committee, he arrested the present expulsion proceedings from against the democratic rights of

The Left wing must adapt itself to the new situatio nand work to penetrate the Assembly. There and in the school it must carry on the fight against the administration for trade union democracy and the democratic reform of the Delegate Assembly,

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## Discussion of the German Tasks

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

right at the beginning that "the collapse of the C. P. G. has decollapse 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. It is a same to be regenerated. the C. P. G. cannot be regenerated. Needless to say this declaration, which signifies the renunciation of as the organization of the Stalin-less to say this declaration, the collapse of the policy as well accord, let us say, with the S. A. which signifies the renunciation of as the organization of the Stalin-less to say this declaration, the collapse of the policy as well accord, let us say, with the S. A. which signifies the renunciation of the stalinthe position that we all held up to state of mind of the less important than that of Zim-March 5, bears a tremendous sig-ly in the sense of an ever clearer party; but these are two different nificance for all of our activity.

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 recognizes that the Stellinist party in the situation.

But the political attitude (perspective) as 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 disagged.

If at the opening of the discus- Communist party. sion, such misunderstandings could arise, the exchange of opinion durbureaucratically the creation of a party as well as our new perspect of Marxists and Centrists. The stricted the sphere of the differtive for work. It would be impermissible to diminish or to mask the 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 atparty in illegality will naturally ment, heavy with grave alternatives torial governments...! show themselves to be hostile to for the working class, I come forour affirmation that the "perspective of the reform of the C. P. G. no longer bears any content" and of the International Communist Option Deliberation Deliberat that "the development is in the position, Bolsheviks-Leninists) to 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 realtogether unworthy of Marxists noose in which they are held as a this honorable house. This is an form? Such a position would be and I do not doubt that the German comrades do not have this in mind. Under the blows of experi- to easier stop the workers' comence the utopians of reform will plaints when wages are being slashbecome convinced that we are cor- ed and unemployment is growing. rect. The more firmly and the By means of such a law you will more swiftly we shall establish stifle groans of the workers as they the silencing bells') our position, the greater will be writhe under the whip of spreadour political authority.

4. The draft resolution poses the question of the creation of forces of class repression. cadres. In itself this slogan is abnecessary to reply: for what pur- which do not deserve the flattery here. pase, the cadres? For the reform of detailed analysis? of the old party or for the construction of the new one? If unhave served all dictatorships in character such conditions, we take the Chile up to now. They now raise does not give within the hourgeois road of diplomatic silence, the shrill voices in the praise of dem-Stallinists will demand an answer ocracy. But the same bands have just the same of us and we shall handed over the national sources of appear before the rank and file natural wealth, our industries and has stated, "history has not transhave two doctrines, one for them-institutions to the imperialist po-solemnly vote in the Social Revoselves and one for the uninitiated. wers. The same elements that have lution. It is clear that the authors of the ever played with the misery of the

5. In the draft resolution as to the existing government. well as in other documents the idea is often repeated that the perspective of a new party is correct, but sought to justify the proposed meathat the advanced workers are not sure. Its undoubted aim spells tinue to sanction the acts of representations. that the advanced workers are not prepared "psychologically". If it's a matter of creating a new party immediately, then the workers are immediately, then the workers are not prepared not only "psychologically", but also politically and theoretically. The necessary cadres are follows: our own partisians and and.... even our sympathizers and semi- Deputy URRUTIA (interruptsympathizers are not prepared ing): Those were de facto govern-"psychologically" for the sharp ments. The honorable deputy should ed opposition to the projected meachange of perspectives. The auth- be careful about making direct acors of the resolution confuse, quite cusations. obviously, two questions: the pre- Deputy ZAPATA: The Conservaguard for the creation of a new role in the acts of those govern-Communist party and the preparaments. Will you deny that the tion of our own organization for worthy representatives of that party

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

as exactly as possible the real char- Here we are not concerned with tation under the banner of Zimmeranything but this second task. It wald "in general". 1. The resolution ascertains results not from any "psychology", the collapse of the policy as well accord, let us say, with the S. A Paragraph 3 of the resolution understanding of this historic fact. questions. says: "The development is in the But the political attitude (perspec-

cognizes that the Stalinist party in 6. To interpret the slogan of the ated themselves from the Left Op-Germany is politically liquidated new party as a mechanical unifi- position, alleging that we still nurand that the German Communist cation with the elements of decom-tured illusions about the C. P. G. Party will reconstitute itself as a position of the old party (Brand- This fundamental argumentation new party, outside of the Stalinist lerites, S. A. P., Leninbund) would has been eliminated since, by the not only be an absurdity but a march of events. Addressing oursimple mockery of our entire past. selves to the S. A. P. we say: "Af 2. But let us quote more ex- With regard to one group or an- ter March 5, we are also concerned tensively from paragraph 3: "Al- other, we can only speak of taking with the creation of a new party. Max Shachtman Maurice Spector though the development is in the direction of a new party, the slogan of the creation of the latter would be premature and false."

other, we can omy speak of taking with the creation of a new party, the ed by the situation. So, for instance, at the anti-Fascist congress gram?" It is necessary for us to we should seek an understanding be able to utilize the advantage of The whole sense of this sentence with the Sneevliet group, the S. our new position. If the leaders of lies in the content that one gives A. P. (German Socialist Labor the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the the term "slogan": it may be in- Party), etc. against the bloc of only now in the process of elaborterpreted as both an open proclam- Muenzenberg with Barbusse and ating their program, we can offe ation of our new position with rethe Hindu bourgeoisie. There is them quite openly our participation gard to the official party as well as an appeal for the immediate creation of a new party with the creation of the creatio existing elements. Insofar as the second interpretation is concerned, it would be the most ridiculous sort on the basis of a correct strategic political journal. The question of of adventurism. Among ourselves, line, can accelerate the process of the S. A. P. is not, obviously the no one has made such a proposal. the formation of cadres for the decisive question. Neither do we

absolute clarity on this score. It counterposed with the slogan of a partial question. is not a matter for us of decreeing understand this already brought this result: it has counter-posing of things. Zimmer- cleared up a number of obvious ly our position towards the old wald represented a temporary bloc misunderstandings and has thus reformer marched under the slogan ence. Nevertheless, before getting

of the Third International; the the question: for the II. or the III. them. International' by hiding their hesi-

The accord proved to be an

want to substitute it for other 7. In the German documents, questions, but only to place it side the slogan of the "new party" is by side with them, as a serious

I will sum up: the discussion has

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 latter under the slogan of the reform of the Second International. must draw from this perspectives immediate consequence, the Habs-There were, to be sure, some par- the necessary practical conclusions burg empire collapsed. As to Aus ticipants who avoided answering and fight in common agreement for tro-Marxism, it lost the ground un

April 21, 1933.

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

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### **CHICAGO** PICNIC

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crossed arms, like the ancient that the future belongs to us.

in the way of the success of such mains the same.

In the measure that the fundamental contradictions of the capisolutely irreproachable. It is only measure the gross provisions of fashion about a person who is not the bourgeoisie will abandon all lib-Who is sponsoring the projected cannot express himself in this talist, system become more acute, eral demagogy and will resort to open government by force, thus noping to postpone a bit longer the crumbling of the present social structure. All governments' all leaders draw away from the Complex and demonstrations have a substitution. hoping to postpone a bit longer the systems, about to fall. resort to brutal measures in order to retard the fall' However, no repressions, no massacres, can succeed to hold no massacres, can succeed to hold such as the I. L. P., the S. P. G. B. will continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall' However, no repressions, and the anti-Berlin mouthly continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall of the continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall of the continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall of the continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall of the continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall of the continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative factors are the fall of the continue to be the order of the interred, so long as, in considerative fall of the continue to be the order of the interred. Communists like those augurs who the control of the country's fiscal formed nations into clubs that back the proletariat in its revolutionary mission.

> the proletariat will have to sween aside the outworn forms of bour-Through the dictatorship of the gain a foothold in the factories ginning to burn itself into the minds which that terrible Dollfuss has already been made in the Soviet the reformist bureaucracy who are Union.

The social panorama is becoming price and brazenly selling the workmore definite every other day ers over the collective wage-bar-Everywhere, on all continents, gaining counter. amidst wars, dictatorships and diplomatic comedies, capitalist society C. P. makes great endeavors among is \$1. On a Club Plan with three Heimweheren and Nazis a war of is crumbling. As soldiers of the the unemployed and has been suc- others it is only 50 cents. position parties, serving as social revolutionary army we Communist cessful in staging several big un members of the parliament refuse to hide our ideas, but will continue er marches. The last attempt was to shout them and to defend them a Scottish hunger march and or -today in the tribune of this Sunday June 11, about 1000 pov parliament, tomorrow possibly in erty-stricken unemployed men and your prisons, in exile or in front women marched into Edinburgh in the bourgeoisie. The time will of the machine guns of the same order to demand an interview with White Guard, the legal existence of Sir Godfrey Collins, Secretary of paration of the proletarian van- tives have played an important false tribunes of the people applaud which the Government and the State for Scotland and in order to majority of this Parliamnt recog-discuss their demands. But as my comrade Hidalgo so nizes and even justify—for what Some of their demands were: 1 purpose? For the purpose—so cyn- The abolition of the means test. 2' a courageous and decisive change have organized the several conspir- ing in protest against the expulsion ically made plain in the famous re- That children of unemployd and

## Helps to Understand the Present

(Continued from last issue ) The war came and as its most derneath its feet. But it did not notice this. It believed that its praised as irrevocable. One after for ever, because the Heimwehren period of bloom had only begun, the other of these conquests came soon began to show very distinct That was only natural. The dom- under the knife, so that a short signs of life. Here and there, they ination of capitalism was heavily time ago a madame social democrat went about assassinating one workshaken and the bourgeoisie could voiced the complaint in the Na-er, then another. not even think of rehabilitating it- tional Assembly: "From the comself by its own power. And so it monwealth state, which we were transmitted the task of reconstruct-supposed to be building up, nothing the Arbeiterzeitung would write: if ing economy—this is how it came has remained any longer". to be called instead of: reestab. The bourgeoisic parties were, What was to happen "then", was lishing the capitalist regime—to however, of a different opinion. he social democracy.

automatic generator of socializa- domination. Entered as a second class mail If capitalism developed, the workwithout blood-shed, without a dic- against the "internal enemy". tatorship and without a reign of terror.

or the conquest of parliament.

democracy anything else but the is today about to establish its own Christian Socialists!

tion? Things were quite simple: The Rise of Fascism, Unnoticed... matter November 28, 1928, at the ing class grew, and side by side the Heinwehren, arose as early as The frightful aggravation of the Post Office at New York, N. Y. with the working class grew, and the days of the overthrow. Ori- crisis brought ever new forces to Under the act of March 3 1879. | the social democracy would grow ginally they were only to be bor- the side of Fascism. Side by side Published weekly by the Communist Ultimately it would have to get the der guards (therefore their name, with the Heimwehren there arose League of America (Opposition) majority in the house of parliament Heimwehren equals Home Guards). National Socialism (the Hitler and then, no obstacle would any But the reactionaries recognized in Brown Shirts). The unification of longer stand in the way of sociali-them, with their unfailing intui-the workers' enemies kept on makzation. Society would thus grow tion, the possibility of playing a ing rapid strides of progress in into socialism, without revolution, role as self-defense organizations spite of squabbles within their own

The Dream is Punctured, But.... patriots they even handed out arms complete inactivity. But one fine day the cup over- to the Heimwehren. And when the It is not even doing anything flowed. The bourgeoisie parties dis-Communists brought attention to now, after Dollfuss, half encourcovered that they could now get the "white guard danger", the so-aged and half terrified by the along even without the social dem-cial democrats; at that time on events in Germany, has gone about perats and took leave of their coal-their honeymoon with the coalition, creating those advantages for the ition brethen. But that did not put them off with a jest: they were bourgeoisie which a Fascist regime rouse the social democrats from sowing white mice....White has to offer to it, while at the their democratic intoxication. The Guards? Something like that could same time protecting it from the unfriendly attitude of the bourge- exist in backward Russia, but not irksome consequences which such a ois parties only went to prove to in a highly civilized democratic regime brings with it for the ruling them the correctness of the theory republic; this was all the more so, classes. that the social democratic camp because the democratic wing of the Even Dollfuss Can Put One Over... there arouse a contest of calcula- Christian Socialists, which was at When Dollfuss cast aside the tion as to the chances of the party that time still strong, did not have the slightest inclination for the ad-While the latter wallowed in the venture of a civil war.

complished a less romantic but thing done that is necessary by bage", they had no other resistance much more effective task. They agreement with Renner" (leader of cleaned up all those conquests of the social democracy). And that oratory. Austro-Marxism stands the revolution which the socialists was god's own truth. Everything

The End of Austro-Marxism A Review of the Past That necessary for them could be got done in collusion with Renner. That was the pride of the social dem-

ocrats and this pride allowed them to ignore the Heimwehren. Of course, this could not go on

The Incident of July 15, 1927

After every one of these murders this should happen again, then!... shown on July 15, 1927. On this They believed that there was still day, when the Veinnese workers, And the latter went about this a great deal of "revolutionary gar- embittered over the acquittal of work with the greatest of enthus-bage" that had to be cleaned up several Fascist labor assassins, put iasm, for according to its view the and that this work could not be the Palace of Justice on fire, the reconstruction of economy" was done at all by democratic means, or social democrats thought of nothing the prerequisite and beginning at least, not as fast as they would better to do than to propose the of "socialization". And had not like. Fascism raised its head and formation of a new coalition to the

And along this style they have continued to carry on the struggle The oldest Fascist associations, against Fascism to this very day. camp. Their plans became con-. The social democrats naturally stantly more distinct. But the sodid not recognize this. As good cial democratic party persisted in

parliament and announced a new constitution on the basis of the delights of this socialization-math-ematics, the bourgeois parties ac
"Heimweheren? What for?", said
Prelate Hauser, "I can get everythe rest of the "revolutionary garto offer him than their democratic there just as helplessly today before the advent of Fascism as the theoreticians and practicioners 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 collabora-

and the marchers' leaders among economics and politics. It concerns Referring to democracy, Trotsky, one of the most beloved leaders of the world proletariat, said: "There the many wage earners in Central Action Ferguson of the C. P and Republican Schutzbund (the social John MacGovern and Heenan of the ginning to feel the strain of speedup, methods while thousands of upThe marchers at first obtained searching for not with specifing searching for, not with shooting

What can be done against Dollman and divine justice, he simply The members of the C. P. and thumbs his nose at the whole dem-National Unemployed Workers ocracy, the most democratic of all Movement, the party controlled un-constitutions included? In that The Labour Party still holds the employed organization were there case only one thing is left: submajority of politically thinking to a man, but the large mass of the mission. And in actuality, the workers within its ranks but its unemployed and employed treated Arbeiterzeitung has repeatedly deeverything under the sun and still ness". As a consequence, the after the overturn in Germany, a therefore serves as a smokescreen stage-managed stunt than of a real change also in Austria' and that it

> tion of propriety, the democratic ceremonial is retained. Naturally, What does the social democracy

bacle and subsequent crazy united still hope for? Naturally, it has front antics of the Comintern, the no hope in its own powers, but-in countries and in the quarrels within the Fascist camp. It does not A Half Year sub to the Militant see in the dispute between the unification, it dos 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

> -AUSTRIACUS. (From Unser Wort)

## significance of this turn. Our course is one of propaganda for a new party and preparation for it. It is Fascism in Chilean Parliament

by comrade Emilio Zapato at the special session of the Chilean House of Deputies on April 24, 1933. Three days later' at the special session of the Senate of the Republic of Chile, our comrade Manuel Hidalgo threw the workers' challenge to the recent Fascist move when the masked measure reached the upper house of the Chilean Parliament.

Deputy ZAPATA: At this mo present the viewpoint of the exploited masses on the proposed law.

For us Communists, this attempt said? to give the existing government extraordinary power does not constitute a surprise. We know that it is necessary for the ruling class in class is pulled tighter. We know act of cowardice! it is necessary for them in order ing pauperism' The law you propose is necessary for you, to bol-

The same bourgeois parties that

resolution cannot want and do not Chilean masss are now proposing not represent, it canot even appro-

Shall we permit ourselves to be fooled by the pretexts they have clutched in the hands of the bourlacking and the existing cadres You are responsible for the ex-

have no masses. It is impossible cesses and crimes perpetrated by the to understand the reference to several administrations that have position parties serving as social "psychology" otherwise than as recently victimized the country lightning rods' and the entire

The following are the high stolen from the National Treasury. points of the discourse delivered | This money is now being used for the purpose of solidifying the existence of your infamous White Guard.

Deputy ZAPATA: I can prove to you, honorable gentlemen, that the commander in chief of this White Guard of yours, yes, Sr. Eulogio Sanchez Errasuriz himself, is one of those who harvested so luxuriantly in the period of the recent dicta-

I state that he robbed the treas an organization.

at the same time.)

orable deputy prove what he has Deputy PEREIRA: The honorable

deputy is not being ethical.... Deputy URRUTIA: It is cowardly order to impede the protests of to bring in here the discussion of the workers at the time when the an person who is not a member of

> Deputy ZAPATA: I can prove of my charge. (Several deputies speak at the

> same time. The Chairman rings Several deputies: Your honor lies! Deputy ZAPATA: Quiet' dear

gentlemen. Calm yourselves, dester up and strengthen the existing fenders of the White Guard. Several deputies: Your honor

> Deputy ZAPATA: I speak here does not give within the bourgeois ity to the Communists it is be-

scheme of constitutional demagogy. So that I place little belief in the purely formal and well-mannersure shown here by some sectors of come when we shall see the same the butchering of the Communists. well said in the Senate, when speakof our own orientation in the ques- acies that have recently devastated of the primary school teachers, we cruiting slogan of the Guard: "To adult dependents be granted extra tion of the old and the new party, the country Millions of pesos were Communists shall not wait with shoot down the riff-raff!"

The violent repression being pre-

pared for us will also be met in a violent form by the workers, who closing the ranks of the proletarian society.

solve the problems of democracy." of labor.

a law giving extraordinary powers ximate the correlation of forces geois society, in order to create on that labor in society. Being the in its ruins a society without classes' the main strata of the working in Britain, then in Russia—but hope and despair, just as besits such strument of class domination without exploiters or exploited. class and has completely failed to gradually the real situation is be- a condition of headlessness, into

## Christians in the circus. We shall be ready, fists clenched, certain A View of the Labor Scene in the British Isles Today

up methods, while thousands of units own terrain of democracy, thus working class movement, but untearing from the masses the illu- fortunately never was there greatsion that the bourgeois parties can er chaos and confusion in the ranks

is based on class collaboration. It whole march savored more of a good many things will have structure. All governments all leaders draw away from the Combarding brutal measures in order to retard brutal measures in order to retard ways from the Combard from the Combar and the anti-Parliamentary groups day. have been hammering at the "Reformist Labour Party and Trade passing year thousands of sym-the Arbeiterzeitung brings not only Impelled forward historically, Unions" for about thirty years but pathetic workers are turning their such declaration, but also others,

with little to show for their work. After thirteen years, the Communist party is still isolated from proletariat, it will construct the so- and workshops while the trade uncialist society. A beginning has ions are still in the safe-keeping of file and with the recent German deconducting a policy of peace-at-any-

Divorced from the employed, the employed demonstrations and hung-

relief subsides. 3. That rents be

now the turn of the proletariat to The capitalist press has seized up-marchers. No accommodations were crisis and its offspring—Fascism take in its hands the reins of power on this pretext in order to announce available for the marchers to sleep they have as little an answer as in order to make possible the pro- a "British trade revival" and the but they declared that they would they have to the question: how sogress of civilization under the historic perspective of a socialist organization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy, destroying a majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganization of economy and the majority of the wage workganiz without pity all that which stands ers are concerned, the position re- between the Edinburgh magistrates one will hear, is not astronomy, but Although relatively better off whom were Harry McShane and itself, in spite of the arsenals of the than many wage earners in Central Aitken Ferguson of the C. P' and Republican Schutzbund (the social

is no hope of conquering power employed men and women have long halls to sleep in, then they were irons and other weapons of de-Deputy URRUTIA: Can the honpacifically as long as the bourgeorable deputy prove what he has
orable deputy prove what he ha hope of attaining power by the steel, iron and coal' and on the steel, iron and coal' and iron and simultaneously indicates and intrenches for itself, by the road of yards are standing derelict or bethe marchers their fares back to over he was asked why it was that ing used as rough-house dance the marchers their fares back to ever he was asked why it was that But this does not at all mean that halls, gambling sbzaloons or scrap the various parts of Scotland from Napoleon always defeated him, we Communists should forego the iron stores. This was once the whence they came. So the hunger called out despondently: "How can opportunities, offered to us by the proud home of British shipbuilding, march ended. It created great ex- one condust war against a man with ample documentation the truth bourgeoisie itself, to make use of engineering and iron-working capi the national tribune in behalf of tal. The objective conditions are Edinburgh authorities many a military science?" the revolutionary proletariat. "Bat- certainly favorable for a great ad- fright, but it failed in its main tle must be given to bourgeoisie in vance on the part of the British objective because of the sectarian fuss when, going against all hunature of its make-up.

Despite the fact that with each backs on the C. P. in disgust, the contrary to these. It threatens, leadership still continues to whoop mocks' wails, hatches the most about imaginary victories-if not ridiculous plans, vacillates between of many sections of the rank and cast Austro-Marxism. Pollits and Co. are skating on thin the intervention of -т. с.

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revolution will know how to put Edinburgh, Scotland.—British capi- reduced 25 per cent. 4. That relief tion of the classes, leading up to force and violence at the service of talism is still in the throes of the work be provided at trade union a perfected socialism. crisis but a temporary boom in the building trades and a slight improvement in certain layery trades schemes be repudiated. Contradict this assumption—it continue as the guide of human provement in certain luxury trades Sir Godfrey was not in Edinburgh does not know even how to begin (Tumult in the Hosue. Several deputies speak at the same time.)

| Continue as the guide of numan has been responsible for a reduction destiny. Under its direction hubin the number of the unemployed intention of seeing the hunger to what can be done about the

## Roosevelt Long-Range Program ing big ones, expanding its production of manufactured goods at the expense of its production of foods and rest materials machine.

(Continued from Page 1)

Wages in many fields re

breathing-spell in a long, hard and basis. In its most extreme form, painful process of readjustment, it becomes a policy of "managed covery and new high records of promarked 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 with the increasing production of counts for much of the demagogy manufactured products, small scat- in the President's official statements Roosevelt Contribution to

Capitalist Technique of the crisis appears to lie, first, substantial reductions in expendi- when they were refused the right clared not elected by the chairman ning the local organizations and new Election Reforms of 1918. in the recognition that natural and tures for veterans carried through spontaneous recovery is not enough by the Roosevelt administration. to assure, as heretofore, the transi-

a period of years. trol, the unification of whole economic forces.

of the organizations represented at ary, "Brother" Begun, even stress- will obstract the unity with the portunity to begin with the realistic of the organization of the Knights of Left wing and Communists in organized into powerful industrial the present conference. Again upon ed penetration of the Knights of the capitalist tellors working class must be of the organizations represented at ary, "Brother" Begun, even stress- will obstract the unity with the portunity to begin with the realistic organization of its plans for the organization of the Knights of Left wing and Communists in organization of the present conference. Again upon ed penetration of the organization of the portunity to begin with the realistic organization of the portunity to begin with the realistic organization of the present conference. Again upon ed penetration of the capitalist tellors working class must be organization of the portunity to begin with the realistic organization of the knights of Left wing and Communists in organization of the present conference. Again upon ed penetration of the capitalist tellors working class must be organized into powerful industrial the present conference. Again upon ed penetration of the capitalist tellors working class must be organized into powerful industrial the present conference. pranches of inquistry in all import- similarly, in face of the real at-the present conference. Again upon ed penetration of the Kinghos of ant respects except actual owner- tacks on its standards and organi- an appeal by Minor, the conference Pythias, the Moose, Elks, the Am- to free Tow Moose, Elks, the Am-

gold under the control of the gov-| peal to employers to increase wages ernment, etc.

Europe, although the shortage of and coordination is one of the agreements on wages and working labor has disappeared as witnessed most marked characteristics of the conditions among the subjects on by the restrictions on immigration. Roosevelt policies. Its result must which trade associations are to

finance and banking into the sys-

tem of government controls.

Third, corresponding to the concentration and mobilization of industry, transportation and finance, industrial expansion supplies the is the mobilization of "public op- outlet for its rapidly growing proadjusts itself by displacing agricul- time except that the element of readjusting itself by closing small the petty bourgeoisie at home. ture and raw material production compulsion is lacking. This ac- banks and businesses and enlargtered industry and banking by and in his legislation. The incident powerful aggregates of capital and of the reception of several hundred large-scale branch banking, produc- aggressive bonus petitioners at tion directed to the extent of 90 Fort Hunt, where they were allowpercent toward the home market by ed to wear themselves out in inan increasing proportion of ex- action and finally split, a part subjected to the usual barrage of an increasing proportion of exand increasing proportion of exports, and isolationism by a lifeand-death interest in world affairs.

The conference, though auditine steam-rollof the principle of the united front of and other party leaders.

The conference, though auditine steam-rollof the principle of the united front of the position of an important fraction in mation of these company unions.

The conference, though auditine steam-rollof the principle of the united front of the position of an important fraction in mation of these company unions.

The New York Times reports of the new York contrast with the methods used by Even those staunch upholders of I. I. D. who was nominated from parted in actuality from this prin- Russian Revolution of 1917 was to "numerous instances of coercion to Roosevelt's contribution to capi- with the "Bonus Expeditionary

Similarly, the farmer, feeling the tion back to "normal" prosperity increasing pressure of the crisis on after the crisis, inasmuch as his top of the general crisis of Amermost energetic actions are taken ican farming, has been politically precisely in the face of such a restless for years. By concessions recovery, and to take effect over such as the promise of inflation and period of years.

Ine agricultural reflet bill, it is a certain Larry Cohen, who not second, he proposes to treat this proposed to win his sympathy or at only was given the opportunity to second, he proposes to treat this proposed to win his sympathy or at coming period evidently on the least acquiescence in the whole great but was elected to the opportunity to present there was only the C. P. L. ed, Tom Mooney will not be remainded and the interpretation of the least acquiescence in the whole great but was elected to the opportunity to present there was only the C. P. L. basis of an emergency comparable program, while at the same time speak but was elected to the executo a state of war. That implies a carrying out the work of reducing mobilization of the full powers of the production of American farms the state, the coordination under to as large an extent as possible Federal control of economic activ- with the consent of the farmer the such as randoming, the enternative only alternative committee of 25, the content of the English working class, and the course couragement to banks to consoli- policy would have been to let him arbitrarily selected by the execu- A. F. L. locals, socialist locals and another the content of the English working class, and the content of the English working class content of the English working class class content of the English worki contagement to banks to conson poncy would have been to let him albertathy selected by the execu- A. F. D. locals, socialist locals and answer before their following and "defeat of the German workers in a thirty hour week, no conference date and unify operations under be starved and foreclosed off the tive of the previous conference, was opponent fraternal organization the whole working class, and the locals are the locals and the locals Federal (or Federal Reserve) con- farms by the naked operation of

ship through trade associations, the zations, the support of the workconcentration of all holdings of ing class is sought through the ap- delegate to include in the execu- These organizations are to send

voluntarily; through the announced kets as its home markets diminish, This feature of concentration intention of including binding

currency", thus fully integrating sperity after every crisis, the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover policy of minimum intervention of government The Mobilization of Public Opinion in economic life was a natural corollary.

> Under present conditions we see American economy, to provide an

class organization to a voice in a

ist clique policy of an exclusive

Free Tom Mooney movement.

foods and raw materials, reaching out more and more for export marto the working class. This means that the next period is one of dras-

port during the critical period to impotence has been instrumental in come. Through mobilizing and con-creating a condition the workers centrating economic control with a condition the workers centrating economic control workers condition the worke centrating economic control, with a fear. corresponding mobilization of demagogic propaganda, it attempts to not only has the revolutionary country leading to progressive re-

legate spoke up for the right of bodies.

There were 314 delegates present

clusions to be drawn from the ac- organizations. Out of the entire jail which has held him since 1917;

tions of the C. P. L. A. delegate, delegation 34 came from trade un- that unless a real united front of

recent united front National Youth the Left Opposition and all politi-

tive committee, is that they are tion, the Lovestoneites, the Feder-

mentary right of every working united front conference!

and above all, throwing the main cialism in One Country and the workers' state are developing to has the tension between the imperburdens of these readjustments on policies flowing from it have not ward the point of explosion. only helped to lay the political by the restrictions on immigration. The situation confronting American deconomy gives little reason to think that through the peaceful operation of natural and spontanice ours forces, the present crisis will, like all previous ones, go on through a phase of early isometer to a be under way is essentially a breathing-spell in a long, hard, and prinful process of readiusment. It is most extreme form, and now high records of readiusment to a possible of its most extreme form, and prosperity to a boom which to be under way is essentially a previous of readiusment. It is most extreme form, and process of readiusment to combine as much and spontaning the process of readiusment. It is most extreme form, and process of readiusment to combine as much distinct the period of the contrary it has defeated Hitler, thereby taking a site and painful readjustments in ternally, and of sharpening conflict of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt policies. Its result must give, through the friendly attitude to gree, through the friendly attitude to the thirty than the period of the contrary it has defeated Hitler, thereby taking a site of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt program is not to stem or reverse these tendencies, increased. The existence of the contrary it has defeated Hitler, thereby taking a site of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt program is not to gree, through the friendly attitude to the thirty thour works. All this in the face of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt program is not to gree the man extremely and support of revolutions outside of its success would and provide the support of revolutions of inflation, must be regarded as part of a general mobilization of inflation, must be regarded as part of a general mobilization of inflation, must be regarded as part of a general mobilization of inf

hasten the necessary domestic removement had a set-back but we forms in other parts of the world. adjustments and present a solid are beginning to witness an align-front against the outside world in ment of social forces favorable to Whither England?: the great French the struggle for international mar- a capitalist attack on the Soviet Revolution served as a powerful kets, and against the working class, Union itself. In spite of the so-stimulus to the growth of the lamotive power; the machinery re- inion", comparable to that of war- ductive forces in a cramped world, the farmers, and broad sections of called "non-aggression pacts" be- bor movement and democratic tentween the USSR and other nations, dencies in England; the July Rev--B. J. FIELD. particularly France and Poland, olution of 1830 in France was large- calling for labor representation be

The revisionist conception of So- perialist world and an isolated series of set-backs are likely. Nor

If the Workers Triumphed

History is replete with examples

to distribute their paper at the logate space and the logate space and the logate space and the logate space are t international working class in genworkers who for years have been in the thick of the struggle to free united front conference. The con- at the conference representing 74 Tom Mooney from the capitalist

Defeats Bring Reaction

But with the rise of German Fascism the reverse is true. Both A., the Fellowship of Reconcilia- leased, The Left Opposition, as its have suffered a tremendous defeat. statements and actions have shown, Just as the defeat of the great in full agreement with the Stalin- ated Press, the Weisbord group and stands for such a policy of united French Revolution led to the re- pletc. The working class cannot the Communist League of America action, a policy which, thorugh a storation of the Bourbons in France expect aid from the Roosevelt ad-(Left Opposition). The trend of correct application of the united and the Corn Laws in England, ministration; this the hard master An executive committee of 25, the conference was for work in the front, will force the S. P. leaders the defeat of 1848 dealt a blow to of events will make only too clear. elected without any consideration locals. The organizational secretively whole working class, if they 1923 gave American capital the op-Europe," so today, a similar wave how to fight for better conditions. M. GELDMAN. of reaction is beginning to set in.

.. the contradictions between the im-|Instead of a series of advances a ialist nations and the USSR lessened because of the silence of the

> (To be continued) -simmons. Kansas City, Mo.

(Continued from Page 1)

ly responsible for the first English ing turned to precisely what they Narrow Down N.Y. Free Tom Mooney Meet revolutionary movement of Chart- of company unions. Even the list contributed to a reduction of the English working-day in 1844-47 acceptable to our industrial magnitude of the English working-day in 1844-47 acceptable to our industrial magnitude of the English working-day in 1844-47 acceptable to head off tive representatives of the political delegates to future Mooney confer-as organizations in the conference. ences. and to the abolition of the Corn ates, unless it is needed to head off Laws in 1846; the influence of the a real class conscious union. Par-So effectively did the steam-roll- The conference, though adopting Russian Revolution in 1905 helped ticularly the steel and coal indusdemocratic principles, the Mustethe floor and received an equal vote
ites, who complained so loudly with the other nominees was depany unions. In some parts of In short, an examination of his- Kentucky, workers have been evicttory leads us to the conclusion that ed from company houses for refus-It is necessary at this time to a triumph of the workers in Ger- al to sign company union rolls." Day, refused to fight for the ele- cal organizations to a voice at a issue a warning to the Left wing many would have strengthened the This practise 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 com-

## EUROPEAN ANTI-FASCIST CONGRESS

### "Let these Gentlemen Hold the Congress in Peace" | Two Regimes, the Detectives and line of his speech. -- Say the Police to the L. O. Protest Delegation

tion from a meeting of 500.

Athens; Barbers Trade Union position. of Athens; Bakers Trade Un-

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

Switzerland.—Swiss section Circle of Zurich;

Jewish Workers'-Clarte group of the Paris district;

Germany.—German section

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

district:

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

The sum of these credentials represented about one hundred dele olutionary intervention: the pregates. We repeat, we limited the tended struggle against the Young number of delegates from the pro- Patriots was only a means of strik- are dealing with him in a com- bureaucratic decision. That is why besides and, returning two hours vinces and from abroad for material reasons.

meetings.

According to prattle of the Stalinists, the Oppositionists "represented no one"; but, one of the or-

Bureaucratic Sifting

ally rejected. reaucrats cynically refused a card arms, were thrown into the street floor. The individual responsible comrade Paget, delegate of the sec- nothing in common with a genuine strated the responsibility that the and retained the credential! Then, under the fallacious pretext that for the group came to see him and tion of the Red Aid of Chavigny united front. more diplomatically, they requested they weren't delegates.

- them (the delegates) to return and Labor (Gilly miners); Delega- er had a credential nor a card, they refused them admission into the Greece.—Greek section of the Grange aux Beiles Hall! That did Left Opposition; General Fed- not happen without protest but the eration of Wounded War Vic- sergeants-at-arms brutally squelchtims; Union of War Veterans; ed the protestants. In a word, they Union of Widows and Orphans systematically robbed the creden-Woodworkers Trade Union of tials from the members of the Op-

Bureaucratic Measures Breed

Arbitrarinese Besides this, many of the scenes were comical: A delegate from an anti-Fascist committee was deprived of his credential and sent pack to his district because they the Left Opposition; Young suspected him to be a Trotskyite, Socialists of Zurich; Marxist one of our comrades having previously presented a credential from Charentes (the same place). The uelegates card.

Another case is no less comical: "A delegate from a Spanish trade mion was recognized by a bureau-Hungary.- Hungarian section of crat from his country and refused the Left Opposition; Hungar-ian language group of building his credential. A Swiss comrade workers; Factory meeting of whose credential had been rejected building workers of the Paris 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 eral meetings in the Paris dis- party; notwithstanding, that caused many surprises to the Stalinist apparatus.

### The Congress Begins

The detailed instructions given ected at us. The organizers sucviolent reaction against any reving at us. The management committee was organized with several guards and a corps under the lead-

ership of a "specialist." ganizations represented by us; the from the very first day, and not the attention of numerous dele-General Federation of Disabled knowing whom to suspect, he bull gates who energetically insisted War Victims of Athens consists of led everyone: "And that one, isn't that they let him go. SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBERS! ! he a Trotskyist?" In this way a member of the party was violently they declared that Atlan was a All the credentials of Opposition- thrown out because he didn't have police agent that they found in the ist organizations were automatic- his membership card on his person! The slogan was to hound the Trot-The comrades who appeared with skyists. A special squad was asregular credentials officially stamp | signed to that task. The squad was ed by workers organizations passed completely put off the scent when through the sifter of the national they learned that a plain clothes leaderships; all those recognized as detective was in the hall. "Take meeting rather than a Congress; "Trotskyists" were subject to the him out quietly No provocations! no real discussion. following maneuver: Their creden- .... Get him to go out!...." Outtial was demanded from them in side on the sidewalk, two young to languages had to obey national hair and beating him with their ing with her. In discussing with order to issue a delegates card workers who listened very atten- discipline, to make known the num- hands and feet. Comrade Marie the young Socialist comrades, our sion was the intervention of comagainst it; they were requested to tively to "a Trotskyite" much to ber of delegates desiring the floor. Dimitricedes, delegate of the War delegates made clear to them that rade Aulas from the Unitary Fedwait a minute, then they the bu- the chagrin of the sergeant-at- An Italian comrade requested the Widows and Orphans of Greece; these Stalinist maneuvers had eration of Teachers. Aulas demon-

"Trotskyites": Example of the Press Cards

of Unita, the central organ of the taken from them and they were comrades out of the hall. the Congress.

Led away into the cellar by the did not keep quiet. agents of the "political control" to the "special Italian committee" Before allowing him to leave, the sergeant-at-arms thought they had Stalinist "nazzieri" (twenty against a "doubtful attitude". one) threw themselves on our com-

Welcome to the Delegates Comrade Atlan was unable to ob-Pleyel Hall on the first day of the cluded with collective singing. Congress. They wrested his credential from him, drew him to a Upon their entry into the corrithis tone: "You really want to enturbed comrades who were massed tionist delegate. main sequestrated until the conclu- Bergery, petty bourgeois radical, All his personal letters were kept. The sergeant-at-arms was baffled him brutally. Atlan's cries drew soris stood up and addressing him hall when he saw our comrades

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 ses-

sion bore the aspect of a mass

Two detectives of the North- comrade, Vereeken, handed in his protested with comrade Vitsoris. Saraceno, former editor-in-chief delegates' cards were demanded and spite the protests, to throw our gress in peace." Italian Communist Party, possessing a regular press card, entered by the content of the group protested against this violence were did not stop at that. Once again from our headquarters was, however, effective. Our comrades were forced to leave the platform and

The same afternoon two members of the Unitary Trade Unions, a rail- and sequestered there under the comrade Saraceno was forced to road worker and a metal worker, surrender his right to enter. were expelled from the hall. The

The first day of the discussion rade striking him with their feet sfter the hollow and official optimand their fists. Our comrade had som of the reports which contained dated" the real "Trotskyite" profiting by this hullaballoo secured a craft Trotskyist speeches of the usual type, and a theatrical scene in the course of which the Belgian deletain his delegate's card at Grange gate on the platform ripped the to protest the treatment accorded aux Belles and appeared at the Hitlerite flag. The session con-

The Parade Ends

corner, violently sluggd him and dor, two delegates, Oblin of Monthen threw him into the street tigny and Devreyer, were simply Since he protested and a crowd had thrown out of the hall because they already gathered about him, the were recognized as Trotskyists. sergeant-at-arms spoke to him in Their credentials were torn up! At the opening of this session that our comrades sign a declarater! Oh well, come in!" Atlan once comrade George Vitsoris delegate tion stating that they were not again entered the Pleyel Hall. Many from the General Federation of beaten. Our comrades responded delegates were commenting on the Disabled Veterans of the Imperial- by saying that since they were groups most of the independent incident. Beaugrand reassured them, ist War of Greece submitted a beaten they would not sign such saying: "We will check up on his written request to the presidium a declaration. eredential and then give him access demanding the floor. The chairman to the hall." They drew Atlan into wrote back that each delegate who small retreat, closed the door to wanted the floor had to get it the retreat. A member of the 13th through an intermediary, the lead-rade was violently dragged from the corridors and behind the scenes. to the sergeants-at-arms were dir- Section of the Red Aid, Beaugrand, er of his "national" section, who his seat and led away with vio- Doriot represented the party at the and Roufiange insulted him and was always a Stalinist. Thus the lence into another corner of the initial meeting of the "Common ceeded in creating a sentiment of slugged him, shouting to the dis- floor was denied to any Opposi- cellar. He was told: "No discus- front".

behind the door: "You see how The Left Opposition refused to tification papers, your passport." they examine his credential, they submit to this anti-proletarian and They took all his personal papers radely way". But in subdued tones on Monday morning at the moment later, they said: "In the future we they told Atlan that he would re- when the chairman announced that will speak to you with a revolver". sion of the Congress and they beat would take the floor, comrade Vit-

"Comrades, in the name of 60,000 ejected into the street, disabled Greek War veterans I pro-To the delegates that protested test against the exclusion of the Left Opposition. I demand the Socialist Youth and of the Youth of our comrades, representing the in raising the fighting power of the floor in its name. Long live the Anti-Fascist Committee, outraged Belgian Knights of Labor Communist International of Lenin by the proceedings against our com- Gilly miners), requested the floor. and Trotsky! Long live the prole- rades, when the brutalities against The leader of the Belgian delegatarian revolution! Down with them began anew, protested vigor- tion stated that he could have the

Chinese comrade, delegate of the Long Live the Proletarian Revolution! Down with The evening session was marked Red Aid of Paris; comrade L..., by a violent incident. A Belgian were savagely slugged for having lently dragged from the hall, their that the bureaucrats were able, de-

led to the cellar of the theater, our comrades were searchd and questioned in typical police manner for more than two hours.

back.

It was only after the arrest by group, who came to the Congress our delegates, that our comrades were freed in the afternoon, although in a very bad condition. During this time the radical bourgeois deputy, Bergery, con-

tinued his speech. Obliged to free our comrades by the pressure of the comrades from the outside, Beaugrand demanded

In the Future We Will Speak to You with a Revolver

In the meantime a German comsion with you, give us your iden-

Young Socialists Protest A girl comrade, member of the

Fascism! Long live Trotsky! Free ously on the floor. She too, was floor but only on the condition that immediately made "harmless" by he first submit to him the outline Bands of bureaucratic flunkeys the anti-Trotskyist squad and final- of his speech. Our comrade anscoming from all parts of the hall by reached the street with a bloody wered that his point of view was threw themselves on him with sav- nose. The other Socialist Youth that of the Left Opposition. This The delegates grouped according age bestiality, dragging him by the comrades left the meeting protest- was enough to gag him.

## Fascism! ong Live Trotsky! Free Rakovsky!

Two detectives of the North- comrade, vereexed, handed in his African police, Gaudin's agents, name at the very beginning of the bureaucrats to retain their places. Well known to the Algerian work- session and, unable to get the floor, The Stalinists burled themselves from our headquarters came down continually interrupted by the bureaucrats to retain their places. well known to the Algerian work session and, unable to get the noot, ers, presented themselves to the organization committee. Press cards him from the platform, pulled him delegates. particularly the English ganization committee. Press cards. him from the platform, pulled him larger them but a great number of delegates, particularly the English out of the hall, and kept him in the cards....Come in, gentlemen; the cellar. When several comrades the committee, the committee of the criminal policy of the German delegates, particularly the English delegates. A loud argument communist Party in its proper light ensued in the hallway. Cops passities, protested against the violence committee, they were themselves violence that the bureaucrats were able, defort them but a great number of the criminal policy of the German delegates. A loud argument communist Party in its proper light ensued in the hallway. Cops passities, protested against the violence committee, they were themselves violence that the bureaucrats were able, defort them but a great number of the criminal policy of the German delegation, indignant at the brutal-like in the immediate liberation of the criminal policy of the German delegates. A loud argument of the communist Party in its proper light in the hall way. Cops passities, protested against the violence committee, they were themselves violence and reproached out of the hall, and kept him in delegates, particularly the English delegation, indignant at the brutal-like in the condition of the criminal policy of the German delegates. A loud argument of the communist Party in its proper light in the hall way. Cops passities and the community of the hall, and kept him in the cellar. When several comrades of the community of the condition of the community of the intermediate liberation of the criminal policy of the squad leaders. A loud argument of the cellar. When several comrades of the cellar in the cella "these gentlemen hold their con-delegate from a red trade union be

AN ANTI-TROTSKYIST SLUG FEST OF THE STALINISTS

immediately afterward released.

Bergery Prepares the Break The opponents of the united guard of twenty "sergeant-at-arms" front from organization to organi-Couturier. Comrade Vitsoris pro- combinations. The Pleyel Congress

> ers under his influence. Bergery does this with ease. He publicly Trotsky!" advertizes his support of Amsterdam. He cements his positions which will permit him to slam the door with greater advantage ac-

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

tance.

Many conferences have been held between the party and Bergery in

The situation is serious. The many compromises. All that, of course, is happening without any shows just where "the sympathies

Last Day of the Parade

After much petty discussion one

Most important in this last ses-R. I. L. U. bore in the German demanded that he submit the out- (Meurthe-et-Moselle); an Indo- Some of our comrades were still catastrophe and in the failure to

ruled out of order. In spite of a The intervention of the group great number of votes against this the hall.

### Unanimity at Any Cost

At the conclusion of the discuszation soon found themselves in an sion the chairman made a long ap-Among the bureaucrats Vaillant- uncomfortable position with their peal proposing that the delegates show their agreement with the retested to him and demanded that emphasized how the already mis-solution presentd by a demonstraour imprisoned comrades be freed erable results of the Amsterdam tive acclamation. He put the reimmediately. Vaillant-Couturier horse-deals have sunk to even solution to a vote and a half dozen smiled ironically and turned his greater depths. Not only wasn't hands were raised against it. Stupeany advance achieved but an ob- fied, the chairman believed, at the vious retreat is also being pre-time, that the German delegates the police of the Left Opposition pared by elements foreign to the who had voted against it had not party to break away from Amster- understood the resolution. He had the resolution translated and again Bergery is prepared to take an they voted demonstratively against important part of the Amsterdam- it. One of them explained his position by shouting out: "Long live

Then a German delegate from Frankfort stood up and said; 'When I came to this Congress I was not a Left Oppositionist. But cusing the Communists of unimpor- 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 party is trying and will still try after they were ejected new hands were raisd against the resolution. Nevertheless this did not prevent party. Bergery's speech paved the l'Humanite, French Stalinist organ, way for his eventual break. From from declaring that the vote was unanimous

Results of the Masquerade

The Congress has succeeded neither in improving the relation of the party to the masses, nor in sinking its roots among them nor (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