



## Foreign Developments

### After the Collapse of the London Confab

The London Economic Conference, which opened less than two months ago to the accompaniment of a tremendous blast of publicity, of hopes, promises and fears, has slipped quietly to an early grave. International cooperation among the competitive national organizations of monopoly capitalism has once again proved to be a utopian illusion, under which bankrupt democracy and aggressive imperialism can conceal their nakedness.

The keynote of the conference was the antagonism between American and British imperialism. France utilized the conference as a mobilization ground for its political and financial allies. Germany, which was in the position of merely asking for concessions without even the bluff of having anything to offer, was completely shoved into the background.

With the illusory hopes of common action thus shattered, national policies must again pull in different directions in accordance with the special situations and needs of monopoly capitalism in the different countries. All the major problems have been left unsolved—increasing production, dealing with unemployment, markets, currency stability. The efforts to solve them by reestablishing the unity of the world market having failed, the immediate next steps will undoubtedly further increase the disproportions and contradictions of the various sections of the world market, and the political expression of these contradictions in preparation for war.

#### Economic Trends in U. S.

The general background against which these efforts are taking place is one of mild improvement in the crisis on its way into depression, although nowhere is the improvement taking place at such hysterical speed as in the United States. The upturn here would have had to take on a violent character at some point, if only because of the extremely low points which had been reached on the downward swing of the crisis. A further stimulating factor was the zig-zagging character of the course toward inflation, which allowed both wild speculative uprushes and also severe speculative setbacks, depending upon the manner in which day-to-day events allowed the government's policy to be interpreted. Twice during the past two months the president had to intervene in a falling speculative market with the assurance that he had not given up the idea of inflation.

On this policy, of course, America was unable to swing Europe behind it; the post-war experience of most European countries was recent enough to remind them what a drastic surgical operation it constitutes. With all the more enthusiasm, then, repulsed on the field of international agreement, the Roosevelt government jumped into the activities of the National Recovery Administration, centralizing and coordinating American capitalism on its national territory before the next decisive leap at foreign markets.

The British policy has been one of aggressive competition for foreign trade on the basis of stabilized currency and slow, definite increases in price levels, production and financial basis in gold reserves and note circulation. The unexpected coup of the Argentine trade agreement, the removal of the embargo on Soviet trade, the steady increases in tariffs, all point in this direction. The reparation of British money held abroad, and to some extent an influx of foreign short-term credits, have broadened the financial basis of these operations and have reflected the willingness of large sections of European capital to support England in the duel with America.

#### France and the Crisis

In France, the situation is complicated by the fact that the work of liquidation and deflation, accomplished by the crisis in most advanced countries, has not been fully achieved owing to a variety of causes: the delay of more than a year before the crisis actually began, the prompt adoption of governmental measures to shut off France from the world crisis by trade restrictions and the maintenance of domestic markets, the special favors given to certain industries whereby they suffered less from the crisis but the government was burdened more, etc. The appearance of relative immunity from the crisis brought in large amounts of foreign capital for short-term investment in France during 1931 and 1932, thus still further adding to its apparent strength, but in reality contributing a potential element of great weakness. In international capital loses its confidence in the financial stability of France, the French financial situa-

tion will prove to be very vulnerable. In the meantime, the price level within France remains high, while wage-cuts in general have not gone as deep as in the United States or Germany. This however puts increasing pressure on French capitalism, which will inevitably attempt to force its burdens on to the French proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie. The budget has become unbalanced to a frightening

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### Hitler Executes Four Altona Communists

The Nazi beast has struck again. This time he has brought down four heroic workers who took part in the defense of the working-class quarter of Altona, near Hamburg, when the brown shirts invaded them in a provocative parade last year. The Hamburg workers, steeled in the traditions of the fights of 1919 and 1921, bitterly resented the invasion and drove the uniformed gangsters out.

The authors of the Nazi massacre were at that time condemned to death the better to feed the then democratic illusions of the masses and conceal the preparations for Fascism that were going on throughout the apparatus of the German government. Now the hypocritical mask of democratic measures can be cast aside. The Nazi terrorists have been freed, pardoned and treated as heroes. The Communist workers who acted in self-defense have been beheaded.

The last words of one of the four beheaded comrades were: "The death penalty is the largest honor for a revolutionary."

### Dissension in French S. P. Right Wing Actual Victors -- "Left" Compromises

The congress of the S. F. I. O. (French Socialist Party) concluded after giving the Left wing an absolute majority (2,197 votes) over the Centerists (981 votes) and the Right wing (753 votes) and also over the 104 votes received for the resolution of the Socialist Action.

1. The congress was opened with a speech by Vandervelde, president of the Labor and Socialist International who begged the delegates not to disrupt the unity of their organization. The ex-minister of the Belgian king epitomized the confusion reigning in the leading circles of the 2nd International. This organization suffered a terrible blow by the victory of Fascism in Germany. All the organizations, in which the reformist leaders placed so much trust, collapsed without resistance like houses of cards. It is worthless to hope that the Vanderveldes and the Adlers will condemn their own policies; after having dispensed with several German social democrats who vainly tried to lick Hitler's boots, they recommend the Comintern method to their organizations: Have the determination to remain united. But events are stronger than Vandervelde's tirades.

2. Split, more than ever before, is first on the order of the day. From the time of the black-white motions up till the declaration of war by the Right wing after the vote of censure hardly a month has passed. The Right wing not only exposed the conflict before the socialist and international party masses but also before "republican and socialist public opinion of this country". In other words, the unity of the Socialist party remains only a formal aspect; each tendency is opening the battle for influence over the masses of the country. Under these circumstances, the maneuvers of each of the tendencies to shift "responsibility" for the split are relatively secondary.

3. The Left wing won out in the voting; but the political advantage of the congress was uncontestedly gained by the Right wing. And it is no wonder. Only the Right wing was decisive. The Left wing, on the contrary, in the process of evolution, was split into numerous tendencies and grouplets. Also, the Right wing stated its program clearly and frankly at the Congress. It hid nothing, it spoke to the whole country. We are not politicians they said, but statesmen. We are ready to give France an authoritative government which will assure internal order and the security of the frontiers. The fact that that pronouncement was not made in the old traditional verbiage caused a stir of "surprise" in Blum's camp. In order to retain their majority, the leaders of the Left wing avoided all votes on the

### USSR Accorded Recognition by Spanish Gov't. Strike Spreads to New Shops

Recognition of the U.S.S.R., by Spain as cabled to the *New York Times* is hailed by the *Izvestia* as a step taken when "the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union had been decided finally and without argument." "The extension of the international connections of the U. S. S. R. is direct evidence of the force of socialism. Capitalist governments are forced to reckon with the U. S. S. R. as a factor with which for their own interest it is better to live at peace."

To speak of the "victory of socialism" as "decided finally," and "it is better," for the capitalist, "to live at peace," with the Soviet Union is to confuse the real state of affairs and the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. Recognition does not flow from the capitalist desire "to live at peace" with the Soviet Union, not because of the "victory of socialism". The opposite is true.

The pressure of world conditions in the decay stage of capitalism and the quest for profits forces capitalist nations to trade with anyone, even with the Soviet Union. The *Izvestia* does not fool the capitalists with this kind of phrases. This helps disarm the workers to dangers to their own class and helps the capitalists cover up their war plans. The victory of Fascism in Germany and the victory of Japan in the East against China and the Soviet Union places the Soviet Union in the most dangerous position it has been in since the days of open intervention and civil war.

The realignment of imperialist forces since Hitler took power forces the Soviet Union to make amends with Poland, France, etc. and now Spain. To cloak these forced concessions as victories is to prepare the way for greater mistakes and concessions.

A spirit of militancy pervades the upholsterers who are in their second week of strike. Over fifty shops, large and small, have already responded to the call issued a week ago, Thursday by local 70 of the American Federation of Labor. The demands are for the 30 hour week and the basic minimum wage of \$1.40 per hour. The manufacturers association have failed to bring the strikers back into the shops with promises to live up to the code, especially after the proposed conditions of the code were made public (44 hour week and 34c per hour). A roar of laughter went up from the men when this was read off by Brother Moskowitz, chairman of the strike committee. Code or no code, the men are in no mood to be tricked into any conditions below those demanded by the strike. Every day new shops are pulled. The notoriously scabby Trade shop on Long Island, the backbone of the open shoppers, came down 100%. With the determination the men are now showing the strike is bound to win.

In the midst of the solid spirit of the men, however, is to be found that apathy which is characteristic of men who are coming into the union and into the strike for the first time. It is easier to rely upon leaders than to take active responsibility yourself. Too much work and responsibility is being shoved upon a few individuals at the top. As a result, the struck shops do not meet to consider the particular plans of their shop. The daily general strike meeting is not sufficient. The particular problems of the individual shops cannot be taken up there. For example—the "farming out" of work by Levittes shop to a two by four dump, which threatens to demoralize the men of that shop, could have been avoided if handled by the shop committee. Also a closer tab should be kept by the shop committees on the location and activity of the men, so that at any time the union could put its finger on any sore spot.

We consider it our duty to express our opinion on the question of pulling signed shops during a general strike. The general strike takes precedence over all such agreements. Strikers do not understand why those union men who called them on strike, themselves go back to work on the basis of the old agreement, and not on the basis of the strike demands. The bosses always break agreements when it is to their advantage to do so. Maison Art, for example, introduced piece work into their shop in direct violation of the agreement signed last September with the union. Greggpoint and others all violated the agreement by paying single time instead of time and a half for overtime. A general strike of the trade in all cases takes precedence over extent contracts. No work should be produced in these shops. What About the Industrial Union?

The Industrial Union, with the calling of the general strike, has adopted an entirely new set of tactics. Knowing that the overwhelming sentiment of the men is for going into the A. F. of L., they have adopted the policy of "helping" the strike under the slogan of "unity with the rank and file". In view of the cool reception that their strike demands got from the strikers, they changed them from \$1 an hour and the 40 hour week to \$1.15 an hour and the 35 hour week. In this respect they are still lagging behind the A. F. of L. The excuse of not knowing what

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### 35,000 Pa. Mine Workers Strike For Right of Union Organization

Western Pennsylvania is again aflame with a miner's revolt growing daily in sweep and scope. The miners' wives from the outset joined directly in the battle taking the blows with their husbands and giving blows as the powerful picket

### Leon Trotsky Moves From Turkey to France

Comrade Leon Trotsky has finally obtained permission from the French Government to make a trip for his health to Corsica and Southern France where, he will stay, for an indefinite period. Around these simple facts a number of wild legends and conjectures have been built, both by the bourgeois and the Stalinist press. It has been stated for instance that comrade Trotsky will be sent to the United States as first Soviet Ambassador, that he has made peace with Stalin and Litvinoff that the French government is willing to have him because he will help them against Hitler, etc.

It is not necessary to make any special answer to all these rumors except to point out that they are completely devoid of a basis in fact. When the Stalinists insinuate, however, as in a recent issue of the *Daily Worker*, that this is the reward of the bourgeoisie for comrade Trotsky's services to them against the Soviet Union on his trip to Copenhagen last year, we

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### Japan Provokes the Soviets Criminal Stalinist Policies Weaken Soviet Resistance

Shanghai.—There is a lull in military activities in North China following upon the conclusion of the Tangku truce which leaves Japan in virtual occupation of a huge "demilitarized zone" flanking the Great Wall. Japanese imperialism is now drawing back preparatory to a fresh leap forward, and it is commonly believed that their next objective is Outer Mongolia, the possession of which would add to their strategic advantages in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

Out here, the view is widely held that the Soviet position vis-a-vis Japan and the entire imperialist world has been greatly weakened as a result of the capitulationist policy pursued by Moscow, notably in regard to the agreement to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway. The fact shaken menacingly in the face of imperialism by Voroshilov is no longer taken seriously, since these gestures are not borne out in practice. "Not an inch of our territory," yell Stalin and Voroshilov in unison. But in the interests of their "peace-loving policy" they have adopted such a weak-kneed attitude before the political and military minions of the Mikado that they have virtually lost the entire Chinese Eastern Railway. If the line were not sold now, it would be seized. The negotiations going on in Tokyo are simply a face-saver for Soviet diplomacy, giving a formal character to a fait accompli. Both Moscow and Tokyo

know this, and China knows it also. In the circumstances, it is a foregone conclusion that Japan will get the C. E. R. on her own and not on Soviet terms. "Sell on our terms or we will seize it—we know you'll not fight to retain it!"—this is the Japanese attitude.

#### Provocations by Japan

Japan is evidently so convinced that the Soviet Union will not fight in defense of her interests that quite recently she took the bold step of sending one of her warships, the H. I. J. M. S. Tachikaze, into Soviet territorial waters off the Kamchatka coast allegedly to investigate the shooting of three Japanese fishermen in the region of Cape Olga. The warship entered these waters after permission for it to do so had been expressly refused by Moscow.

Meanwhile Moscow, claiming to have established the fact that three Japanese fishermen were shot and killed by Soviet coast guards near Cape Olga, has tendered a cringing apology to the Japanese government, agreeing to mete out dire punishment to the coast guards and to compensate the families of those killed. In the Soviet note on the subject, however, no mention is made of the fact that the fishermen were killed while trespassing in Soviet waters—surely a mitigating circumstance! No, in the interests of placating the Japanese bandits the Moscow epigones take upon themselves or, rather, upon the unfortunate coastguards who presumably were performing their duty) the entire blame.

By way of contrast, the Japanese foreign office returned a curtly truculent reply to the Moscow protest against the Japanese destroyer entering Soviet waters after being forbidden to do so.

Judging by past experience, it is reasonable to suppose that the Japanese imperialists will be further encouraged by the kowtowing attitude of Moscow. The day following the Soviet apology, three Soviet fishing vessels were seized by Japanese warships and their crews placed under arrest on charges of spying in the neighborhood of the Kurile Islands. And now inspired reports are appearing, alleging discrimination against Japanese shipping at Vladivostok, a port which the Japanese imperialists have long coveted. More and graver situations may be expected, and are expected. Thus Soviet diplomacy a la Litvinov and company, expressed in action, is bringing the Soviet Union nearer to war with Japan—just the precise opposite of what is being aimed at. Successive retreats before the Japanese bandits (which began in late 1931, when Japanese troops were arbitrarily transported over

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1930 the Pittsburgh Terminal Company again recognized the U. M. W., and signed a sort of a contract, though not one agreeable to the men.

#### Test of Recovery Act

This strike is one of the many expressions of working class attitude under the national industrial recovery efforts. It is a test indicating that the working class is ready to resume the offensive, not relying upon the clauses of the recovery act but upon its own mass power to enforce its right to union organization and to gain better conditions. While in progress, the spokesmen for the steel trust at Washington hypocritically eliminated from their industrial code the demand for company unions. Obviously their intention was to rely upon the police club and soldier bayonets to maintain this demand in practice. They have struck a snag. The miners gave the answer: Up to this point, but no further.

On July 29 the Pennsylvania governor dispatched National Guard troops to Fayette County—to "maintain order." How did the troops discharge that duty? It became the immediate signal for the H. C. Frick Company to declare its mines reopened, calling for scab labor and pledged governmental protection. A new bloody onslaught was launched upon the miners led by the company's privately armed deputies, of which the H. C. Frick Company is said to have—only 275. But despite these heavy odds against the workers they have stood their ground. The mines remained idle, the strike spread.

#### Conditions in Fayette Coke Region

Between the black hills of Fayette county lie dotted numerous of the old type beehive coke ovens, stretching their low built structure for blocks with the rows of open fires resembling miniature open-hearth steel furnaces. Daily these ovens belch out smoke blackening everything in sight. A heavy pall hangs over the little mining communities. But that accounts for nothing compared to the heavy hand of the steel trust in evidence everywhere. Everything is company owned, the soil, the miners homes, the city and village administrations, the stores in which the miners make their purchases often in company scrip as the only reward received for their labor. The laws laid down by the steel trust are enforced by their own "yellow dog" deputies. For years the Fayette county miners have been compelled to work under these most revolting conditions. It is these conditions that the steel trust fights tooth and nail to maintain.

Many attempts have been made by these miners to organize a union as the only protection for their rights. Often they were sold out by the U. M. W. officials. We still remember the dastardly sell-out of the 1922 strike when John L. Lewis signed the Cleveland agreement leaving out 60,000 miners of Fayette and adjacent counties and sacrificing their budding organization. The miners were caught in a death trap; but they have been fighting on ever since. Now again they are joining the U. M. W.

#### What Does this Strike Indicate?

There is much to be learned from this present Pennsylvania miners' strike. It is offensive in its character. Perhaps that is its greatest significance. In that sense it is very indicative for the future, particularly when viewed in connection with many other strikes throughout the country, smaller but similar in character. Does it not bring eloquent testimony to the conclusion which we have drawn long ago that in the stage of recovery efforts the class struggle is bound to increase in intensity? In its further development these struggles are just as sure to immensely sharpen the class distinctions in the United States and serve to lead the workers toward political consciousness as a class.

The strike also indicates that during the recovery period there will be a decisive trend of the working masses toward union organization. The stream will head toward the conservative unions despite all their failures and betrayals. Perhaps one can say that in the Pennsylvania mine fields there is today no other union in existence anyway. That is true. The National Miners Union by its utterly false policies and methods long ago forfeited its right to existence and passed out of oblivion. But that only so much more proves the point and indicates the future trend. To keep abreast with that trend the Left wing must now take up in earnest the problem of lodging itself within the mass unions.

—A. S.

## BACKGROUND OF THE NEW DEAL

By the developments toward the much heralded national industrial recovery, which have taken place so far, it appears that the New Deal is getting on the way. Maybe this should give us an opportunity to determine just what this New Deal is. Undoubtedly the general idea behind it, the system of policies represented by that name, are quite clear. But the New Deal itself will be fully estimated only when it is put over and has become a reality. Today the first steps are being taken, it is set in motion, and we must view it in motion to forecast its final results. It is possible to say at the outset, however, that when finally put over, the New Deal will loom up to the working masses as something entirely different from what it appears to be today.

To the same extent the working class judgment will differ. Today there seems to be an attitude, and quite understandably so, that any change is sure to be for the better; that at least cannot become any worse. Many workers are even captivated by illusions of special benefits from the industrial recovery act and its industrial codes.

Tomorrow when its scope is known we will find that the New Deal lends itself well to other more choice and more harsh names.

Crisis Creates New Conditions

One thing is certain; the system of policies centered around the industrial recovery efforts represents something new, at least to the extent that new conditions press for new methods. The new conditions are at hand. The crisis in its course of development laid the basis for them. It offered the possibility of an immense reorganization of the whole national economic structure in preparation for the next stage of the business cycle. Now the problem is to step into that stage and secure an upward economic conjuncture. And it was precisely at this point that many of the old concepts and formulae of capitalist business were found not to fit the new conditions or the new requirements. They were discarded. At the same time new ideas were sweeping the world, catchy ideas, ideas of planned economy. Why not try to apply some

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of them on a capitalist basis? And so, it came about that the ideas now identified with the New Deal are combined into a sort of a plan aiming at the "organization" of capitalism. A greater concentration and centralization of capital, a more gigantic monopoly. It is the proponents of "organized capitalism", appearing under the collective name of the brain trust, who are the moving forces behind these ideas.

#### Capitalist Economy Reorganized

But before we look further into the question of the industrial recovery policies of the Roosevelt administration and in order to gain a better understanding of them, it is necessary to first examine their background. As already mentioned, a crisis becomes also a period of capitalist readjustments. An immense reorganization of the whole structure of American national economy took place during the crisis. With a view to the future, this reorganization followed strictly along the lines of the motive

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## Lessons of the United Front

(Continued from last issue)

### THE FRAME WORK OF THE UNITED FRONT

In the consideration of the united front one must not only know the Leninist concept. One must, above all, apply this to objective conditions, and the frame work of the working class and its organizations.

Local, sectional' national and international united front action are complicated in their application. Defensive and offensive struggles call for different modes of working class motion, just as periods of reaction, reform and revolution do. The immediate objective must at no time be isolated and separated from the direction of the objective. The Marxian is heading for.

### THE REFORMIST REFUSAL OR ACCEPTANCE OF THE UNITED FRONT

The proper application of the united front tactic is a winning one for the revolutionist regardless of the acceptance or refusal of the reformist leaders. The degree of the gain will be altered by the position taken by the misleaders. However, in turn, the position of the misleaders' in refusing or accepting does not rest within their own hands. Their refusal or acceptance in the last analysis rests in the hands of the pressure of their rank and file. Insufficient pressure will enable the fakers to refuse and strong pressure will compel the misleaders to accept or stand exposed. This does not mean we revert to united front from below. We increase the PRESSURE from below, upon the organization to force them into the united front.

If the leadership is able to prevent the organization from joining the united front we expose such a leadership, not through slander but through political criticism. If the pressure is sufficient to force the leaders into the united front and "if" their program is not to the interest of the working class and their action opposed to working class interest than we EXPOSE THEM IN ACTION as part of the united front. A Marxist can expose an opportunist and reformist if they refuse action. It is far better and a more thorough job of exposure if it is done in action.

Workers do not have illusions only about certain misleaders in whom they still have faith. They also have many illusions about capitalism. In action, around the united front, the twofold process of disillusionment in misleaders and in the capitalist system can be developed. Only Marxian revolutionists can stand this acid test.

### CALLING THE UNITED FRONT

The calling of the united front is not the simple task of sending a letter to all working class organizations. Many Right wing secretaries will throw the communication in the basket and the organization will in no way have knowledge of the projected united front. After it is decided to call a united front and before the provisional committee (whatever may be its composition) sends out the call those taking the initiative should organize their own forces to bring pressure from below on all other organizations and especially in the organizations that have labor fakers at the head. The rank and file of those taking the initiative must know about the call and its objective. They must set to work preparing the ground work for the call so when it is sent to all the working class organizations there is sufficient pressure from below to force as many organizations as possible into united working class action. Continued effort must be made to bring those organizations in the united front that at first refuse. Political exposure of those organizations must be carried on.

### UNITED FRONTS THAT EXCLUDE COMMUNISTS OR HAVE WRONG PROGRAMS

There are many types of reformers who endeavor to carry on united front action between reformist organizations and exclude the Communists in order to keep the conference and action respectable. The relation of the Communist to this policy of exclusion should be that of breaking into the conference. This refers to united front action on immediate demands. We will consider all factors involved more than once before breaking into a parliamentary united front action of reformists.

The second question of importance in such a united front called by reformists is the question of what kind of a draft program they have presented. We must enter to oppose their class collaboration policy with a policy of class struggle. If we pass the first line trench and are seated but do not succeed in shaping the immediate demands into a program of action and class struggle we should not serve on the Executive Committee elected to carry out the reformist, abstract, anti-working class, opportunist program of the united front.

The third important relationship to consider is the relationship of our entrance into a united front that is dominated by forces that adopt a fundamentally wrong program of action such as the Amsterdam Congress of the Stalinists or the Washington Continental Congress of the reformists. Under such a circumstance we expose

## LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

### A Report from the Middle West

Davenport, Iowa.—The following is a report on activities in the tricity (Davenport, Muscatine and Rock Island) and throughout the state of Iowa:

No doubt you are aware that the Unemployed Union which was organized on our initiative was taken away from us and we were expelled as the result of a combination of the party leaders and some unscrupulous leaders formed in a faction against us. The Unemployed Union then changed its name to the Cooperative League and became affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Unemployed Council was completely liquidated. And today a fight has broken out between the A. F. of L. leadership and the party. It is doubtful as to the outcome.

Now as to the activities of the party. In Davenport they are doing very little. In East Moline or Moline the Unemployed Council has been more or less captured by a reactionary element, according to our information. The party has organized a Workers School which is not making very much progress. The united front which they organized last spring blew up. No direct benefits were reaped as a result of the "change" of policy of the national leadership of the party on the united front. Now as to the A. F. of L.—As a result of the industrial recovery act they are sweeping the three cities and organizing local union after local union.

#### Muscatine

In Muscatine the party is practically non-existent although they have about nine members who do nothing. The party makes no efforts to educate such good elements as are in its ranks. The Unemployed Council exists only on paper. The Citizens Employed and Unemployed League has stopped functioning. We have some contacts in this city. Through them we will organize some open air meetings and try, in the very near future, to round up some of the elements that have ceased functioning in the party to form some sort of an educational group which will expound our ideas.

There is very little unemployment in Muscatine at this time due to the pick-up in the button industry which is working full blast. It would be very easy to organize a button workers union but the party has made no effort to do so. I am sure that the A. F. of L. will do it in the near future.

#### Des Moines

The party got a very good start in this region but has isolated itself due to incorrect policies. There are about six Unemployed Leagues in the city. The party's Unemployed Council is non-existent. The A. F. of L. never meets though they have some thirty or forty members on paper. While I was there a petition was circulated demanding that the branch meet and that the organizer be forced to call the meeting. The party had a chance to organize the unemployed workers but due to their asinine methods they all went over to the A. F. of L.

The workers in Des Moines are from within the conference if we are allowed into the conference and expose a correct program against theirs. But we do not enter the Executive Committee elected.

### THE FORM OF THE UNITED FRONT

The united front is not only a question of local, national or international unity, and is not a question of unity between organizations or political tendencies to constitute a Left wing in a trade union fight, etc. It is also a question of organizational development to a higher stage.

The organizational development of the united front can take on a varied number of forms. Temporary agreements between organizations on one or several demands or a bloc in struggle that covers a whole series of demands and actions, or a federation as a crystallized higher form of the united front which deals with one phase of the class struggle, etc., or the Soviet, which is the highest form of the united front action of the working class. The Soviet as an organization in itself passes through a whole series of stages of development.

### PLANS AND PROPAGANDA

Delegates do not come to united front conference to hear propaganda speeches. The leaders as well as the delegates who take the floor must be instructed to save their propaganda speeches to use on those workers outside of the united front who have not yet been won over to our action.

Delegates must confine their arguments, and those in charge of the conference must set the keynote on the question of program and how to carry out the program adopted. What to do and how to do it, is the job of the convention, not propaganda speeches. The delegates should not have to be propagandized.

### IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ULTIMATE DEMANDS

United fronts are not passive agreements. United fronts can be only temporary alliances of different organizations in action upon immediate demands. Communists cannot form a permanent body with reformists to fight war or overthrow capitalism. Such can be a

more interested in meetings and lectures than I have seen anywhere in the state. Hundreds gather on the river front in front of the library and hear all kinds of speeches. The party is unable to make any impression on them. I was there for two weeks and held six open air meetings arranged by our sympathizers. It was claimed by everyone that they were the biggest and most interesting meetings held. I had a debate with an I. W. W. on tactics and policies. It was very well received. I had a debate with a socialist on the Industrial Recovery Act where the biggest crowd attended this summer. In both of these debates our group made a very good impression and was congratulated by the workers.

The different industries in the city of Des Moines seem to be picking up. If we can keep up our open air meetings and agitation in Des Moines there is no doubt that we can organize a group. We have spoken to many party members who are very friendly and we have met many times till late at night. The Wobblies are trying to make headway in Des Moines. The A. F. of L. has chartered several locals through the use of the N. I. R. A.

The following is the situation in the mining regions of Iowa: The U. M. W. A. officials got the miners a 22 1-2 wage cut. This was done without a vote of the membership. The miners are very much dissatisfied. Fourteen or fifteen local unions have already endorsed a call for a special district convention. Only sixteen locals are needed for this purpose. Meetings of miners are being held all over the district by opposition forces who are more or less corrupted by the influence of one time office holders within their ranks. Many old party members, especially south Slavs, are in the mines around Iowa. The party thus far has done nothing to crystallize a Left wing within the miners union.

#### Council Bluffs

Here where a year and a half ago we had a splendid movement nothing exists now of the party or the Unemployed Council of the party except a few former disgusted party members. The party organizer does not even bother to do anything at all.

The A. F. of L. has organized a Worker's Protective Association for the Unemployed which they claim has 2,500 members. We have plenty of contacts in Council Bluffs which could be worked up if someone were permanently located in this territory.

#### Omaha

The party has moved the office of District 10 to this city. Many comrades are out of the movement who used to be the most active. We have many contacts with the old party comrades but they all seem to be demoralized and disgusted. The socialist party and the Y. P. S. L. are making big headway in Omaha.

#### Lincoln, Nebraska and Sioux City

Lincoln, Nebraska and Sioux City are the most promising bright spots of the party. After considerable time in which nothing was done the party has been able to organize a big unemployed movement. This was mainly due to the activities of the local comrades who worked on their own initiative. The whole branch in Lincoln is very friendly to the Left Opposition.

The following fact alone shows

Sioux City except that many comrades have been expelled from the party.

#### General Conditions

The noticeable thing about general conditions existing around this region is that there seems to be a general revival of industry as to the number of workers being employed. And secondly that the A. F. of L. appears to be making considerable gains. On the other hand, the party is absolutely floundering about not knowing what to do. Many bright opportunities exist for the Left Opposition in this territory.

—GEO. J. PAPCUN.

## Opportunism in N.Y. Food Union

The whole recent policy of the Stalinist leadership in the Food Workers Industrial Union constitutes a sharp zigzag to the right, which has resulted in great demoralization among the workers. It is hard to say whether this is a Left-wing or a Right-wing union, in by the FWIU the 60-hour week with practice. In some shops organized wages as low as \$12 prevails.

Still more outstanding is the recent action in the strike at the Savarin Cafeteria at 7th Avenue and 30th Street, in the heart of the garment center, a Left-wing stamping ground. When the strike was called, the *Daily Worker* announced that all workers would join to smash the injunction, which had been the main weapon of the bosses. The strike lasted two weeks—nothing was accomplished.

At the last membership meeting of the FWIU comrade Kramberg, organizer, gave a lengthy report on the achievements of the union in recent weeks. He told about the gains in membership, and the settlements with various shops. He criticized the past "extreme revolutionary" policy of the union and quoted, with approval, what the bosses were saying, "You are good fighters but bad settlers." "They are right," he added, "we do not know how to accept a good opportunity for a settlement when we have one." He pointed out that one must take account of the crisis in making settlements, that of course one could not get as good terms as during the prosperity period. This is how he justified accepting terms that were no better than those of the open shops.

A worker brought up on the floor the question of the Savarin settlement, and workers of that shop expressed their objections to the terms. These were: wages raised from 12 1-2 to 25 cents an hour, and only three hours daily, in other words, 75 cents a day. This is less than the reforestation camp wage scale! Three workers were to be taken on as extras under this scale, another was to be raised \$2 a week. Nothing whatever was done for the other workers who were left outside of the union, as there was no recognition of the shop committee or of the union. Nothing was said about the injunction of 1929 which still prevails, and can be used again should the FWIU attempt to reorganize the shop. On the basis of this injunction 18 workers were arrested during the strike, which lasted two weeks.

The following fact alone shows

The Savarin boss, taking advantage of the opportunity, has put up a sign in the window which is very tricky worded and reads, "The Strike Has Been Settled (With the Union)". This alone gives a black eye to the whole policy of the Stalinist leadership with its slogan of a "flexible policy", which is nothing but a Right-wing policy.

The only thing that made it possible for the leadership to act in this way was the fact that many militant workers have been discouraged, and have left or joined the A. F. of L. union. Those who remained have been terrorized by the threat of being thrown out of their jobs and discriminated against. There are actual cases where this has happened.

This membership meeting, called to celebrate the "victories" recently gained, attracted an attendance of only 50 or 60 workers, which sufficiently proves the emptiness of the boasts of victory. The members are not even interested enough to show up.

The Right-wing poison has crept through the whole life of the union. At the cooperative camps, only the kitchen men are members of the FWIU, and get \$15 a week. The others are so-called "voluntary" workers, not members of any union, and get only \$5 a week.

The situation in this union must be thoroughly exposed and cleared up in order to stop this degeneration.

—A FOOD WORKER.

## Banks in 'Support' of N.I.R.A.

In the name of patriotism with the flag wrapped around themselves eleven large New York banks have issued a statement pledging help to the NRA by financing the production of goods. The statement says in part: "One of the principle functions of the banks is to finance the production and distribution of raw materials, food products and goods. Commercial loans made for these purposes are among the most desirable loans which a bank can make. Such loans should be granted, of course, only where the credit of the borrowers justifies it, and each loan must be considered on its own merits. We believe that in this manner the banks can and will be of the greatest help in assisting to a successful issue the President's industrial recovery plan."

In other words, where safe and sound loans can be made on the financing of production, the bankers will give their undying support. The bankers, like the other sections of the large capitalists are in a mad scramble to pile up profits. The logical outcome of the NRA will be the accumulation of capital in fewer hands; with a lower standard of living and more misery for the working class. The patriotic action of the bankers to help themselves is no different from the patriotic action of any band of robbers in any period of the history of class society.

### CHICAGO PICNIC FRIENDS OF THE MILITANT CLUB

Sunday, August 6, 1933  
FOREST PRESERVE  
Western and 87th Street  
South East Side  
Come and bring your friends along!

## Latest Developments in the Textile Industry

Uncle Sam is vitally concerned with the sick textile industry and has shown this concern by first approving the textile code. Now the other sections of the industry are submitting codes. In the meantime wide discontent and strike struggles are taking place throughout the industry. At the same time thousands of illused workers are joining the A. F. of L., controlled by Associated and the United Textile Workers. These workers are promised almost anything under the Industrial Recovery Act. An equal number of seasoned strikers will have nothing to do with the U. T. M., that is discredited from one end of the industry to the other.

On the other hand, the National Textile Workers Union is facing the new situation in the midst of the T. U. L. confusion, which reflects itself in the hopeless policy of the N. T. W. U. Many workers refuse to join the N. T. W. U. This is the reward of the third period blunders in particular and the Stalinist revisionism in general.

In Salem, Mass., the N. T. W. U. organizers were forced to organize an independent union. In Paterson the N. T. W. U. are forced to organize the warpers they have influence over, into an independent

merger of different organizations and political tendencies into one political organization. One does form a united front on concrete issues relating to war and the overthrow of capitalism as temporary agreements in action.

On the other hand, the Marxists does not enter the united front forgetting the ultimate demands. The revolutionists always has in mind the relation of the immediate demand to the ultimate demand. The proper connection of the two, distinguishes the revolutionist from the reformist.

(To be continued)

—HUGO OEHLER.

union because the warpers refuse to join the N. T. W. U. and the discredited U. T. W. Why are the Stalinists with the "revolutionary" N. T. W. U. forced to organize the workers into independent unions? It is an attempt of the Stalinists to meet the new situation and change their old wrong policy while they straddle the fence and wait for the Cleveland Muste-Stalinist conference to "answer" the burning question of trade union tactics. While the Stalinists wait for the Cleveland conference the labor skates are reaping the harvest.

The Stalinists do not even have sense enough to call for a Left wing in the Associated, which cannot be classified as a 100 percent A. F. of L. union.

The A. F. of L. leaders of the Associated are calling for a 30 hour week, \$36 a week and a two loom system for the silk code. The N. T. W. U. is calling for a 40 hour maximum, a 30 hour minimum; a \$25 weekly wage, social insurance and a \$1000 yearly guarantee. In fighting the capitalist's silk code, as is the case with other codes, the Stalinists of the N. T. W. U. allow the A. F. of L. leaders to present more radical demands. The Stalinists of the T. U. L. have been trailing behind the A. F. of L. leaders in every industry on the question of demands. Ultra-Leftists must be criticized for exaggerated demands but social reformers, following in the wake of the promises of the Roosevelt reform must be exposed with different tactics. We must "compromise" with the reformers on their exaggerated demands and point out the facts. We expose the labor scabs in action. We prove to the workers that the labor "leaders" are giving lip service while the Communists fight for the interests of the class. We must not allow the reformers and A. F. of L. labor fakers to lead in working class demands. The Stalinists not only trail behind the social reformers demand for the 80 hour week;

they trail behind the Roosevelt blanket code calling for 35 hours a week. The slogan for the six hour day the five day week, with increase in pay is a realistic demand at this stage of the American class struggle.

The Associated is calling a general strike of the silk workers in Paterson when the hearing takes place on the silk code in Washington. The Left wing must put life into the paper talk and phrases about a strike; otherwise the A. F. of L. leaders will have a free hand in helping the capitalist and their government in putting over another slave code. Of course, the Stalinists have not yet stopped playing with their paper organizations and have not yet sent their forces into the A. F. of L., where the relation of forces have demanded this tactic. It is up to the other class conscious workers and the Left Opposition to carry on this work.

If organized labor has sufficient forces and if the Left wing can influence strikes called when the codes are being considered, a powerful weapon will be at hand to force concessions from the capitalists, their government and their labor agents.

A Left wing must be built in the Associated and a minority must be organized in the N. T. W. U. The two must coordinate their work against the A. F. of L. misleaders on the one hand, and the Stalinist blunders on the other hand. Where the U. T. W. has numerous workers we must organize a Left wing. We must fight for one union in the industry. Out of the struggles, the independent unions that will spring up, out of the Left wing of the U. T. W. and the N. T. W. U. a new and powerful union can be built. This is the most likely variant, but it is not the only possible variant. Much will depend upon the policy and action of the Left wing forces NOW. The Stalinists are already failing, to measure up to the task.

—H. O.

## IN THE PARTY

### Lydia Beidel Expelled from Chicago Dist.

The expulsion campaign of the Party in Chicago continues unabated. Starting with the recent expulsion of a half dozen Y. C. L.'ers there soon followed the expulsion of Albert Goldman. Now the latest expulsion is that of a comrade with years behind her in the Party.

(Note: All quotations used are accurate, being taken from a stenographic record of events at the meeting on July 6, 1933.)

All the members in Section Seven Chicago were called together to discuss. Beforehand nobody was told what should be discussed but the bureaucracy evidently had something new to blame on the membership.

A certain unfortunate party member, who had been a member even in the ancient and forgotten days when Lenin was alive, had begun to think on things in general and on Germany and Chicago in particular and had begun to doubt and had expressed these thoughts and doubts to some youths, who had been thereby inoculated with the virus of criticism. And so, this unfortunate party member had been told—devotedly and also directly by all those who had power—that her days within the party were definitely numbered (to seven at the most).

Now this unfortunate comrade had once heard—but that was also in the ancient days when Lenin was still alive—about various mysterious concepts called democratic centralism, party democracy, Bolshevik self-criticism and freedom of discussion; and in her foolishness she hoped to invoke those now in her hour of need, forgetting that all others who had also heard of these concepts and spoken in their name had been driven into exile. And so she thought of a plan.

Many times had this comrade seen what happened when those who thought tried to speak. So she put her thoughts on three long sheets of paper and made fifty copies of each sheet and put them into a briefcase and went to the meeting which was called to discuss.

All evening the bureaucracy flayed the membership, abusing them for everything done and undone, and being self-critical according to their lights. The Communist party was not functioning well; there was a four-year old crisis at hand and the party had not yet been able to make anything of it. By eleven o'clock it was clear to everyone that something was wrong; but, despite the loudness of the loud voices and the plainness of the denunciation of the membership by the bureaucracy, nobody knew exactly what was wrong.

Then the unfortunate comrade stood up with her briefcase before the membership of her section (of which she had once been organizer, and where she was well known as an active and competent agitator and organizer), she began to avail herself of the three minutes allotted to her to explain her differences with the bureaucracy, and to defend herself against her imminent expulsion. She very meekly suggested that maybe abuse of the membership would not help so much as an analysis of policies and tactics, and then made so bold as to mention Germany. From then on things happened fast.

"Germany is not under discussion. I move this comrade be forbidden to continue." This like machine-gun fire from one Ferguson, who for years had sat at the feet of Kuusinen and knows about many things, including the inviolability of the party line. And in a grand reflex came the seconds from her benches.

"Very well," said the unfortunate comrade, "I expected this. So I wrote my speech and here it is." And she proceeded to pass out the three long sheets in fifty copies each. And it is amazing to record that the great political maneuverers there present lost fully three minutes before they could react and grasp the matter at hand.

At this point the atmosphere was rent by the piercing shriek of District Agitprop Director Shields. "What is this! Stop her, stop her! She's passing out a document!" And her valiant lieutenant Ferguson opened up and emitted, "comrades, we forbid you to read this statement." It's a counter-revolutionary document. It is a platform against the party. Hand every copy up here to me. You are forbidden to read it." And the copies began forthwith to disappear from circulation, although only three found their way to the desk of the bureaucracy.

Then stood up Agitprop Shields: "This comrade," she shrieked, "is expelled from the Communist party, and her statement is counter-revolutionary."

"But," said the unfortunate comrade from the back of the room. "You can't expel me and I was never told that anyone else had done it." "Shut up!" said this leader of the revolutionary proletariat, "if you want to talk, go before the Control Committee and talk your head off, but the membership will not listen to your counter-revolutionary speeches."

Then stood up a new comrade, who seemed to be distressed, since he always had a very high opinion of the unfortunate comrade. "But I'd like to ask," he said, "why isn't the comrade allowed to express her opinion, even if it's wrong? I don't

seem to understand this, but maybe that's because I'm new in the party."

"This comrade cannot speak here. She has counter-revolutionary intentions. Let her talk to the Secretariat; they'll settle her." It was the High-Priesthood of democratic centrism and freedom of discussion, Agitprop Shields.

Another bewildered comrade spoke up: "If this comrade has been expelled from the party, why is she here? Why was she allowed into the meeting?" But the bureaucracy has never yet missed an answer. "Her unit organizer was not notified of her expulsion, and he invited her." Ferguson rose to the occasion this time but she failed to explain why the omniscient section bureaucracy itself was so lax about admitting expelled members. (It might be said, parenthetically, for the benefit of others who were party members while Lenin was still alive, that on other occasions, Section Organizer Ferguson, aided and abetted by District Agitprop Shields, summarily expelled members of the section at membership meetings.)

Came then some long-winded and highly intricate "enlightenment" on the German Situation and the United Front, which looked a great deal to the unfortunate comrade like an ideological hypodermic, especially when...

"Hurrah! Hurrah!" burst out the victimized membership. "The German party was not defeated."

And hurrah, hurrah, the ugly head of counter-revolution had been crushed in Section seven.

Thus ended the meeting that was called to discuss things.

## Bosses Propose Starving Schools

The April 1933 issue of the *American Teacher*, official organ of the American Federation of Teachers in the A. F. of L., lists twenty recommendations for economy in education sent out by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce to all chambers of Commerce in the United States.

"(4) Postponement of new capital outlay for buildings and replacements; (8) Shorten school day one hour; (9) Increase size of classes; (10) Increase teaching hours; (12) Suspend automatic increase of salaries; (13) Reduction in teachers salaries not to exceed 10 percent; (14) Shorten school year not to exceed 12 percent; (15) Discontinue evening classes; (16) Discontinue kindergartens; (17) Reduce elementary school curriculums by consideration from eight to seven years; (18) Reduce high school curriculums by consolidation from four to three years; (19) Transfer one-third of cost of instruction above high school levels from taxpayer to pupil; (20) Impose a fee on high school students."

This program is already being carried out. In Ohio, California and other states the school year has been cut; in some states drastically. In New York City and elsewhere salaries have been cut; in some places more than once and more than ten per cent. New buildings are virtually at a standstill. Classes have been increased in size all over. Similarly with the other items in this bill of particulars.

It is clear at a glance that the burden of this economy will fall on the teachers and pupils. The teachers have already begun to struggle against it. The militant demonstrations in Chicago and the protests and activities of the Left wing in the Teachers Union in New York are laying the foundations for a teachers movement in the United States.

But the scope of the Chamber of Commerce economy proposals transcends the interests of the teachers as teachers. It is an integral part of the attack of the capitalist class on the working class. In New York City the backbone of the organized labor movement are the Building Trades. They have a direct and immediate interest in new school construction. Imposing fees on high school students increases the cost of living for the workers. Increase in the size of classes places hardships on the children.

Under capitalism labor struggles to assimilate the culture which science and the arts place at the disposal of society. The labor movement has to fight the poisonous ideology which the capitalists inculcate in working class children in the schools. In the United States labor has a stake in the preservation and extension of the free school system.

This economy move on the part of the capitalist class is a reactionary one. The teachers by themselves will not, cannot be successful in defeating it. The experience of the Chicago teachers proves this. They must ally themselves with the working class movement. The teachers movement must steer in this direction.

—T. STAMM.

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# The Left Socialists and Our Tasks

At the present time the social democracy is everywhere passing through an acute crisis. In a number of countries more or less important Left wings have already separated themselves from the social democratic parties. This process flows from the whole situation. That it has not yet taken on a more developed character is due to the mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It puts a brake on the internal differentiation in the ranks of reformism and closes the door of Communism to the revolutionary wing. The appearance of independent socialist parties as well as autonomous organizations, is a vote of direct and deserving denunciation to the address of the C. I. The Stalinist bureaucracy calls the independent socialist organizations "Left social Fascists", the most dangerous of all. That was especially its attitude towards the S. A. P. unexpectedly, after the 5th of March, and with extraordinary attention the C. I. met with the British "Left social Fascists" as represented by the Independent Labor Party (the I. L. P.), once more revealing how great its confusion is in face of the decomposition of the social democracy, which unfortunately coincides with its own decomposition.

The International Left Opposition faces a new task: to accelerate the evolution of the Left Socialist organizations toward Communism, by injecting its ideas and its experience into this process. There is no time to lose: if the independent socialist organizations remain in their present amorphous state for a long period of time they will disintegrate: the political tasks of our epoch are so acute, the pressure of hostile classes so powerful—to this it is necessary to add the intrigues of the reformist bureaucracy on the one hand, and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the other—that only a powerful ideological bond on the unshakable basis of Marxism can assure the revolutionary organization the ability to maintain itself against the hostile currents and to lead the proletarian vanguard to a new revolutionary epoch.

The new situation facing the Left Opposition, unfolding new opportunities, poses new tasks to it. Up till now we have recruited members chiefly on the basis of individual selection. This was an absolutely inevitable stage, to that degree where the conservative centrist bureaucracy made impossible the direct and immediate influence of our ideas on the Communist parties in their entirety. It would evidently be a very big mistake to think that we have drawn from the official parties all that can be drawn from them. On the contrary, the passage of entire units and local organizations to the Left Opposition, etc., is still ahead of us. But our influence on the mass workers organizations cannot be achieved according to an order dictated beforehand. With a vigilant eye we must follow the live processes in all the workers organizations, so as to be able at the opportune moment to concentrate our attention in that field which promises of the most success.

The independent socialist organizations or the Left Oppositionist factions within the social democracy are either avowedly centrist organizations or they contain within their ranks strong centrist tendencies or survivals. Their positive sides lie in that under the influence of historic blows received by them they develop in a revolutionary direction. For us to seriously approach these organizations on a clear principled basis will signify a new chapter in the development of the Left Opposition and thereby of the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in the world workers movement. A great international revolutionary organization inspired by the ideas of the Left Opposition would become a center of attraction for the proletarian elements of the official Communist parties.

It must not be overlooked that this path taken in its whole can open up the possibility for the creation of new Communist parties. The question is already resolved so far as Germany is concerned—not by us but by the march of events. In a complete and final manner. The differences that existed on this subject in our ranks, particularly with the German comrades, have either disappeared completely or are reduced to secondary nuances. Everything that has been produced by the bureaucracy after March 5th—articles in the Stalinist press, the resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on April 1st, the course of the anti-Fascist Congress at Paris—fully confirm the prognosis of the definitive and inevitable disintegration.

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## Our Attitude Towards the Independent Left Socialist Tendencies

tion of the C. P. G. What has just been said can evidently be extended to Austria where the C. P. on a police order, disappeared without the sign of resistance from the face of the earth. "The oldest party of the C. I.", which so ingloriously disappeared from the scene, will not revive again! The threatening perspective of complete elimination of the old Communist parties. But at the same time the sections of the Left Opposition should manifest a much greater initiative than up till now, outside of the official parties, in the whole extent of the workers movement.

The transition from one stage of struggle to another and higher one has never been effected without internal friction. Some comrades, homesick for the mass organizations, evince a desire to gather fruits that are still unripe. Others fearing for the purity of the principles of the Left Opposition receive all attempts to approach the larger mass organizations with distrust. "What good can be expected from Nazareth?" How can one approach organizations at the head of which are Centrists? We are quite ready, they say, to unite with the rank and file workers, but we do not see any sense in approaching the Centrist leaders, etc., etc. Such a purely formal manner of posing the question is erroneous. They are greatly affected by propagandist sectarianism.

The 3rd International was itself recruited from 9-10ths of centrist elements who evolved to the Left. Not only individuals and groups but also entire organizations and even parties with their old leadership or a part of their old leadership

placed themselves under the banner of Bolshevism. This was absolutely inevitable. The further march of developments depended on the policy of the C. I. of its internal regime, etc. In the camp of the workers movement today, if the Fascist, nationalist and religious organizations are deducted, one can observe the predominance of the reformist and the centrist; in this latter category we include official C. I. for good cause. It is clear that the rebirth of the revolutionary workers movement will take place at the expense of Centristism. Moreover, not only individuals and groups but entire organizations will place themselves anew under the Communist banner. The further development of re-education will depend on the general direction of politics, of the regime and finally on the march of historic events.

We have many times repeated in our literature how heterogeneous Centristism is: Centristism comprises all the transitory degrees between reformism and Marxism—or which is not the same thing—between Marxism and reformism. It is impossible to understand the centrist movement solely through its declarations and documents of today: we must keep before us the history of its development and the direction of its movement.

The Centristism of the Stalinist faction is characterized by a policy of convulsions and zig-zags or by a standstill and it is the most conservative of all the Centrist formations that have ever existed in the workers movement. This is explained by the fact that this time Centristism has found a powerful social support in the Soviet bureaucracy: the apparatus of the western parties are mere appendages. While the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R. is forced to defend the workers state against the bourgeoisie for the sake of its special in-

## Stalinist Policies Weaken S. U. In Face of Japanese Aggression

(Continued from Page 1)

the C. E. R. without payment) has weakened the Soviet Union by encouraging Japan in the belief that whatever she does to Soviet interests, on a more or less minor scale, will meet with no resistance. One provocation has followed another. With a firm policy, steadfastly pursued from the very beginning, the Soviet Union would be immeasurably stronger in the Far East now and the Japanese imperialists would be much more guarded in their actions.

The Anti-War Committee set up by the Amsterdam Congress last year is sending out a commission to China, which is to organize a "Far Eastern Anti-War Congress". The best traditions of the Lytton Commission are being followed. This commission, bearing the stamp of Stalinist approval, is headed by the Labor peer, Lord Marley, and otherwise consists of several pacifists, besides including the Communist renegade, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the former Labor M. P. While the Communists in Shanghai are all agog over the forthcoming visit, it has remained for a petty-bourgeois radical like Mrs. Sun Yat-Sen, one of the presidium of the League against Imperialism, to express the view that the "commission" and the congress of liberals and pacifists which it will assemble in Shanghai (if permitted by the police to do so) to pass resolutions against the maraudings of Japanese imperialism, is a futile and nonsensical affair.

**Strike Wave in China**  
The past two to three months have witnessed a general tendency toward revival of activity among the workers of China after a fairly lengthy period of dormancy. This tendency, manifested in strikes and other actions, is more or less general throughout the country, but is mainly observable in the larger centers, especially Shanghai.

It would be incorrect, however, to describe the renewed activity as due to a growth of militancy among the workers in the sense of that inevitable recovery which takes place as the accompaniment of a partial or temporary, economic recovery. Such action as has taken place is rather in the nature of a desperate rearward action in the face of ever-continuing capitalist onslaughts. Wages are constantly being lowered, the working week is being steadily cut, especially in the larger industries (sometimes to as little as three days), and industrial enterprises are closing down one after another, throwing tens of thousands into unemployment.

But even the desperate rearward action that the workers are fighting amid steadily worsening economic conditions are beginning to engender a real fighting spirit—so much so, in fact, that the Kuo Min Tang is beginning to sit up and take notice.

The Trade Union Act of the Nanking Government, which became operative on November 1, 1929, aimed at the Fascization of the trade unions, the strangling of their independent activity. The trade unions were converted into "safety valves", under more or less com-

plete governmental control and supervision. During the three years 1929-32, when the workers lay almost completely prostrate under the heavy defilements of 1927, this process of Fascization was carried to considerable lengths, and the workers were largely deprived of any independent trade union organizations.

Due, however, to the disintegration of Nanking authority under the blows of external aggression, and the accumulated domestic difficulties of the government, control of the unions was latterly, to a certain extent, allowed to slip. The Trade Union Act suffered the same laxity of application as most of the legislative enactments of the Nanking government. Hence, some unions developed an independent leadership, free of Kuo Min Tang influence or control.

No move toward a tightening-up was required so long as the workers suffered without opposition the tyranny and intense exploitation to which they have so long been subjected. But lately, with the employing class frantically endeavoring to solve the economic crisis at the expense of the workers, the latter have once more begun to stir.

The obvious fact of this renewed activity has had a corresponding effect on the Kuo Min Tang organs, which, beginning with the Shanghai Seamen's Union, have commenced reasserting their control over the trade unions. This has led in many instances to sharp conflicts between the workers and the Kuo Min Tang, and if the present upward curve of workers' activity continues it might be expected that these conflicts will grow more numerous and more severe.

**The Economic Situation in China Today**

A few facts concerning the present economic situation in China, and the activity of the workers, will no doubt be of interest. During a period of approximately five weeks from mid-May, according to press reports, no fewer than 11 industrial concerns in Shanghai suspended operations completely, while many others went on short-time. Five of the eleven were silk-weaving and silk goods factories, 5 were rubber shoe factories, 1 a cotton mill. The eleven concerns employed between them roughly 4,000 workers: the cotton mill alone employed 1,400. In addition, 2,100 workers were discharged from a Japanese cotton mill in May, while some 400 seamen lost their jobs when their vessels were laid up.

At Tientsin, a cotton mill employing 2,700 closed down, and at Canton a rubber factory employing 700. At Tientsin, 1,000 workers at the arsenal were given notice of dismissal because of the projected removal of the arsenal to Hanyang, on the Yangtze.

On June 19, two large cotton mills in Hankow, employing between them approximately 10,000 workers, closed down, and the following day a third, employing approximately 7,000 followed suit. The unemployment situation in Shanghai, which may be taken as a pattern for the rest of the country, has assumed extraordinary

interest, in the West it has become the instrument for the disorganization and the weakening of the proletarian vanguard. Without the slavish dependence on the Soviet bureaucracy the official parties of the West would have long since found a way to the correct road or they would have crumbled like dust, ceding their place to healthier organizations.

The personnel of the official parties maintain themselves today exclusively by faith in the U. S. S. R. and its leadership. Many honest Communists have a religious fear of criticism and new arguments to keep them from losing "faith" in the leadership of the U. S. S. R. It is that and only that which can explain the fact that grown-up people, often sincere revolutionaries, throughout years supported such monstrous things, which are a mockery of Marxism, of the advanced workers and of human thought. Those who freed themselves from the fetishism of the Soviet bureaucracy usually sink into a state of indifference. As is known, the Communist parties have lost, in the last years, an incomparably greater number of members than the Left Opposition has won over.

The Centristism of social democratic origin is characterized by a movement from Right to Left—in a political situation which renders difficult all temporizing positions. The members of the independent socialist organizations are deprived, in their majority, of that revolutionary guide, that has more or less succeeded in gaining members for the Communist parties. But on the other hand, the independent socialists, not corrupted by fetishism to the Soviet bureaucracy, are free from conservatism are passing through an internal crisis, are honestly seeking for answers to questions posed by our epoch, are evolving to the side of Communism. At this time they are much more amenable to the ideas of authentic Bolshevism, according to all indications, than the members of the Stalinist faction.

Such is the odd combination of historic conditions, in a certain sense "unforeseen", which opens up new opportunities of activity and progress to the Bolshevik-Leninists. We must utilize it to the end.

—G. GOUROV.

no official records are kept, but it has been computed at anything between 100,000 and 200,000. There are approximately 50,000 silk filature workers unemployed in the city, 93 of the 113 establishments being closed. So meager are the earnings of the workers that they face dire distress immediately they become unemployed, a distress only slightly mitigated by the existence in China of a closely-knit family system whereby there is a moral obligation for members of a family to assist one another.

**Starvation Rampant**  
There is no doubt that starvation and semi-starvation are rampant on a scale unprecedented. So serious is the situation that the Shanghai General Labor Union has addressed a petition to the Nanking government urging that express orders be issued prohibiting the various Chinese factories from either suspending or reducing work. In this petition it is stated: "While it is true that some factories have been compelled to have recourse to such measures on account of the general economic depression or the dumping of foreign commodities, not a few of them have done so intentionally with the malicious purpose of breaking up certain labor organizations."

At the same time, the yellow Kuo Min Tang-controlled officials who drafted this petition issued a circular order to the workers which at once epitomizes their own degeneracy and reveals the vast gulf which separates them from the revolutionary fighting traditions of the Shanghai General Labor Union of 1925-27. In the circular order, the workers are called upon to "work in whole-hearted cooperation with their employers and to devote their best efforts to their work in order to avert a total collapse of the native industries," and it is emphasized that "the interests of labor and capital are really identical and interwoven and that all workers must adopt an attitude of sympathy and cooperation towards their employers."

In May, in the International Settlement and Chinese-controlled territory of Shanghai combined, there occurred 16 strikes involving 19,372 workers and the loss of 106,008 working days. The corresponding figures for the preceding month of April were 9 strikes involving 1,939 workers and the loss of 3,340 working days. In May, 1932 there were 16 strikes involving 6,509 workers and the loss of 21,082 working days. These statistics are extracted from the monthly reports of the commissioner of police of the International Settlement.

As will be observed, ten times more workers were involved in strikes in May than in the preceding month of April and almost three times more than in May last year. The fact that while the number of strikes in May this year was the same as in May, 1932, the number of strikers was nearly three times greater, indicates a tendency for the larger industries to be drawn into labor conflicts. From the comparative figures of working days lost, the tendency for strikes to be of longer duration will be noticed, which may be taken as an indication that the workers are becoming more stubborn in their struggles.

# Hitler Orders: 'Butter for People'

The speeches of the Fascist leaders, dripping with social sympathy, which are launched at every opportunity with great expenditure of lung power and thundered into the ears of the god—and hero-worshipping petty-bourgeois shopkeepers, stand in honorable contradiction to the practical deeds with which the brown gangsters try to help the "social service" bourgeoisie out of the crisis. The frightful, profound, crushing misery, which has been bearing down on the shoulders of the many millions of unemployed for years, which drives thousands each year to take their lives, and brings further thousands slowly closer to physical death by starvation, this misery in the ranks of the German proletariat is being intolerably sharpened by the government's large scale campaign of robbery of the pockets of the broad masses in order to fill the purses of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners. And the disgusting accompaniment to the Aryan scoundrels are staging the show, consists of inflated tirades about the German "working class of brain and hand", with which they hope to stuff the mouths of those whose bread they are snatching away.

**Margarine or Butter—Question of Taste or Question of Wages?**

Unemployment and the pressure on wages since the beginning of the crisis has brought the standard of living of the German proletariat to an ever lower level, has taken away from the worker's table one by one all the "luxuries" which today include milk and butter as well as meat and vegetables. The forcible worsening of the living conditions of the proletariat, which has also embraced fairly broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the white-collar class, has resulted in a special boom for those sections of industry which have arranged their production especially for the

## How the Economic Side of the Fascist Regime Works Out in Practice

beggarly pennies of the pauperized people. The 25-pfennig shops of Woolworth and Wohlwert, of the Sera and the Epa, have been the beneficiaries of this development, which have also resulted in a few fat morsels for the margarine industry.

What was a benefit for the margarine producer was an evil for the peasant. The consumption of butter shrank rapidly as many consumers turned to the much cheaper margarine. The price of butter sank considerably, while on the other hand foodstuffs became dearer on account of tariffs, so that the German peasant production was injured in this direction too, especially by the foreign competition which is supplied with much cheaper foodstuffs. One evil resulted in another. The attempt was made to keep foreign competition out of the German market by ever higher tariffs. At the same time, the peasants turned in increasing degree to the use of oil-cakes as feed, in order not to have to use foodstuffs which had been made expensive by tariffs.

**The New Measures**

In order to help the big landowners out still more energetically than before, tariffs and subsidies are not enough; it is urgently necessary to secure the market for wheat production in Germany itself, on the one hand in order to prevent the excessive internal prices from attracting foreign competition which would skim off the cream, on the other hand, to prevent the German peasant from getting around the excessive price of foodstuffs by going over to the use of the cheaper oil-cakes. This is the kernel of all

the well-played-up rescue measures of the German peasantry, whose purchasing power must be raised, according to Hitler. This gentleman has made many promises, and still certainly find it hard to satisfy behind him on a string. He leads all kinds of human vermin everywhere, and at the same time takes care of the interests of the bourgeoisie with the necessary energy.

To "reconcile" the contradictory interests of the little throat-cutters with those of the bigger profit-swallowers, requires, outside of Fascist terror, which will have to carry out its historical tasks here too, a large portion of demagogic and diplomatic trickery and maneuvering, for which Fascism has an almost inexhaustible gift.

Hitler promised to put the screws on the big trusts. And he is doing so in his own way—with the necessary respect. To allay the misery of the German peasantry, which according to the greatest pudding-head of our century is the cornerstone of the solution of the economic crisis, the most effective step would be to pick the pockets of the workers and white-collar class. The means are simple enough. One has only to increase the price of butter; limit the production of margarine, which currently must not exceed 60% of the production in 1932; and levy a tax on the consumption of these "artificial food fats".

The consequences of these "measures to cheapen the cost of food fats", as this action of the government is modestly called on account of the issue of fat cards, have been no secret to anybody in Germany. The cheapest margarine has risen in price from 25 to 75 pfennigs a pound, and may be bought by those who are favored with fat cards at 50 pfennigs a pound—unless it just happens to be sold out. This 100% increase in the price of the cheapest kind, for those who receive relief or pensions and are entitled to buy "cheapened" margarine on their fat cards, is the clearest characterization of those honey-sweet words with which Hitler on "Labor Day" sought to win the favor of the tolling masses for his national-socialism.

Along with margarine, butter also rose in price substantially, the increase amounting to 35 marks per hundredweight against the lowest quotation in February of this year. Undoubtedly the milk-producing peasants are still rubbing their hands with pleasure, for the time being. But their joy will be short-lived.

**The Government Needs Scapgoats**

The shortage and dearth of margarine and the price advance in butter have resulted in unpleasant surprises. The deep bitterness which took hold of even many adherents of Hitler, caused the government to look immediately for a scapegoat on whom the blame for these developments could be placed, to divert indignation against others, and at the same time to show the petty-bourgeois shopkeepers emphatically that they are mistaken, if they hope to chip off a little piece of this profitable business for their own pockets.

The government is by no means a stranger to this game with false cards. It had the announcement made over the radio that first-quality butter costs 1.20 marks a pound, while at the same time this grade was being priced at 1.60 marks in the shops. At the same time, in Munich and in part elsewhere in the country, several hundred little shops were closed for profiteering, the shopkeepers were arrested and brought to concentration camps, where presumably they have been cured for some time of their hopes in Hitler.

It is readily understandable that the difference between the price named officially by the government and the much higher one demanded in the shops caused anger and bitterness among the consumers, which was directed against the retailers. This anger and bitterness was further intensified when the government, in its "straightforward and honorable" manner, openly exposed and punished before the eyes of the world the profiteering maneuvers of a number of dealers. And precisely this was the object of the government's action. The radio, with its announcement of cheap prices for butter, thereby dropped a little poison into the ears of the masses, insinuating that the retailers were profiteering to the extent of 40 pfennigs a pound and thus egging them on against the dealers.

It is a question of the strips which can still be cut out of the hide of the suppressed proletariat. Everybody wants their part. The big bourgeoisie will receive it, the petty bourgeoisie and the small farmers will be fed illusions which Fascism attempts to give a certain material basis. "It is the intention of the government that the workers should entirely dispense with the use of margarine, even if that means an increase of the budget of every individual household." Who will still doubt the social nature of Fascism? It demands: Butter for the People! It does not even give them cheap margarine.

—From (Unser Wort)

Do you remember THE MILITANT CLUB PLAN? It gives you the advantage of a reduced price for new subscribers. A six months sub for 50c provided they are sent into the office in clubs of four. Why not try it?

## National Recovery Act to Throw New Burdens on U.S. Proletariat

The good ship, American Capitalism, its hull battered and leaking, loaded with its badly disarranged national economy is making its way into uncharted seas. Compelled by the necessity of attempting a solution of an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude, the Roosevelt administration has adopted methods entirely new to the American scene.

The National Industrial Recovery Act, promulgated as an emergency measure, is the most important of the unusual steps taken since the present administration came into power. Its avowed purpose as stated by the President is "the reemployment of men and dollars." The Act provides for control of industry, the regulation of hours and wages of labor, the establishment of codes for "fair competition", as well as the putting into effect a public works program involving the expenditure of 3 billion, 3 hundred million dollars.

At the head of the administration of the Recovery Act was placed Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, a close associate of Bernard Baruch, the financier. The law provides the administration with sweeping powers and great freedom of action; all of its decisions are contingent on final approval of the President.

The Recovery Act, as we have said, provides for the establishment of codes for the regulation of hours and wages and "fair competition" in all industries. These codes are to be submitted by the industries themselves and when once accepted by the Recovery administration with approval of the President have all the force of law, violations of which are penalized. The objective is the organization of the entire industrial output of the country—in other words a capitalist "planned economy."

Quite a change from the traditional laissez-faire rugged individualism extolled by many ideologists of American capitalism. Nevertheless, although more than a month has gone by, only the textile industry has submitted a code which was accepted by Johnson and the President. Steel, coal, electrical manufacturing, transportation, lumber, utilities and other important industries have been rather shy about submitting their codes. So much so, in fact, that Johnson has threatened to write a code over their heads, and what is more to establish a general minimum wage ruling for all of industry, referred to as a "blanket code."

How have these innovations affected working class opinion? In various ways. There are some among the Stalinists who claim that this, like the Hoover administration and other events of the past, is Fascism. Again, the essence of Fascism is sublimely ignored, proving that the recent German catastrophe does not necessarily teach any lesson to certain people. Then there are those, especially among socialists, who see a form of socialism being introduced in the U. S.

To dispose of this last view first it is sufficient to point out that the concentration of wealth and the means of production into fewer hands is not only facilitated but also accelerated by the Recovery

Act. The government is taking these steps purely in the interest of the capitalist system, trying to "organize" it so that it may survive the social cataclysm that awaits it.

However, to merely state that this is not Fascism without analyzing the social and political implications and the possible developments, would be incorrect. Of course, it is obvious that this is not Fascism. Fascism could not be imposed in this country or in any other without an immediate threat from a class-conscious, organized working-class. The capitalists themselves do not want Fascism because while this form preserves capitalism as a system a little while longer, it restricts the individual capitalist enterprises within the rigid framework of a state organization. Fascism comes about, then, as a last resort and when all other means of holding power have been exhausted. The conditions prerequisite for Fascism in this country will not materialize in the immediate future, unless something unforeseen should occur. This does not mean that the workers should not look to all organizations of a Fascist nature without any apprehension.

But the economic organization of Fascism is state capitalism. State Capitalism is the final form of capitalist economy. Engels foresaw this development with remarkable accuracy in his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." Under this form, all industries become part of the State apparatus—the Corporate State, as in Italy. The enactment of any measure in any particular branch of industry by the "corporation" involved has all the force of law as this organization is a branch of the government itself.

Viewed from this standpoint, the striking similarity between the economic structure of Fascism and the set-up of the Recovery Act is apparent. The steps taken by the Recovery Act are to the tune of Fascist music. Let us not overlook this important aspect of the question.

What has happened in the meantime to the Sherman Anti-Trust laws? Without actual annulment by Congress, the Roosevelt administration has waved them aside. These laws had been enacted under the mass pressure of the petty bourgeoisie fighting against the inexorable growth and encroachment of monopoly industry, which has yearly wiped out increasing numbers of small establishments. Al-

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# Toronto Workers in Los Angeles Unemployed Movement

**Toronto, Canada.**—No action on the part of workers in Canada since the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 carries such tremendous significance as the mass parade and demonstration against Fascism which took place in Toronto on July 11th. For the first time in fifteen years working class solidarity found expression in a monster parade involving about 10,000 workers belonging to trade unions and political organizations. The United Front Committee had issued a call for the 2-hour strike and demonstration to begin at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of July 11th. An hour before that time large numbers of workers had already begun to assemble in Wellington Park in the heart of the clothing trades district. When 3 o'clock came, workers were pouring into the park by the hundreds, whole factories marching down together or hurrying to the assembly point by street-car, were seen everywhere. A spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the scene as the workers, freed from the drudgery of the factories, cheered each newly-arrived group, cheered their class brothers and sisters who this afternoon were joining hands in a mass protest against the bloody rule of Hitler in Germany and capitalist reaction all over the world. By 3:45 P. M. when the first section of the parade moved off, the park was a sea of humanity—more than that—a host of workers taking up battle against a common enemy. Ten thousand workers, three hundred banners, all raising the voice of proletarian struggle against the murderous regime of Fascism.

The parade moved off from Wellington Park through the clothing district on to University Ave. and past the parliamentary buildings to assemble on mass in Queens Park. In the front ranks were the workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, some 1400, followed by the ILGWU, the Industrial unions and other unions affiliated. Then came other mass organizations, the auxiliaries of the party, the Y. C. I. and finally the International Left Opposition, under whose banner marched the Toronto branch of the Left Opposition, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Unser Kampf Club—as well as a body of about 60 unorganized workers brought out on strike by the Left Opposition. The last banner in the parade, the parting shot, was "Forward to Victory Under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky!"

As the revolutionary organizations left Wellington Park, the strains of the Internationale rose above the throng—sung with a spirit that is characteristic only of proletarians on parade.

In Queens Park, the throngs created a scene unique in the history of the Toronto working class. Here the 10,000 paraders were greeted by a crowd of about 15,000, many of whom were workers anxious to participate in the demonstration while hundreds came only to see what was going to happen. It was a glorious spectacle. A closely packed crowd with banners waving overhead, mirroring all the phases of the class struggle. It was the class struggle and not a Jewish nationalist protest such as the elite of Toronto's Jewry had staged in Massey Hall in collaboration with the city bourgeoisie. The united front of workers aroused proletarians and bourgeois alike to a realization of the strength of a working class unity. The demonstration aroused the hopes and admiration of multitudes of workers and aroused the fury of the bourgeoisie—to which the latest police campaign against the marchers testifies.

Taking up their stand at the base of the 48th Highlanders Monument a speaker from each organization addressed the crowd. When the L. O. contingent arrived, Charles Green of the Left Poale Zion, chairman of the Jewish Workers United Front Committee, was speaking. In the tumult it was impossible to hear him unless you were close at hand. When he finished, our comrade, Maurice Spector, took the stand. Comrade Spector flanked on either side by a trio of cops, opened with an attribute to the united front of the marchers for breaking through the police ban on meetings and raising the strong arm of the proletariat against the Canadian bourgeoisie. He urged the marchers to continue the struggle for free speech and assembly, for the repeal Section 98 and for the release of the eight leaders of the Communist Party of Canada who were now serving long terms in Kingston penitentiary. He went on to discuss the victory of Fascism in Germany, what a catastrophe it was for the German working class and the international revolutionary movement. Warning the workers that the Fascist victory in Germany presented the greatest danger to the continued existence of proletarian rule in the Soviet Union, comrade Spector urged them to maintain a solid fighting front against Fascism, to defeat Fascism and save the Soviet Union by the method of class struggle. He concluded with the ringing slogans: Down with Hitler! Long Live the Soviet Union! etc. A rousing cheer was the answer of the workers to comrade Spector's remarks as he stepped the monument. The cheering was reechoed as our comrades shouted: Forward to Victory Under

the banner of Lenin and Trotsky. By this time several other speakers were being heard in various parts of the park. It was not long before comrade Jack McDonald also of the Left Opposition, took the stand. He warned the workers not to be led into believing that this demonstration alone would mark the victory of the struggle for free speech in Toronto; time and again he stressed the necessity for continuing militantly the struggle for free speech and assembly and against the pernicious section 98. He continued with an analysis of the German events, speaking in greater detail than had comrade Spector.

## Sabotage of A. C. W. Leaders

No account of this demonstration would be complete without a few remarks concerning the activities of the affiliated organizations of the united front. From the beginning of the conference we had to contend with the efforts of the Right wing reformists leaders to delay action and to give the conference a Jewish nationalist character. Especially anxious to get around the idea of a strike and a parade was Nesbitt, the spokesman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. He raised all manners of objections, ranging from the demand that the Industrial Union be shut out of the conference to a request for postponement of the strike on the ground that the locals had not yet discussed the question. All sections of the conference opposed Nesbitt on the first point with the result that in the actual working out of the demonstration the Amalgamated was not a formal member of the conference. Instead a committee of the united front conference worked out the mechanics of the united front demonstration with a committee from the Amalgamated for a two week postponement, from June 27 to July 11 was granted to take away from the union leaders any excuse for non-participation.

## Stalinist Stupidity

The sabotaging tactics of the Amalgamated Union leaders produced a counter obstacle in the ultimatum attitude assumed by the Stalinists. Frequently transgressing the boundaries of the united front by indulging in fierce attacks upon all and sundry, the Stalinists at first demanded as a first prerequisite for affiliation to the conference that the social democratic organizations admit their responsibility for the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Only that! Our comrades opposed this as did almost every other organization in the conference. The Left Opposition stated that while it was true that the social democrats, Noske and company, were responsible for the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, a confession of guilt could not be demanded as a condition for affiliation to the conference. The Stalinists were swamped on this issue.

Again when the Amalgamated asked for the postponement of the strike, the Stalinists wanted to refuse the request and to call the strike without the Amalgamated. This was a criminal position, for it would have played right into the hands of the Amalgamated leaders and shut out of the conference the largest union in the Jewish section of the united front. When the request for postponement was carried against the Stalinists they went so far as to issue a special addition of the *Kampf* in which they naturally went out of their way to slander the Amalgamated but also made the Poale Zion and the Left Opposition targets for their lies and mud slinging. This editor of the *Kampf* might have split the united front. The Amalgamated leaders at first attempted to seize upon it as a pretext for non-participation. It was only the skillful tactics of the Left Opposition and the Left Poale Zion that overcame the damage done by the Stalinists.

It is no exaggeration to say that had the conference followed the policies of the Stalinists there would have been no strike and demonstration. The two hour strike and demonstration also dealt a crushing blow to the confused Stalinist theory of the "united front from below". The success of the genuine united front was apparent to all.

## Results of Strike

What are the results and what conclusions can be drawn from the united front of the Toronto workers? The strike and demonstration is unique as the only working class protest, of a mass nature that has taken place in Canada, and possibly in North America. The workers of this city have learned that Fascism is not a regime that is distinguished by its pogroms against the Jews, but a regime that signifies the last efforts of decay capitalism to save itself from the exploited masses. They have learned that Fascism means destruction for the proletariat and that Fascism can only be fought by proletarian struggle.

Besides arousing the political consciousness of thousands of workers in a united front against Fascism the demonstration has been a vindication of the policies and tactics of the Left Opposition.

—B. B.

READ SPREAD AND SUPPORT  
THE MILITANT  
IT IS YOUR PAPER

The unemployment movement in Los Angeles is in many respects the most interesting in the country, from the standpoint of the number of workers included, the powers which the organization has won for itself, and the size and cohesiveness of the Left wing within the movement. The movement, dates back over a year and a half, in an organized form, and sufficient experience with it has been accumulated to allow certain political lessons to be drawn. The Left Opposition has participated in a leadership and initiating capacity in this movement from the beginning, and has clearly shown what possibilities of objective work are open to us in the elementary working-class movement, and what can be achieved by correct Communist policies carried out with energy and persistence.

The unemployment movement in Los Angeles got under way about January 1932. A committee composed of Left wing elements of extremely diverse character—unaffiliated Communists, anarchists, syndicalists, Mustelites, and others—was organized. After much discussion as to the basic approach to the question of unemployment, an agreement was reached as to the necessity of accepting as a fact the backwardness of the workers in this region, and a minimum program was worked out.

The objective situation in which we were working may be characterized by the following facts: Los Angeles is probably the most notorious open-shop town in the United States. Trade unions are exceedingly weak there, while the

## N.Y. Upholsterers Strike Grows

(Continued from Page 1)

The general strike demands would be no longer avails them. Their is no reason, except Stalinist disregard for the interests of the strike, to explain why they did not immediately adopt the strike demands of the majority. Workers are indignant and enraged at what appears to them to be an open bid to the bosses on the part of the Industrial union for settlement on the basis of scab conditions.

And in this connection, we must note the ominous significance of the complete boycott of this strike in the Communist party press. Can this mean that the Party and the TUUL intends to ignore a mass strike simply because it is not under their control? Possibly, since this is not the first strike that has been ignored by the *Daily Worker*, and major ones at that. But more probably the reason can be found in that they have not yet recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown by the striking upholsterers who voted with their feet to support the A. F. of L.

Now, the members of the Industrial union, who in some respects represent the cream of the industry, have it as their duty to be among the masses of the trade, who are now moving into the ranks of local 76. Just as before the split in 1930, the Left wing can now carry on a much more effective fight for their point of view within the mass union, where they should constitute themselves as the Left wing, the nourishing leaven to the entire movement, leading it in the direction of class struggle and militancy. Especially now, after the mass of strikers have spoken, it is your duty to come back en masse—reintegrate yourselves into the main body of the upholsterers, local 76, in New York and similarly in other cities. Demand of your leaders to do likewise.

## Win the Strike, Beat the Bosses!

We call on you men in the strike to close your ranks and fight for the realization of the full demands of the strike. You have every opportunity now, if you put your hearts into it, to deal the bosses' association a crushing blow, and to raise your conditions with one mighty sweep from the miserable status it is now into one of decency, with more leisure to develop yourselves towards a greater measure of control over the conditions of your lives. Fight in solidarity and you will win!

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

## Trotsky Moves to France

(Continued from Page 1)

can only say that they are covering up an infamy with a calumny. Now they are using the concession made by the bourgeoisie French government to a revolutionary fighter to distort the truth again, and prevent the workers from realizing what effective work for the revolution comrade Trotsky is doing, in the fields of propaganda and organization, in spite of the handicaps of physical isolation Stalinist slander, and separation from the official representative of the October Revolution, the Communist International.

Every revolutionary worker and party member should demand that the necessary steps be taken for the reinstatement of comrade Trotsky and the International Left Opposition into the Communist International.

Chamber of Commerce, on the other hand, is intimately linked up with the local administrative apparatus, sending its representatives to meetings of local governmental bodies and maintaining a private anti-radical armed force, the "Red" Hyman squad. Second, the city of Los Angeles is included within an agricultural area, specializing in fruit and vegetables, and constituting together with it the county of Los Angeles. Because of the predominance of farmer elements in this region, the county as a whole is even more backward than the city. A further complication is the special exploitation of the Mexican workers, who constitute an important element in this region and have been separated from the native American workers by barriers of language, customs, and lower living standards. They have been used as strikebreakers on many occasions in the past.

The beginning of the unemployment activities were made in the working-class neighborhoods on the basis of the lack of attempts by state and welfare agencies to afford any relief. The first step was the organization of neighborhood welfare committees, which in turn organized committees to visit welfare and relief institutions to ask for relief action.

**First Steps in Organization**  
The first attempts at organization were made by five people: Halstead, Kirth (a syndicalist), Meyers (of the Opposition of the Proletarian Party), Downing (of the anarchist wing of the I. W. W.), and Jane Rose. With the help of a sympathetic socialist, an assistant principal, the use of a school for meetings was obtained. Leaflets were printed, distributed from house to house, posted up in the neighborhood stores, and after a week of these preparations a meeting was held. The first response was about forty workers, a number of whom had been in the trades union movement in the past, and one or two had formerly been socialists. The most developed of them were formed into neighborhood committees. More meetings were held, in the same district and in new district, the attendance increased from 40 to 300-400. After about two months, six districts had been organized into units. Their first functions were to take up the cases of destitute workers who had been thrown off the relief, or had their relief cut, etc.

This phase in a few months assumed very large proportions, and posed before us the question of organizing mass pressure through a centralized and city-wide mass organization. With the first showing of growth, class-collaborationist elements, particularly former cooperative socialists, who are numerous in this region, and former trade union leaders, made their appearance. They proposed to solve the immediate problems of the unemployed through the labor of mutual self-help, offering methods to be furnished by the organizing unemployed to the neighboring farmers, who had piled up an enormous surplus to be made in part of the produce; Similar arrangements were to be made with small business men in the city, each neighborhood unit negotiating for its immediate needs with separate farmers and business men.

In the first period of the organization's existence, the workers almost universally adopted this method. It began with the city units and expanded throughout the country. Within five months from the start, it embraced 40 to 50 thousand members, organized in about 20 units, of which the Left wing had organized, about half, principally in the city.

By June 1932, this method of relief had begun to show its insufficiency, particularly as the surplus of crops began to disappear and a tightening-up resulted from the increasing shortage. This posed with increasing sharpness the question

## Dissension Marks French S.P. Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

cialist Action by their pernicious policies. On the contrary, the Right and the Center wings bore down heavily upon the Left, which upon the motion of Paul Faure extended "the hand of friendship and solidarity" to the Right wing which came to the Congress with a declaration of war. The Left wing has also given this tendency position in the leadership and on the editorial board of *Populaire* (organ of the French S. P.). These are in large part the results of the policy of "social Fascism". By placing the workers who are turning to the revolution before the dilemma of either being "left social fascists" or Stalinists, they impel them to the center of the Right. The true Communist policy consists in demanding of the Left wing that they be decisive, that they apply the ideas that they stand for.

The Congress of the Socialist party has ended. The Socialist workers will again see the same debates reopen in their units that took place before the Congress. What happens will depend upon them, upon whether they force their leaders to carry out their demands. They pretend, and we can see the justice in it, that they do not want to be placed in the same camp with the parliamentarians, the Right wing group. But if they want to be taken seriously they will drive the latter from their party.

—(From La Verite)

of securing state aid. The progressive elements saw in this an opportunity to change the whole trend of the movement away from a semi-allegistic class-collaboration approach toward one of class pressure on the state and local authorities.

## Class Collaboration vs. Mass Pressure

A central body, the County Council of the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association, was organized, and offered affiliation to all the units. Units which at the beginning had attempted to solve their own immediate problems of food, housing, gas, light, water, etc., now began to bring them to the general body, in discussions held once a week, each unit electing a voting delegate and these delegates in turn electing the Executive Board and the officers of the County Council. At that time the class-collaborationist elements dominated the Council and succeeded in keeping the mass of the workers to a policy of dependence on formal legal methods, particularly stressing the preparation of a bill to be submitted to the State Legislature. To illustrate the state of mind of the mass of workers at that time, meetings were usually opened with the singing of prayers and of the national anthem. The progressive elements not only joined in this, but by singing louder than anyone else were successful in casting ridicule on the ceremony and eventually in getting rid of it.

—M. ROSE.

(To be continued)

## New Burdens for Workers in NIRA

(Continued from Page 3)

though big industry has always effectually ignored these laws, except when they have been invoked against labor, now it will be provided with legal instrumentality for the acceleration of trustification and monopoly at the expense of the small capitalist.

Despite the obvious fact that the Recovery Act favors the concentration of capital, the big industrialists have shown, as we have indicated, a certain reluctance in submitting to the provisions of this law. Ill-concealed grumbling goes on in high places. In many of the large industries, production has been stepped up in order to build a large stock to meet the eventual price rises with a possibly reduced working force when the codes finally go into effect. The anarchic character of capitalist production is shown by the fact that the individual industries are looking out for their own particular interests even though they may be at the expense of the system.

The anomaly in the situation is demonstrated by the petty bourgeoisie which has been throwing its entire support to the Roosevelt program, although it will be driven closer to the edge of the abyss by the working of this law. This constitutes one of the contradictions peculiar to American politics.

That the Roosevelt administration may be over-reaching itself in its Recovery program is the opinion of not a few industrialists. The frank skepticism expressed in the higher circles is reflected by Wm. Kiplinger, writing in the July issue of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's organ. He says:

"We are building up a great system of government-dictated artificialities, including inflation, government credits, government competition, government control. Every intelligent person wonders whether and when the system will fall down. There is no factual answer. There are merely sour theories of failure and sentimental hopes of success."

"A majority of well-informed thinkers think this: For the next year or perhaps a year and a half the new schemes will give an impetus to business so that there will be something resembling moderate prosperity. Meanwhile there will be great blunders, great new false relationships, and the cumulative effect of these errors will bring a new set of critical problems a year or more hence."

"There need be no doubt that the critical problems that will arise shall constitute added burdens to the shoulders of the working class. Whatever increases in wages voluntarily granted by the codes will be more than offset by the real wage losses through currency devaluation. Furthermore, there is no doubt that only a relatively small portion of the vast unemployed army can be reabsorbed into any of the occupations created by the application of the Roosevelt program. The unemployed problem will continue to exist as one of the most vexing and unsolvable problems of capitalism."

The American working-class is faced with the maturing of mighty historical contradictions in the capitalist system. The new turn in the policy of capitalism is a keen reflection of this. The new turn must be recognized by the workers and a Marxian estimate of present day conditions made.

From the standpoint of class relations, the workers have much to fear from the new economic organization. The reorganization of the state productive and administrative apparatus signifies further weakening of the already weak class position of the workers. The big political and economic struggles are ahead.

—JOSEPH S. GIGANTI.

# The Background of the New Deal Policy

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force of all capitalist production—the realization of surplus values, the realization of profits. To check the heavy tendency of the falling rate of profit by preparing for an increase of the mass of profit and an increase in the aggregate capital was the problem. It was tackled first by raising the intensity of exploitation of the workers. A higher degree of rationalization and standardization within industry, new efficiency methods to increase the output per man, together with direct speed-up and even longer working hours, were the measures applied. In a recovery, industry will thus start from a high level of intensity of exploitation. Secondly, an enormous depression of the wage level forced through ruthlessly. In this the drop in commodity prices naturally served as a means of facilitation, the heavy unemployment and its competition for jobs did the rest. The result is that on a whole the disproportion between value added by applied labor power and the actual wage paid is constantly on the increase. But what is especially to be borne in mind is the fact that industry starts today from an extremely low wage level.

These were the measures affecting the working class most directly. But there were others worthy of attention from the point of view of studying the background of the present situation. For example the problem of expansion of credits. Undoubtedly the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its billions made available for the bankers and big industrial corporations served this purpose admirably. In the main, however, the huge sums expended went to buttress the large metropolitan banking institutions to help them in paying in settlement of previously contracted obligations. The funds expended did not become transformed into productive capital; for during the course of the crisis there was a generally constant drop in new capital emissions, in new financing. Nevertheless finance capital faces the recovery stage with a greater fluidity of credits. Simultaneously there has been a cheapening of the elements of constant capital by the price fall of commodities and raw materials.

## Concentration of Capital

Aside from these points mentioned there is also to be taken into consideration the reorganization of industry and banking already accomplished. With hurricane speed the crisis eliminated the weaker and more antiquated sections of the capitalist structure, countless of small independent producers whom they supported. Industrial mergers, rationalization and standardization were given more favorable conditions, subsidies were made ready for the monopoly enterprises, efforts were initiated to adjust the various sections of industry to better correspond with the whole and branch banking by the big metropolitan institutions began to make real headway. All in all these were important steps as a result of which the organic composition of American capital is becoming higher. But it still remains for the Roosevelt administration recovery policies to cap the climax.

Some pressing steps are yet to be taken by American capitalism to complete the adjustments of its structure of national economy. These are now in the making and those workers who may credulously believe that the departure of methods of the Roosevelt administration, from that of its predecessor, will in any way at all mean a departure from the capitalist imperialist and monopoly basis, will experience some rude awakening. To the extent that these methods are new, precisely to that extent do they also serve much more effectively to reinforce the imperialist monopoly basis of American capitalism.

## Higher Living Standard an Illusion

What do these methods imply? First of all the completion and further rounding out of the reorganization program already initiated during the crisis. In this, two measures now on the way lend themselves particularly well, and are being utilized to the hilt, for demagogic propaganda fostering illusions of capitalist liberal generosity. We have in mind the questions of a return and a stabilization of the purchasing power of the masses and the reorganization of labor power to the productive forces by reduction of working hours. In regard to the first question what is to be expected? Is it a matter of securing what is abstractly called a decent standard of living for the masses? Not at all as far as the capitalist rulers are concerned. It is simply a matter of securing conditions under which surplus values can be realized, and to that extent to stabilize the purchasing power; but on a level distinctly lower than used to be known as the celebrated American standard.

In regard to the second question, that of working hours, it should be noted that during the crisis with industry running at partial capacity, overproduction still resulted in short order. The relative decrease of employed living labor, compared to the amount of crystallized labor and compared to the amount of capital which it set into motion, became transformed into an absolute decrease of necessary labor power.

With a huge unemployed army this embodied prospects of the class struggle to develop at a rapid pace against the owners of private property. From this there need be no misunderstanding. It is not the welfare of the working class as expressed in shorter working hours which is the concern of the recovery policies. On the contrary; it is the aim to neutralize the unemployed army by taking off a part of the overcapacity and obtain a better working basis in the interests of capitalism.

The third measure in the way, and a keystone in the industrial recovery policies, is the increase of commodity prices. That is so essential for capitalism for its realization of the profits contemplated for the future. What it will mean to the working class, however, is an entirely different matter. It will form part of the bitter experience which will be their lot under the New Deal. The rise in commodity prices precedes both by the way of inflation as well as by setting arbitrary monopoly prices.

In this general program there remains still the one most essential step to be accomplished; that is to increase the ration of American capitalism in world economy. It is not at all let out of sight in the New Deal. Granted the re-establishment of confidence, within capitalism, in the process of reproduction, which is now so valiantly aimed at, the conditions will be fully prepared for a gigantic offensive upon the world market. A dress rehearsal has already taken place in the London economic conference.

—ARNE SWABECK.

## After the Collapse of London Confab

(Continued from page 1)

ing degree, and the bourgeoisie will fight and is fighting against higher taxes. The French government is being forced to the wall by a choice between reducing expenses, which means an open attack on the civil service employees, and inflation as the short and easy way out of debt. At the same time French capitalism is being forced to a sharper open offensive against wages in the effort to lower costs and prices, while in the other imperialist countries the effort is to raise prices. France may quite conceivably be later than other countries in turning upward from crisis to depression, as it was in entering the crisis.

The crisis in Germany shows little improvement, primarily because foreign trade continues to decline in spite of the most vicious attacks by German capitalism on the proletariat in order to reduce wages to a point where it can compete more effectively in the world market. The financial weakness of Germany is expressed by the fact that gold reserves are 9.2% of note circulation; this means high interest rates as a burden on profits, and increasing difficulty in offering liberal financial terms as a stimulus to exports, which was formerly one of the greatest supports for German trade expansion. Production figures and unemployment statistics (the latter being particularly unreliable) show that a little, but very little, progress is being made, in spite of the enormous sacrifices which are being extorted from the workers, in meeting the actual crisis, Italy, in spite of the concentration of control of industry and labor in the "total State", has shown no more ability to deal with the crisis than bourgeois-democratic States; the only difference is that the working class has been ground down further and its resistance broken. Gold continues to leave the country, reflecting the inmost thoughts of capital as to the prospects of the regime. Budgetary difficulties are nearly as much of a problem as in France, and are further increased by the grandiose bluff of the "public works construction program".

The period of increasing strains throughout international capitalism is preparing for a period of violent shocks and disturbance, social, political and military. As the Left Opposition has predicted, the cyclical upturn within the framework of the general world crisis of capitalism is intimately connected with rising militancy and aggressiveness on the part of the workers. The huge wave of strikes in the United States in the most varied industries and localities, in spite of the illusions offered by the National Recovery Act; the mounting discontent in other countries (in England even the backward farmers are striking against the payment of tithes to the clergy, which have been going on for four hundred years), the growing shadow of approaching war, pile ever-increasing tasks on the shoulders of the Communists, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. Now less than ever can sectarianism, futile gestures which waste energy, and splitting of the revolutionary forces, be tolerated without crushing penalties in the future. Clarity of policy and unity in action are imperatively called for by the immediate needs of the world situation.

—B. J. FIELD.