

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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The Trade Union Question

The Left Wing Needs a New Policy and a New Leadership

The American workers, stirring again on the trade union field after a long passivity and confronting a formidable and well organized class enemy, need their own plan of battle. The class enemy has organization and a plan. That, in essence, is what the NRA really is. In the united and comprehensive program of American imperialism against the world the NRA is that section of the program aimed against the enemy at home, the American working class. The strike movement of the workers, on the other hand, has been elemental and spontaneous, lacking a conscious direction.

Who will assist the workers to formulate their own battle plan in their own interests? Certainly not the present leaders of the A. F. of L. and kindred labor organizations. These in reality belong to the capitalist board of strategy. In the machinery of the NRA they are filling of perfection their long established role of labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. A plan and program for the workers in the trade unions, by means of which their struggle could be organized and directed on a national scale, can come only from the Left wing, that is, from the class conscious section of the movement.

But in the present situation which has witnessed the beginning of a colossal wave of strike struggles, the Left wing failed completely in its function. The new events which should have been foreseen and anticipated found it unprepared and impotent. The domination of Stalinism deprived the Left wing of the possibility of influencing the new movement of the masses and of drawing new life and strength from it. The dogmatic program which had been imposed upon it was refuted in life. The leadership of bureaucratic usurpers showed itself to be bankrupt and helpless. The necessary conclusions from these happenings must be drawn without delay. The problem of re-establishing the Left wing, correcting its program and renovating its leadership is the most immediate and burning problem of the labor movement.

There is a new situation in the labor movement which the Left wing must take as the point of departure. The wave of strike struggles did not fall from the skies, nor were Roosevelt and the labor fakers the creators of it. The fearful sufferings inflicted on the masses during these and one-half crisis years; the starvation rations of the unemployed, the multiplied wage cuts and unprecedented speedup which goaded the employed workers to desperation—these were the real authors of the present strike movement. The workers' resentment and dissatisfaction was due for an explosion and it was reasonable to assume that it would coincide with the first signs of an economic upturn.

This was foreseen by the most perspicacious representatives of capitalism. The NRA was devised as a means of coordinating the efforts of the employers and their labor lieutenants with the Government in a single scheme to arrest this movement in its first stages and to keep it within safe bounds. It is possible that the inauguration of the NRA precipitated the strike movement. But at bottom it was caused by the discontent of the workers with their unbearable conditions and their aspirations to improve them at the first opportunity.

These causes will remain and will evoke increasing powerful movements of the masses after the ballyhoo of the Roosevelt program has spent itself, leaving conditions substantially unchanged except insofar as they are improved by organized struggle. Bitter experience will work rapidly and mightily to free the workers from their present illusions about the purposes of the NRA. The capitalists will not voluntarily improve the lot of the slaves under the beneficent influence of the Blue Eagle. The workers will gain nothing they do not fight for. The labor agents of imperialism will not become leaders and organizers of militant struggles, but on the contrary will do all they can, now and in the future as in the past, to sabotage and defeat them.

The Left wing cannot depart for a moment from these self-evident A. B. C. propositions. What has been happening in the way of working class activity in the recent months is only an anticipation of things to come. It is possible of course, and even probable, that the NRA swindle will succeed in harnessing the new movement for a time. The illusions of the masses are very great. But the higher the hopes the more certain the disappointment and the expression of this disappointment in more resolute and determined class action. The first magnificent upsurge of the workers is, after all, only a tentative beginning, a preliminary testing of their collective strength

and solidarity. It is implicit with the certainty of another movement, deeper, wider and more militant.

The Left wing must base itself on this perspective and be ready for it. That means to begin now to reform its ranks and begin to assert its influence in the mass movement. Can this be done on the basis of the trade union policy of Stalinism? No, that is absolutely impossible. Those who try it will be deprived of all influence. On this question the decision has already been rendered by the actual developments in the labor movement. The trade union Left wing which eventually rises to the magnitude of the new tasks, coordinates the militant forces on a national scale and organizes the real struggle against the capitalists and the labor fakers will consist of those who make a complete break with the bankrupt and discredited trade union policy of Stalinism. The tactical line which the Left wing must take is clearly marked out by the actual course of the movement, and no arbitrary scheme which contradicts this course is worth a cent. The Left wing must put itself in line with the main trend of the workers, assist and encourage their impulse for organization and become itself a force to bring the workers into the unions—into the real unions, not the paper unions. And the Left wing must go with them and organize the fight inside the unions against the capitalist agents in the ranks.

The Left wing—that is, the real Left wing which remains true to principle and to the interests of the workers—will enter the mass unions and urge other workers to do likewise without any illusions about the reactionary leaders and without the least A. F. of L. fetishism. Communists do not make a fetish of any trade union organization form. In the future, as in the past, a rise of militancy in the unions will be apt to bring wholesale expulsions and splits. It is quite likely that many of the greatest battles will have to be waged independently, as "outlaw" organizations. The resurgent Left wing—again, the real Left wing, not sycophants and traitors masquerading as such—will remain with the masses under such conditions and not flinch from the formation of independent mass organizations. That, however, is a prospect of the future than a present problem. We will keep it in mind and let no labor fakers' cry

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Program and Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

The revolutionary events in Cuba have reached a decisive stage. The activity of the masses of workers, industrial and agricultural, has forced its way to the forefront of the struggle. The organization of their forces to fight for their demands and to mobilize the masses to resist U. S. intervention now requires the setting up of their own organs of struggle. The formation of Soviets for the defense of Cuba's freedom is the imperative need of the day.

American intervention already exists, even though no shots have as yet been fired from the thirty warships concentrated in Cuban waters. By its economic might, supplemented by this fleet, the American imperialists are exerting a powerful pressure. In face of these conditions it is inconceivable that the cowardly San Martin government can exist very long on its present makeshift basis. It represents the petty bourgeois interests and is incapable of realizing the aims of the people who hate foreign imperialism, to say nothing of the aims of the proletariat. It is oscillating under pressure from two directions—from the masses surging forward, and from the United States. Its alternatives are complete collapse or capitulation to the imperialists. It cannot be conceived of as the leader of the fight to the end against imperialist intervention.

Cuba is now the most vulnerable point in the struggle of the United States for complete hegemony of the Latin American market. Only the fear of serious repercussions in the South, which would also give an advantage to other imperialist competitors, explains the fact that the United States intervention has not yet taken the open form of troop landings and armed attack. But let no one be deceived by the diplomatic maneuvers. The Wall Street magnates will readily stake the life of every American marine to maintain their more than a billion dollars worth of property in Cuba and continue their frightful exploitation of the Cuban toilers.

Is there any possibility for the Cuban masses to make an end to this scourge under the leadership of the present makeshift government? Obviously not. The Cuban workers themselves, in fraternization with the soldiers, have already indicated the road to be pursued. They have formed Joint Committees, (Comites Conjuntos) which are nothing less than a spontaneous striving to build up their Soviets. The present

make-shift government, far more afraid of the Cuban masses than of American imperialism is even trying to sidetrack the calling of the Constituent Assembly. The workers must demand its convocation and raise their demands there. The abrogation of the Platt amendment and the unconditional independence of Cuba and the nationalization of the industrial enterprises and plantations with workers' control stand in forefront of the demands. Most of these enterprises are owned by American imperialists and the advancing of these demands will serve to make clearer the distinction of their interests from those of the Cuban people and to develop the irreconcilability of the

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Paterson Strike Ties Up Silk and Dye Industries

The Militant Workers Recognize Fallacy of the Stalinist Paper Unions

PATERSON, N. J.

The strongest sector of the nation-wide strike of silk workers, its Paterson division of more than 25,000 men holds firm. The tie-up in this city has closed every shop, the looms are idle and the workers have responded 100 percent solid to the strike call.

Striking against the intolerable conditions forced upon them by the vicious wage-slashing of the four years of the crisis the producers of silk are determined to take no promises from the NRA and by struggle

to jack up their wages from the miserable \$13 average to a \$36 minimum, to bring down the hours from the slave working day of 11 and 12 hours prior to the strike to a 30 hour week.

Paterson is in the grip of the strike. Men and women, of all nationalities, young and old, those who have never known the meaning of union organizations and veterans of class struggle, are banding side by side on the picket lines, in huge, enthusiastic strike meetings displaying a spirit of militancy equalled

only by the heroic battle of 1913.

The great virility of this struggle is vividly demonstrated by the pouring out of the mills of more than 15,000 dye workers who for the first time in 20 years have taken their stand on the picket line ready to see the fight to the end. Bursting the shackles of long oppression and exploitation they are braving the police clubs, and tear gas, flocking into the union halls—a testimony to the great power that lies latent in the unorganized mass of workers in this country.

Meanwhile in Washington, negotiations are in progress between the union officials, the manufacturers, and the false friends of labor of the Roosevelt administration. A code for the silk workers is also under consideration. But the workers are watchful. They will not be tricked into any fake agreement, they will not be content with any conditions merely because it bears the insignia of the NRA. Already they have turned down a code that perpetuated the wretched conditions that have plagued the silk trade for years.

The real leader of the strike in Paterson is the Associated Silk Workers, an autonomous local of the United Textile Workers which is affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The decisive section of the industry, the 10,000 broad silk workers, are striking under the aegis of the Associated. It is marvelous to see the spirit of these workers. They are not newcomers to the picket line. This is by no means the first strike they have participated in. On the contrary, they have written a tradition in letters of red in the history of American labor. The workers in this union are wary of the betrayers of the American Federation of Labor. Years of sell-outs have brought this lesson home to them. The name of MacMahon, the president of the U. T. W. is anathema to the members of the Associated Silk Workers.

The rank and file of the Associated have thrown new leaders to the fore. The strike committee is controlled by genuine progressives—Left wingers who have been repelled by the horrible mismanagement, the crimes and the fearful bureaucracy of the Stalinists.

But for the dye workers, the ranks of the strikers are united. Here the forces are divided between the Associated and the Stalinist-controlled National Textile Workers Union.

The dye workers are green to the struggle. They came by accident to the paper union of the Stalinists. They were ready to accept any union that reached them first. But it is the universal opinion in Paterson among the more mature workers in the industry that the N. T. W. will be unable to hold the dyers permanently. There is more than one fact that can be produced in proof of this.

The criminal (after listening to the stories of good, reliable fighters one is tempted to say, insane) policy of the Stalinists and their paper N. T. W. has driven many of the best militants into the Associated, made them bitter against the N. T. W. Prior to the strike, the N. T. W. had practically no influence among the weavers, and the weavers, the more conscious group in the silk industry, passed them by when the strike started and made common cause with the Associated. So discredited, impotent and uninfluential was the N. T. W. at the outbreak of the strike that this is common knowledge in Paterson—the N. T. W. had frantically to postpone the date of the strike in order to make "preparations". Further, so great was the stigma of rotten internal life in the N. T. W. and its adventurist tactics, that Stalinists themselves were instrumental in forming a craft union of the warpers, independent of their paper union! One more fact. A member of the N. T. W. organized 3,000 workers—throwsters—hitherto unorganized and brought them not in to the N. T. W., but into the Associated. Can there be any doubt now whether the Stalinist outfit will hold the dyers?

The advanced, experienced workers in Paterson will have nothing to do with the N. T. W. The inexperienced dyers will not be long in finding out the justice of their decision.

In Paterson as elsewhere the workers are streaming into the real unions. They are paying no attention to the paper outfits run by the Stalinists. There is no place for the Left wingers in Paterson but in the Associated which they can transform into a powerful weapon for the militants nationally—a starting wedge in the struggle against the bosses and the reactionaries.

—CLARKE

New Forces for Left Opposition

New forces are coming forward to the support of the International Left Opposition. Three important European revolutionary groups adhered to our views contained in a declaration submitted to the conference of Left Socialist parties recently held in Paris.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, led by the well known militant, Sneevliet, whose record dates back many years in the Communist and revolutionary movement and who recently served time in connection with the mutinies in the Dutch navy, has already definitely

entered the ranks of the Left Opposition. This party counts 950 members and constitutes the guiding influence within a powerful trade union in Holland.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany (S. L. P.) led by Walcher and Freidrich, foundation members of the old Spartacus Bund in Germany, added its signature to our declaration at Paris. It would be difficult to estimate the S. L. P. membership at this time suffice to say that when the Fascists seized power in Germany it counted 15,000 members.

The third group adhering to our declaration at Paris is the Independent Socialist Party of Holland with a membership of 7,000.

The progress of these groups toward support of our position has naturally become enormously accelerated since the disastrous defeat of the German working class and the openly demonstrated bankruptcy of both Internationals. But even prior to these events they had chosen the path leading in the direction of the international Communist position. In that they learned to distinguish between the principled views of the Left Opposition and those of Stalinism. The leadership of the S. A. P. entered its present course passing from Stalinism through the Brandler group, rejecting its right opportunist ideas of national parties, and finally accepting the international position of the Left.

Such is the process of differentiation.

N. Y. Embroidery Workers Gain

New York, N. Y.—Following immediately on the heels of the great dress strike, 3,000 workers of the Bonnaz Embroidery stitchers and pleaters Union of the ILGWU, Local 66 walked out on general strike in responding one hundred percent to the call of the union.

This tremendous response to the strike call, coupled with all the power and militancy displayed by the strikers, from the very first moment brought the bosses association to its knees almost immediately, and make possible a settlement of the strike in only a few days.

The union also pulled out on strike certain sections of the industry which were never organized before, such as the stamper, pinners, finishers, spoolers and pleating machine feeders. It gained for them a small increase in salary and reduced their working hours from 48 and 52 hours to 35 hours per week. By taking these workers into its ranks the union has to an extent cast aside the ideas of craft unionism to which it has clung tenaciously in the past period. But the union must stop all practice of entering into close alliances with the bosses who wisely were determined to keep these workers from organizing and acting effectively through their unions. The other crafts although not getting any increase in wages also had their hours reduced from 42 to 35 hours per week.

The first reaction of the workers to the agreement reached was definitely against it because it failed to increase the pay. The Lovestonite representative on the strike committee displayed the usual brand of Lovestonite opportunism by speaking against the agreement at the general meeting of the strikers and voting for the same agreement in the small strike committee meeting.

The agreement although now the best that could be reached nevertheless carried when voting on by secret ballot, the vote being 1605 for and 396 against. Summed up in total however the strike can only be interpreted as a victory for the strikers.

It is imperative for the workers in Local 66 to create a strong Left wing group for we do not believe that the A. F. of L. is capable and ready to organize the masses of workers into unions that will be militant fighting organizations of the workers. The masses now following it will be due shortly for a series of disillusionments and will probably and eventually break away from the present lead of A. F. of L. and look to others who will help them build strong fighting militant unions. In order to influence and lead such a movement the Left wing Communist workers must be there to follow the movement closely and guide it at every step. We must begin to sow our seeds of influence immediately in this fertile ground and we will soon be ready to reap a rich harvest. Workers of Local 66, organize into a strong Left wing group! That is the only path you can pursue in order to strengthen your position and win better conditions.

—LEFT WING WORKER.

Rising Militancy Shown in Growing Strike Wave

Powerful strikes are again shaking the very foundation of the country. Following right upon the heels of the big walk out of Pennsylvania miners some weeks ago and that of the New York dress industry new strikes are popping all over the place. Everywhere the class relationship which the NRA attempts to regulate yet what we witness today is unquestionably only a prelude to the much bigger battles coming tomorrow.

The rapidity with which workers now decide to strike and their walk out in splendid response makes an estimate of how many are involved at any given time almost impossible. But it can easily be said without any fear of contradiction that during the last few weeks there has been a continuous wave of strikes embracing several hundred thousand workers. We will attempt to list some of them as examples of the general movement.

Most furious is the battle now being waged in the textile industry, silk section, where police clubbings and tear gas has been employed in full force but without the least shaking the solid ranks of the strikers. It started in Paterson, but has now spread to involve a total of approximately 60,000 workers taking in also the silk dyeing industry and extending to Lodi and Fairlawn, N. J. to New York City, to Phillipsburg, Port Jervis, Stroudsburg, and Allentown Pa., as well as the New England textile region. Throughout New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania the silk textile and dyeing mills are practically completely shut down. In general the strike is in protest against the terms of the cotton code now in operation also for silk textile, but in particular it is for union organization and for shorter working hours and higher wages. The Associated silk workers in cooperation with the parent organization, the United Textile Workers conducts the strike as far as the overwhelming majority of the workers

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Left Socialists Meet -- Two Steps Forward, One Step Backward

The international conference of Left Socialist parties and independent Communist organizations, held in Paris, August 27-28, adjourned without being able to define a future common course. That was to be expected. The reason for it is the wide divergence of views represented, ranging from an international Communist position to that of outright reformism. Hence the main resolution adopted speaks vaguely of retrieving the international unity of the working class on a revolutionary Socialist basis. Nevertheless distinct progress can be recorded from this conference by virtue of the fact that the beginnings of a firm international revolutionary kernel emerged. Three important groups, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland definitely committed themselves to the position taken by the International Left Opposition.

Represented in the conference were the following parties and groups: (1) the Independent Labor Party of England; (2) the Socialist Labor Party of Germany (S. A. P.); (3) the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland; (4) the Independent Socialist Party of Holland; (5) the Swedish Communist Party (Kilbom Brandlerites); (6) the Norwegian Labor Party; (7) the Italian Maximalists; (8) the Spanish Communist Federation (Workers and Peasants Bloc); the Independent Polish Socialist Party (represented by proxy by a member of the I. L. P. delegation); (10) the Party of Proletarian Unity of France; (11) the Independent Rumanian Socialist Party; (12) a representative of the Left wing of the Russian Socialist Revolutionists; (13) the Leninbund, Germany; (14) the International Left Opposition. Participating as observers in the conference were also an American Socialist and two delegates of the French "Socialist Action".

During the general discussion the conference revealed three distinct tendencies. The first tendency was represented by the International Left Opposition expressed in its declaration submitted. That contained our analysis of the defeat in Germany, recorded the bank-

ruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and proposed an orientation for new national parties and a new International. As already mentioned the representatives of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland adhered to and signed this declaration.

On the opposite side were the delegates from the Party of Proletarian Unity of France and the Norwegian Labor Party. They took the position that the strength of the proletariat will be realized through the unity of the organizations. By that they meant the unity of Communist and Social Democratic organizations. In support of this tendency were the representatives of the Rumanian party, of the Left Social Revolutionists and of the Maximalists, the latter, however, declaring themselves against unification of the two Internationals.

In between these two tendencies the British I. L. P. found a position. While its representatives criticized both internationalists they expressed hope in possibilities for the reform of the Comintern. Somewhat similar was the attitude of the Swedish Kilbom party which found itself in agreement with the I. L. P. criticism but has not yet defined its further course. It should be noted that by its participation in the conference the Kilbom party broke the discipline of the Brandler organization of which it is still a part.

It was quite inevitable that groups of such divergent views could not find their way to a common orientation and a common course of action. Before that can be hammered out further clarification is necessary. And with that there is also likely to be further differentiations, those who remain adherents of the reformist views going their own way, while the revolutionists pursue their course toward the restoration of the International. However, due to the confusion still existing and expressed at the conference, the resolution adopted by the majority, inexact and vague in the most im-

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

L. O. Issues Stir Party Membership

The situation in Brownsville, New York City, after several months of a campaign against "Trotskyism," is tense. The apathy and lethargy among the league and party is being displaced by grumbling and discontent. Above all they are beginning to think for themselves. The unrest became crystallized lately; when due to the looseness among the rank and file and the impotence of the leadership, not a single meeting let alone a demonstration was held on International Youth Day. This despite the empty mouthing of the Sklar, Gilberts and Shermans, about the necessity of youth carrying on a struggle against war, Fascism, etc., etc. Blood is demanded. The repercussions of this affair has penetrated to the district. The bureaucrats there are asking for an accounting, particularly because of the disquieting rumors of "Trotskyism."

Sherman, the section organizer of the Y. C. L., is slated to be removed. His place will probably be filled by either Al Baschi, who earned his spurs slugging Oppositionists, or John Morris, who proved his organizational ability, by expelling sympathizers of the Left Opposition from the American Youth Club, whom he was organizer of that club.

It was at this opportune time that comrade Shachtman appeared in Brownsville to speak on the future of the Socialist and Communist movements. The impression that his criticism of the bureaucrats, who are strangling the movement, made upon the party and league; can best be gleaned from what happened at the Bob Minor Election Rally two nights later at the Brownsville Youth (?) Center.

The gigantic and monstrous (so advertised) rally attracted about 200 workers. The drive of his remarks which dealt with misery, starvation and hunger, were so dry, that an atmosphere of listlessness permeated the hall. It was so bad that the singing chorus of the club and a group of league members had to be rounded up in order to inject some life into the "rally." With the appearance of these boosters Minor was in his element. Thereafter every remark no matter how trivial was greeted with applause. At the end of the Minor esque oration, the chairman called for questions, while the customary heart rending appeal for a collection was being made.

Despite the absence of a single member of the Opposition or even a close sympathizer (excepting the writer of course) every question handed in was on "Trotskyism" and on the very points that comrade Shachtman had raised at the meeting where he spoke. The election "rally" had so suddenly turned into a discussion on "Trotskyism," that Minor was left dumbfounded. Taking the floor again he pathetically appealed for questions from the audience.

After a violent and vituperative harangue in which Trotsky was referred to as an organizer of paid police bands and the head of the worst sort of scabbing scam in the working-class movement, (here several matured workers who evidently remember the part played by Trotsky in the Red October walked out) he made the following answers to the questions:

1. "What is the circulation of the *Red Fahnen* (this question evidently prompted because of Shachtman's remarks about the increase from 60,000 before Hitler took power, to the imaginary sale of 300,000 after the Fascist victory). Answer—"I don't know." This from a Central Committee member and former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

2. "How did Stalin come to power?" Answer: Not Stalin but the working class came to power. All those who dare to raise this question are but miserable agents of the bourgeoisie.

3. "Why was Trotsky and the Left Opposition expelled?" Answer: Because they disagreed with the workers (!) of the Soviet Union. Don't we expel scabs from the unions, fellow workers? Deep silence on the part of the workers was the answer to this.

4. "Why does the leadership of the C. P. retain its leadership after this group of self avowed incompetents admitted FULL RESPONSIBILITY for the weakness of the Communist Movement?"

Answer: A long lynch incitation against the Trotskyites, followed by "Only provocateurs and Trotskyite police (!) hands would raise this demand. (Talk about inner party democracy.)"

5. "Did Lenin ever say Socialism can be built in one country?" Answer: Stalin-Lenin's co-worker is proving (!!) it. SOCIALISM IS BUILT (!!!).

6. "Why did the German C. P. fail to lead the workers in a struggle against Hitler?" Answer: "They did lead (!) that's why comrade Thaelmann is in jail." (and Hitler in power and Heckerl in Paris.)

7. "Why weren't the tactics of the October Revolution used in Germany?" Answer: "The same tactics were used (!) and the working class to day (!!) stands on the threshold of a Soviet Germany (!!!)."

But the baseless slanders and pompous boasts will not avail. The league and party members are beginning to think and investigate. The truth of the platform of the Left Opposition is sifting through

everywhere. And before long an accounting with the bureaucrats will be made. The triumph of the Left Opposition is assured.

—LEAGUE MEMBER.

League Growing in Youngstown

Several months activity in the unemployed workers movement is yielding good results for the Youngstown Branch. Not only is there a marked increase in our influence and prestige among the organized workers, but along with this we have gained in membership and supporting sympathizers. The demand of the workers for the Militant is increasing steadily and the support of our sympathizers has enabled us to furnish subs to twelve unemployed workers this week. Besides this we distribute twenty-five copies of the Militant each week among Party members, the YPSL group, and a few rank-and-file members of A. F. of L. unions.

We have among those who choose to follow our program in preference to that of the Stalinists, the Minster or the Social Reformists, several who are active in the local unemployed workers movement and a few who are active members of mass A. F. of L. unions. Our attempt to fraternize and discuss with the YPSL members succeeded after many months of sincere, comradely approach to them. In their ranks is a goodly share of half-heartedness and confusion; but there is also a small number of serious youth who are honestly searching for a class solution to the evils of capitalism. With these elements we shall always find it easy to collaborate, and we hope that from among them will come more than one who will eventually accept Lenin's program of revolutionary Socialism.

The new perspective spurs us on!

—N.

The "Daily Worker" Goes to the Masses

The first fruits of the "Open Letter to all Party Members" have already ripened and are ready to be plucked (if you care for that kind of fruit). At least on the journalistic field. "The circulation of the *Daily Worker* has fallen off," the Open Letter of July 13 announced proudly among the achievements of the Central Committee. Having failed to reach the masses in their struggles, in their unions, in their class movements, the *Daily Worker* has now undertaken a shrewd flank attack which bespeaks an enviable military-journalistic talent. If the masses are not to be corralled in the field of struggle Edward Newhouse will catch them in the tennis courts or on the golf course. If they succeed in evading Newhouse, they find their nudity challenged, each morning when they rise to dress, by the fascinating party frock pants of Anne Adams. If they rush desperately to the dining room, Hathaway (surely it is he who prepares those tempting daily menus) is there to tantalize them with some Cheese Fondue (don't forget to add 1 bit of soda as big as a pea), or Consume Printanore or Lobster a la Newburg (prepared at Camp Nitzgedadig). And after an attack of acute indigestion induced by Browder's latest article, they are turned over to the mercies of Dr. Paul Luttinger (M. D.—\$1.65 per visit, and a bargain).

The layout can't fail. They catch you coming and going: from the breakfast table to the sickbed, and if anyone gets away, he has only himself to blame, for the *Daily Worker* has done the best it knows how.

Take Anne Adams, for example, the Boilerplate Queen of Patterns (not to be confused with Diamond Lil), and the editorial concubine (unfortunately anonymous) who guides her through the columns of the *Daily*. On August 24, we are recommended pattern 1539 (Size 36 takes 4 yards of 39 inch fabric to

say nothing of the 3-8 yard contrasting), all for 15 cents (coins preferred). To make this adorable costume, "pure dye silks are the most satisfactory" although, Anne tips you off, "a well-dyed wool would look good too." Pure opportunism! Why not make it up out of imported chiffon velvet, or cloth of gold trimmed with ermine? We pass the suggestion on to the *Worker* editor. Or what's the matter with polka dotted satin which, Bettina Redwell of the *Daily News* cables, is being "used for sports clothes at Cannes and Monte Carlo"?

Then those menus. More care should really be taken in getting them up. Wheatena for breakfast is all right once in a while, but there is nothing like braised kidneys well done, with Duchesse potatoes. Nor have we yet seen a reference to how to prepare Shepherd's Pie a la Hohenstaufen. Anybody even a *Daily Worker* reader, who has had to stand the slops of the relief kitchens wouldn't hesitate a minute—we'll wager—between Hathaway's potted shoulder and our squabs en casserole with noodles a la Neapolitan on the side (bake in a moderately slow oven about 20 minutes or until crumbs are well browned). And what about cakes? Are they orphans? Can a really good meal be eaten without them? We call Hathaway's attention to the possibilities of Chocolate Marshmallow Roll with Baltimore Meringue and Caramel Frosting. Just delicious!

Or Newhouse on sports. Not bad, only he doesn't go far enough. Keen stuff sometimes, but not deep enough. Take August 16: "Tennis is the one major sport registering progressive tendencies. Two years ago Helen Willis Moody blazed the trail by appearing without stockings at Forest Hills and last season Bunny Austin staked out his pioneer's claim by wearing shorts on court. Although the Deliberating Body of the West Side Tennis Club deliberated mildly against the principle of shorts, mass pressure by lady players with presentable stems caused a reversal of decision. Granted the mass pressure. But where was the party? Where was the Central Committee? Did it do anything to raise this movement to a higher, political level? If it did, Newhouse certainly fails to mention it. It's little slips like this that keep the Sports Column out of time with the rest of the paper. Bear in mind what comrade Browder once wrote: "A Bolshevik paper should be a Bolshevik paper." (Collected Works, Vol. IX, page 318.) That's just as true today as when it was written.

Finally, good old Doc Luttinger. We don't want to appear to be

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ference called for the purpose of dealing with working class problems.

Issues Unclear

Unfortunately no one made the issue clear to the delegates. What was necessary was someone to explain that the reactionaries are taking advantage of the party leadership to set a precedent. It was necessary to point out the difference between the official party and the expelled groups and to insist that in spite of the disruptive tactics of Communist party leadership the party represents an important section of the American workers and should not only be permitted to join but invited to do so. Gitlow was very weak. Weisbord was not effective. The non-Communists made a good fight in their own reformist way but could not overcome the fear of and the hostility to the official party.

Sentiment on the National Recovery Act was divided. The more conservative delegates saw good in it and wanted to give President Roosevelt a chance. Why these delegates who have hope in the N. R. A. should at this time be interested in a Labor party is somewhat of a mystery. Probably they figure that a Labor party should be organized for the purpose of helping Roosevelt put the N. R. A. over. To cut the discussion short the matter was referred to the incoming national committee.

Truax representing the Unemployed Leagues of Ohio, in the closing session and during the discussion on the N. R. A. pathetically asked: "If you go on record in favor of the N. R. A. how can I go back to face the unemployed who are starving? And what shall I tell them that you accomplished in the two days of your conference?"

Poor Truax! He has yet to learn that out of a conference of about a hundred and fifty delegates where there are only two real workers and two real farmers nothing much should be expected.

—A. V.

carping critics, but science is science and it ought to be exact. Take his advice to "Gertrude" on August 24: "Six dry prunes have often a laxative effect on the bowels of some persons." Is that what Gertrude wanted to know? We doubt it. What effect would they have on her? And then again, suppose the prunes are wet, what then? Lie should be more concrete and give illustrations. Thus, in replying to W. J. C. on Trigonitis-Verumontanitis, he says that "getting sexually excited without completion of the act aggravates the condition."

Now that's always been a disputed point in scientific circles and ought to be motivated more fundamentally, it seems to us. Or the reply to J. S.: "Your friend is unduly alarmed. Nearly every young, unmarried person masturbates. Those who deny it, lie in the majority of cases. Unless it is indulged in too often, neither the mind nor the body are impaired." Well, what would you call "too often"? It strikes us that this is the nub of the problem. Truth always being concrete, some experiences should be drawn on. Maybe the Polbureau of the party ought to be permitted its say on the matter. Or perhaps a happy medium could be found in the formula: Not too much and not too little. In any case, if you really want to get to the masses, you've got to be more precise.

Ourselves, we're inclined to the opinion voiced by Michael Brown (or is it Heywood Gold? We forget which), the new columnist of the *Daily Worker* in its September 1 issue: "You have to read the fads to get the real lowdown on how the other half lives. Really, though it smells so bad, one should hold one's nose and study life in the millionaire slums. Let's be scientific. Now we know why Verne Smith left the *Daily Worker* to go to Moscow: He couldn't hold his nose! But as to being scientific, by all means!"

—A. N.

FROM THE MILITANTS

Strike Lessons on Pacific Coast

Los Angeles.—It is sad to have to write to you that the workers on strike against Golden Bros. Millinery shop were defeated.

The bravery of the strikers, their militancy on the picket lines, their courage before the clubs and saps of a degenerate group of police, the great number of arrests bravely endured (17 in number) were not able to overcome the objective fact of the strike being forced on the workers in the off season and the subjective condition of weakness in the Trade Union Unity League of California. (To grace them with the name of "leaders" would be sheer violence of the latter term).

Victory could have been won, even though the strike took place in the slack season, but for the passivity and lethargy in the general activities—a condition due to the actions of the apparatus of the T. U. U. L. and not the strikers themselves.

The chairman of the strike committee, comrade Louis Meyers insisted on a more militant attitude, but to no avail, as a result scabs manned the shops.

After much effort, comrade Meyers succeeded in securing what amounted to a little more than a verbal agreement with his views.

In spite of its weaknesses, the strike has created a tradition in Los Angeles. To all workers, particularly needleworkers, it showed how even the most brutal of police terror can be fought. Smashed picket lines were reformed. Jail did not daunt. In this manner strikes are won; not in the class collaboration of the conservative trade union fakers.

A storm of strikes, in the needle trades above all, is in the offing. The first strikes, the forerunners, are already here. The NTUW is conducting a number of small strikes. The Amalgamated Clothing

Workers has struck the Kurtzman Clothing Co. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is planning a general strike and has been waging a series of minor strike battles in this situation it becomes yet more important for the I. U. W. L. members to finally learn too that the place of the Left wing is within the mass unions.

To the strikers out now and to those who are yet to strike, the workers of Golden Bros. shop have taught lessons that we hope will not go unheeded.

Although the strike has been called off, rearguard battles remain to be fought. These are the struggles for the freeing of the strikers arrested on the vicious anti-picketing ordinance, a piece of legislation aimed to maintain Los Angeles as the pride and joy of employers.

These trials are now going on. First results have not been good. Two workers were fined \$20 each. Two girl strikers, Elsie Meyers and Sally Wedgendor, have been fined \$50 or 25 days in jail. This case has been appealed. Three girls are going on trial now.

This fight cannot remain solely in the courtroom. Behind the victimized strikers all of Los Angeles labor must be mobilized.

The fight against the anti-picketing ordinance concerns every worker who is ever going to strike whether he or she is in a union affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, or independent unions. For workers to strike without picket lines is like soldiers marching to war without fire arms.

Around the right to strike and to picket a broad united front can be formed. The acute need of the moment for all workers is the winning of this right. The most important ingredient of successful strikes is strong picket lines. The anti-picketing ordinance stands in the way.

Only action by the workers can remove this anti-picketing ordinance, not legal argumentation before the bosses' courts. Although this latter angle must not be ignored, the following must be driven deep into the consciousness of stirring Los Angeles labor: "Only united action by the workers can do away with the anti-picketing ordinance, and open the road to higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions."

—C. C.

T.U.U.L. Disrupts Doll Strike

The sad pass which Stalinism has reached is clearly manifested in the Doll and Toy Workers' strike. The toy part of the industry, where the Stalinists have a small foothold, is told by them not to join in the general strike. They did this first with leaflets, (distributed by members of the Young Communist League) and then with fists.

They used members of the Communist party and of the Unemployed Council to attack and cut up union pickets of the Gong Bell Toy Shop at 200 5th Avenue, N. Y. C. Giordini, president of the Toy and Doll Workers (paper) Union, was in the shop urging the workers not to join the strike when members of the A. F. of L. union came to pull the shop down. It was then that the attack began. One of the pickets of the A. F. of L. union was cut so badly as to require medical attention.

This action on the part of the Stalinists is strikebreaking, no matter what the intentions. This action is to be doubly condemned as dragging the name of Communism in the mud, and playing into the hands of the A. F. of L. reactionaries. The reformists of the A. F. of L. can now get up on the platform at strike headquarters and tell the workers that Communists are strikebreakers and to have nothing to do with them; and, in fact, to beat them up wherever they meet them. This greatly hinders any work of contacting for the Communist movement and endangers the work of building a Left wing within the union. All attempts to expose Farulla and Cannon are almost worthless for a while, thanks to the criminal blunders of the Stalinists.

Workers, be on your guard against those who attack the Communists. Examine their deeds, and see if the attacks are not to cover up their criminal policy of selling out the strike last year, and, then, after being kicked out of office and union, going to the A. F. of L. and getting a charter without the consent of the union membership. Judge these leaders by their actions and deeds and not by their words. To that end, see that the strike, settlement, and shop committees function so that the leaders (whom we did not elect are checked up. Finally, elections of officers on the basis of their work within the strike, should be called for when the strike is settled.

—A DOLL WORKER.

means provided for in the inflation act would be utilized, no doubt: Federal Reserve credits would be expanded, new currency issued, and finally perhaps, as a last irrevocable step, the dollar might be cut down to half its gold content.

Every one of these steps, insofar as for as long as it has any effect, will result in raising the cost of living, and thus cutting the real wages, of the worker—apart from the rest of the capitalist offensive in cutting relief, cutting school budgets, speeding up labor, etc.

—B. J. FIELD.

Labor Partyites Convene

Chicago, Ill.—The significance of the gathering held at Chicago on September 2-3 and calling itself the United Conference for Progressive Political Action was not very great. Its representation was such that nothing much can be expected of it in the way of harm and certainly not in the way of any good as far as the American labor movement is concerned. The old intellectual stand-bys who have been yearning for a Labor party to furnish them with an opportunity to play some political role in the movement were there. A few old and young enthusiasts from small groups of the League for Independent Political Action and a non-descript group of old men and women made up the majority of the hundred and fifty or so delegates to the conference.

Farmer Answers Judge There were several representatives of real organizations of farmers. The outstanding representative from the farm regions was a Judge from Iowa, John F. Wirts, President of the United Farmers of America. The incident that occurred at Le Mar, Iowa, where a group of about a hundred farmers gave one of a hundred colleagues on the Iowa bench the scare of his life was to him, a result of the machinations of a few insane radicals. The only real farmer in the conference answered the Judge simply and effectively when he said that immediately after the demonstration at Le Mar the state and federal authorities began to do something for the farmers.

Two delegates represented bona fide organizations of unemployed workers. Their confusion was great. Nevertheless whenever they spoke the atmosphere became a little fresher. Obviously they were "Minutemen" and all the lack of clarity and all the hesitation so characteristic of that group was recognizable. A red tinge to the conference was furnished by Ben Gitlow who was quite careful not to protrude his Communism and run the chance of antagonizing the conservative delegates.

Warn Against Revolution

Werg one to judge from the first few speeches made at the conference the conclusion would be almost inevitable that the delegates were meeting for the purpose of preventing a revolution in the United States. The more conservative element at the conference, led by Mahony, mayor of St. Paul and Judge Wirts, had the floor for most of the first session. They testified to the ferment existing amongst the city workers and farmers, especially the latter, and warned the delegates that unless a Farmer-Labor party is organized a violent revolution would result. It would be unfair to the other delegates to state that the conference met for that purpose.

There were many sincere elements anxious to further the interests of the workers and farmers. These honest elements actually believe that a Labor party is the instrument by which the American workers and farmers will ultimately free themselves from the yoke of capitalism. They will live, to see the day when the Labor party will be the instrument of saving capitalism and not of destroying it.

Postpone Organization

It was recognized by the delegates that to proceed to form a Labor party at the conference would be the height of absurdity. It would

have been a Farmer-Labor party without farmers or laborers. Not a single union was represented officially. Here the "sensible" decision was arrived at to instruct the National Committee for the ensuing year to carry on propaganda in favor of a Labor party and call a larger conference to organize one. One can rest assured that if and when a real labor party is organized the people present at this conference will have very little to do with it. The trade union bureaucrats will not permit the two-by-four intellectuals to run the show for them.

In spite of its non-representative character it would be a mistake to disregard the conference entirely. The economic and political situation is such that a Farmer-Labor party may be a serious possibility within the near future. The conference may or may not be the embryo of the future Labor party. In the past many such conferences were called by Labor party enthusiasts. Nothing came of them. The same result may follow the present conference. But that is hardly likely. The inevitable failure of the National Recovery Act to appreciably ameliorate the condition of the working class, will stimulate the movement for independent political action and the trade union bureaucracy may yet be drawn into the movement if for no other reason than as a milestone around the neck of the proletariat.

Exclude Communist Party

The spectre of the Communist party hovered over the conference. The hottest discussion of the whole conference revolved around the question of permitting the Communist party and its affiliated organizations to enter into a federated Labor party. The organization committee recommended that all labor and political organizations that are genuinely interested be invited to participate in the formation of a Labor party. The conservative elements led by Professor Douglas insisted upon an amendment specifically excluding the Communist party and its auxiliary organizations. The amendment was lost. The professor, urged on by Bert Miller formerly of the Lovestonites, thereupon introduced a resolution recommending that the incoming national committee exclude the Communist party and this motion was carried by a slender majority.

The Stalinists have sown the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind. Their unbridled name-calling and absurd slanders have created a situation where the reactionary leaders appear to have some justification in their claim that the Communist party simply disrupts and destroys. The reformists gloat over the opportunity to show up the decisive tactics of the Stalinist leadership. That the reactionaries succeeded in putting through their resolution only by a few votes shows conclusively that an intelligently led Communist party would have so much influence with the rank and file that the reactionaries would not dare bar it from any working class conference. This does not imply that the Communist party should participate in the organization of a Labor party. On the contrary it should point out to the workers that a Labor party cannot solve their problems. The decision to exclude the party shows what is in store for it in any con-

Discussion on the German Defeat

The article appearing below is another contribution to the discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. The views expressed are those of the writer. Comrades are invited to participate in this discussion but their contribution should be limited to about 700 words.—Ed.

In the *New Republic* of July 5 there appeared an article by comrade Trotsky entitled "The German Catastrophe" (reprinted in the *Militant*) which subjected the policy of the Central Committee of the C. P. and the C. I. to a critical analysis. The substance of this document was that the failure of the C. P. and the Social Democracy to form a united front, and the failure of the C. P. G. to propose it, was responsible for the catastrophe. With the substance of this criticism, limited as it must be within the confines of a short article, we have no argument. But this explanation does not go far enough and to the root of things. The reader gets the impression that the leaders of the C. P. G. were free agents acting in accordance with the dictates of their own judgment which proved to be erroneous. The leaders of German Communism acted as they did not merely because their judgment was poor but because they consented to become puppets of the existing foreign policy of Stalinism. They had received orders from Moscow to offer only a dilatory opposition or passive resistance but no serious struggle against Hitler. What proof is there for these assertions? And what were the motives for justifying this policy?

The organs of the L. O. noticed the strange silence of the C. I. for months preceding the events of March 5, they called attention to its failure to furnish political assistance and to the failure of the C. P. G. to make adequate defense preparations. The C. P. U. S. A. also ignored appeals from the L. O. for action on the German crisis. These were the outward symptoms of the crisis in the C. I.

Were these features and events mere accidents and oversights on the part of the Stalinists? We know that in politics there are no accidents or oversights—not where major policies are concerned. We believe the answer is to be found in the changed foreign policy of the C. P. S. U. From a party committed to the promotion of world revolution it has degenerated into a party of national Socialism. In order to establish this hypothesis we invite the consideration of the following facts.

It is common knowledge that an isolated workers' revolutionary government operating under the discussion of a party committed to a policy of world revolution must of necessity have difficult and strained relations with capitalist powers, who, when they are not conspiring actively to destroy it, are protesting against the "outrages", that a foreign party, i. e. the C. P. S. U. should be conducting propaganda on their territory through an affiliated organization, the C. I. Hence, since the termination of the active interventionist program the capitalist world powers have demanded the cessation by the S. U. of Communist propaganda on their soil. In the language of diplomacy this means the suppression of the C. I. Depending upon various situation in the international field they have threatened to break off relations, have refused to sign trade agreements, treaties, extend loans, guarantee credits as long as the C. I. was an active threat to their existence. The Soviet diplomacy countered with the argument that it was not responsible for the actions of the C. I. and that no Soviet government agency was engaged in any hostile action on foreign soil. Mr. Henderson, British foreign minister to mention only one case, refused to accept this contention insisting that the S. U. was responsible for the acts of the C. I. which he considered a propaganda arm of the Soviets. He informed the Soviet Union that if the C. I. engaged in propaganda on British soil relations between the two countries would again be broken. As long as Lenin and Trotsky were leading the C. P. S. U. this demand for suppression of the C. I. was energetically resisted. But with the death of Lenin, the expulsion of the L. O., the slowing down of world revolution and the rise of the policies of national socialism, the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. S. U. has gradually yielded to the pressure of world imperialist powers. The benefit of an active international center coordinating the activities of the parties was considered as insignificant compared to the benefits of recognition trade and credits. The belief gradually grew up among the Stalinist bureaucracy that one or the other would have to be sacrificed. The C. I. was, of course, sacrificed and with it the international conception that the fate of the Soviet Union was bound up with the fate of the world proletariat.

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theory which the Stalinist school of national socialism advanced, officially and unofficially, may be expressed as follows:

The mere existence of the S. U. is a beacon light to the world proletariat. If the S. U. can obtain a breathing space for a number of years during which unruffled, peaceful relations, loans, trade, etc., can be established with the capitalist world powers then fulfilled socialism can be developed within the Soviet Union. The resultant socialist construction will be a great inspiration to the oppressed proletariat, who will then, seeing a finished socialist structure as an objective reality, be only too willing to overthrow their bourgeoisie. What shall the proletariat do in the meantime? In the meantime the C. P. S. U. abandons its original program of world revolution. In fact, the proletariat of other countries must mark time not even attempt to seize power because this would disturb the Soviet capitalist peaceful cohabitation. In fact for the time being, the world proletariat must be prepared to sacrifice its historic mission—the overthrow of capitalism for the sake of the "upbuilding of socialism in the Soviet Union".

These arguments have not an iota in common with Leninism. The war scare which the Stalinists use to justify their policy is strange—very similar to that used by the German social democracy in 1918. When after the German Revolution they were called upon by the workers to establish a workers' government and come to the assistance of the Russian revolution, they replied in these words: "If we come to the assistance of the German proletariat and establish a workers' government the allies will march into Germany and occupy Berlin. Thus all the achievements of the German revolution will be destroyed. It is therefore much safer and more certain to follow the slow but peaceful path to socialism of the Weimar Constitution." Now we can understand the silence of the C. I. before and after the coup d'état. Now we can understand the passivity of the C. P. G. The German working class and with it the hopes of the world proletariat were sacrificed for years to come, so that the Stalin bureaucracy might nurse its illusory hope of peace calm and quiet living together with world capitalism.

The Future of the C. I.

From the Stalinist course of a half-liquidated International there arises a three fold danger:

1. If the Soviet Union should be really threatened with war, intervention or both, the danger is that the workers of the various important countries will not respond with the same enthusiasm to the slogan of defending the Workers Republic as they have heretofore. These

workers will argue that the C. I. and the C. P. S. U. remained silent while Fascism rolled over our organizations and broke the backbone of our movement for liberation. Why should we break our heads for the Stalinists when the Soviet Union, manned by Stalinism, finds itself encircled by world imperialism? Naturally from the standpoint of the L. L. O. such a viewpoint would be calamitous and the L. O. would actively resist it. But the danger nevertheless exists that such currents are likely to make themselves felt widely. The L. L. O. must take measures to forestall the possibility of such phenomena.

2. There is another danger—that of passivity. Many Communist-minded workers will lose faith, because of the inactivity of the C. I. in all revolutionary movements and withdraw from the struggle altogether.

3. Lastly, the greatest danger is that of liquidation. When, in 1923, the C. I. failed to respond to the revolutionary situation, the result was a steady streaming back of workers to re-enroll under the banner of the social democracy. Such a danger is magnified today because the breakdown of the C. P. in Germany and Austria. In Germany and Italy Fascism has been able to carry on only because it has made deep inroads into the ranks of the workers. The danger therefore exists of large masses streaming into the folds of Fascism because of the breakdown of both Internationals, the 2nd as well as the 3rd.

Conclusion

The Stalinist policy, can now, be summarized as follows:

1. Abandonment of the Leninist program of world revolution.
2. Nominal existence for the C. I., muzzling of the C. I. as important world crises arise.
3. Civil peace with world capitalism, no international class struggle.
4. Suppression of democratic centralism in the C. P. S. U.; conversion of the party into a semi-military administration and ruled from the top by a dictatorial oligarchy.

Where does this policy lead to? It is obvious that we are not dealing any more with a centrist current in Communism with which we have tactical differences but with tight wing opportunism.

Upon the shoulders of the L. L. O. rests the responsibility of preventing the above-mentioned dangers from becoming acute and from engulfing for decades the entire workers' liberationist movement. Under these changed circumstances the L. L. O. must make plans for its transition from the role of an Opposition within the C. I. to a new role—that of the leading nucleus for the organization of a new International.

—L. BROWN.

U. S., Cuba and Latin America

Does intervention exist in Cuba? The capitalist press says no. We say it does. It began with the establishment of the revolutionary Junta of five. The whole Atlantic fleet was sent to Cuban waters. The air fleet and marines were mobilized. Cuba was bottled up. A new form of intervention took place. "Armed" intervention had not been established? Cuba's independence has not been violated! As soon as the new government was established pressure from American imperialism increased from day to day, until the petty bourgeois element in the lead had slowly yielded and helped check the pressure of the rank and file and the workers from below. Nevertheless, the new regime which is compromising with American imperialism is sitting on a dynamite keg and the proper spark can blow up this regime causing repercussions which will be felt by the most backward strata of the American workers.

Why is America so careful in her dealing with her colony, Cuba? Cuba is a present the determining factor which will decide to a great degree the outcome of the impending Pan-American Conference to be held at Montevideo. This conference will be the culmination of a bitter struggle now raging among the imperialists to decide who will obtain a more favorable position in the trade relations with the South America countries. England, Germany and Japan are still making inroads in America's private backyard. The Americans hope to overcome this between now and the date of the conference.

One false move in Cuba, which will increase Latin America's hatred for the iron heel of the North will play into the hands of the other imperialists. American hopes to avoid this, which accounts for the new form of intervention the Roosevelt government is conducting in Cuba. As soon as the London Conference was over, as soon as America had led a few more ropes around Europe in order to put her on rattions, America turned her attention to the South American struggle and the coming conference. Reports from investigators Roosevelt sent south at the very beginning of his administration indicated that Cuba was a most critical spot. This spot had to be removed as part of the preparations for the Pan-American Conference.

The objective conditions for a political explosion in Cuba were mature. All that was needed was a "hands off" policy from the iron heel of the North. America did more than that. It helped remove

Machado and place in power a more suitable puppet but events and conditions got out of control. Within a month history passed beyond this American set-up. The Cuban situation is characteristic of the quicksand upon which American imperialism has built its world structure. Attempts to solve one contradiction pave the way for a new and bigger contradiction.

The proletarian revolution cast its shadow across Cuba, an outpost of American imperialism. America's backyard has a revolutionary situation. Workers seize sugar plantations. American imperialism is denounced, complete independence is demanded. The Red scare becomes the headline overnight in the rabid American press. But the economic and political implications run deeper than the diplomatic and yellow press maneuvers. It runs deeper than America's attempt to patch up things for the Pan-American Conference.

America went to the London conference to smash the attempted united front of Europe. America's positive role at Europe's conference was to deliver a few destructive blows. America's role at the Pan-American conference is different. This is America's set-up. It is England's time to deliver a few destructive blows.

Below the surface of this imperialist struggle for markets and the preparation for war runs the more fundamental struggle of the imperialists and the proletariat. The American working class has an urgent and tremendous task to aid the Latin American workers and peasants. The overthrow of American imperialism is our task and the workers and peasants of Latin America are our closest allies. Their fight against American imperialism in Cuba is our fight.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Secretary Hull expressed the opinion to the London economic conference that if any nation wrecked it, "that country will merit the execration of mankind." Yet the United States did it. Secretary Woodin, when denying rumors of currency stabilization agreements reached at London, said that "any agreement on this subject will be reached in Washington, not elsewhere." Soon Secretary Swanson, who is now busy building a navy "second to none", can be expected to add his declaration that "any future agreement on naval ratio will be reached in Washington, not elsewhere."

Relativity and Pacifism

The *New York Times* of September 10 quotes Albert Einstein, world famous pacifist, as follows: "If I were a Belgian I would not refuse military service under the present circumstances, but I would, on the contrary, accept it with a clear conscience with the sentiment of a contribution toward securing European civilization."

The "present circumstances" are Einstein's fear of a threat of war emanating from Hitler. Einstein thinks that the tide of war will roll westward and that Belgium will fall beneath the Nazi chariot wheels. Hence the gratuitous admonition to Belgian workers to train for the defense of "their" country.

The French Socialists and the British labor skates want to defend European democracy against Fascist and "Soviet dictatorship". Hitler, too, wants to defend European civilization against "the East". How many savors of European civilization there are!

It is difficult to reconcile this latest position of Einstein's with his endorsement of and services for the Stalinist Amsterdam World Anti-War Congress. This the Stalinists will have to explain away. We warned in time against entrusting the leadership of the fight against imperialist war to well meaning intellectuals and pacifists. For our good advice the Stalinists gave us curses and blows.

This latest advice of Einstein's stands in contradiction to his former, well known advice to the entire world to refuse to bear arms. He is the formulator of the pacifist idea that if only two percent of a population refuse to bear arms that number will suffice to defeat the war plans of the imperialists.

But if you think you see a contradiction here Einstein does not. He explains this point: "There does not mean I renounce my previous opinions. I desire nothing more than to see the moment come when the refusal of military service will be the means for an efficacious struggle for the progress of humanity." You see, he merely postpones his idea of refusing military service for a whole. And in the meantime he advocates the exact opposite.

Is there a contradiction here? Yes and no. It all depends on how you look at it. Workers should remember that Einstein is the author of the theory of relativity which, despite its positive contributions to science, implies that there is no objective world independent of consciousness and that the world is only the result of the position of the measurer. In other words if you stick your head between your legs and look at the world from that position the Empire State Building grows down from the sky and calling on Belgian workers to enter the military service of the capitalist class is not in contradiction to pacifist ideas.

That is generally the conclusion to which the petty bourgeois, confusionist theories of pacifism lead. We hope that Einstein will forgive us if we see in his playing with serious questions the bankruptcy of pacifism and its objective support of imperialism.

—T. STAMM.

Southern Negroes Under the N.R.A.

The murderous meaning of Roosevelt's "New Deal" to southern Negro workers has been brought to our attention by many conflicts which have arisen around the issue of wage differentials between white and Negro workers. A firm in Atlanta which prominently displayed the blue eagle insignia pays its Negro employees from 6 to 13 cents an hour. The most violent forms of Jim Crowism transferred into the wage differential question is given testimony in an article in the *New York Times* of August 27, from which we quote in part:

"Mississippi already has given the nation an example of barbarity based on an economic condition.... Negro firemen were lured from their engines with flares and then shot down. Others were slain or seriously wounded in the engine riots.... It can be assured that how ever true the statement that the living costs of the Negro justifies a differential in wages, the thought is not a pleasant one to blacks who are forced to live in miserable surroundings in order to live at the lowest scale. This situation created by the NRA regulations benefited as they are in intent (?) is one that must have the serious and honest consideration of reasonable men of both races."

It would be much more correct to state that this situation and the whole Negro question requires the consideration of working men of both races created exactly this situation. I quote further from the same article to prove this statement:

"Many men suggested that a differential in wages should be established. This was successfully done among laundry workers, where Negro workers have long represented the majority of the workers. But a drastic differential in other lines is another matter and contains a danger pointed out by Dr. R. R. Moton, head of Tuskegee In-

Even Slander Needs Meaning

A Discussion with those Stalinists Who Reflect

On every occasion the Stalinists repeat that the Bolshevik-Leninists whom they call "Trotskyists" are working in favor of military intervention in the U. S. S. R. A shameless absurdity of this kind is calculated to mislead ill-informed people. The courageous man, the honest one, must inevitably say to himself: "It is impossible that such a thing is simply an invention, there must be some truth in it." And unfortunately there are not a few of such courageous men in the world.

How then must one understand the aid that the "Trotskyists" will lend aid to intervention? Does that mean that the Bolshevik-Leninists are on the side of imperialism in the struggle against the U. S. S. R., that is, that they will be materially or politically interested in overthrowing the workers' state with the aid of the military force of the imperialist bourgeoisie? There are people who even go as far as such assertions. In the majority of cases, these are slovenly careerists who are little concerned over intervention, revolution, Marxism and ideas in general they simply serve the master of today and will unhesitatingly betray this master in time of danger.

At bottom, these "udarniks" (shock brigades) of slander continue the tradition of the reactionaries, who, from 1914 onward and particularly from 1917, repeated indefinitely that Lenin and Trotsky were agents of the German General Staff. After 15 or 20 years in the course of which such events as the October Revolution, the Civil war, the creation of the 3rd International and the intransigent struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists for the banner of Marx and Lenin against the degenerating bureaucracy have taken place—the Stalinists have withdrawn from the mud of the accusation formerly fabricated by the military espionage, by Milukov, Bourtzev and Kerensky.

Others of the more prudent bureaucrats do not trust themselves to pose the question in the spirit of the British and Czarist counter-espionage. They add a wise word, the Trotskyists, they say, objectively aid the counter revolution and the intervention. Such a formula, which itself pretends to objectivity is in reality deprived of all content. Any mistake of the revolutionary party aids the enemy directly or indirectly but the whole question consists precisely in this: on whose side is the mistake? The Bolshevik-Leninists have demonstrated (and events have justified our arguments) that the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy has aided the bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism against the workers in China; that it aided the British reformists against Communism; that in the U. S. S. R. it has aided and it aids the thermidor-

ians and the bonapartists against the October Revolution; finally that it aided Hitler against the proletariat in Germany. Is this true or not? This is the decisive question.

Of course our criticism does not contribute to raising the authority of the Stalinist faction; but can one put the prestige of the bureaucracy and the vital interests of the world proletariat on the same plane? The Stalinist bureaucracy, which disposes in abundance of the services of publications, papers, "theoreticians", journalists, has not even approached a refutation of our criticism. Is it not truly astounding that the C. I. has no book which draws the lessons of the German events of 1923, the Bulgarian intervention and a series of other events of lesser extent. Thus, after the miserable report of Heckert they have put a cross on the causes of the victory of German Fascism. By treating our criticism as counter-revolutionary the Stalinist bureaucracy merely says by that that we assail the principle of its infallibility. This principle has no doubt of demonstration: whoever doubts it is expelled from the organization and is locked in a prison in the U. S. S. R., then the family of the criminal is deprived of domicile and bread.

But is or is not the Opposition correct in its criticism? What then has military intervention to do with it? However in its chase for stronger and stronger arguments to justify its measures of physical destruction of the Leninists, the Stalinists with more and more frequency advance the argument of intervention. Their reasoning is constructed somewhat along the following lines: the "Trotskyists" say that Socialism in a single country is impossible; that the kulaks in the U. S. S. R. are not destroyed; that social democracy is not Fascism, consequently... the "Trotskyists" press forward on the road of intervention. The conclusion here does not in any way at all flow from the premises. Only a little reflection is necessary to be convinced that the very conclusion stands in direct contradiction with the premises. Only a little reflection is necessary to be convinced that the very conclusion stands in direct contradiction with the premises. The Stalinists themselves have repeated on numerous occasions that it is precisely the success of the construction of socialism which sharpen the hatred of the imperialists for the U. S. S. R. and by that brings closer the danger of intervention. But then is it not the Bolshevik-Leninists who declare that the actual successes are far from being as great as the Stalinist faction affirms? How then can this criticism push the bourgeoisie on the road of intervention? Let them explain that to us!

No one who knows anything will

Cuban Revolution Rising

Revolutionary unrest continues unabated in Cuba and the new regime which claims to be "anti-imperialist but willing to fulfill all of its legitimate obligations" is finding increasing difficulty in maintaining itself between the pressure from Wall Street and Washington on the one hand and the masses from the left on the other. While several hundred of the old army officers continue barricaded in the National Hotel, Colonel-Sergeant Batista, army chief of staff, is busy promoting enlisted men to replace the former officers. Fraternization between the soldiers and workers continues. This is what the capitalist press means when it complains of the breakdown of discipline.

The native bourgeoisie is already consistently sabotaging the Grau San Martin Government by withholding taxes due to the government, hoping in this way to force the government to default in the payment of interest on loans to Wall Street increase the pressure on it from that direction and turn the army against it consequent on its failure to pay the enlisted rank and file.

The workers and students, realizing the danger of counter-revolution and in order to be able to exert mass pressure on the bourgeoisie, are taking steps to fortify their present positions in an attempt to prevent the triumph of a counter-revolution, led by the Menocal conservatives or Mendieta nationalists.

The strike wave continues unabated; the militancy of the workers and unwillingness of the soldiers to act against them being everywhere in evidence. On the banana plantations at Antilla, Oriente Province, the workers have

stitute.... Dr. Moton—realized that with both races receiving the same wages for identical work the whites would gradually usurp the places held by Negroes."

The bourgeois Negroes' whole slant on economic and political questions (Dr. Moton is just one of these bourgeois Negroes) arises from and does not look beyond the segregation, discrimination, and subordination to which the caste system in these United States relegates the Negro workers.

—G. J. SAUL.

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given the owners until Saturday to grant their demands and the seizure of the estates should comply not be made is likely. The strike at the Cristo manganese mines continues in spite of efforts of the students and soldiers to arbitrate. In this particular case some weakening of the workers' attitude is to be noted in their apparent willingness to accept a truce of 15 days, during which they would return to work.

Once more the dock workers of Santiago are threatening to strike unless their latest demands are accepted within 72 hours. The strikes at the Mabey refinery in Santiago and on the coffee plantations of the same province continue.

In many points throughout the island the workers, especially those on the sugar plantations, are arming themselves. The first attempt of the present government or of the counter-revolution to oust them from the sugar mills and plantations, some of which they have already seized will undoubtedly be met by violent resistance.

At the same time camps for military instruction are being organized by the student organizations and authorized spokesmen for the students stated to the Associated Press representative:

"We are attempting to prevent a recurrence of those things which happened to these boys during the Machado regime. We want them to have a knowledge of military training so that they may be prepared to defend themselves whenever it may be necessary to do so."

The same Associated Press report goes on to note that the organizers of these military training camps take pains to explain that their movement is not of a fascist character.

Representatives of American capitalist interests, especially Ambassador Welles, are bargaining with the Grau San Martin Government as well as with the leaders of the other bourgeois political groups. By intelligently playing them against each other any one of them can be made to come to an agreement favorable to Wall Street. The pressure of the masses, however, as expressed concretely within the ranks of the army, by the seizures of the sugar mills, and by the developments at the manganese mines in Cristo, Oriente Province, must be reckoned with before Yankee imperialism can hope to again establish the good old days of uninterrupted exploitation of Cuba.

deny that the hostility of the world bourgeoisie originates from the fear of the extension of the proletarian revolution in other countries. This danger, in any case, effects the world bourgeoisie more immediately than the "liquidation" of classes in the U. S. S. R. The Bolshevik-Leninists, as is known, accuse the Stalinist bureaucracy of having practically renounced the policy of world revolution. Whether this be basically true or not, in any case such an accusation should diminish and not augment the danger of intervention. And indeed one can bring tens and hundreds of proofs to bear that the bourgeoisie believes that the policy of "socialism in one country" is much more realistic, wiser, "national" than the policy of "Trotskyism", that is of the international proletarian revolution. The criticism of the Left Opposition can only strengthen the diplomatic positions of Stalinism. A serious American bourgeois, Campbell, has shown the necessity of recognizing the Soviet Union by referring to the words of Stalin, saying that the course towards international revolution was liquidated with the expulsion of Trotsky. It is true that Stalin has disavowed these words. Let us admit that they were said to Campbell not by Stalin himself, but by one of his associates; let us even admit that Campbell, in order to make the greatest impression, has himself put this argument into Stalin's mouth. At bottom that does not change the matter one iota. Campbell puts as a positive feature of Stalin that which the Left Opposition considers as a negative feature and the American bourgeois is right from his point of view."

In any case, to accuse the Stalinist bureaucracy of being nationally limited does not hinder, but facilitates "normal" and even "friendly" relations for it with the bourgeois states. What happens then to the lecture on intervention? It can however be said that that we do not exactly explain the basis of the Stalinist argumentation. Let us take their official press. We have at hand the last number of *Humanite* (August 2nd). Let us surmount the natural repugnance for slander and let us probe the arguments of the functionaries of *Humanite*. Here as an example of "Trotskyist" counter-revolution, they cite the words of Simone Weil: "The diplomacy of the Russian State should inspire us with defiance in case of war as in case of peace, just as the diplomacy of the capitalist states, if not to the same degree." Further on they cite the words of a so-called "Trotskyist" Prader: "The power which dominates the U. S. S. R. has nothing in common—in spite of its lies—with the October Revolution." In alleging these two quotations, of which we cannot guarantee the authenticity of the text, the editors write: "These are words for word the same filth that appears in the press of the other white-Russian or French counter-revolutionaries, of the Renaissance of General Miller, in the *Dernieres Nouvelles* of Milukov and in *Populaire* of Blum-Rosenfeld."

So the White-Russians accuse Soviet diplomacy of having sunk to the level of bourgeois diplomacy or having betrayed the heritage of the October Revolution. Can anything more stupid or more ridiculous be imagined? And in order to show what is really the unfortunate functionary accomplishes more than he can: "the accusations of the two camps coincide word for word."

In reality, the white guard press exerts all its strength to prove to the bourgeois governments that the Stalinist bureaucracy continues the criminal work of the October Revolution, that it does not limit itself to national aims and aspires as before to the world revolution, and that is why the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet non-aggression pact or the recognition of the Soviets by Spain are fatal mistakes. In other words, the reactionary Russian and world press tries to demonstrate that Soviet diplomacy is not "Europeanized" that is, that it is not bourgeoisified and it sees in its refusal to bourgeoisify itself a basis some logic in that. But the Stalinist intervention: there is at least lists have nothing, except absurdities. The Whites hate the Soviets with a vehement hatred and precisely because of that they look for arguments that have political meaning. It is an entirely different thing when an appointed functionary defends a cause which is quite foreign to him: he throws into the same sack all the absurdities which come into his poor head.

The functionary receives his task for the day: connect Trotsky with the white enigmas in order that to justify the repressions against Rakovsky and thousands of irreproachable Bolsheviks. Then how does the indifferent functionary act in the cause? He assuredly does not throw himself into a polemic with Trotsky or his comrades: such a polemic promises nothing good. He has neither facts nor arguments: where should he find such facts and arguments? The functionary finds two isolated quotations which have no relation with Trotsky and he sets his wits to work to identify these quotations with the point of view of the white guards which is directly contrary both in spirit and letter. In order to give proof of his zeal the functionary adds: "word for word": in slandering he takes no care to give his slander even an appearance of sense. No wonder if the advanced workers more and more turn their backs on the dishonest, ignorant and traitorous functionary. —G. G.

