

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Around the 'Recovery'

How the Boss Class Receives the N.I.R.A.

The Industrial Recovery Act marks a further step in the Europeanization of American economy, through its close coordination of industries for the purpose of establishing fixed policies as to prices, wages, production, sales methods, etc.; its foundation in class collaboration between industry so coordinated and the reformist trade unions; and the drawing-in of the state authority into an intimate supervision of the whole process of coordination and collaboration. France of the Third Republic, Germany under the Weimar constitution and even under the Kaiser, afford much closer parallels to the "new deal" than Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy.

Of course, it is a little hard for some of the "rugged individualists" to get used to the idea of exerting their influence over the industry through a trade association, instead of the "free competition" to which they are accustomed, and to solve their labor problems in collaboration with the Greens, the Wolls, and the Lewises, instead of by the police club. Some of them have not yet understood that according to the presidential edict their highest aim in life is to provide "purchasing power" and to keep factories going—they keep thinking of profits and wondering if the Great White Father at Washington understands what business is all about. Many of them, on the other hand, have been quick to grasp the new idea, and the Standard Oil interests do not hesitate to put the power to fix prices and to allocate production right in the hands of the president. They understand that "purchasing power of labor," as carried out by a president who sets a wage scale of \$1 a day for the reforestation workers, who cuts the veterans' pensions and the salaries of the federal employees, is something that will not interfere with profits.

The first few weeks of the N.I.R.A. show however that this transition from the old methods of dealing with the workers, with the fist, to the new methods, with the outstretched hand, has not yet been fully made. All the codes have to repeat the statements of the act about the right of collective bargaining, the workers' freedom from compulsion to join company unions, and the willingness of the manufacturers to comply with the regulations about hours and wages.

An analysis of the actual codes submitted, particularly by the larger industries, shows that the bosses want to keep their hands free in dealing with labor. The steel industry was the most outspoken, declaring that the form of employee representation which it has had for years, an empty and formal ceremony, does not need to be changed to fit into the "collective bargaining" required by the act. This is not even a company union, but to take no chances, a number of steel companies have been organizing company unions as well. So have many coal operators, even in Kentucky. In any event, they know that they can 'ways deal with the A. F. L. fakers, who are the only representatives of labor recognized by the government. The A. F. L. is putting on a terrific organization drive, putting hundreds of organizers into the field, and reaching basic industries like steel, automobiles, etc., which have been closed to them up to now.

On the vital question of wages, the first few codes prepared so far show the same effort to seem to be doing something for the worker, while in reality making as few concessions as possible. The minimum wage provisions are in reality meaningless: in the first place, they apply only to one class of labor, the lowest paid, and even here they can be and will be evaded by classifying workers as "learners and apprentices" who can then be paid less than the alleged "minimum" wage. Second, the rates are figured by the week or the hour, while the real living standard of a worker is measured by his wages over the period of a year. Third, contrary to the government's promises, nothing has been put into the codes to prevent still further speeding-up so as to make it possible for employers to fire many workers, get the same volume of production out of those remaining, and thus keep their total wages paid unchanged, even while paying a higher rate per hour or per week. Fourth, if piece-work rates are permitted, what becomes of the minimum wage? Even the president had to recognize that the textile code was too raw in this respect, and to make the deal look plausible to the workers he had a statement inserted that hourly rates were not to be changed to piece-work rates in the effort to defeat the purposes of the code.

The provisions as to hours are

also being left open to all kinds of juggling in the codes submitted so far. Not a single one of them guarantees a minimum number of hours or weeks of work in a year, as well as a maximum, which would be a concession in so far as it would set the year's earnings, not the week's or the hour's, as a standard. The provision for forty hours a week introduced by the textile code have been taken as a minimum, and the lumber code even provides for a forty-eight hour week. The Roosevelt enthusiasm for the thirty-hour week was once reflected in the Black Bill and in the provision that work on the new navy ships for which bids will be opened shortly must be on a thirty-hour weekly basis. Now it seems to have vanished.

Instead, there are a number of provisions whereby work can be piled up for a certain period, running as high as six months in some cases, far above the so-called "maximum" hours of the code, on the pretext that the industry is continuous, as claimed by the steel and the rayon employers.

The whole question of maximum

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New Boss Attacks in Britain Militant Strikes Mark Beginning of Workers' Resistance

Edinburgh, Scotland.—The British capitalist class is in an aggressive mood. Despite the pious protests of the parliamentary Labor Party, a scheme for the reorganization of the police force upon a military basis is now well advanced and middle class youth are being specially trained at Cadet schools for service as police officers. At the same time the number of special constables will be increased to fifty thousand men under the supervision of the reactionary Lord Trenchard, now Commissioner of Police.

Along with this new police organization comes news of a new Unemployment Insurance Act, the outcome of the labors of several government commissions. According to semi-official statements made in the government press, the new act will contain at least one drastic change in the administration of unemployment benefit, namely, a scheme for the conscription of labor. At the present time, the majority of unemployed persons have exhausted their ordinary benefit and are now receiving transitional or temporary payments provided they can satisfy the authorities that they have no other means of maintenance.

Unemployed Conscripted

Under the new act these persons would only receive benefit provided they are prepared to enroll at special work centers to be organized by the state. The state would then undertake to train the unemployed in handicrafts, trades and physical culture at a cost of 4 million pounds. The two schemes, reorganization of the police and organization of conscript labor, dovetail admirably into each other and in the event of any emergency, such as large-scale strikes or working class demonstrations, the state will have at its disposal a militarized police force and also an army of coerced strike breakers calculated to smash any form of working class resistance.

The British ruling class is looking far ahead and with a duplicity in the art of statecraft they seek to screen their intentions behind a mock attack upon German Fascism. They have backed up the protest of Lansbury and the Labor party against Hitler with their own protests mouthed by the jingo Churchill and Chamberlain. The latter pair suggest that Fascism will never find a place in Britain as a system of government and indeed, at the present time, there seems no need of any great change in the traditional method of parliamentary democracy.

Cowardly Document of Labor Party

But this is only a superficial view of things and only the unwary could imagine that Britain can escape the Fascist tidal wave that is sweeping Europe. No doubt the method of introduction will be peculiarly British, the mailed fist concealed in the velvet glove, but the dreams of a parliamentary majority still being indulged in by the leaders of the Labor party seem to be rudely shattered. At any rate, their recent manifesto denouncing both Communism and Fascism in favor of parliamentary democracy will go down in history as one of the most cowardly and hypocritical documents ever issued by a group of so-called leaders of a highly developed working class. They claim to be preparing for another term of

WAVE OF 'RECOVERY' STRIKES!

Breaking through the class collaboration net of the NIRA workers from California to New York are striking against starvation wages and slave conditions.

Reading Hosiery Workers

In Reading, Pa., the entire working class population rallied to the support of the striking Hosiery Workers in a splendid demonstration of solidarity. Jails, clubbings and gas bombs while exposing the mailed fist behind the "Raw Deal!"

Organize Strike Among Mirror Makers

New York, N. Y.—A marvel of organizational effort was achieved recently by a number of young workers in the mirror novelty line, a branch of the pocketbook and ladies handbag industry.

The mirror novelty line is not a large one. Nevertheless it consists of some ten or twelve shops employing 70 or 80 workers, boys and girls, coverers, pasters, tippers, etc. who are the most exploited of the semi-skilled section of the working class. The industry was entirely neglected by the various factions in the labor movement. Although the Trade Union Unity League has at

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have not weakened the spirit of the Reading strikers.

Hollywood Movie Workers
America's third largest industry—Hollywood Film Industry—is crippled by a strike of 665 sound engineers supported by a sympathetic strike of 5,000 other workers. They demand shorter hours and increased wages.

Meat Packers in Omaha
Meat packers in Omaha, granite workers in California, furniture workers and food workers in New York are engaged in militant strikes.

Uniform Makers in N. Y.
In Red Bank, N. J., workers employed in the making of police and army uniforms have joined the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and are striking against the wages proposed by the NIRA Code.

In isolated shops, towns and trades innumerable other strikes are taking place. Some are led by

Gen'l Strike in Furniture Trade of N.Y.

New York, N. Y.—Four thousand upholsterers were called out last Thursday, July 27th on a general strike of the industry. The call was issued at the Manhattan Lyceum by the Executive Committee of Local 76 of the American Federation of Labor at a strike meeting of over 800 sitting under banners of 42 of the largest shops of greater New York. Demonstrations of enthusiasm and spirit swept the hall at the proposal of the chairman, Brother Alpert, for a general strike in the morning for the basic demands of the 30 hour week and the minimum scale of \$1.40 per hour. Irving Plaza, headquarters of the strike, was packed this morning with the first day's response to the call. Committees were organized to cover every shop in the city down to and including the one and two man shops. Preparations are under way for a kitchen to feed the strikers. All indications point towards a militant and determined fight to unionize the trade.

Left Wing Joins Strike
Caught completely unprepared by the general strike call, the party fraction of the Furniture Workers' Industrial Union met hastily last night, and without consulting the membership of the union, also called a "general strike" of the four or five shops over which it has "control". In contrast to the A. F. L. their demands are for the 40 hour week and for the \$1 per hour basic wage. This is the culmination of the weak and confused "united front from below" policy against which the Left wing group has struggled over a period of months.

Two days ago, at a meeting of five shops called by the Industrial Union, the mask of unity behind which the Party bureaucrats had been hiding, was torn from their faces when they answered the demand for merging the rival unions with a "decision" from above that the Industrial Union will be maintained at all costs. For months the

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the A. F. of L.—a scanty few by T. U. U. L. organizations but generally they are spontaneous struggles without organized leadership.

The splitting tactics of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, and the sectarian course of the Stalinists have together served to throttle the possibility of a real united struggle of all workers capable of smashing the slave NIRA codes and winning the five-day week and the six-hour day with increased pay.

Pocketbook Workers Win Conditions

New York.—At a mass meeting in Webster Hall, the Pocketbook workers heard a report of their manager Stein, that an agreement was reached with the Industrial Council of the Leather Goods Employers Association. After the manager's report and against accepting the agreement. The majority of the workers listening to the heated discussion decided to accept the agreement with a majority vote.

It was the Left wing that made the fight to continue the strike until the bosses will grant all the de-

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St. Louis—Hotbed of Strikes Shoe Workers Rebel in Strike Without 'Leaders'

St. Louis, Mo.—Six months ago the majority of St. Louis working class tongues were wig-wagging. Just wait till the breweries open up. Every other worker tempered his impatience to enjoy a decent standard of living with the rose-colored vision of the "good old days". To-day every worker knows from bitter experience that even 90 percent beer in 2 for 5c steins could not solve our situation—that of 17,000,000 unemployed starving because of "over-production".

Rising prices have stimulated production, temporarily at least, in certain of the local industries: Clothing, shoes, boxes, etc. The increased cost of living has driven the St. Louis workers forward—to union organization and to militant strikes for higher wages, shorter hours, etc.

The local AFL organization committee has organized over 3,000 workers into their various craft unions within a relatively short period of time, printers, shoe-workers, metal-trades workers, clothing, etc. The Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union seems to have passed out of existence.

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, within four weeks time, has a rapidly growing membership that will soon have the mass of shops in St. Louis organized. This is an important achievement, even though the ILGWU is a Right wing union, when one considers that the St. Louis needle trades have been notoriously open shop for many years. Already many of the smaller factories are organized 100 percent; and inroads are being made on the larger clothing companies.

The count-em-on-your-hand membership of the sectarian NTWU has, correctly, individually joined

Roosevelt's Radio Speech Asks for Class «Peace»

The significance of Roosevelt's speech last Monday night cannot be overestimated. It constitutes an historical milestone in the downward development of world capitalism. It foreshadows the whole course of the American bourgeoisie in the coming period, both at home and abroad.

"I have no sympathy," said the head man of capitalist America after four years of crisis, "with the professional economists who insist that things must run their courses and that human agencies can have no influence on economic ills".

And the president went on to affirm the future utilization of "human" agencies by the bourgeois class. What this means, he makes quite clear. It is the closer and more open merging of the economic interests of the ruling class with their political, state apparatus. In other words, a system of state capi-

talism which is not dissimilar to the benevolent despotism of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth century kings.

The idea of "benevolent" retrenchment of the ruling classes is reshaped in a new form, with the oppressed classes standing to gain even less than in the past; the part of the "despot" still sharper, that of "benevolence" even more shallow.

What is the particular "human" agency Mr. Roosevelt refers to? It is the so-called blanket code, proposed by the "National Recovery Administration". What are the "economic ills" this agency is to remedy? They constitute the organizational backwardness of American capitalism in relation to its outstandingly predominant position on the world market.

How will the support which the president calls for in regard to the code accomplish the task he sets himself?

It is intended first of all, by giving up the former, reckless "laissez faire" policy, to rally American capitalism on strictly national lines for a breathing spell on the internal market which will permit a concerted, national attack on the world market.

It is intended, in the second place, to forestall a powerful movement for the workers' way out of the crisis, by throwing a sop to the 17,000,000 desperate proletarians, whose elemental, immediate demand is a job with half-way tolerable pay, through the introduction of the stagger system, pure and simple; and furthermore, by corraling the forces of the working class, ahead of time, in servile, class collaborationist organizations, through the sponsoring of A. F. of L. activity in such a manner as to entrench the influence of capitalist's lieutenants within labor's ranks.

All in all, a scheme for the Europeanization of industry on the "American" mass scale with all its benefits for the bourgeoisie and as little as possible of its drawbacks.

This is the meaning of the Chief Executive's oration: the mobilization of the capitalist United States for a long range drive toward absolute world domination; a determined and carefully conceived plan to chain the working class to this drive.

It is necessary to realize the thorough cunning of this scheme, its far-sightedness. The approach towards its fulfillment is in itself remarkable. Mr. Roosevelt calls upon "the employers of the nation to sign this covenant with me in the name of patriotism and humanity".

He calls upon "the workers to go along with us in a spirit of understanding, etc."

Patriotism is demanded of the bourgeoisie right off the bat. The whole nationalistic paraphernalia is set into motion. Badges of honor to be handed out to employers who "cooperate". Strong national agitation has already been broadcast, in all the speeches. Mr. Roosevelt can already boast of achievements insofar as the bourgeoisie is concerned. Hasn't he reestablished the credit of the country when it lay prostrate? Haven't he put through the Farm Bill to curtail agricultural production and raise farm prices for the benefits of all the farmers' creditors? He feels that he threatens on sure ground here, that he can make demands of the bourgeoisie. He has been their man.

Of the workers he only demands that they "go along with us." In this field he is not so sure. For what achievements can he boast of here? The miserable conservation camps, with their forced labor and their \$1 a day wage slavery? This is not very likely to impress the workers. In the meantime, strikes of all sizes and amplitudes sweep the country. It is necessary for the capitalist strategist to go easy with the workers. They are in no mood for fanfares.

He merely pleads with the workers "that no aggression is now necessary to attain those (the workers') rights". He merely assures them that "nobody will be permitted to whittle...away" the rights which they have not got.

He prefers to wait and see how the workers will fall for the gag of the stagger system and the minimum wage—which every capitalist will have no trouble to transform into the maximum wage.

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THE N.I.R.A. - SUMMED UP

The decay of world capitalism is the condition that prepared the foundation for the Industrial Recovery Act.

The Industrial Recovery Act can be summed up as follows:

1. It is an attempt to prop up a tottering and decaying capitalist system.
2. It is an attempt to organize production; instead it will enlarge all of the basic contradictions.
3. It is an attempt to regulate competition; instead it will intensify competition.
4. It has the elements of state capitalism.
5. The defeat of the German working class by Fascism has caused a political regrouping in world politics and has accelerated the American imperialists' attempt to reorganize the internal economic forces in preparation for more effective international struggles and for war.
6. It reveals to a greater extent the true role of the state as an instrument of suppression for the dominating class. The partnership of government and industry is not new. Only the form of a relationship is changing, from a concealed to a more open form.
7. It will organize Cartels through government aid.
8. It will result in a government subsidy to the big capitalists and the "sick" industries and is part of the plan to raise the price level of commodities.
9. It is an attempt to prevent strikes. It will outlaw strikes. Strikes will be against the bosses'.
10. The establishment of the codes and the minimum wage for each industry, suitable for the big capitalists with large constant capital, modern methods of production and a high degree of exploitation, will eliminate the small producers who cannot live up to the new form of competition.
11. The right to curtail production through the code agreements is a weapon in the hands of the big capitalists against the small producers.
12. It will result in a lower standard of living for the American workers.
13. Speed up and rationalization will be intensified.
14. The real wages of the working class will be reduced regardless of what the money wage may be.
15. It will establish a low minimum wage which will become the average and then the maximum.
16. The reduction of hours as presented by the code is the stagger plan.
17. The 30 hour week is a denial of and a caricature of the six hour day and five day week.
18. It will establish a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the working class. Arbitration will be established for every industry.
19. It is an attempt to head off the class upheavals in the near future.
20. The Industrial Recovery Act is an admission of the bankruptcy of the capitalist mode of production and is an unworkable substitute for the solution—the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers' Government.

—H. O.

Lessons of the United Front

POLITICAL FACTIONS WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION

The united front is the tactic that enables us to bring together the combined pressure of various organizations of the working class. But one finds that a conference of many political tendencies or a trade union that has many political tendencies raises another problem within the broad problem of the united front. A conference or organization that has many different political tendencies will, in the main, divide between Right and Left and Centre. Working agreements, of a temporary measure, on one or more issues, within the conference or organization, will to a great degree determine which section of the conference or organization, Right-Centre or Left, will dominate the organization or conference. This united front is conducted on the same basis as any united front. However, the complicated situation causes intensification of contradictions between political tendencies which proceed at a more rapid tempo.

IS IT PROPER TO BREAK A UNITED FRONT?

A united front is only a temporary agreement on immediate demands in action and must be preserved as long as it functions for the CLASS INTEREST. If the development of the struggle and the united front for one reason or the other is transformed from the basis of class struggle to that of class collaboration and the Right wing is about ready to betray or sell out—it is the duty of Marxists and revolutionists to point out, and to warn of the danger, and if it cannot be corrected, then the Left wing must break the united front BEFORE THE BETRAYAL. Such action will result in a temporary setback, not due to the break but due to the sell-out. However, if the Left wing has conducted itself correctly, broke away in time, and still retains the confidence of the masses, who could not see their position at the time of the break, the Left wing can lead in the reorganization of the forces, or in checking the retreat and prepare for a come-back.

Compromises on secondary questions can and must be made and all the more so when friction is about to split the conference or organization. However, one must know how to distinguish between compromises and compromises. The same word can be filled with two different contents. One must never compromise on principle, while one can compromise on other factors. It is up to the representatives and delegates to know the difference between these two words of compromises.

For example, at the June 1933 Unemployed Conference in Chicago the report of the program and policy committee was amended on the question of the united front, to first strike out the clause, "the right of political criticism," and second, to strike out and change the word "force," in the sentence which said "any organization not entering the united front must be forced into it." The committee compromised on the word force and changed it to a milder form, but the committee would not budge one inch or compromise on the question of political criticism. The question of political criticism is a question of principle but the question of modifying the word force is not.

LEADERS AND LEADERS
After a group of labor fakers have sold out and betrayed the workers it is often the style to condemn all leaders. One must be able to distinguish between different kinds of leaders. It is always in place to call for rank and file control, and no revolutionist or Marxist is opposed to rank and file control. It is out of place and wrong to call for rank and file leadership. Rank and file leadership is an empty slogan, yet as harmful as the slogan of the "united front from below." Both are inverted non-Marxist slogans.

(To be continued)

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB ORGANIZED IN BROWNSVILLE
Last Thursday, July 20th, the Spartacus Youth Club of Brownsville was launched. Eight comrades attended and about a half dozen more will soon join. Most of the members are expelled comrades from the Young Communist League, American Youth Club and Student Forum. There is a healthy sentiment for the Spartacus Youth Club in the section which should insure rapid progress.

At its first meeting George Ray was elected as organizer, Joe Elliott, secretary-treasurer and Morris Kent, literature agent. Plans are being made to get headquarters for the Club in the near future.

FROM THE MILITANTS

I.L.D. Expels 3 Workers in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn.—In March 1933, three members of the I. L. D., Joe Ross, M. B. Dunne and Celia Cazanov. Upon our entry into the organization we found an almost total lack of activity, small membership, (6 or 7 active people) and no definite plan for immediate work. We soon became active, proposed work and helped to carry it out. Comrade Cazanov was sent to Chicago to represent the McDuffy branch of the I. L. D. at the Chicago Free Tom Mooney Congress. We also served as delegates at the May Day Conference. And in short conducted ourselves in such a manner as to gain the respect and approval of the I. L. D. member. New elements joined and old members, who had dropped out, did not escape the attention of the returned.

Our growing influence angered the Party bureaucrats, and a systematic campaign to isolate us was under way. Over the protest of honest members whom we had won to our support we were gradually removed from all activity. The real issue, which of course was Trotskyism, did not come into the open until the meeting of June the 23th. At that time it was brought into an educational meeting by Sam Bernstein, a Party bureaucrat. The charge was made that there were disrupters in the I. L. D., that the disrupting elements were the Trotskyites and he proposed a house cleaning.

A party worker took the floor and stated that if there are any disrupting elements they will be pushed out from activities and also from the organization by the members themselves.

Fearing that the L. O. members might get a big support (yes, from Party members and sympathizers) if they were to continue the way they started, Bernstein then made a motion that the branch arrange another educational meeting for next Friday where any kind of a question can be discussed, "yes, even Trotskyism, if you please," pointing at comrade Cazanov. The motion also included a house cleaning at that same meeting. Comrade Ross then suggested that it should be an open meeting and this was accepted even by the bureaucrats Davis and Bernstein, and of course without any opposition on the part of the members.

All threats of exposing the L. O. all talks of expelling disrupters, came to an anti-climax Friday night. Comrades Cazanov and Dunne were met in the porch of the Workers Cultural Center by S. K. Davis. He stopped us at the door and stated that we were not to be allowed in the meeting. When asked for a reason, he said that it was a decision. We asked whose decision. He refused to answer. We started our intentions of going in and appealing to the membership. He responded by closing the door

and sitting down in front of it, flanked by a pair of Party strong arm men. He refused to give a reason or to discuss the question. He advised us to appeal to a higher committee.

To show the brutal intentions of the "door guard," we gave another incident that took place the same evening. Sam Lessin, an active worker in the Jewish field, came to the meeting later for the purpose of joining the I. L. D. He was stopped, questioned and insulted by the same people. When he argued back, the "guards," (several in number) set upon him to beat him up. He was forced to withdraw, to avoid a beating.

The foregoing gives a good cross section view of the local I. L. D. in a city of 400,000 people there is one functioning branch of the organization composed of twenty workers, fifteen of whom are Party members. Out of this number perhaps ten are active. The organization is devoid of democracy. All decisions of importance are handed down from the top. All committees and speakers are selected by the Executive Committee. There is very little discussion and no education. The weaknesses of the movement and the degeneracy of the leadership can best be shown by pointing out that they do not care to expel the Left Oppositionists at a membership meeting of the branch, for fear of the discussion and exposure of their bankruptcy.

We appeal to the membership of the McDuffy branch of the Minneapolis I. L. D. to repudiate the brutal, disruptive tactics of the District bureaucrats, and to demand of their leadership, that we be given a hearing at a membership meeting, and that we be given full membership rights until our case and whatever charges which are placed against us are acted upon.

J. ROSS.
M. B. DUNNE.
CELIA CAZANOV.

A Militant Writes From Glasgow, Scotland

Glasgow.—Many thanks for your parcel of Militants and five copies of the July 1st issue. Lately I have been purchasing several copies of the Militant every week for circulation among my colleagues in the unemployment queues.

We have been able to arrange also, through our London comrades, action in forwarding the bundles of the Militant. I received the first lot last week, then another for supplies of the Red Flag (organ of the British L. O.). Owing to general conditions here, I am afraid it will be some considerable time before the Red Flag can develop into a weekly. Naturally I am doing what I can to sell the paper and also to raise funds for its continuance. You will understand the position when I say that the Daily Worker (London) has a struggle to live and has been once again cut to four pages of a size smaller than the Militant. This despite the fact

that a constant, daily stream of donations are received. Furthermore, I can safely say, as far as Glasgow is concerned, practically the sole party activity is the sale of the Daily Worker.

The "Red Clydeside" as we once knew it seems no longer to exist. The scenes witnessed such as May Day, 1918, when despite all threats 100,000 workers took the day off, marched in procession with bands, banners, red flags and revolutionary songs were the order of the day, are only memories. The sidewalk, on route, was at that time lined with sympathizers who raised approving cries. At the Glasgow Green every one of the 22 platforms commanded a crowd. Solidarity and struggle were the orders of the day, sectarianism was relegated to obscurity notwithstanding criticism and counter-criticism. Then again "Bloody Friday" (Jan. 1919) was a spontaneous expression of working class solidarity. These things happened when the patriotic war fever was still in the air and before the inauguration of the C. P. G. B. These items prove conclusively that the party has really failed in its approach to the masses. After being excluded from the Party for "Trotskyism" (before I knew the platform of the L. O.), naturally I felt despondent, for some considerable time, at my isolation, but now that one senses the definite growth of the L. O. in this country the mood has passed and once more we enter the fight.

I have never been a platform man but nevertheless I travel around the Labour Exchanges, streets and spots where "Reds" congregate and I take part in discussions and informal debates. At first the current against the L. O. position was strong and I used to have people on all sides "yapping" at me, but now the situation is gradually changing and I am definitely winning the support of many party members and sympathizers. So far we have not started an L. O. group, but that can be explained by the widespread poverty as many potential members are quite unable to buy literature, let alone pay subs to a party.

I am going through the back numbers of the Militant you sent and am collating material for reprinting. Previously I was able to get a comrade to cyclostyle material from the "Permanent Revolution" a copy of which I possess, but at present it is going the rounds of the comrades. Furthermore, I drafted material from the "Real Situation in Russia," a copy of which is in the library. The only other work of comrade Trotsky, in addition to the above mentioned, in the Glasgow libraries, is the History of the Russian Revolution, just recently added. The I. L. P. put into circulation a copy of comrade Trotsky's speech at Copenhagen (Nov. 1932), but the price charged was six-pence and I am now endeavoring to arrange the print of this speech for sale at one penny.

I am pleased to see the points raised in the current (July 1st) issue of the Militant about the absence of any U. S. S. R. delegation (at the Paris anti-Fascist Conference). For some time past I have

OHIO JOBLESS UNITED

Youngstown, Ohio.—Twenty-seven delegates from 13 unemployed organizations (4 Leagues and 9 Councils) met in Youngstown on July 23 and formed the Federation of Unemployed Organizations of Mahoning and Trumbull Counties. The present basis of representation is one delegate from each unit or organization, but it is likely that after other organizations have been brought into the Federation that the representation will be on a proportional basis.

J. S. Neff was elected chairman of the Federation. C. Walker, Vice Chairman, Henry Mack—Secretary, and Harold Newby—Treasurer. The Federation Committee, which includes 13 members now and will be enlarged as other organizations affiliate, was instructed to work out a constitution for the Federation in complete harmony with the policy and structure of the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America at Chicago. It was also instructed to work out a program for the Federation which will include the following points proposed at the conference: immediate relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and their government, the 6-hour day and 5-day work week with an increase in pay, an increase in wages and relief to meet the increase in prices, against forced labor, the money for unemployed relief and insurance to be raised by taxing incomes in higher brackets, against evictions and foreclosures. The Committee will probably find it necessary to recommend from time to time that other points be included in the program.

The first work of the Federation will be the participation of its various organizations in centralized August First demonstrations under the leadership of the Federation Committee and with unemployed slogans and demands. The second task is the immediate preparation for a strike against forced labor in the two counties. The Columbus Convention passed a resolution to go on strike August First but the National Committee of the National Unemployed League, according to one of its members Mrs. Mettee, has wisely postponed this action until the necessary preparation has been made. The Mahoning and Trumbull Federation will prepare

put forward this point and drawn attention to the fact that no Soviet delegation was included in the Congress and that no statement had been issued to the Congress by the C. P. U. S. Despite the fact that several delegates went from Glasgow no public report has been given; needless to say the delegation was composed of paid party officials.

Nevertheless, we will yet tear down this barrier of reaction and hypocrisy with the hope that once more the L. O. will take its rightful place in the party and that the Comintern, inspired by new blood, will again be used as a guiding force towards world revolution.

for this strike by means of Federation mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the two counties.

It was announced at the conference that a Federation had also been formed in the Lucas County (Toledo) District, and that the Councils and Leagues in that area were cooperating very effectively at the present time in a strike against forced labor. It will be necessary in the near future, when various sections of the state begin to take similar action, that a State Federation be formed in order to direct this work properly. The fact that these local federations have invariably affiliated with the Federation of Unemployed Workers' Leagues of America will help enormously to strengthen the National Federation which is the real basis for complete future amalgamation of all unemployed movements.

At the meeting of the Call Committee when the agenda for the Federation meet was drawn up not one single word was mentioned regarding the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill but the demand that has been the central point in the local united front appeals was reinforced for the agenda—Immediate Relief and Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the Bosses and Their Government. Nevertheless, Mack, who was entrusted with job of working out agenda details, inserted under immediate action, the endorsement of the Insurance BILL, without consulting other members of the Call Committee. When this point came up, Newby pointed out that there was a great danger that centering the fight for Unemployment Insurance around this Bill would guide the movement into futile parliamentary channels; that details such as the \$10 maximum relief might be used against the workers in the future and that such details should not be decided upon until the workers are strong enough to force such a measure through so that such details can be worked out to meet the needs of that time with real inflation, etc.; and that the provisions of the Bill providing for "the average wages in the respective industries and territories" was not something radical workers should fight for, that it was bad enough to have class divisions based on wage differences which the bosses make, and that the workers should demand the same adequate relief for each adult and dependent regardless of whether he is a laborer, semi-skilled, skilled, or professional worker. Mack put forth some explanations, but a motion to refer the Bill to the Federation Committee for consideration was passed without objection.

—N.

FOR NEW YORK
OPEN AIR MEETINGS
Manhattan: 7th St. and 2nd Ave. every Thursday night 6 P. M.
86th Street and Lexington Ave., every Friday night 6 P. M.
Harlem: 125th St., and 5th Avenue, every Saturday night 8 P. M.
Bronx: 163rd Street and Prospect Ave., every Sat. night 8 P. M.

both organizations. The fight centered between the two Left Oppositionists who introduced a motion for affiliation and Muste who presented a counter motion for the committee of 15. The small hours of the morning came and found the committee divided over this question. The meeting finally adjourned to reconvene next morning and hear another statement from the Federation.

In the meeting of the national committee of the Federation which went into session after being dismissed by the presidium, the Stalin-Muste combination again blockaded the possibility of a unanimous statement for affiliation. When the presidium convened the next morning Dixon again had to report on a division of opinion within the national committee. At this point Dennis Batt, a notorious renegade from Communism—a deserter to the Republican party, came to Muste's rescue by moving that the presiding committee shall not urge the convention to instruct the incoming National Committee on any certain policy of unification but that the entire matter be left to the discretion of the National Committee. After some wrangling the motion was passed by a vote of 20-5 and Muste's face lit up in a triumphant smile.

Since the strategy of the Musteites was such, they naturally were very much interested in hearing no report from the resolution committee. A report on policy would certainly be embarrassing since that would bring the disputed question to the convention floor.

Accordingly, the chairman reported on the proceedings of the presidium and put Dennis Batt's motion to a vote. Were the convention to endorse that motion it meant that it would automatically invalidate any resolution that might be reported on later. The delegates of the Workers League and the Oppositionists put up a bitter fight against such procedure, and for affiliation. But just as the struggle grew the hottest, the Stalinists stepped in and in true Judas fashion saved the situation for Muste by playing on the backwardness of the delegates and urging them to vote against affiliation and for the motion. Reaction prevailed—the motion carried.

The final report of the majority of the members of the resolutions committee, which had somehow gotten together, recommended affiliation. But this was quickly steam-rolled out of order and the

L.O. Members in Eviction Protest

The New York branch held its regular Brownsville open air meeting last Friday with several hundred workers attending. George Ray acted as chairman, the speakers were Bill Mathewson on Roosevelt's New Deal and Joe Carter on the lessons of the German events for the American working class. On previous occasions the Communist party members attempted to break up the meeting either by demanding the platform or starting a revival meeting across the street.

After a number of question from the audience, A. Dasch, the party fellow who beat up one of our comrades the week before, asked the speaker to adjourn the meeting and call on the crowd to help the Unemployed Council stop the eviction of a jobless Negro worker, Bryan, several blocks away. The speaker replied by stating that such a request had been used on previous occasions to disrupt open air meetings but that we would have two more questions and then go as a group to cooperate with the Unemployed Council. The two questions were asked and answered. One of the party members "demanded" the platform to reply to the speaker. His demand was met with a reiteration of a call for a debate between the Left Opposition and the Communist party. The party members were advised to discuss with us not with their fists—this remark was particularly aimed at Dasch—but by argument. The meeting then adjourned and the entire audience proceeded to the home of the evicted Negro worker.

The Unemployed Council opened a meeting in front of the house. We volunteered speakers but were told that the secretary of the Unemployed Council would have to consent—he was not to be found. Soon the emergency police squad yanked the speaker from the platform and waded into the crowd with clubs. A number of workers were hurt and had to receive medical treatment. Among those hurt were two members of the Spartacus Youth Club, Herman Gladstone, and Sam Shabel.

The branch will hold another open-air meeting at Bristol and Pitkin next Friday evening.

JULY ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS READY

The July issue of Young Spartacus is ready for sale and distribution. It contains articles on the American revolution of 1776, reforestation, anti-war day, August 1st, National Industrial Recovery Act, antiwar youth congress, youth strikes and activities of the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

Branches of the Communist League and individuals who have been receiving bundles of Y. S. will have to pay for them at three cents a copy or communicate with us as to what they do with the bundles. Those branches who do not respond will be cut from the list beginning with the August number.

rest of the day spent in making bombastic nomination speeches for the various members of the National Committee.

Here it is necessary to say a word about the conduct of the Lovestonites at this conference. Their role was truly characteristic of an opportunist group. The fact that two Lovestonites are members of the national committee of the Federation did not prevent them from drawing up a document called "Draft Program for National Federation of Unemployed organizations". From all indications the Lovestonites are also dissatisfied with having only two members on the National Committee of the Federation, and came to this conference ready to build a new federation. The only difference between them and the Stalinists lay in the fact that the former openly spoke against the existing National Federation on the convention floor and the Lovestonites did so in personal conversation only. Not once during the Conference did a Lovestonite take the floor and speak for affiliation.

At this time when the Roosevelt government is introducing elements of state capitalism with all its terrible consequences for the working class, at this time when a clear line of action must be worked out to enable the American proletariat to fight back, the blind empirical Stalinists can only think one thought—how to capture mechanical control of the unemployed organizations. This in the name of Unity. Yes the Stalinists are for unity—providing they have a stranglehold on the given organization. Let but a voice of dissent challenge their rule, and they will not hesitate to split that organizations into smithereens.

The Left Opposition must learn from these experiences. We must seek to entrench ourselves in the unemployed organization. We must strive to raise the unemployed movement from its present level of "soup consciousness" to the level of class consciousness. We need have no fear of working as a small minority. Armed with the weapons of Marxism we shall in due time win the majority just as surely as did the Russian Bolsheviks who had for years constituted a minority.

Between Stalinism and Communism there can be no peace. The advances of Communism can only result out of the defeat of Stalinism. To this end let us bend our efforts.

—NORMAN SATLER.

The Columbus Conference

2. The Stalinist-Muste Bloc at the Unemployed Gathering

(Continued from last issue)

II. The Stalinist-Muste Bloc
The main thing, therefore, to bear in mind, in seeking to understand the Columbus conference is the fact that the Stalinists in utter despondence over their inability to control the Federation mechanically, rushed into the arms of Muste and the horse-trading began. An agreement was reached between Muste and the Unemployed Councils that, since neither was satisfied with the Federation, for his own good reasons, they would both sabotage it. Muste therefore agreed not to affiliate with the Federation and to favor the committee of five-five, providing the Unemployed Councils would keep out of Muste's conference and let him establish his national organization unmolested. The bargain was struck and each rejoiced in his own wisdom, confident that the five-five proposition as outlined by Browder before the Federation would work out to their own advantage. It would A committee of fifteen, of which the Muste-Stalin bloc would have a mechanical majority from the start, was sure to capture the hegemony at the January conference. As to the question which one of the two would get the best of the bargain after the conference, that question could wait. Both the Stalinists and the Musteites know a trick or two about the fine art of packing conventions and capturing mechanical control.

Now, it must be remembered, that the original call for the Columbus Conference was addressed to all unemployed organizations, inviting them all to participate. But the Federation had been founded in the meantime and following that, the horse-trading bargain between the Stalinists and Musteites struck. Muste therefore bethought himself the better and dedicated the Columbus conference to the founding of a national organization of the Unemployed Leagues.

Having arrived a day ahead of time, the writer was able to witness the proceedings of the last day of the state conference of the Ohio Unemployed Leagues. From the comments of the observers of the first two days of this conference it appeared that the central pro-

blem of the conference was the American flag. This surprising bit of information was entirely confirmed by the last day's proceedings of which the greatest part was indeed spent in heated discussion of the place of the Stars and Stripes in the constitution of the organization. After wide inquiry the reason for this became apparent. In discussion with various delegates this illuminating fact was revealed: the Muste group, in its great haste to carve itself a place in the American labor movement, had gone into the field and built up mushroom unemployed organizations by catering to all of the prejudices of the backward small-town workers. It was not an uncommon sight during the recess periods, to see some excited delegates rush up to Mr. Budenz and demand of him "didn't you promise to organize us into a patriotic organization under the stars and stripes?" And Mr. Budenz would sheepishly have to admit that he had. This catering to the prejudices of the more benighted workers made it possible for the bourgeoisie's hirelings within the convention to shift the discussion from class struggle to patriotism and the American flag.

The following was the first resolution passed by the conference without a dissenting vote: "The Stars and Stripes forever. When right we uphold them; when wrong, we seek to right them". No comment is necessary. One felt very much like going over to the Party "General Staff" in the adjoining box and asking them if that did not somehow upset their theory of the "revolutionary upsurge". But then one could also save one's breath to cool one's porridge. Yet it was this reactionary mass that was to constitute the majority of the National Conference.

The National Conference
A heated debate followed the opening of the national conference. The point of dispute was the question of the status of the delegates who had come from the organizations that are not controlled by Muste. True to their bargain, the Unemployed Council delegation sought to be seated only as fraternal delegates. Other delegates, however, who had come from various states in response to the first

call demanded to be seated as regular delegates. After a struggle the Musteites gave in and all, with the exception of the Unemployed Council delegates, were declared regulars.

The Left Opposition was the only political group besides the C. P. L. A. that made its appearance as such at this conference, being represented by a fraternal delegate who distributed a statement stressing the significance of the Recovery Act and urging the Convention to affiliate to the National Federation.

It seems to have become an established tradition that the first day and a half or two days of a three day working class conference should be wasted in windjamming oratory. The Columbus conference was true to tradition. The only important accomplishment on the afternoon of the second day was the adoption of a constitution and some minor resolutions which were neither here nor there since they did not affect the policy of the organization. True, on that same day amid much trumpeting and flag waving a Declaration of Independence couched adopted was in a decidedly radical verbiage. It is also true that the whole assemblage stood up and sang "America" and waved more flags after the adoption of this windy Declaration.

Be it also said, that the Stalinist "General Staff" under Hathaway's personal command, to its shame, did not find it necessary to intervene and at least attempt to shift the discussion to proper channels. An agreement is an agreement—at least for the time being. The reciprocal double-crossing would come later in the haggling over the spoils.

The real question as to the course to be followed by the new organization in the direction of unifying the unemployed movement was still to be decided on. Resolutions on that point had been submitted by Oppositionist delegates. The aim of the Opposition faction was to have the conference go on record instructing the incoming National Committee to affiliate to the NATIONAL FEDERATION. The Musteites also entered resolutions calling for the above described 5-5-5 proposition. This was the real heart of the argument, and the resolution committee was still divided on it at the end of the second day. Meanwhile, another resolution submitted by an Oppositionist which read to the effect that if a unification conference was to be called, all unemployed organiza-

tions have representatives on the provisional committee, and not merely the U. C. U. L. and the Federation as proposed by the Musteites, was tampered with and an insertion made which changed the entire meaning of the resolution.

That night the real struggle broke out in the meeting of the presiding committee in which the writer represented the Illinois delegation. The representatives of the Unemployed Council and those of the Federation had been invited to make a statement to this committee. Amter spoke for the U. C. and after a good bit of hypocritical demagoguery finally broached the 5-5-5 proposition. He spoke with great warmth about unity and the necessity of federating the various unemployed organizations on a state-wide scale. But his remarks on the National Federation were rather ambiguous. He poured out his tale of woe of how the Unemployed Council which is the biggest organization nationally with a membership of 200,000 (he didn't wink when he said that) only has a measly two representatives on the national committee of the Federation and generally characterized the Federation in very unflattering terms. Asked bluntly by the writer whether he, on behalf of the U. C., was proposing that the National Unemployed Leagues affiliate to the Federation or not, Amter evaded the question. Later, however, one of Amter's satellites, a certain notorious Frankfeld, blurted out that affiliation to the Federation was unnecessary.

True to their compact, the Stalinist and Musteite members of the National Committee of the Federation had acted to prevent a unanimous statement from being brought in by the Federation. Tom Dixon and George Leech—chairman, and secretary of the Federation did however state that the majority of the national committee urged this conference to go on record for affiliation. But the Stalinists even contested this statement. It must have been a perplexing problem indeed for the members of the presiding committee who were unaware of the gentlemen's agreement existing between the Stalinists and Musteites, to see the representatives of the U. C. which organization was a member of the Federation and has two members on its national committee, nevertheless appear and argue violently against affiliation to this same Federation. A bitter struggle followed the dismissal of the representatives of

Moissaye Olgin as a «Historian»

"Lenin lives in an imaginary world in which he mistakes the creations of his mind for realities."

"It would seem that Lenin's 'radicalism' only blocks the road of the Russian Revolution by calling forth a reaction by adding to the disorganization of a country shaken to its foundations. Here, as ever, Lenin's tactics, seemingly extreme, are in reality weakening the strength of democratic Russia."

The Menshevik who penned the above lines (in Asia—Dec. 1917) is none other than the present Stalinist knight in the struggle against "Trotskyism", Moissaye Olgin.

His latest miserable attempt to carry out the teachings and dictates of Stalin takes the shape of a review of the collection of Lenin's writings from the July Days 1917 to the October revolution recently put out in two volumes, "Towards the Seizure of Power", by International Publishers in the theoretical organ of the American Communist Party, the Communist (May and June 1933). The occasion is utilized for an attack on the views of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution".

In typical Stalinist fashion Olgin confuses the relation between the democratic and the socialist revolution and the theory of the permanent revolution.

To appear objective, Olgin quotes a lengthy—and we may add, representative—section from Trotsky's "History" and comments: "Every sentence of this declaration is but the opposite of historical truth and only reveals Trotsky as what he is—a falsifier of history". No less! Let us requote the section.

"From the year 1905 the Bolshevik party had waged a struggle against the autocracy under the slogan 'Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry'.

This slogan as well as its theoretician, Plekhanov, stubbornly opposed the 'mistaken idea of the possibility of accomplishing a bourgeois revolution without the bourgeoisie'. Lenin considered that the Russian bourgeoisie was already incapable of leading its own revolution. Only the proletariat and peasantry in close union could carry through a democratic revolution against the monarchy and the landlords. The victory of this union, according to Lenin, should inaugurate the democratic dictatorship, which was not only not identical with the dictatorship of the proletariat, but was in sharp contrast with it, for its program was not the creation of a socialist society, nor even the creation of forms of transition to such a society, but merely a ruthless cleansing of the Augean stables of medievalism. The goal of the revolutionary struggles was fully described in three militant slogans: Democratic Republic, Confiscation of the Landed Estates, Eight-Hour Working Day—colloquially called the three whistles of Bolshevism".

Leon Trotsky—History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. 1, page 314.)

"Every sentence" a historical truth? Olgin raised the question of Lenin's view of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution in order to prove that the latter saw in this the transition of the democratic into the Socialist revolution. He quotes a number of writings from Lenin to prove this contention. But the basic questions still remain: Is it true that Lenin before 1917 considered the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as the culmination of the bourgeois democratic revolution?

Did he understand—as Trotsky in his theory of the permanent revolution did—that the solution of the democratic tasks would be solved by the proletarian revolution, through the institution of a proletarian dictatorship? And lastly—how did life itself solve this dispute—in the form of the "democratic dictatorship" or the "proletarian dictatorship"?

Olgin in his polemic against Trotsky quotes Lenin's "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in a Democratic Revolution" written in 1905 to prove his contentions. But it is precisely this source that the same Olgin used to prove the exact opposite in 1917. We read:

"In his Two Tactics he (Lenin) said, 'The stage of Russia's economic development (forming an objective condition) and the stage of consciousness and progress of organization among the masses of the proletariat (forming a subjective condition) intrinsically connected with the objective) makes an immediate complete emancipation of the working class (introduction of socialism) impossible.' Even Lenin would have to admit that both the objective and subjective conditions have not changed substantially since 1905. (Obvious Nonsense—J. C.). Yet here he is, preaching the establishment of socialism in war-ridden impoverished Russia." (Asia—Dec. 1917—page 783.)

The quotation from Lenin proves the converse of what Olgin now attempts! We may add that his comment is not above level of his present writings!

When a group of Red Professors edited a "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" under the guidance of the Trotsky killer, Yaroslavsky several years they recorded Lenin's change of strategic line between 1905 and 1917 only to bring on their heads the charges of "Trotskyism"! Yaroslavsky was forced to indulge in "self criticism". This "Leninist" now formulates the question in a new way: "The completion of

On Some of His Recent «Criticism» on Trotsky's History

the bourgeois democratic revolution was a by-product of the socialist proletarian revolution of 1917." (Communist—Feb. 1932—his emphasis). This formulation is in direct contradiction to the official Stalinist position on the colonial question.

To get back to Olgin. Many years ago, this gentleman translated a number of Trotsky's writings from 1905 to 1917 particularly treating with the theory of the permanent revolution. In his preface to "Prospects of a Labor Dictatorship" in "Our Revolution" Olgin wrote: "Whatever our attitude towards the course of events in the 1917 revolution may be, (his are revealed in the quotations from Asia—J. C.) we must admit that in the main, this course has taken the direction predicted in Trotsky's essays. There is a labor dictatorship now in Russia. It is a labor dictatorship not a 'dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'.... All this had been outlined by Trotsky two years ago. When one reads this series of essays, one has the feeling that they were written not in the course of the first Russian upheaval (The essays appeared in 1906 as part of a book by Trotsky, entitled, *Our Revolution*, Petersburg, W. Glagoleff, publisher) but as if they were discussing problems of the present situation. This more than anything else shows the continuity of the revolution.... Twelve years ago those essays seemed to picture an imaginary world. Today they seem to tell the history of the Russian revolution. We may agree or disagree with Trotsky, the leader, nobody can deny the power and

clarity of his political vision." The present day fulminations against the theory of the permanent revolution cannot change the essential accuracy of the comments made above!

Olgin however does not reach his real heights until he treats the question of the origin of the November insurrection. Here the gentleman finds Trotsky once again guilty of falsifying history. He quotes Trotsky as saying that the idea of an insurrection took form from the moment the order was given for the removal of the troops from Petrograd and the Petrograd Soviet decided to organize a military revolutionary committee. The meeting Trotsky refers to was held on October 22. "The idea did not take form before, because it was not advanced by Trotsky. The father of the idea was, most naturally, Trotsky". With this attempt at sarcasm, Olgin continues to cite quotations from Lenin where the latter called for insurrection before October 22nd.

Is it possible that Trotsky was unaware of this or tried to hide it? Is it true that even Trotsky first conceived of insurrection on October 22nd? One need but turn to volume III of the "History" and find a complete chapter on Lenin's continual proposals for insurrection from July upward! Olgin read this chapter. But he assumes that the readers of the Communist have not and will not do so! Even Olgin can easily understand that what Trotsky means in the quoted paragraph is that the idea of insurrection first took form at that moment among the masses in the Soviet rather than in the minds of Lenin and Trotsky. Further that the idea was then concretized that the Soviet rather than the Bolshevik party directly or a new organ, would be the official instrument of the insurrection—a question not definitely decided up to then. Olgin's

ing of the dictatorial government by the general strike of the masses and the installation of a social-democratic government which will be the product of the extra-parliamentary struggle. It is possible, with the aid of this struggle to rally great masses discontented with the governmental policy in the struggle against the present government.

I know that there will be objection that a social democratic government will merely change the mannerism but the policy will remain the same. This is not exactly correct.

A social democratic government coming to power by the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie coalition would be obligated, under the danger of complete discredit, to carry out a policy of defense of the interests of the workers.

As timid as this policy will be it will come into violent collision with the brutal reaction of the bourgeoisie.

The class antagonisms will only sharpen, the class struggle will develop and the workers will themselves become convinced by the political experience which has been lacking up till now in Belgium, of the necessity of the use of revolutionary struggle to fight back the attacks of reaction and Fascism.

Let those who are not in agreement with this slogan reflect a little before saying that we are playing the game of the socialist leaders. What the latter fear most is to be carried to power on the wave of the direct struggle of the masses.

—L. LESOIL.

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For a Social Democratic Gov't in Belgium - Why?

Brussels, Belgium.—The general discontent of the toiling masses who have been severely hit by the application of the hunger decrees of the dictatorial government, the anger growing in the workers ranks and the desire they manifest for struggle, the fear of being taken by surprise, as they were in July 1932, by the series of strikes which could rapidly spread over the whole country has forced the socialist and Democratic-Christian leaders to perform a maneuver on the political and trade union field which is designed to prevent a direct and immediate struggle against the hunger government.

The pact consummated between the socialists and Democratic-Christians at Charleroi which commits them before the workers to struggle jointly against the dictatorial government, to call for the immediate convocation of parliament in order to revise the financial measures of the government in a "democratic way" is the beginning of this maneuver. Politically, this agreement means the following: "Patience, workers, do not strike in any case against the application of the hunger decrees, we are going to struggle in parliament for a democratic majority and thus to revoke the measures which effect you so severely".

Summing up, the agreement of June 1933 continues the agreement arrived at between the socialist leaders and the Democratic-Christian leaders in July 1932 during the general strike at Heinaut. With this difference: in 1932 the agreement was consummated in order to strangle the general strike and to save the government which was shaken to its pins by this movement; in July 1933 it is consummated to prevent a national general strike which might upset the dictatorial government by the direct struggle of the masses. If the Communists and the more conscious socialist workers evince a justified distrust towards the Democratic-Christian leaders, it is no less true that the perspective of a socialist Democratic-Christian opposition to the dictatorial government nourishes the hope in the discontented masses in the abrogation of the vicious hunger-decrees without having to resort to a general strike.

We should take into account the parliamentary illusions of the masses, not in order to let up on our propaganda for the general strike against the application of the hunger-decrees, but so as to feed the aspirations of the masses, in the sense of a direct struggle against the government, to upset this government of social reaction and preparation for Fascism. While it is necessary to appeal to, to mobilize, to convince the masses of the need of the general strike in defense of their daily bread, we must give this struggle a political objective in order to avoid the breaking of the movement of the masses as was the case in July 1932 by the leaders of the P. O. B. (Belgian Socialist Party) and the Democratic-Christians, who become opponents of struggle in face of the actions of the bourgeois government which made some concessions and promised to the workers in order to save itself.

The political objective which must be given to the struggle that is in preparation, is the overthrow

ing of the dictatorial government by the general strike of the masses and the installation of a social-democratic government which will be the product of the extra-parliamentary struggle. It is possible, with the aid of this struggle to rally great masses discontented with the governmental policy in the struggle against the present government.

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A social democratic government coming to power by the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie coalition would be obligated, under the danger of complete discredit, to carry out a policy of defense of the interests of the workers.

As timid as this policy will be it will come into violent collision with the brutal reaction of the bourgeoisie.

The class antagonisms will only sharpen, the class struggle will develop and the workers will themselves become convinced by the political experience which has been lacking up till now in Belgium, of the necessity of the use of revolutionary struggle to fight back the attacks of reaction and Fascism.

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The class antagonisms will only sharpen, the class struggle will develop and the workers will themselves become convinced by the political experience which has been lacking up till now in Belgium, of the necessity of the use of revolutionary struggle to fight back the attacks of reaction and Fascism.

Let those who are not in agreement with this slogan reflect a little before saying that we are playing the game of the socialist leaders. What the latter fear most is to be carried to power on the wave of the direct struggle of the masses.

—L. LESOIL.

ing of the dictatorial government by the general strike of the masses and the installation of a social-democratic government which will be the product of the extra-parliamentary struggle. It is possible, with the aid of this struggle to rally great masses discontented with the governmental policy in the struggle against the present government.

I know that there will be objection that a social democratic government will merely change the mannerism but the policy will remain the same. This is not exactly correct.

A social democratic government coming to power by the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie coalition would be obligated, under the danger of complete discredit, to carry out a policy of defense of the interests of the workers.

As timid as this policy will be it will come into violent collision with the brutal reaction of the bourgeoisie.

The class antagonisms will only sharpen, the class struggle will develop and the workers will themselves become convinced by the political experience which has been lacking up till now in Belgium, of the necessity of the use of revolutionary struggle to fight back the attacks of reaction and Fascism.

purpose is not the review of history. It is rather that of discrediting and slandering the present day Marxists.

Finally Olgin disputes Trotsky's statement that the official Stalinist historians present the question of the voting of the Bolshevik Central Committee (on October 23) for insurrection as though the entire party leadership except Zinoviev and Kamenev stood for insurrection. The constant re-writings of the history of the Bolshevik party for the factional purposes of the Stalinists are notorious. Olgin however finds a quotation to serve his purpose. We assume that he picked the strongest available.

"The course on insurrection taken by Lenin, however, met with resistance on the part of some members of the Central Committee, in the first place on the part of Kamenev and Zinoviev. 'This reads a history of the Russian party by Bubnov, present Commissar of Education. Who are these others? Not a word. They are revealed when the individuals fall in the bad graces of the present ruling regime, as Kamenev and Zinoviev have on a number of occasions!'"

For the Stalinist historians to literally confine the disputes (on insurrection and other questions) to Zinoviev and Kamenev alone would require the suppression of about nine-tenths of Lenin's writings between July and November 1917. This has been found impossible even by the expert Stalinist censors. So they resort to anonymity with regard to the other personages.

The world revolutionary movement will have to purge itself of the falsifiers and revisionists of Marxism, the extensive staff of official "historians" and "theoreticians" exemplified by Moissaye Olgin. —JOSEPH CARTER.

STATEMENT ON FUNDS COLLECTED FOR GERMAN L. O.

Following is a statement of the fund collected for the press of the German section of the International Left Opposition. As will be seen from the statement a little more than \$100 has been collected and forwarded up to date. The American League has been assigned a quota of \$200. All readers of the Militant are again requested to support this fund and again enable us to fill our quota. Send contributions to the Militant, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

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

G.Zinoviev on the Party Regime

Zinoviev who for a number of years found himself in open or semi-masked opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy, has finally admitted, after a short stay in exile, that the party regime of Stalin is the best of them all. It is therefore all the more enlightening to recall what Zinoviev wrote on the regime in the C. P. S. U. just a few weeks prior to the 15th Party Congress. For lack of space we cannot reproduce in its entirety the extensive document directed by Zinoviev to all the leading party institutions: the CC, CCC and ECSS, and containing a wealth of factual material on the methods of party repression and bureaucratic demoralization. Although we are obliged to confine ourselves to a few of the most essential excerpts, we hope that they will prove sufficient to throw light on the state of affairs in the C. P. S. U. as well as on the nature of Zinoviev's repentance.

Prinkipo, July 6, 1933.

To the Politbureau of the CC of the CPSU,
To the Praesidium of the CCC
To the ECCI

Dear Comrades,
... It is superfluous to point out that with proper preparatory work the 15th Congress could play a most important role and really help our party emerge from the present crisis.

It could do all that, however, only if it were prepared in the manner in which, even in the face of much less serious disagreements, our Congresses were prepared in Lenin's time.

How did the party act in Lenin's time? First, the Congresses were called exactly on time. A postponement of even one month was considered, under Lenin, inadmissible. Under Lenin there was never a case of the Central Committee extending its

A Letter That Doesn't Jibe With His Latest Recantation

authority for an extra year, that is, of doubling the authority received from the Congress. And all this—despite the fact that the atmosphere of a rigorous civil war made the convocation of congresses much more difficult than now.

Secondly, under Lenin, prior to the Congress all members of the party were given the possibility to print in the party press their suggestions, theses, platforms, pamphlets and books and to appear before any party meeting.

Thirdly, all this was done so that all members of the party might really participate in the discussion and so that the elections to the Congress would really express the will of the party. There was never, under Lenin, a case of ward conferences, which really decide everything, being called first, and the "discussion" starting only after the convocation of state conferences. Under Lenin such a procedure would be laughed at and rejected as a wretched and disgraceful comedy.

Fourthly, under Lenin, in the pre-Congress period the shifting of comrades, in disagreement with the line of the CC, from workers' centers to distant corners not only never took place (under Lenin, exile in general was not heard of), but on the contrary, precisely those comrades, or groups of comrades who had disagreements with the majority of the CC were accorded fullest guarantee, of remaining in the large centers so that they might come forward with their criticism of the line of the Central Committee in the pre-Congress days as well as to the Congress itself.

There is no such thing now. Just the opposite is being done. The CC itself has prolonged its authority

twofold, regardless of the statutes. It is calling the 15th Congress two years after the 14th. Prior to the Congress the C. C. is trebling the repression against the dissenters (for example, exile—more on this score below). The C. C. not only does not take any measures to elaborate such orders and schedules as would assure all party members a real possibility of expressing themselves on the questions under discussion, but on the contrary—in Moscow, Leningrad, in the Ukraine and in a whole series of other cities, the district conferences are scheduled to begin, and in some placed even to terminate by the twentieth of October, whereas the beginning of the official discussion is promised by the Central Committee only for the first days of November. This means that the official discussion will begin only after the district conferences have been concluded, or at any rate, after the elections to the conferences have been concluded. If this is the way arrangements are to be made, it will only be a sham and mockery of the rights of the party members. This will prompt large circles of party members to the belief that the Central Committee fears discussion like fire, that it has no hope whatsoever of defending its political line in any kind of normal and honest inner-party discussion. Can such calendar tricks really be considered normal methods in intra-party democracy, can they solve the present crisis?

... Unless the Central Committee of the party immediately revokes its decision on the date of the elections to the district conferences and revises it to the effect that the elections to these conferences should take place after discussion, then all pre-Congress discussion guaranteed by the party statutes will in reality have been abolished. The elections to the Congress will be turned into a pure formality, and in the present atmosphere, into nothing but a comedy.

The Congress is the highest organ of our party. The Congress is the most important event in inner party life. Every party member should consider the authority of the congress beyond doubt and beyond dispute. The members of the Bolshevik party must unconditionally submit to the decisions of the party congresses. But all this is realized in practice only under the condition, exclusively guaranteed by the party statutes, that all members of the party are in a position to influence its decisions, that the whole party votes and not only the party apparatus....

We shall cite only absolutely verified facts, which cannot possibly be refuted.

1. In a whole series of cities (Moscow, Leningrad, Rostov, Baku) following the joint Plenum, the active party cadre was deliberately convened suddenly on the basis of a treble "selection", tickets being issued only to the "absolutely reliable", personal tickets, while hundreds of old party members who take a most lively part in party work were refused admittance.

2. At ward conferences, as well as at city-wide conferences of the active cadres in Moscow and in Leningrad, and surely, also in other cities, there were present little groups organized beforehand, that is, prepared and suitably placed, little groups ready for anything, which interrupted the Opposition speakers with yells, threats, whistling and abuse. At no meeting did the leadership take any measures to call these groups to order or to remove them from the meeting hall. A party member like Ivan Nikitich Smirnov, who has been in the party for 25 years, who is known to the widest circles of workers, a comrade greatly respected by all who have worked with him in illegality, in the Red Army and in Soviet work—such a comrade was unable to make use of the ten minutes allotted to him in order to clarify the results of the Plenum of the CC at the Moscow active cadre meeting. His speech, absolutely loyal and restrained, was interrupted in an organized manner by a little group with the connivance of the chairman, comrade Uglanov, a candidate to the Political Bureau.

3. Gangster methods of breaking up party meetings were used especially in Leningrad. In the presence of the secretary of the Provincial Committee, comrade Kirov, a candidate to the Political Bureau, "someone" put out the lights at the city-wide conference and at the conference of the Vyborg district at the moment when a representative of the Opposition, began to read his resolution. At the meeting of the Petrograd district, rowdies threw themselves upon the comrade reading the resolution, and tore it to pieces, during which time anti-Semitic yells were to be heard.

... 5. Simultaneous with these methods of intimidation, a most reckless, most poisonous agitation against the Opposition is carried on in the press. Any back-writer, or careerist knows beforehand that any vulgarity, and lie, any intrigue will be given space in print so long as it is directed at the Opposition. They can act in this manner only because they fear no reproof, that is, because it has been decided in advance not to allow any discussions, either printed or oral, before the Congress.

It is sufficient to point to the articles of the not unknown N. Kuzmin in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda". This "teacher" of the army

June 18, 1933.

(Continued on Page 4)

British Capitalist Class Prepares New Attacks on Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

Series of Strikes

In London, the bus men were successful in striking against wage cuts and a new speed up schedule. Strikes have taken place at Henry Ford's works at Dagenham, at Nords works at Birmingham, and at the Porth British Rubber Mill at Edinburgh, at the Firestone Tire Co. at Brentford, while the Liverpool and Glasgow seamen struck work in sympathy with their comrades in Londerry and Dublin. In nearly every instance the workers were unorganized or only partially organized and the strikes assumed the form of rank and file movements the workers throwing up their own leaders during the course of the fight.

Apart from the London Bus strike where the Communist party had been active for a long time, the usual approach of the party was from the outside and while at Birmingham their efforts met with a sympathetic response from the strikers in other places, notably Glasgow and Edinburgh, the workers proved hostile to outside interference. The trade union policy of the party has, of course, changed from time to time, but no matter how they twist or turn the members of the party find themselves strangled by the false general line which has been in operation for the past few years. At one time calling upon the workers to leave the union and at another time ordering them back to the union—this weird policy has resulted with the party

members finding themselves not only at war with the officials but also at loggerheads with the rank and file who look upon the Communists as more of a menace than a help.

Bureaucrats Restrain Struggle
The bankruptcy of the party is doubly unfortunate because the small sectional strikes look like being the prelude to action on a national scale but unfortunately under the unwilling leadership of the trade union bureaucrats who are now finding it increasingly difficult to enforce the wage cuts of the employers whose rapacity knows no bounds. This is revealed in the decisions of the annual conference of the Miners Federation of Great Britain. The delegates voted for a resolution calling for a national strike if the mine owners should attack any district now that the wage guarantee agreement has expired.

The conditions in the coal fields are bad as each district has a separate wage rate and many miners have left the unions, six of whom are competing for numbers in various parts of the country. A complete stoppage would therefore be no easy matter but the miners are again in fighting mood and sooner or later a strike is inevitable.

The national conference of railwaymen also faced heavy attacks as the railway companies have carried on a wholesale policy of dismissals and wage cuts in the process of rationalizing the railways. The present wage agreement ends next year but already the railway bosses have signified their intention of launching one more attack in the immediate future and as the railwaymen only accepted the last wage cuts under pressure from the leaders. The latter look like having to toe the line at last and bring their forces into action.

Rebellion in Transport Workers Union

The Transport Workers Union is also in the throes of severe struggles and at the recent conference at Cambridge, Bevin and Co. had a hard job dealing with the rebellion in the branches. In fact, the period of peace in industry seemed at an end and together with the new attacks to be launched upon the unemployed lays bare the secret activities of the capitalists. They see stormy weather ahead of them, but they are well prepared for whatever comes along. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the working class who seem to be receiving one more lesson in the art of class warfare. But whatever happens in the near future this much is certain, that British capitalism will drift into ever greater difficulties at home and abroad and in the process the British worker will be forced to throw aside the conservative traditions that are meantime shackling him.

The ferocity of the capitalist attack will grow in intensity as capitalism sinks ever deeper in the mire of its own contradictions and the way will once more open up for the building of a Communist party upon the Bolshevik model. Meantime, the leadership of the Communist International is a great stumbling block and this fact is being painfully demonstrated by the peculiar policy of the C. P. of G. B.

(Continued on page 4)

Roosevelt Asks for Class «Peace»

(Continued from Page 1)

while remaining perfectly within the law.

He prefers to see how well his labor lieutenants Green, Hillman, Dubinsky and Co. will be able to fasten their stranglehold on the working masses. The patriotic paraphernalia—"for working class consumption"—will come later. He can bide his time. Capitalism is experimenting and its perspective is a long one.

What the worker can expect from the blanket code is evident from what he received from the grandiose public works scheme. Roosevelt is the sponsor of both. From the public works—the conservation camps—the workers had several hundred thousands of their own employed; at the niggardly wage of \$1 a day.

The blanket code promises minimums of \$14 and \$11. That is to be the law—for employers and workers alike, says the president. What is to prevent the trusts, the syndicates and corporations to mobilize their armies of flunkies lawyers to circumvent the law, as Morgan did with the bank laws? Nothing. The bosses make the laws, they have the "right"—their means, their resources—to break them just as well.

A French wit once said: "The state forbids both rich and poor to steal bread; the state forbids both rich and poor to sleep under bridges."....

The state: Roosevelt—that is the bosses' state. Its laws are the laws and the codes of the employers. Workers' rights must be fought for. They are not granted, they must be snatched from the boss class. The same holds true for the blanket code and the whole Roosevelt rignarole.

Those labor fakery who speak of the Roosevelt administration as "above the classes", who speak of the fairness of the codes, are preparing the workers for further and greater oppression and misery. They must be exposed. Every step of their must be watched, mistrusted. Every proposal carefully examined. The working class counter-proposals, the proletarian counter-strategy to the Roosevelt offensive must be prepared.

The need of the moment is the concentration of all Left wing and genuine progressive forces in the American labor movement for the elaboration of such a policy. The official Communist party under Stalinist leadership and the Muste-Labor Action have called a conference on the National Industrial Recovery Act in Cleveland for August. Whether this conference will accomplish this burning task is questionable and yet to be seen. What is needed to accomplish this task is a well worked out Communist program, one that is based on principle and confirmed by experience, one that will stand the test. Not the least factor in such a program is a correct international orientation. The Left Opposition will be on hand with such a program, it will work with all its might to unite a solid Left wing movement, to make it the driving force within all labor organizations, in the A. F. of L. and among the unorganized.

—SAM GORDON.

How the Bosses Receive N.I.R.A.

(Continued from page 1)

hours, in fact, is treated in the codes as only another form of spreading the work, the "stagger" system introduced during the present crisis on an unprecedented scale. By spreading out the jobs over a greater number of workers, the bosses benefit not only by keeping many of them from the miserly unemployment benefits which they might get but also by establishing the habit of an unprecedentedly low scale of living based on one, two or three days' work a week.

But the greatest immediate benefit of all, which the capitalists will obtain from the act, is its effect in shoving the question of organization into the background, among the masses of undeveloped workers. "Roosevelt and the Recovery Act will take care of wages and hours—why do we need to take out union cards?" is the crudest form of this reaction. Another form is the acceptance even of company unions, as well as of reformist trade union leadership, by hitherto unorganized workers as a great victory achieved without a struggle. This will tend to lead off into "safe" channels the discontent of the workers which would otherwise flow toward the strengthening of the Left wing in reformist unions or the organization of new militant class-struggle unions. Hundreds of thousands of new workers are coming into the AFL from basic industry especially. These workers new to organization unfamiliar with the traditions of reformist bureaucracy will form a broad basis for the future growth of the Left wing.

The revolutionary leadership of the workers cannot remain content with letting the workers find out for themselves how hollow are the illusions with which they are being fed. They must take the initiative in showing the workers that they are getting nothing from the Industrial Recovery Act, that the first codes presented already clearly show the intention of the bosses to give them nothing and of the government to back up the bosses, that the reformist union leaders are simply harnessing the workers

WAVE OF STRIKES .. LABOR'S ANSWER

Furniture Workers in General Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

rank and file of the trade, led by the Left wing, demanded the reintegration of the Left wing union into the American Federation of Labor and for a united general strike under one banner. We believe that the militancy resulting from a victorious strike would inevitably lead to the growth of Left wing strength in the merged union, towards the reestablishment of the Left wing in the leading positions of influence and control which they held prior to 1929.

C. P. Versus the Union

"The upholsterers are going back to Local 76 (A. F. of L.). They are not going; they are running. They are not running; they are already there." This is the private opinion of the majority of the Party fraction in the Furniture Workers Industrial Union. The overwhelming response of the workers to the A. F. of L. strike call sustains that opinion. One party member after another, in a meeting with the representatives of the Trade Union Unity Council, Overgaard and Wortis, thus declared that unless unity was achieved with the A. F. of L. in the coming general strike, we would find ourselves six months from now without a rank and file.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming sentiment in the Party fraction, the TUC representatives put their foot down heavily against any further unity negotiations with the A. F. of L. "betrayers of labor" and ordered that the Industrial Union be maintained at all costs.

The false face of unity behind which the TUC masqueraded was finally ripped aside at a meeting of five shops held Tuesday July 25th to discuss the question of unity between the two unions. The Stalinists refused to give the floor to the representatives of the Left wing group, this time on the pretext that they were not members of those particular shops called to attend that meeting.

Why was this meeting called? Was it because the Stalinists wanted to hear the opinion of the upholsterers as to whether we should unite with Local 76 or not? No. It was because the workers, tired of being fed on empty and worn-out phrases, began to say that, if the Industrial Union does not join 76 as a body, they themselves, as individuals, would join Local 76.

When the organizer of the Industrial Union, it appears, came to the shops to collect a three dollar strike tax, the workers, who naively thought that they were in the midst of unity negotiations, turned on him suspiciously, and said: "Let us wait until the unity negotiations are over. Perhaps we will have one union, perhaps other arrangements will be made, etc." Frightened by the fact that the Industrial Union was losing the little influence it had up till now, the organizer asked them to come to a special shop meeting that night to discuss the question.

The sentiment of the workers at the beginning of the meeting was to go into 76 as a body. The Stalinists were frantic. Demagogic speeches rolled off their tongues that would have shamed Tammany politicians and tabloid sob-sisters. Remarks such as: "Are you going to desert us now?", "I was in jail 26 days for you!", "I shed blood for you!", "I was always on the picket line", etc., etc., filled the air.

The "reviled" leaders again "defeated" the Left wing by denying them the floor, thus preventing an open comparison of policies which they knew could swing the bulk of the membership in favor of unity. By tiring the rank and file with speeches and appeals, in which only the Stalinist point of view was expressed, they finally put through a vote to "strike under the banner of the Industrial Union" in the coming strike.

Do the party leaders think this is an endorsement of their policy of obstructing unity? It was nothing but a vote of sympathy and confidence in those individuals who made the appeals, but in no sense can it be construed as approval for the split policy of the party in the furniture industry. Let them not deceive themselves about their following. The workers in the shops want unity today, in the heat of the strike, even more than before the strike was called. It must be stated here that the Stalinists, with the calling of the general strike, have already lost the golden opportunity to unite the two streams in the movement, the Left and the Right. They will stand convicted in the eyes of the entire movement, of complicity if not collusion with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. in preventing the achievement of what lies nearest and dearest in the heart of every furniture worker in the industry: one strong union.

to the bosses' wagon by their policy of class collaboration, and that the workers will get nothing unless they fight for it. This means the unifying and strengthening of the Left wing in the reformist unions, taking advantage of the new changes in the position of the AFL; as well as the organization of broad class struggle industrial unions in those industries characterized by great concentration of capital and wide use of unskilled labor, which the A. F. of L. has up to now been afraid to organize and is now entering, thanks to NIRA.

—B. J. FIELD.

All Out on the Picket Line!

Every shop in the trade, large or small, join the strike. The Left wing calls upon you to support the general strike and the following demands:

1. The 30 hour—5 day week in place of the 44 hour week now prevailing.
2. Minimum scale of \$1.40 per hour in place of the 60c average now prevailing.
3. Abolition of the Piece Work System.
4. Provisions in contract for higher wages when cost of living rises—the union to determine when and how much.
5. Protect allied trades by AMALGAMATING them into one strong industrial union.
6. No collaboration with the bosses under the National Recovery Act.
7. A militant general strike, and a class-struggle union, for better conditions in the trade.

For the Left wing group,
—CARL COWL.
—SOL LANKIN.

Pocketbook Workers Win Conditions

(Continued from Page 1)

mands of the workers. The Left wing however, must be criticized for not asking for a referendum vote on such an important matter as a settlement of a strike. The workers of the Association shops were out on strike for three and a half weeks.

Through the militant struggle of the workers, the bosses had to yield to some of the workers demands. If the strike would have been led by a militant leadership, and not by the "Fraternal Club" administration and the other cliques, the workers would have won all their just demands.

Now let us analyze the partial demands the workers gained from the employers.

(1) 40 hour week beginning September 1st.

(2) Reorganization—readjustments under which the workers suffered for the last two years—is abolished in the new agreement.

(3) Manufacturers will not be allowed to send work out to contracting shops or buy merchandise while their workers are not employed in their shops full time.

For these concessions, the "Fraternal Club" administration gave up one of the important demands: the Unemployment Insurance fund. Although the unemployed workers got very little out of the fund because the S. P. fakery, Dr. Hendin, with the "Club" boys misused the fund for themselves, nevertheless, the employers had to pay over \$60,000 a year to the fund. This money was given back to the employers as a present for the demands they were forced to give to the workers. Another important demand our officers gave up was a scale of wages for general helpers, and packers.

The strike in the Association shops is over, the strike in the independent shops is going on with more vigor until the employers will be forced to grant the demands, and to sign an agreement with the Union. The workers who will go back to the shops in the next few days must remember and see to it that the agreement is carried out a hundred percent. For this it is necessary to elect the proper Chairman and committee men in the shops. The workers cannot rely on the present administration to carry through that agreement for them in the shops. The workers must organize and stick together in the shops as a unit as they did in time of strike.

G. Zinoviev on the Party Regime

(Continued from Page 3)

youth who replaced comrade Putno when the latter was shipped to Japan. Interprets the reference of comrade Trotsky to Clemenceau as a demand for shooting the peasants at the front in time of war. What is this if not an open Thermidorian, not to say Black-Hundred, agitation, the aim of which is to counterpose the peasantry to the Opposition section of the workers' party? And this villainy does not call for any rebuff from the party leadership despite the fact that the attention of the CCC was called to it.

We shall not speak of the miserable editorials by Skvortsov in the *Izvestia*, or of the poetical participation on "party" questions of Dem. Jan Bedny, whose licentiousness grows simultaneously with his ideological poetical vanity. The kulaks is provoking the increasing disgust and contempt of the most detached party members, who are not at all Oppositionists. At the same time there can be no doubt if anyone's mind that the putrid writings of D. Bedny are "encouraged" from above. Everybody knows that all publications are controlled through the press department by the Secretariat, that is, in actuality, by comrade Stalin.... In all the facts enumerated above we consider the most serious the expulsion and exile of workers and in general, of party members, for their Oppositionist convictions; the system of breaking up party meetings by gangs organized from above and the pogrom agitation in the press....

(Continued from Page 1)

creases of not less than 20 percent. Mayor Dickman will undoubtedly do his darndest to settle the strike, in his customarily picturesque manner, of appointing an "arbitration" committee and then soap-boxing to the strikers, telling them to accept the offer like good little children and "sin no more".

Several hundred workers have been striking at Jackes-Evans Mfg. Company for almost a month. They are demanding recognition of their union, the United Metal Stampers and Assemblers Union, in addition to wage increases. This strike has the support of the Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League, who are now having a re-birth in St. Louis. So far the manufacturer's attempts to use strike-breakers has not succeeded in crushing the strike.

The Shoe Strike

The strike situation that is the most important at the present time is a "wild-cat" spontaneous rebellion of boot and shoe workers. St. Louis is a shoe town. The organized shoe workers have taken wage cut after wage cut (50-75%) since the beginning of the depression. The Boot and Shoe Union officials are such perfect agents of the bosses that they endorsed the wage-cuts, every time. Indignant, the shoe workers would vote en-masse against accepting the cut and spontaneously walk out of the meeting. The union officials would then "over-ride" the voting and would call another meeting and another and still another until finally the rank and file rebellion would change to a sickening disgust. No leaders, no program, everything looked hopeless. So the shoe-workers throughout St. Louis periodically drew in their belts a little tighter, retaining the bosses' sugary words of "as soon as business picks up, you'll get back the same scale".

Inflation—increased production of shoes—and the over-worked, under-paid shoeworkers began to demand the former scale. The workers just had to get higher wages, the cost of living was rising terrifically. The shoe companies accordingly offered wage increases—but not large enough to offset their previous reductions. This roneging of the bosses' promise was the match that made the shoe workers see fire.

A Rebellion in the Union

750 Millus Shoe Company employees met last Monday (July 17th) to consider the wage increases. The union officials, Mc-Morrow, International Boot and

Shoe representative, and Phillips, business agent, urged acceptance of the company's "liberal" offer. The workers militantly denounced both the company and the union officials. They demanded, and insisted they were going to get, 33 1-3 percent increase on grade B shoes, 12 1-2 percent increase on fancy shoes, a forty hour week, and no overtime. The chairman fingered the speakers: "You strike and you get fined \$25.00." The workers unsated the chairman, walked out of the union hall, and went out on strike. They rented a separate hall and announced their intentions of striking for their demands till hell froze over.

McMorrow, the union representative, immediately telegraphed the National Industrial Recovery Administration that the union officials regarded the strike as a "violation of the arbitration agreement and against the spirit of Roosevelt's administrative recovery plans."

While this was happening, 1000 shoe workers employed at Wolfe-Tober Shoe Mfg Co. voted down the offer of a 10 percent wage increase and came forward with their own demands: 20 percent increase on B shoes, 12 1-2 percent increase on fancy, 40 hour week, no overtime. The shoe workers ran the union fakers out of the hall and conducted their own meeting. They decided to strike with the Millus workers. Wolfe, the owner of the shoe company, however immediately got in touch with them and asked them to give him a week to reconsider. The shoe-workers decided to wait the seven days.

The week ends July 24th, when the Wolfe employees are holding a "secret" meeting to consider their action. The indications are that Wolfe will accede to their demands without a strike struggle. The Millus strikers have, in the meantime, gained everyone of their demands, over the heads of the Boot and Shoe labor fakery.

Now Briar Bros. workers are considering "wild-cattin'" for their demands. The resentment against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union officials is so great that both Millus and Wolfe-Tober shoe workers, en-masse, all agree to rent a separate hall for the purpose of holding "committee" meetings, separate from the Boot and Shoe. What will happen within the next few weeks is hard to foretell.—RALPH MARTIN

Mirror Workers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

one time tried to affiliate it with the Metal Workers Industrial Union, for one reason or another nothing came of this attempt.

The young workers of this trade, driven to desperation by the continuous slashing of their wages, the intolerably long hours, the filthy sweat shops without any of the improvements gained by workers in other trades, decided to take matters in their own hands.

A number of workers more energetic than the rest (notably among them Charles Aiosa, unaided by anyone) distributed a circular calling upon the workers of this trade to attend a meeting. The circular met with an unusually enthusiastic response. The meeting was attended by a majority of the workers in the trade. After some preliminary remarks by the author of the circular a strike was immediately decided upon. A list of demands was drawn up listing among other things, an 8 hour day—five day week a raise in wages and piece work rates. At the same time the union began to crystallize and take shape finally, evolving into the Novelty Mirror Workers Union.

As can be seen by the account thus far, the whole thing was done hastily, in the most haphazard fashion, unaided by any experienced trade unionists. Consequently a number of mistakes were made, namely, the demand for piece work and the failure to consider the workers in the other crafts in the same trade.

A member of the Left Opposition in the trade (whose craft was not considered) met with the strikers several times (after the strike was declared) and pointed out the absurdity of such a step—piece work—and that unless the union was organized on an industrial basis the chances of winning the strike would be greatly lessened. However the list of demands had already been handed in to the various bosses. Encouraging replies were returned which partially raised the prices on all sizes of mirrors although not quite complying with the workers' demands had evidently fired them with so much enthusiasm that it was impossible to sway them from their original plans.

However it was determined to organize and call out the whole industry in the event that the bosses remained adamant in their stand. The workers overwhelmingly voted to continue striking and immediately a strike committee was elected and picketing ordered in front of all shops.

Simultaneously with the organization of the union the bosses had quickly gotten together and formed an association. Negotiations went on directly with the association. To date a number of shops have already signed up, though no final settlements have been arrived at. All shops must be signed up before the workers will return to work. With all the inexperience and errors made at the start, it is reasonable to believe that the battle will not have been in vain.

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On Some Misconceptions of Fascism and State Capitalism

In addition to the Stalinist practice of tagging everything and everybody not a member of the official Communist party (or close sympathizer) with the contradictory label of social-Fascist and Scott Nearing's amusing view of Fascism as a movement based on a retreat from the technological mass production economy of today to the village economy of the past, a new conception of Fascism has come into being. This conception has for its basic premise the belief that "State Capitalism" is a distinguishing characteristic of Fascist dictatorship. It sees in the growth of state control over industry and state monopolies a move toward Fascism when in reality such a process is a part of the evolutionary tendency of capitalism and has been developing for a good many years.

Increasing state capitalism is not a characteristic peculiar to Fascism but is a phenomenon present during the state of economic and political development which makes the rise of Fascism historically possible. It is an instrument of imperialism, being an advanced form of the mechanism by which competition between capitalist countries is carried on—a sort of a growing integration of the economic activity of a national or international unit as a whole.

By means of concentration and centralization, the credit system, issue of securities, financial pressure, directorships, ownership of stock, etc., a handful of finance capitalists have organized the economic life of the various nations into virtual monopolies. The parts of this system are ever in the process of drawing closer together, due to a certain interrelation of interests, thereby exhibiting a tendency to transform the entire economic activity of each of the leading countries into a single national enterprise under the control of the state which acts as an "executive committee of the ruling classes" regulating prices, production, distribution, etc. At the same time there is occurring the formation of actual state monopolies financed by large banks, as well as monopolies jointly controlled by the state and private trusts.

Between 1914 and 1919, under pressure of the demands of the world war, the move toward state capitalism went forward at a rapid pace. In Germany, for instance, in addition to state control of private enterprises and jointly controlled, "mixed" enterprises, state monopolies for the production of bread, potatoes, nitrates, etc. were formed. The financial system was centralized under control of the Reichsbank. In short, the entire economic life of the nation was consolidated temporarily into a single unit, the same process being discernible in other belligerent nations and, to a lesser degree, in some of the non-belligerent ones.

Since then, although state capitalism subsided for a time, its growth has reached a point where emphasis must be placed upon the competition and antagonisms occurring between nations as national

units rather than upon those occurring within the territorial confines of the various capitalist powers. State control of industry or state capitalism, during the present period of capitalist decay, with its narrowing markets, is the mechanism by which individual national economies or countries are preparing to attempt to wrest from other national economies a larger share of the existing trade and world control. It is the mechanism by which the living standards of the workers will be driven further downward.

Nor is its development confined to Europe. On the contrary state capitalism is almost as evident in "democratic" United States as it is in Fascist Germany and to view the process as a move toward Fascist dictatorship is to create confusion.

The fundamental role of Fascism is not to form a so-called "corporatist state" but to prevent the workers from moving toward social revolution. Fascism will gain strength precisely at the moment when the workers begin to threaten—when the revolutionary movement begins to assume menacing proportions—and once it comes to power it will seek to destroy not only the vanguard but also all working class organizations and to sweep out of existence all elements of working class democracy.

To believe that it will "convert big business into an adjunct of the state", as is claimed in an article in the July issue of the *Modern Monthly*, is to reveal a failure to understand its real character. To see in the growth of state control a move toward Fascism is to create the illusion that the present administration of the United States is Fascistic and tends to resurrect the theory of social-Fascism in another form.

In reality, Fascism is an instrument created and maintained by the big bourgeoisie to protect themselves against the march of the workers. As comrade Trotsky pointed out in *What Next?*:

"After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: The entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the cooperatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the pattern set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism."

—SIMMONS.

ing. Better exile a thousand than leave a single oppositionist. That same goal was aimed at by the passportization; the fear was lest any oppositionist be left in factories who are capable of leading the movement, which could easily start up, on account of the general situation. Prophylaxis. And now the chistka has begun, they are getting scared more and more.

The wife of one of those arrested said to the prosecutor, "Why did you arrest him? He has completely faded for his past, is absorbed in his work, etc., etc." But the prosecutor demanded of her that she divorce her husband.

....They say that in the Soviet Union there is no inequality, that the highest "leaders" receive so much and so much. In my opinion there is no more distinct form of inequality than the inequality between the one who is simply well fed and the one who is simply hungry. Our bureaucrats are well fed, clothed, and lives in heated and well-lit apartments. But millions of workers live in barracks, in simply bestial conditions, and this has been going on for years on end. To the worker's needs, to his complaint of hunger, and to this complaint of hunger, and to this dissatisfaction, the bureaucratic replies that this is no class-conscious worker, but the peasant of yesterday.

....Not long before Hitler's assumption of power I happened to be present during the following conversation (in a train). A bureaucrat was talking about the approaching German revolution and the hard lot of the German unemployed. The first part was listened to with distrust but the second part was rudely interrupted: That's a lie. Why, then, do the German workers run away from us, one female worker said bitterly. Ironical remarks flew from all sides. The orator tried to defend himself. "It's all lies, there is nothing worse than the Soviet rule; our kids always throw it up to us, they choose such a government ourselves", the same woman retorted with extreme sharpness. Of course, that is only an isolated incident but it shows that in the backward layers of the proletariat the dissatisfaction at times goes a long way....

NEW ONE.

End of May 1933.

Letter from Moscow U.S.S.R.

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better supplied. In any case everything revolves about a piece of daily bread. Because of it people submit to the monstrous sufferings of those journeys. "Leaders" and bureaucrats call them contemptuously "fly-by-nights", "kulaks", "speculators" sometimes simply "peasants" which should signify that their hunger is not real because they are not as yet real proletarians, but instead these people should be....fed....These "speculators"—are speculating only to get a piece of bread. These "fly-by-nights" fly from one factory to the next for the same piece of bread.

You know to what extent thievery has grown. The theft of collective property, even if it is potatoes or bread, is a capital crime. It has been completely forgotten that thievery is the product of conditions and not of evil character. Instead of destroying the causes and instead of education we have brutal laws. We are going backwards....

All are tired, filled with despair. Only a small part of those who are absolutely well fed still believes in the leadership. The leadership demands courage and optimism. "We have not only lived through worse difficulties, but conquered! That is the ultimate wisdom of a bureaucracy that is entirely confused. But why pick on them, they are enmeshed in their own chains. One can say with assurance that out of ten party members eight are eaten with doubts. In private conversation they relate that in the nuclei and in the conferences all the decisions are accepted....unanimously. Why? What's the use? If I rot in Siberia, I won't help matters any by it."

I have heard that Elsmont had no group whatever, it was simply a case of four people a little intoxicated, sighing how good it would be if Stalin were removed. Outside of this insipid sigh there was nothing at all.

Wholesale arrests among those who had left the Opposition (in Moscow alone more than 150 were arrested and exiled) were explained as a prophylactic measure. Although many of the captives were passive, no confidence was had in them. Stalin evidently considers that it is necessary to exile a man before he succeeds to begin think-