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# THE MILITANT

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## General Silk Strike Sweeps the Industry! Workers Hold Battle Line Firm as the Great Struggle Enters Sixth Week

### Union Organizations in the Silk Workers' Strike

The silk workers have not lacked unions that purported to represent and defend their interests. Due to the highly competitive condition of the industry, the relatively high degree of skill required, and the varied division of crafts the workers have been divided into many unions and they have not enjoyed the benefits of an all-embracing union that organized without regard to craft and which included a large number of workers. Such a union existed in the great 1913 strike and has come to the fore again in the present battle in the form of the American Federation of Silk Workers, and its Paterson section, the Associated Silk Workers.

The Associated Silk Workers was born in struggle against the reactionary leadership of the U. T. W. in 1919. For winning conditions in the strike of 1919 which the manufacturers and the U. T. W. didn't think they deserved the notorious officials of the A. F. of L. expelled 300 hand weavers who formed the Associated Silk Workers.

This organization was a fighting militant union from its very inception. In 1924 it again had the honor to incur the wrath of the U. T. W. which advised all A. F. of L. unions not to support the strike conducted by the Associated, calling it an outlaw organization.

**Record of the Associated**  
The Associated Silk Workers was permeated with a radical outlook. On its Executive Board the Left wing had a majority. A member of the Communist party was one of the organizers. The officials of the union looked to the militants for leadership and policy. A better field for the Left wing and its class education, a higher type of class struggle union could be found nowhere in the country. In spite of all of these meritorious qualities the stupid Stalinists, in pursuance of their blind and disruptive policy, split the Associated Silk Workers in 1928 and formed the National Textile Workers Union.

It is ridiculous to oppose a split under all conditions. When a union becomes the creature of reactionary officials who make the sell-out to the bosses their only policy and prevent the rank and file of the union from using its democratic rights to change the course and leadership of the union then a split is often unavoidable. But the Stalinists had no such grievance against the Associated. They split the union because they could not fetter it with their mechanical control.

Approximately 500 broad silk weavers followed the National union on its ruinous course. Both the Associated and the National entered the 1931 strike about equal in strength. The strike of that time was only a shadow of what it is today but here again the National union revealed a glaring incompetence and an unwillingness to face facts. Instead of a genuine offer of common action with the Associated they sabotaged all real moves

toward unity. Instead of cementing the solidarity of the workers, as was their elementary duty, they pulled rabbits out of the hat, such as arbitrarily advancing the date set by the Associated for the strike. The National, as a Left wing, was unable to exert any influence on the then timid leadership of the Associated. It was shortly before this strike that the Associated affiliated with the U. T. W. The National emerged from the strike only a shell of what it had been at the outset.

**Decline of the N. T. W.**  
The story of what happened in the N. T. W. from 1931 to date has already been told in the *Militant*. The lack of freedom of expression for the workers within the union, the selection of officials from above, the formation of craft organizations, the carping criticism of the Associated for not calling the present strike sooner than they did and then the right-about-face proposal to delay the strike after it had been called by the Associated, the formation of a rival national strike committee, the undenied reports of the offer by the National union of individual strike settlements and a lower wage scale—all of this has made the workers bitter against the N. T. W. Its leading militants in Paterson have left it and joined the Associated where they play a prominent part.

On the other hand, the Associated Silk Workers, having minor efforts here and there, has done itself proud in the present strike situation. Through its militant actions it has enlisted the great majority of the silk workers. It has earned and properly deserves the support of the entire labor movement.

### Independent Craft Unions in Strike

The strike in Paterson and throughout the Eastern states includes within its ranks every nationality of workers and every craft in the industry. A strong spirit of solidarity pervades the whole scene of battle. Fighting shoulder to shoulder are the unskilled, low paid dye workers and the highly skilled, relatively well paid warpers, twist-ers and loomfixers. The situation among the skilled crafts is extremely important for the strike and the silk workers union in the future.

For some time three A. F. of L. craft unions of warpers, loomfixers and twist-ers have existed in Paterson which failed even to organize an appreciable section of the trade in these unions. As in other categories of the silk industry the workers, tired of the exclusive, over-cautious tactics of the U. T. W.

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### The Record of McMahon as a Misleader of Labor; Bosses' Agent in the Ranks of the Working Class

Labor can fight the bosses out in the open giving blow for blow. Far more dangerous, however, is the enemy that pretends to be a friend and under the cover of his "friendship" stabs the workers in the back. Such is McMahon, the president of the United Textile Workers of America.

Consider the deeds of this man, the highest officer in an organization that sets out to improve the lot of the worker:

McMahon commenced his double-dealing, treacherous tricks even before the strike got under way. Prior to the outbreak of the silk strike McMahon urged the strike committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers not to strike until the code was settled, promising that if the latter were unsatisfactory he would tie up the whole south. What happened?

Tired of waiting for the endless bickerings in Washington to bring results, and fully aware that the hearings in Washington were deliberately intended to paralyze the fighting will of the workers, the strike committee of the Associated called the workers out.

Unofficially McMahon endorsed the strike by sending a telegram to the Port Jervis local of the U. T. W. to walk out together with the A. F. S. W., and by representing the union and its strike demands in conferences with the manufacturers at Washington.

But McMahon quickly revealed where his real sympathies lay. He accepted with open arms the strike-breaking proposal of the manufacturers for a truce, a five week "cooling down" period during which the strikers were to return to work, and tried to ram it down the workers' throats. The workers would have none of it—the strike began in real earnest, spreading over the nation.

Frustrated in this slick, under-cover maneuver to drive the workers back into the mills McMahon stripped the tactics of all camouflage. He called a meeting of the national executive board of the U. T. W. where they voted not to endorse the strike of the silk workers.

In other words, this miserable creature of the manufacturers "outlawed" the greatest strike in the long history of the silk workers' struggle by refusing to recognize the walk-out of 50,000 men as "legitimate".

But if McMahon and his no less treacherous lieutenants would not "recognize" the strike officially they proceeded at once to recognize it in reality by trying to herd the workers under the jurisdiction of the U. T. W. back to work. In the Rhode Island shops, in Stroudsurg, Hazleton, Pa. and elsewhere McMahon gave orders that the strike be called off and the workers return to work.

**Sabotage at Hazleton**  
In Hazleton, Thomson, a member

of the Executive Board of the U. T. W., working hand in glove with the local police and the state troopers, sabotaged the striking of its largest shop, the Duplant. It was only against his disruption that six shops in that city were pulled down by the A. F. S. W.

Far from making good on his promise to strike the south if the code was unsatisfactory—and that was the opinion of the majority of the silk workers if not of McMahon—he is doing everything in his power to knife the strike at the very time when the silk workers need the most assistance. And on top of it all McMahon is attempting to starve the workers back to the shops by refusing to sanction appeals for strike relief by the Paterson strike committee.

### IMPORTANT NOTICE

With this issue the *Militant* begins to reflect the new course of the Communist League toward the building of a new party of Communism in America. Our aim is to transform the *Militant* from a propaganda organ intended mainly for Communists into a popular agitation paper appealing directly to the mass of American workers. To facilitate this transformation, and double our circulation as the first step, we are cutting the subscription rates to \$1.00 per year and 50 cents for six months. The prices of single copies are cut to two cents, bundle rates to one cent a copy.

We intended to tell you all about it, and our new action program connected with it, in this issue. But the silk strike material, which represents—as a beginning—what we mean by an agitation paper, crowded out the explanation, so we will have to let it go over till next week.

Meantime, one urgent word: We are undertaking this project solely on our nerve. The new price of the *Militant* is below the cost of production. It requires a subsidy. We have none, not even the cost of next week's issue. We need your help and count on it. If you see the need of a Communist paper that appeals directly to the mass of American workers, records their struggles, and talks their language, there is a practical way for you to help. Send a donation to

THE MILITANT  
126 East 16th Street  
New York City

### Old Friend of the Bosses

The employers could hope for no better friend than McMahon. He is of far more service to the bosses against the strike than all the cops and all the forces of "law and order." But McMahon's services did not begin yesterday. The treacherous record of the reactionary U. T. W. machine, of which he was long a part, runs back for more than 20 years.

As far back as 1912 the United Textile Workers furnished strikebreakers in an attempt to smash the Lawrence strike led by the I. W. W.

In 1913, one of the greatest strikes in the history of Paterson's struggles, when the strike was solidly conducted by the I. W. W. under Big Bill Haywood, John Golden and Sara Conboy, the then leaders of the U. T. W. made a separate agreement with the bosses without the workers' knowledge and support, deliberately trying in that way to sell-out the workers.

In 1919 a strike was called by the Paterson ribbon weavers for the 44 hour week. This was sabotaged by the U. T. W. The U. T. W. was for compromising on the 48 hour week even while the War Labor Board was for giving the men the 42 1-2 hour week. In a short time they sold out completely, agreeing with the manufacturers to postpone (indefinitely) the shortening of hours. But the ribbon weavers remained stubbornly on strike and won the strike. And for this 300 were expelled from the U. T. W.

During the 1924 strike of the Associated in Paterson, Sara Conboy of the U. T. W. sent a letter to the A. F. L. unions telling them that the Associated was an outlaw organization and advising them not to support the strike.

The U. T. W. under McMahon publicly denounced and attacked the great Passaic strike of 1926. Its local leaders tried to call off the strike and force the workers back into mills and urged all A. F. of L. unions to refuse to give relief to this strike.

McMahon's real philosophy is expressed in a statement made during the "campaign" of the A. F. of L. to organize the south in 1929:

"We aren't talking shorter wages. We aren't talking shorter hours. You can't express our objectives in those terms. We want to sit down with the mill owners, we want to take up their problems as our problems, we want the mill owners, ourselves, and the general public to sit down and diagnose the industry's ills and seek mutually a means to heal them."

There stands McMahon, revealed by his own statement as well as by his actions as an agent of the bosses, serving as president of a labor organization only to be in a better position to betray and sell-out the workers.

### Solidarity Welds Ranks; N. R. A. Truce Rejected

Fifty thousand silk workers are entering their sixth week of strike with their ranks bigger and more solid than ever. The mills remain closed, the looms idle and every attempt of the bosses to reopen has been frustrated by huge picket lines of angry workers.

The strike is spreading with seven league boots to every silk mill, large or small in the United States. Strikers travel hundreds of miles to pull down shops that have not yet joined the ranks. The National Strike Committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers, voted at its last meeting to close every U. T. W. shop that is still at work—to bring the New England sector of the silk industry to a complete standstill.

As testimony to the fighting spirit that is catching on everywhere under the impetus of the silk strike is the decision of the silk truck drivers not to handle scab silk.

The monster demonstration of more than 20,000 silk dye workers on Monday, October 2, in the Hinchliffe City Stadium marks the high point of the great textile battle. By their enthusiastic singing and cheering the embattled silk and dye workers gave an unassailable evidence to the bosses that they had clenched their fists and gritted their teeth in firm determination to remain out until their demands are won. By this great demonstration the silk workers of Paterson and vicinity have given heart and hope to the workers everywhere. The silk workers are showing the way.

The American Federation of Silk

### Historic Strike of 20 Years Ago

Never-to-be-forgotten by those who took part in it, or those who have heard its story told, the tradition of the great silk strike of 1913 in Paterson is the inspiration behind the powerful struggle that has brought the fabric of the industry to a standstill today.

Those were stirring days. For 22 long weeks the silk workers of Paterson maintained the battle lines unbroken. Workers were clubbed and shot by policemen and detectives. Upwards of 800 strikers were thrown into jails unfit for dogs. The organizers were persecuted. The strike was vilified by a lying press which screamed with rage at the revolting slaves, and demanded that the leaders be tarred and feathered and driven out of town. The pulpit thundered denunciation at the men and women who wanted a better life in this world. But with grim determination (Continued on Page 4)

Workers has become a great magnet of attraction for the independent, scattered and craft unions that are flocking to its banner from every silk center in the nation. The Allentown workers have affiliated to the national strike committee of the A. F. S. W. The United Warpers League of Paterson and vicinity have followed their lead. The A. F. S. W. has come forward as a unifying force consolidating the energies of all the silk workers under one common direction.

Again the A. F. S. W. has affirmed its unshakable will not to return to work under anything but a national agreement. The disruptive role of the N. T. W., which had issued a public statement declaring its readiness to sign separate shop agreements on a lower scale than the one demanded by the A. F. S. W., has so discredited this organization that it was compelled to issue a "denial" in an evasive statement issued by John J. Ballam.

The demands of the strikers, refusing to compromise, have remained the same as at the outset of the strike—\$36 for weavers, the thirty hour week and the two loom system. A test of the strikers' militancy in obtaining these demands took place at the Crew Dye plant where the strikers clashed with the strikebreakers. Several workers were arrested.

**N. R. A. "Truce"**  
Senator Wagner, of the N.R.A., has come to bring "industrial peace" to the strike-bound silk areas. Not so long ago the silk workers learned what the industrial peace of the N.R.A. meant for them in reality—calling off the strike in a five weeks "truce" during which time the government and the bosses would impose the slave silk code on the workers. In spite of the treacherous agreement of McMahon to this "truce" the strikers voted it down as a man. They must be just as wary of the new maneuvers of the N.R.A. and any of its agents in labor's ranks.

The answer of the strikers to every attempt to lure them back into the mills under promises of "adjustments" under N.R.A. protection has been to strengthen the picket lines and to spread the strike to other silk centers. The silk workers' strike started after the N.R.A. machinery had already shown how it functioned in other strikes, in collusion with the reactionary labor leaders, to muffle the revolt of the workers and break their fighting ranks with deceitful promises and threats. The tragic experience of the Pennsylvania miners has not been lost on the silk workers.

With such vigilance as the strikers have exhibited to date, with the mass picketing and the sterling militancy that has animated the silk workers they are bound straight for victory!

## One Hundred Years of Trade Union Struggles in the Silk Industry

Paterson was the cradle of the class struggle in the United States just as Lyons a great silk center, was in France. Paterson has been the storm center in the battles of the silk workers for more than 100 years. Innumerable strikes, some that ended in victory, and some in utter rout, some that were bloody, and others that were peaceful, some by crafts and others by the entire industry, have been fought by the Paterson workers. These battles were the road-pavers for the great conflict that shakes the textile industry today.

**THE PATERSON STRIKE OF 1828**  
The first strike of factory workers in this country occurred in Paterson in 1826 among the men, women and children cotton operatives (silk as a fabric did not make its appearance till twelve years later). These slaves had been toiling from sunrise to sunset. They lived in company-owned tenements. They were striking against the attempt of the bosses to change the lunch hour from twelve o'clock to one and for the ten hour day. Marking the first act of solidarity, the building trades and machinists struck in sympathy. Marking the first act of government terror against striking workers, the militia was called out to drive the workers back to the shops. The

strike was lost and the leaders discharged. However the bosses later conceded on the noon-hour dispute.

**PATERSON—1835**  
The next strike in Paterson did not come until 1835 when 2,000 cotton mill workers struck for the eleven hour day, the abolition of the store-order system and excessive fines. The workers were led by an organization called the Paterson Association for the Protection of the Laboring Class, Etc. They were aided by the Newark workingmen who sent in \$20. for relief and the New York workers who appointed committees for the same purpose. The workers of Paterson held out for six long weeks and then their ranks were broken through a compromise offered by the bosses in which two-thirds of the workers returned under a working day of twelve hours for five days in the week and nine hours on Sunday. The merciful bosses had yielded one and one-half hours. The workers remaining out for the 11 hour day were blacklisted as were the children of the leaders.

**"ORGANIZE THE UNSKILLED"**  
In 1879 the International Labor Union waged an eight months battle in Paterson against a reduction in wages. The workers were star-

ved back into submission. Significant about this strike was the appearance of an outstanding leader, P. J. McDonnell who was a staunch advocate of industrial unionism and whose slogan was "organize the unskilled". Under his guidance huge strikes of many months took place in Fall River in 1879 and again in 1884. Strikebreakers smashed the strikes in both these cases.

**SLAVE WAGES—1894**  
The silk operatives of Paterson, driven to desperation by the wretchedly low wages, which, according to the *Daily Guardian* of the time, were "insufficient to buy the commonest kind of food and purchase coal and wood", walked from mill to mill pulling down the shops. The New York ribbon weavers joined the strike and the Paterson strikers trudged all the way to New York to visit their fellow strikers. The workers returned the visit. But if the strikers were united, so were the bosses of Paterson and New York who had a binding compact to break the strike. Many a striker received a free permanent wave from a policeman's nightstick. The strike was neither won nor lost—some of the mills granted the raise in pay and others did not.

Out of this strike emerged three craft unions—the Horizontal Warpers Association, the Ribbon Weavers Union, the Loomfixers and Twist-ers Union and also two unions that cut across craft lines—the Broad Silk Weavers Union and the Silk Workers Union.

### INCH BY INCH

For a while things simmered in Paterson, only for hell to break loose again around the period of 1899, 1900 and 1902. Picketing, police clubbing, arrests, denunciation from the press and the pulpit ran through the last years of this one. In 1899 after an eight months siege during which time strikers were jailed for calling strikebreakers "scabs", the United Ribbon Weavers Union won a one-cent-a-yard increase on the piece rate.

The United Textile Workers began its career in 1901. Soon after the Paterson craft unions affiliated to it. Picket lines again in 1902. Led by the Ribbon Weavers Union against which an injunction was invoked, standing the union \$5,000 for fines in picketing cases, the broad silk weavers and the dyers won an increase of one and one-half cents on a yard.

### LIVING CONDITIONS

The wretched conditions of the years following the turbulent opening of the twentieth century prepared the way for the great battles of 1912, 1913. According to the Silk Association the average wage of the worker was less than \$10 weekly and in that period the cost of living rose by 60%.

### I. W. W. — 1912

The Detroit faction of the I. W. W. headed by Rudolf Katz conducted an unsuccessful struggle against the four loom system. This strike proved to the sceptics that the English speaking and the foreign born workers could stand together and fight side by side. The story of the 1913 strike is told in another column of the *Militant*, as is the Associated Silk Workers strike of 1919.

### AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

From May 1919 to November 1922 a militant, class struggle union, whose creed was "one big union for the textile industry" swept the field, winning big battles in Lawrence, Paterson, Allentown, Pawtucket Valley, West Hoboken. It had 50,000 members. This was the Amalgamated Textile Workers. Bad leadership, adverse conditions, a

few lost strikes were the cause of its disbanding in 1923.

The crisis of 1921 hit the Paterson broad silk workers local of the United Textile Workers a mortal blow and it passed out of existence.

### 8 HOUR DAY SLOGAN IN 1924

In 1924 the Associated Silk Workers led 13,000 broad silk workers of Paterson in a strike for the 8 hour day, to offset the 3-4 loom system, a 15% wage increase and union recognition. They won a partial victory, many of the shops recognizing the union and granting wage increases.

**THE PASSAIC STRIKE — 1926**  
Clubbed and tear-gassed by cops, slugged by gunmen the silk dye workers of Passaic, Garfield and Lodi, New Jersey held out valiantly against a 10% wage cut and for union recognition under the Left wing United Front Committee of Textile Workers. They lost the strike after a long and memorable struggle.

### SOLD OUT

The U. T. W. betrayers of New Bedford sold out many silk workers after a stubborn battle of 22

weeks, in 1928. In the same year the Associated conducted a strike for a wage increase and union recognition. But the strike was not solid. Many crafts remained at work, the union was split in the midst of the strike and it was lost. The 1931 strike is also reported in another column.

### IN CONCLUSION

A great tradition belongs to the silk workers, and great lessons are to be learned from it. In the silk workers' struggles stretching over one hundred years many unions have come and gone. The silk workers have had to cope with betrayers on the one hand and craft division on the other. Sometimes they have won and many times they had to return to the mills—vanquished. But the amazing vitality of the struggle of the working class is attested by the present strike—the greatest in the history of the silk workers. This struggle will not cease with the conclusion of the present strike. It will become fiercer and more relentless until that day comes when the working class by its united strength will build a new system where strikes will become memories of a past age of slavery and oppression.



Notes of the Week

MR. REVERE REVEALS

If you're in the working class or of it you're bound to get a headache wading through the boss press. Especially now—under NRA. The high pressure salesmanship methods of the recovery administration—always profuse with their great, passionate love for the laboring masses—are simply overwhelming.

When you're lucky enough to survive the intoxicating ballyhoo of the front page and the stultifying hypocrisy of the editorials, you will, however, find a good sobering broil in the financial columns. They usually tell the unadorned truth. They're got to. Because they constitute the only part of the paper that's actually written for the boss—minus the ballyhoo and minus the embellishments.

And here is what we found on the financial sheet of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune recently:

"With the strong arm of government around the wage earner," says a certain C. T. Revere (of the firm of Munds, Winslow, and Potter), "the labor unions are displaced as guardians of the toiler.... The basic reason for the labor union as we have known it in the past no longer prevails."

This is Mr. Revere's government. He speaks of it knowingly. And he is addressing his kind, on the forum of his class. He has no need for camouflage and subterfuges here.

The Herald-Tribune, appropriately enough, sums up his remarks in the headline, "Blow to Unions Seen by Revere in NRA Plans". That tells the whole story in a nutshell. And as if he were anticipating the argument of the recent strikes and the big, successful unionization drive, the gentleman from Wall St. adds:

"Economic forces (?) work out their solution in inexorable fashion even against the intimidation of the working masses."

If we know anything at all of economic forces (sic) and if the present widespread and far-flung testimonials of strike militancy mean anything, Mr. Revere may yet discover that there is nothing quite so inexorable as the workers' march to power, as the economic solution of the working masses.

We might add...even against all the pious "class peace" wishes of the labor fakery and all their persistent servility.

Mr. Revere knows what his class wants and needs, and so does the awakening worker.

The proof? The first plank of nearly every strike action in the growing working class upsurge and the major objective of nine tenths of them has been—union recognition!

That's what the workers think of the "strong arm of government!"

LET HIM WHISTLE

"In Pittsburgh, 3,000 to 5,000 miners, singing as they go, request Carnegie steel workers to join a 'holiday movement' with 85,000 other steel and mine workers in three states."

"Carlyle said: 'Give me the man who sings at his work!'"

"A strike seems hardly a thing to sing about!"

—ARTHUR BRISBANE.

For all of our sympathy with Mr. Brisbane's outraged...esthetics, and in spite of his rather impressive appeal to Carlyle's authority, we cannot nevertheless understand why he should begrudge the workers a "holiday"—the bankers only had one of their own not so long ago.

It is only just, and even Carlyle had a warm spot for justice. Still, if the eminent sage of Hearstland finds strike holidays "hardly a thing to sing about" in his capacity as major shareholder of a profit-mad enterprise, he ought to compose himself as a member of the Fourth Estate.

We can well understand that he cannot sing over a strike. Just let him whistle....

THERE'S GOLD IN THEM THILLS

"Green Backs Plan for U. S. to Assist Jobless Mine Gold"—Newspaper Headline.

Having clad the employed working class in codes of crime and led them into the promised land of the New Deal, the great American Labor Leader prepares to bring down a shower of gold manna (or are we getting it mixed up with NRA?) upon their less fortunate brethren, left behind in the wilderness of unemployment.

—G.....N.

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS

ARNE SWABECK will speak at

WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT 1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor on

Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M. THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M. THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

FROM THE MILITANTS

St. Louis Needle Trades Strike

St. Louis.—On August 10th 3,000 needle trades workers went on strike in protest against the sweatshop conditions prevailing in St. Louis and their low wage standards of \$5 and \$6 a week. The strikers rallied under the banner of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union because of the impression of strength and support it could give them in their struggles against the bosses.

The ILGWU, although in the A. F. of L. for 25 years, boasts of one of the most progressive preambles of any A. F. of L. union. The preamble to the constitution recognizes the fact that the workers must organize industrially as well as politically in order to effect "the abolition of the capitalist society" before the workers will be in a position to "secure their rights as producers."

Accordingly the garment workers were under the impression that the ILGWU leadership, nationally as well as locally, would give them all the moral and financial support possible, in order to enable them to win their strike. These hopes were soon shattered. The local leadership attempted to settle the strike three times without any concessions from the capitalists. Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, said that the national union was "off the Gold Standard" and would be "able to give 'normal support' to the strikers, but 'not much financially'". The small amounts of strike relief finally paid out were gained as the result of continual and vociferous demands by the rank and file.

The only reason the silk dress workers didn't get as good a contract in St. Louis as elsewhere was because the local union didn't get funds enough to hold out for our demands. It was due to the militancy of the rank and file and the support given by Bialis, national vice-president, AND NOT THE LOCAL OFFICIALS, that we finally gained the following demands: shop committees in each factory; 10 percent increase in wages; no discrimination in re-employment of strikers; equal distribution of work; no attrition of all discharges. Although the contract doesn't call for a closed union shop, this demand could have also been gained, if the St. Louis local had the right kind of union leadership fighting militantly in their behalf.

—ROSE CASANO.

Organizing the Greek Painters

New York.—The most exploited section of the American working-class is that of the unorganized. This section is largely composed of foreign workers, and especially of those that come from countries industrially backward. The Greek painters undoubtedly belong to this section. Although their trade is skilled, they remained outside of their trade organizations, with the exception of a few who are in the A. F. of L., because of the fact that they have no tradition of any sort of trade unionism. Another reason could be that workers when coming to this country intended to leave as soon as they made a few dollars. The long years of the crisis however has taught them to realize the idea of returning home rich was an illusion, and they had to remain here as a part of the American working class. As a result of all this they began to see the necessity of organization.

About four weeks ago a few of the more progressive ones assembled in the cellar of the Santa Barbara Greek Church to discuss their problems. They elected a committee which decided to call a meeting the following Sunday at the same place. More than 350 were present at this meeting. Several Greek Stalinists were mobilized from the Greek Spartacus for this meeting. When their spokesman Hargellas (Harrison) was presented to address the meeting as a representative of the TUUL the crowd arose en masse and shouted, "We don't want him!" "No Communists here, he's a Communist." (How clearly it could be seen how the Stalinist bureaucrats have discredited the name of Communism!)

This however did not prevent Hargellas, when finally given the floor, from giving orders as though he were in a unit meeting of the Communist party. He stated that unless they remove from their temporary committee the "disrupters" (Katsikis, Poulos) the movement cannot go forward. He said the Greek painters must organize themselves independently as a Greek Club, and that later they could decide where to affiliate.

Undoubtedly he meant to take them into the TUUL. But why didn't he clearly state this and point out facts to convince the workers of the advisability of such a step instead of maneuvering with the proposal to form a club? Simply because the TUUL is no less discredited in the eyes of the workers than the official Communist Party.

The policy of the Left Opposition

proposed by the writers, was that as soon as they are organized the Greek painters immediately ask for a charter from the A. F. of L. painters' union, as one of its locals, with provisions suitable for the organization of the Greek workers. We took the stand that the Greek painters needed union organization in direct association with the other workers of the trade, not isolation from them in a club.

But due to the Stalinists' maneuvers in dragging out the meeting points of order, etc., more than two-thirds had left the hall when a vote was taken as to whether they should remain independent as a club or go to the A. F. of L. In spite of that 77 voted for our proposals and 54 for that of the Stalinists. They then authorized the committee to investigate the ways and means of getting into the A. F. of L. and present a concrete program.

The following meeting, however, the Stalinists mobilized twice as many of their supporters as were present at the previous meeting and, instead of bringing a program according to the previous decision of the members, they presented their old program. The workers present protested and, although less present than at the previous meeting, they walked out in protest and about 80 Stalinists and about 15 workers remained. The remaining voted anew whether to go to the AFL or remain independent. 25 voted for the Stalinists and 15 against.

Once more the Stalinist policy helped to disorganize the awakening Greek painters. But we will not allow them to carry out their policy of "Rule or Ruin". There are more than 200 Greek painters in various A. F. of L. locals who are willing to support our program in organizing the Greek unorganized painters. With their help we will carry out this plan.

—KATSIKIS. POULOS.

The "United Front" in California

OAKLAND, CALIF.—

On September 25, 1933 a meeting of the United Front Conference to aid the victims of German Fascism was held in Oakland, Calif. 12 people were present. Outside of one delegate representing an unemployed organization, one observer from the Sheet Metal Workers' Union and two delegates from the Communist League, the other eight people represented the Communist Party and such independent organizations as the "Friends of the Soviet Union". The majority of them represented nothing even of this sort. This was the result of several months of muddling on the issue, of muddling on the united front tactics, of putting up a paper screen of paper organizations.

That this result was considered by party people as fully representative of their "leadership" is the fact that this meeting of the "united front" Conference considered it perfectly in order to expel the Communist League of America as an organization from the Conference. The motion for expulsion was not motivated in a new way. It called for expulsion of these "disrupters", counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. Otherwise, the "conference" looked more like a unit meeting of the Communist party turned inside out than a meeting of a genuine united front.

One thing in this Stalinist united front was genuine. This was the fanatical, blind hatred for the Communist League of these militants adhering to the official C. P. and who are misled by their bureaucratic, bankrupt leadership. The method used by these people can be illustrated by the following. At the previous meeting comrade Moss of the Communist League, who succeeded in putting through several motions, was elected on the arrangements committee which had to meet in the Carpenters Hall. When comrade Moss came there at the appointed time he did not find anybody there. The reason is that in order to escape him the C. P. people met in a pool room where only Stalinists who had been "tipped off" could find them. Still that

printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y.

Editor: Arne Swaback

Managing Editor: Arne Swaback

Business Manager: Thomas Stamm

Post Office Address: 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its names and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of

each individual member, must be given.)

The Communist League of America (Opposition); 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.; Martin Abern, 126 East 16th Street New York, N. Y.; James P. Cannon 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.; Max Shachtman, 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.; Maurice Spector, 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.; Arne Swaback, 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security

"absence" of comrade Moss was given as a proof of the "disruptive tactics" of the Communist League.

The rule, mechanical expulsion of an organization from the mock united front, by people loyal to the corrupt Stalinist machinery, who shamefully play with the issue involving the victims of Fascist gangs, and their inability to organize a movement which, at the first stage, promised a better result judging by the first response, obliges the Communist League of America to organize a genuine, representative movement of working class organizations to fight against Fascism.

It must be clearly stated that only one genuine attempt to put life in this still born "united front" was made and it was made by the Communist League, in the way of Jimmy Higgins work and in an attempt to present a program of action. The Communist League of America became active here lately. A branch was organized and good forces are rallying around it.

L. LOGAN.

Mirror Workers Strike Ended

NEW YORK.—

The general strike of the novelty mirror workers, is now definitely and tragically at an end. The strike that was declared on September 12th with so much enthusiasm and hope for the establishment of some decent working conditions, and involved some three hundred and more workers, with the most militant determination to struggle and "stick it out to the end" has been allowed to peter out without the least fault of the workers themselves.

The organization of the union that was originally begun by a number of young but energetic workers, was steered away from its correct path, from the moment it came in contact with the stupid Stalinist bureaucrats in the shape of the T. U. U. L. At one point, when the general strike was still solid, the Bosses' Association offered to grant most of the demands if the union affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Stalinists, concerned far more about the fortunes of the T. U. U. L. than about the interests of the workers, stood out for a "revolutionary" union. Caught in between the two forces, the bosses and the TUUL, the consequent result was, as was forewarned by the original organizers' the workers got no union at all, notwithstanding the victory scored by the settlement of two shops upon more or less favorable terms.

The Left Oppositionists, sensing the mood of the workers, seeing that they were beginning to lose hope and their former determination, tried to bring the strike to a speedy settlement, by demanding affiliation to the A. F. of L. But Sam Nesson would hear nothing of it. Instead he violently attacked the worker who made the proposal, calling him all sorts of names in the best Stalinist manner, even going so far as to call him a spy for the bosses. It is interesting to note that not one worker believed that, and later they confided in the Oppositionist that they believe all of Nesson's slander holds for Nesson himself. The workers seeing that victory was almost within their reach, and yet not being able to obtain it, became demoralized and began to go back to work, at first singly then doubly, until there was literally a stampede to rescue whatever was possible.

The stupid Stalinist can explain the loss of the strike very easily. If it had not been for a couple of "skunks" going back to work all might have been well yet. The bureaucrat does not realize that was precisely because of his blind leadership that several "skunks" went back to work. Needless to say many workers are totally disgusted with Nesson, the TUUL, and Party and everything else that is "red". The Stalinist contribution in the mirror workers' strike, as elsewhere, was demoralization and defeat.

—MIRROR WORKER.

PUBLIC LECTURE

YORKVILLE LABOR TEMPLE

(84th St., bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves.)

Thursday, October 12 at 8 P. M.

ROOM 16

Subject:

CAN THE N. R. A. SUCCEED?

Lecture by CARL COWL

Admission Free

Free will contribution

Do not forget to bring your

book of names and addresses

of the Communist League of America

(Opposition) New York, N. Y.

Editor: Arne Swaback

Managing Editor: Arne Swaback

Business Manager: Thomas Stamm

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each individual member, must be given.)

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security

holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

THOMAS STAMM, Business Mgr. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of October 1933.

RITA M. WOLF, Notary Public (My Commission expires March 30, 1935).

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Swaback Opens Tour at Newark

At the meeting of the Left Opposition on the 29th of September, the workers of Newark had an opportunity to hear comrade Swaback give the first lecture on his national tour. He spoke of the causal consequences of which forced the Left Opposition to change its policy and concentrate its forces and activities towards the establishment of a new Party and a new International.

The degeneration and final collapse of the Communist International and its national sections facilitated the danger of a counter-revolutionary overthrow of the Soviet Union. Our hope as a faction to reform the party and the International is completely exhausted, leaving the only other road: the formation of a new party and a new International.

The meeting impressed the workers gravely. Queries penetrating the smallest particle of the vital question were launched at the speaker, the answers to which made it increasingly clear, that the Left Opposition's path is the only positive one.

So great was the demand for our literature that our supply was exhausted before all those eager to receive it could be satisfied. This will be remedied at our next meeting in the near future, to which we shall go well equipped. Workers crowded around comrade Swaback after the meeting and were eager to have him explain the things to which they received no satisfactory answer at the meetings held by the official party. We gained a few new members and numerous sympathizers thus making us stronger for the gigantic task ahead of us, which we shall not shrink but continue on unflinchingly in the interest of the world proletariat.

—LOUIS NAGY.

Other meetings on comrade Swaback's tour are as follows:

Sun., Oct. 8th....Rochester, N. Y.

Mon., Oct. 9th....Buffalo, N. Y.

Tues., Oct. 10th....Toronto, Can.

Wed., Oct. 11th....Toronto, Can.

Fri., Oct. 13th....Pittsburgh, Pa.

Weinstein's Restaurant 1830 Center Ave., 2nd Fl.

Sat., Oct. 14th....Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sun., Oct. 15th....Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mon., Oct. 16th....New Castle, Pa.

Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown, Pa.

Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown, Pa.

Thurs., Oct. 19th....Cleveland, O.

Fri., Oct. 20th....Cleveland, O.

Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.

Sun., Oct. 22nd....Chicago, Ill.

Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.

Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.

Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill.

Thurs., Oct. 26th....Stanton, Ill.

Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.

Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.

Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.

Mon., Oct. 30th....Kansas City, Mo.

Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis, Minn.

Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis, Minn.

Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis, Minn.

Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis, Minn.

Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.

Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.

Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.

With the 'Militant'

Builders

NEW PRICE

Beginning with this issue the new price of the Militant will be 2c a copy. The idea behind this reduction in price is to give the paper a wider circulation.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATE.

At the same time and for the same reason the subscription rates have been reduced as follows: 1 year, \$1. (Canada and foreign, \$1.50); 6 months, 50c (Canada and foreign, 75c).

TO NOVEMBER 15th.

The sub drive which opens with this announcement will run until the 15th of November. That gives us about 5 weeks in which to materially increase the number of subscribers on our list.

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

To the three Militant builders getting the most subs from now till November 15th we offer the following (or equivalents in other books): First place—the three volumes of

the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; second place—two volumes of the History; third place, one volume of the History.

DOUBLE THE CIRCULATION.

We are so confident that the new orientation of the League and the more popular price of the Militant makes it possible to extend the circulation that we have set as our goal a 100% increase in the number of subscriptions. If you are a minimum share by getting a sub from a fellow worker. If every subscriber sets that as his minimum goal it will be no job at all to double the circulation.

Then, there are some irrepressible comrades who go out and gather in anywhere from 6 to 30 subs. So all in all the work we have set is not beyond our abilities.

Shachtman Speaks at Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.—The discussion on our new course was met in Philadelphia by the largest turnout for an Opposition meeting here. Comrade Max Shachtman spoke on "The Second and Third Internationals after Hitler's Victory" before an audience of over 100, most of them Communist workers.

Our speaker analyzed the traitorous role and second breakdown of the Social Democracy. He followed by tracing the tragic course of the C. I. leadership, capped by the German capitulation and a cowardly whitewash of the whole policy of defeat. Forces of regeneration for a new Communist movement are marshalling. This movement will have a really revolutionary defense of the workers' state. This movement bases itself on the Lenin Congresses of the C. I. and Marxism. The cadres, the policy of the Left Opposition is its guide.

Comrade Tom Holmes, a young militant whom the Young Communist League expelled a week ago for "Trotskyism" was chairman. He spoke on the YCL practice of "party democracy." Sol Thomas, whom the C. P. also expelled for the same crime of holding views favorable to the Left Opposition and who openly demanded that the Party recognize its errors on Germany and the trade union policy, spoke on his expulsion and in defense of our trade union policy.

A lively discussion followed; about ten people taking the floor. Most of the discussion was from Stalinists present, who tried in their argumentatively weak but nevertheless loud manner to defend the "leadership" and the "line". Against us they prepared to quote the N. Y. Times; to tell us they were not responsible for not calling the 7th World Congress of the Comintern because they weren't in USSR; and insinuations and outright slander to the point of trying to incite members of a union against a comrade on a trade basis. A member of the C. P. district Bureau who was present took the floor but evaded an offer of equal time with our speaker—a debate.

The clarity and boldness of our revolutionary position put forward by our speaker's brilliant speech made a deep impression on the crowd. They remained till after midnight, contributed generously to a collection (after paying admission), asked many questions, and among the youth asked for information about the "Spartacus Youth Club" which was organized the following Wednesday.

This meeting is the latest series of meetings the Philadelphia L. O. branch has been holding, revolving around the world shaking events in Germany. In early August comrade Arne Swaback soon after his return from abroad, came here and spoke on "Germany Under Hitler" to a good audience.

The Philadelphia branch has rented 524 W. Thompson Street which will become a center for our activities. Those interested in our activities, study classes and the Spartacus Youth Club communicate with the Secretary at the address given. The branch is experiencing a steady growth and strengthening of its work. New contacts, particularly C. P., Y. C. L. and Y. P. S. L. members, and workers attracted by our street meetings, are being made continually.

—L. G.

The Miners Are Fighting For A Union

And yet with all of this treachery among the leadership, the workers are fighting for their union, and their union is still the United Mine Workers. Although Martin Ryan, the Pennsylvania strike leader, asks when were Lewis and Murray on the picket lines, at the same time he calls upon the workers to get every mine under their union, the UMW. The workers who are fighting in the mine fields are beginning to realize that the leadership is rotten with corruption.

The workers know that the "settlement" is a sell-out. They are still fighting. Martin Ryan calls upon them to continue the strike until the H. C. Frick Company recognizes the union and signs the code. And now if this revolt is not to be crushed as so many revolts have been in the past, there is the greatest need for a real, organized Left wing in the UMW.

—PETER MORTON.

NEW SUPPLY OF "MY LIFE"

Pioneer Publishers has obtained an additional supply of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky, which it is offering at \$2.50 (publisher's price—\$5.00). It is also offering the German edition of "Fontamara" by I. Silone, a novel of Italian peasant rebellion against Fascism, highly praised by comrade Trotsky in a recent book review in the Militant—Price \$1.50.



## Discussion Articles

### On the National Recovery Act

I. To interpret correctly the NRA one must understand bourgeois democracy in its full form and base his analysis on the uneven development of capitalism.

Bourgeois democracy, symbolically speaking, is an elastic substance—in countries where it exists, the ruling class attempts to stretch the democratic concept to an extent necessary to meet the conditions and reactions of the masses, to cover up the shortcomings of capitalism.

President Roosevelt, in speaking about the dictatorial power invested in him by Congress, said that it was done within the bounds of democracy. He was correct. The boundaries of democracy reach out far. The ruling class outlines these boundaries and moves them whenever necessary.

Only in the event of the ruling class contending with enervating conditions and a revolutionary proletariat who threaten the existence of their state, will they change their form of rule. When bourgeois democracy in its most extended form fails to cover up the discrepancies of capitalism (if the workers are not ready to take over power themselves), the democratic form of that capitalist government dies in the struggle between the two classes and is replaced by capitalism with open tyranny against the masses-Fascism.

II. To say that the NRA is a step toward state capitalism would be incorrect. What we understand by state capitalism is that when business in a country disintegrates to the extent that it no longer pays profit on investments, the state takes over these industries to save whatever it can for the capitalists of their system of exploitation. It is not inevitable, however, that capitalism of a country when finding itself in such a position must necessarily develop into state capitalism.

We know that when aggravated conditions arose in other countries the ruling class there used violence and open suppression of the workers in order to maintain themselves in power.

Furthermore, we do not know just what form state capitalism would assume if it was to come about. This would depend upon the general economic conditions and the sharpness of the class struggle in the country at that period.

Measures of the NRA alone without the required conditions could not lead the country into state capitalism. Its attempt to bring about class collaboration does not necessarily carry such germs. As to the monopoly in industries that the NRA leads to this with a greater speed than before. We must know that monopoly is part of imperialism.

In predicting the transition to state capitalism there lies the danger of mistaking centralization of wealth, accelerated by the crisis, for the final breakdown of the economy of the country and the transition to state capitalism.

Even in the event that the railroads and a few other industries are taken over by the government, it would not mean that we entered the period of state capitalism. This has been done by governments under different conditions before.

Outlining state capitalism as a possible phase of capitalist development, it would be incorrect to assume that the former can begin before the crisis threatens to wipe out the top layer of the ruling class. It would also be incorrect to assume that the capitalists will without a struggle, give up the phase of competition in their system in a way that it will curtail their profits. Similarly it would be incorrect to say that the capitalists can use the machine of bourgeois democracy to move gradually into state capitalism. The greed that exists in capitalism and the dissatisfaction of the masses that grows proportionally with such conditions, point to conflict instead.

The mistaking of the NRA with state capitalism creates the danger of confusing the workers as to what the stage of the struggle they are in and bringing them to the false conclusion that capitalism solves its own problems by the process of evolution and will eventually change into some form more beneficial to mankind.

At the present stage of development a section of the American masses retain their false concept that the capitalist state operates for the benefit of the people. To expose the NRA as a step toward state capitalism is neither correct nor would it react favorably for the revolutionary movement. Many workers who are not class conscious would welcome the idea of state control as a way out.

#### III.

The United States, being a country of vast natural resources and having entered the capitalist phase at a later period, developed industrially on such a tremendously large scale that together with its imperialism it was able to keep its so-called equilibrium until the beginning of 1929. Because of that, the crisis came to this country upon different conditions from those in Europe without finding a strongly organized working class.

The past opportunities of the country actually monopolized by the few, but interpreted generally in application, created in the United States a bourgeois ideology within its working class. Unlike the European workers who passed through scores of years toward crystalliza-

tion as a class, the American worker, with his individualistic psychology remained separated from his fellows, going through year after year of the crisis under severe hardships with hopes for better times returning.

The ruling class in the United States has hardly a solidified proletariat to contend with, but, the condition of the country and the 17 millions unemployed in themselves constitute a threatening force against the system. As the reaction of things always are in accord with the conditions that bring them about, the NRA is the logical outcome, reflecting American conditions and therefore the American way of doing things.

On the one hand this is an extreme move to stop unemployment and on the other, the execution of the plan is left mostly to the employers. As such the NRA can have very little success in a system based upon rugged individualism.

The NRA is meant to have one other function for the ruling class and that is, an institution through which they will try to shape the ideology of the American working class in such a way as to check their dissatisfaction from flowing into revolutionary channels.

Through clever maneuvering the NRA characterizes itself as a labor agency, pretending to take the part of the workers. It thereby aims to give the impression that all differences can be met by the NRA. This gives it the form of an American institution for the collaboration of both classes meaning to instill into the minds of the workers that such a thing is possible.

The NRA is a desperate attempt on the part of the ruling class within the workings of bourgeois democracy to prolong their system of exploitation.

—HARRY BRAND.

### Conclusions from German Defeat

Modern history will record no greater crime than the defeat of the German working class and the rise of Fascism under conditions which were favorable for a far different result. The German proletariat, the flower of the international working class, was defeated without a struggle.

The dialectic of the whole historical process was toward the Bonapartist regime of Von Schleicher—Von Papen. Not only was this unforeseen but the Bonapartist regime itself which posed the whole question on the point of a needle—Fascism or Communism—was not understood and the Stalinists continued to play with the treacherous theory of "social Fascism" and the isolationist theory of the united front from below. The enemies of the revolutionary proletariat could ask for nothing better.

Incidentally, the defeat of the German working class does not stop there but becomes a defeat for the world working class. In Hitler is to be perceived the super-Wrangel of the world imperialist bourgeoisie. Not only has the world revolution been set back by decades but at the same time a way has been opened up for an attack on the Soviet Union through the destruction of its most powerful ally, the organized German proletariat. Nor is this all. From a potential ally possessing merely the weapon of a general strike the German proletariat might have become a STATE ally possessing the revolutionary state—rifles, artillery, cannon, etc.—which it could have brought forward in the struggle for the defense of its sister republic.

Lenin and Trotsky saw in the Russian revolution a stage in the world revolution. Since 1917, the basic contradiction of capitalism, next to the antagonism between the productive forces and the national boundaries which points to the inconsistency of the national state, has been the existence of the workers, republic on the one hand and the capitalist encirclement on the other. The eclecticism of Stalin-Bucharin, which combines the reactionary non-Marxist theory of socialism in one country with a hypocritical lip-service to the slogan of world revolution, is a denial and a renunciation of this fundamental correct viewpoint of Leninism. From such a hopelessly utopian, theoretical departure there follows basically the blunders of tactics and strategy from which—and from which alone—can be explained the terrible tragedies of the Chinese and the German revolutions.

The Marxist theory of the Permanent Revolution is, in its essence, the only theory that follows logically from the Leninist formula of imperialism as the last, the decay stage of capitalism—an epoch which will be marked by wars and revolutions. The rotting structure of imperialism—capitalism weighed down with the contradictions which are inherent in its now outgrown property relationships threaten in its death crash to smother out the whole of mankind's technical and cultural accomplishments. The next stage in the evolution of society is Communism. The next and only historically progressive class to become conscious and to carry out the tasks imposed upon it by history is the proletariat. Hence the epoch of revolutions which follow in the path of decaying capital-

ism are proletarian revolutions. Upon the recognition of this depends the tactics of the revolutionary party.

Are the Stalinists capable of meeting the test? Germany, China and to an extent England show that they have not been equal to it in the past. History shows that the Comintern has been transformed from the organizing center of the world revolution into the organizer of gigantic defeats. But what are the perspectives for the rebirth, the regeneration of the International of Lenin and Trotsky? Drugged by the poisonous theory of socialism in one country, weighed down by the oppression of the bureaucracy the perspectives are dim and few. The Stalinist International is incapable of making a revolution anywhere. It has met its 4th of August. If its betrayal was unconscious it was nevertheless fatal and disastrous. Its well-meaning and its good intentions can be pointed to only with a feeling of remorse and shame. The road to hell is paved with good intentions.

Never before has history imposed such a gigantic task as that which faces a small group of revolutionists today. The capitalists are in a murderous offensive and the workers in retreat or at best in a weak defensive—such is the picture when we look at the situation at large. The Second International is

an international only in the sense of the international betrayal of labor; the Third International is as incapable of rousing and leading the workers as the Second International is unwilling—what can be expected of them? It is necessary to face the facts. In Germany and China new parties are needed. The deceitful and lying accounts about Soviets in China and "revolutionary upsurge" in Germany proved to us that these people are not revolutionists but miserable clowns who play and play badly at the "game", revolution.

The German working class will live to travel the road of revolution again. Upon the wreckage of its cruel and senseless defeat, of its blasted hopes, out of the dead ashes of its burned out illusions will spring its regeneration, its rebirth. But these will not be blotting out by the hideous nightmare of the past. The dialectic of the situation lies in the fact that out of the recognition of its weaknesses in the past will rise the cause of its greatest strength in the future—the cautious selection of its leadership. When it travels the road of revolution again it will do so under the leadership of tried and seasoned revolutionists, those who have led revolutions before, the heroes and battlers of the victorious Bolshevik October.

—G. ROBERTS.

### Nationalization and the N.R.A.

The initial stage of the "new relations" of capital and labor under the Blue Eagle has given rise to new hopes and illusions on the part of all shades of reformists. This is due to the fact that, in working out the slave codes for the different industries, the trap was baited with "concessions" to the workers. This enabled the capitalist to put through their plan with a minimum of "labor strife". Many of the old working class problems have been presented in a new light by the N.R.A. One of these problems is the question of nationalization of the industries. Therefore, it is essential to understand this question and to explain the relation of nationalization to reaction, reform and revolution.

Complete nationalization of industry cannot exist under capitalism, but nationalization of different industries in different forms is an essential part of capitalist development. In the period of decay capitalism, the question of nationalization is often a life and death question of capitalism. This is also true in times of war. Either class use the slogan of nationalization of the industries. The application of reaction, reform or revolution, depending on conditions and class relations and on how the slogan will materialize in life. Fascist reaction, reformist social democracy, laborism or revolutionary communism—each of these, at certain stages of the class struggle, require a program of nationalization. The slogan must apply to that requirement.

#### A Slogan of Reform

To begin with, one can say that under capitalism the use of the slogan of nationalization, by itself, is a slogan of reformism and nothing else. Even if one adds to this slogan the demand for worker's participation in the nationalization, it is still confined within the realm of reformism. Take for example, the NRA. It represents the first steps toward partial nationalization of industry. It is the embryo. The capitalists of the coal and railroad industries are divided on the question. Some are urging nationalization, with compensation, in order to be relieved of a bad investment. If the NRA does not bring the desired results, through the organization of a form of cartels and the elimination of the small producers, steps toward nationalization of the steel industries will be taken by a section of the capitalists and reformers. They will enact "temporary emergency measures" which will become "permanent" until the industries again pay dividends.

To issue the slogan of nationalization of the industries, such as the "Plumb Plan", etc., in relation to the NRA, would be to render service to reformism as well as to reaction. Does this mean that we close the door to the use of the slogan of nationalization? As an isolated, separate, propaganda slogan, yes. But not if it is properly coordinated with other slogans and actions suitable for the objective conditions.

The NRA brings this question to the fore. But present conditions require that we place the other slogans and actions first and the slogan of nationalization as secondary, and as an auxiliary slogan to the other.

The working class approach. Since the capitalists and the workers can both use the slogan of nationalization one must answer the question of how it will be possible to distinguish the class content of the one from the other. The coordinating slogans must deal with the question of workers' control. This is the working class approach to the question. The working class action must be in the direction of working class control. Slogans serving this aim must be applied. It is time to follow up the agitation and action in the trade union field, with propaganda for workers' control of production, open bookkeeping in the capitalist industries and nationalization without compensation. The main emphasis must be placed on propaganda and action dealing with the question of workers' control of industries.

The most important action today, toward this end, deals with the trade union question. This has been pointed out in the Militant week in and week out. Without a strong Left wing in the trade unions, armed with a correct policy, the revolutionary Communist cannot even consider the question of nationalization and workers' control in any concrete sense.

The working class content of the slogan of nationalization is distinguished from the enemy class content on the question of propaganda and action toward workers' control. The question of workers' control includes the question of nationalization, but the nationalization does not of itself include or imply workers' control. It is up to the workers to decide this question. To grab the problem at the wrong end will play into the hands of the reformists. The revolutionists must guard against loose talk on the question of nationalization.

The best way to insure the proper application of the slogan of nationalization and workers' control is to speed up the work and activity of the present stage which deals with our trade union policy and trade union work. Once the revolutionary Communist is entrenched in the trade unions this slogan will become a living issue in this stage of American capitalism.

—HUGO OEHLER.

#### N. Y. CHICKEN DINNER

A Chicken Dinner Will Be Given for the Benefit of the GREEK WORKERS CLUB "PROTOMAGIA" Saturday, October 14, 8 P. M. At 126 East 16th Street. ADMISSION 50c

### THE DEVIL'S GRANDMOTHER AGAIN

### About the United Front with Grzeziński...

L'Humanité of September 19th reproduces the photograph of Grzeziński, the former social-democratic chief of police of Berlin, in the role of witness before the London counter-trial in the case of the burning of the Reichstag. It is clear that the poor editors of L'Humanité did not think about the significance of their printing this photograph. Otherwise, they would have resigned with shame, admitting that they have no right to be in charge of a workers newspaper.

The London counter-trial which attempts to establish the truth in the matter of the burning of the Reichstag is an act of political struggle against Fascism. The judges, witnesses, experts make their appearance at this trial not through compulsion but in order to achieve a definite political aim: the struggle with the hands of Hitler. Grzeziński detests Communism; he proved it in deeds, having shot down Communist workers. However, the same Grzeziński voluntarily appears at the London counter-trial to testify in favor of the Communists; Torgler, Dimitrov and others against the Fascist Goering and Co. By publishing the report

of the London counter-trial and in particular the photograph of the witness Grzeziński, L'Humanité participates in a united front with Grzeziński against Goering. Is this not clear?

More than two years ago we wrote that in the struggle against Hitler we are ready to make a united front not only with the devil and his grandmother but even with Grzeziński himself. The unfortunate editors of L'Humanité and the "Cahiers de Bolchevisme" spilled not a little ink then, trying to prove our complete adherence to social Fascism. Truly fate is unmerciful to these people. Grzeziński could have died in time, or could have gone over to Fascism so as to lighten somewhat the lot of the ill-fated editors of L'Humanité. But Grzeziński lived through, emigrated, appeared at the trial in favor of the tried Communists and thereby forced L'Humanité to print his photograph as an ally in the united front.

The London counter-trial, no matter how modest its political significance, is nevertheless very much worthwhile. Perhaps the readers of L'Humanité—the editors are

When President Roosevelt signed the National Industrial Recovery Act he expressed the belief that history would record it as the most important and far reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress: "It represents," he said, "a supreme effort to stabilize for all time the many factors which make for the prosperity of the nation and the preservation of the American standard of living."

To stabilize for all time—this is not possible in a world of flux, of constant motion, in which economic equilibriums are established to be shattered again. Least of all is it possible in a capitalist world—and still less so during its period of decline and decay. Nevertheless Roosevelt knew his ritual. He knew that the NRA would form the foundation upon which American imperialism hoped to make new advances and new conquests in the world market. Today the administrators are impatient to get this whole machinery in complete working shape in order to start serious work upon this advance. But today such an advance is also a problem much more complicated than before.

#### Results of Early Expansion

American capitalism in its early period of development had at hand all the prerequisites for monopoly capital within its own borders. When centered within the industrialized northeastern states, it found, by pushing westward, a mighty field of expansion for export of capital and export of means of production. But the resulting powerfully developed national economy, the vastly expanded productive forces and surplus of capital available produced also its opposite—growing interdependence upon world economy. American capitalism extended its structure throughout the world and acquired a world basis. Up to this point the law of uneven development of capitalism by which the various countries pass through their development in different forms and different tempi, has acted as a lever favoring the United States. Through this uneven development,

### Strike Wave Points the Way of the Future Development

which, as comrade Trotsky reminds us, is more of a historical reality than a law, the United States reached its stage of combined development. This took on the form of a highly advanced industrial system alongside of a backward political ideology which is most directly reflected within the working class. The internal colonization, or rather the seemingly limitless expansion of the home market is, of course, the main factor and forms the basis for this retarded consciousness. Enormous capitalist profits and super profits allowed for a wide margin available for the maintenance of a higher standard of living for the labor aristocracy. Class collaboration unfolded to almost perfection and thereby reinforced the means of keeping the working class as a whole in subjection. Upon such a foundation the super structure of bourgeois democracy could attain its greatest triumphs and secure for itself a long lease of life.

#### American Capitalism Depending Upon World Equilibrium

But speaking in historical terms American imperialism arrived belatedly upon the world arena. It was therefore deprived of the luxury of floating leisurely with the upward current of growing capitalism as was enjoyed by British imperialism for an extensive period of time. The American counterpart was compelled to make a forced march at dramatic speed to acquire a world base. But its emergence coincided with the period when the capitalist system on a world scale had passed its peak and was heading in a downward direction. That its own inner contradictions have become vastly intensified by this process has already been proved by the crisis reaching its greatest proportions precisely in the highly advanced United States.

### Resolution on the Paris Conference Adopted by the Int'l Left Opposition

(Resolution of the Plenum of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) on the conference of left socialist and Communist opposition organizations held at Paris, August 27-28, 1933.)

1. The very fact of a conference of 14 parties, organizations and groups of most heterogeneous character and tendencies was the result of a very deep crisis of the socialist and communist movements, or more exactly the fruit of the collapse not only of the Second but also—on another historical level and due to other causes—of the Third International.

2. There can be, it is clear, no thought of the building of a new International by organizations which have profoundly different and even opposite principles. The Left Opposition participated in this conference under its own banner with the aim of assisting in the principled separation from reformists and centrists and of drawing together truly homogeneous revolutionary organizations.

3. The only real result of the conference, but an exceptionally important one, is the declaration signed by four organizations (L.O., S. A. P., two Holland parties, R. S. P. and O. S. P.) which represented the first deliberate step in the direction of the building of the new International on the principle foundations of Marx and Engels.

4. The Plenum clearly realizes that the four named organizations of different political origin cannot attain complete unity on fundamental principles tactical and organizational methods within a few days. At any rate, the attained result creates sufficient basis to believe that the future work of the organizations on the programmatic Manifesto and tactical documents will make it possible not only to assure the necessary unity of conceptions, but also to attract under

the banner of the new International a number of other revolutionary organizations and fractions.

5. The Plenum considers it necessary immediately to begin the elaboration of the programmatic documents and to create a technical secretariat which could, while yet in the process of editing the Manifesto and the resolutions, enter into contact with sympathizing organizations so that their opinion, suggestions and criticisms may find a reflection in the text of the programmatic documents.

6. The Plenum instructs its representative to be guided by the basic ideas expressed in the Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists and made public at the Paris conference of August 27-28th.

7. With regard to the decisions adopted by the heterogeneous majority of the conference and permeated through and through by this heterogeneity, the Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists does not find it possible to take political responsibility for these decisions. Insofar as the adopted decisions may lead to this or that practical action (for example boycott of Hitler Germany) the Left Opposition is ready according to circumstances, to take part in actions which correspond to its general principles.

On the basis of practical activities the Left Opposition will always aim at a closer drawing together with parties and organizations nearest to it. Only under this condition can a broad and courageous policy of the united front for immediate political aims help the work of the building of the new Communist International.

The Plenum calls upon all sections of the International Left Opposition to realize fully the historic importance of the step made. A task of immediate urgency now consists in giving the "Declaration of Four" the widest possible publicity in Communist, Socialist, trade-union, and especially, youth ranks. Through newspapers, leaflets, posters, in speeches and discussion it is necessary to popularize and to interpret the meaning of the Declaration. Without sparing any effort it is necessary to rouse the proletarian vanguard to the building of the new International.

The declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists made public at the conference ends with the words: "Our revolutionary responsibility is immeasurably great. Let our creative work rise to the height of this responsibility." Let us fully realize that these words refer first of all to the Bolshevik-Leninists themselves.

#### —PLENUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

Sept. 13 1933.

\* In taking this position the Plenum only makes use of the right which the Conference granted until October 15th to all the participating parties, namely: to ratify, or on the contrary, to reject the resolutions of the conference.

#### A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

Next week's Militant will carry a report and review of the A. F. of L. Convention now in session at Washington.

During the period of growing capitalism the unevenness of development of the various countries was far greater than now. Today the world has become more uniform. The backward countries have supplemented their backwardness with the latest industrial advances. Capitalist economy is world economy extending beyond the legal boundaries and intertwined among nations. Its outstanding feature is the interdependence of the various national economies. Each of the contending powers are dependent upon the world equilibrium and subject to all of its shocks and turns. Most of all is that the case of the United States because of its far flung interests. It should, therefore, not be necessary to reiterate the indisputable fact that when the United States penetrates further into the world market the mighty barriers of conflicting imperialist interests arise in all their imposing magnitude.

#### Future Trends Within the Country

But this is only one side of the problem. Within the United States itself, its new world advance will impose a terrific strain upon the class relationship existing at present. This relationship can by no means be held within its present bounds even with the assistance of the NRA machinery, which is designed primarily for such a purpose. The slightly favorable turn in the economic conjuncture which is now in evidence tends by itself to spur the workers on to make increasing demands and thereby bring more to the surface and make more acute the conflicts engendered by the capitalist mode of production. With the NRA institutions attempting to check these conflicts they will assume more of a political character. At present the heavy crop of strikes which are spreading like wildfire everywhere indicates the future trend of developments.

In this country we are moving no longer within the orbit of conditions of the past. The margin of capitalist profits formerly available for the maintenance of a higher level for the labor aristocracy has become seriously narrowed. American capitalism, in order to effectively pursue its furious onslaught upon the world market, and to be prepared for the competition it meets, needs above all a low wage level throughout its industrial enterprises. To maintain the tranquility of class relationships of the past on this basis is not possible. We must therefore visualize the immediate future in the United States as one of sharply intensified struggles with the added phenomenon of disturbances reaching revolutionary proportions not at all out of the question.

No one can as yet predict whether a real and substantially favorable change in the economic conjuncture can be accomplished in the United States. But the conflicts and disturbances which will grow out of the efforts for its accomplishment can be foreseen. The formerly favorable level for the United States constituted by the uneven development of capitalism has been turned into its opposite and is reacting against the United States. It is now compelled to seek the new roads of advance within a decaying world system. It is compelled to assume the major responsibility for checking further class disturbances and, if possible, for the crushing of further proletarian revolutions inevitably growing out of the more intense world exploitation. If to this is to be added the possibility of failure to arrive at a favorable change of economic conjuncture, then it is necessary to say that the perspectives for the United States assume a much more directly revolutionary character.

The relations of world economic forces have changed with the rise of American capitalism. With the shifting of the world economic center to the United States this change became more definite and more direct. But with this shift, there is also a corresponding shift—at first only slowly but sure to gain in momentum—of the revolutionary center from Europe to America. In a general sense we formerly counted upon the revolution to be accomplished in Europe first and upon the victorious European proletariat to fight to hold its own against reactionary America. It is now possible to say, still speaking in a general sense, that this outlook has been reversed by the dialectics of the relation of forces. Revolutionary struggles here move up to the very top of the agenda of historically immediate possibilities.

It is said in informed quarters that a reporter of an important capitalist paper ventured the prediction to Roosevelt: "If you do not succeed with the New Deal you will be known to posterity as the worst President the United States ever had." Roosevelt answered ironically: "If I do not succeed with the New Deal I will be known to posterity as the last President of the United States."

—ARNE SWABECK.

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



## EDITORIAL

## The Silk Workers' Battle

In the general resurgence of labor militancy which has greeted the inauguration of the NRA the general strike of the silk workers holds today a place of outstanding prominence and significance. The spirit of 1913 is abroad again. The strike, now in its fifth week, presents a solid battle line of 50,000 workers which extends throughout the main centers of the industry. In its numbers and scope the present strike is the greatest in the long and stormy history of the silk workers' struggles. It deserves the closest attention of the workers everywhere. The silk strike has a meaning for the entire labor movement.

So far the strikers have stood solid. More, they have steadily spread out the strike over a wider area while frustrating all maneuvers to induce them to return to work without a satisfactory settlement. This has been made possible by the fusion of the rank and file mass with a broad group of experienced and tested trade union militants who have been through the mill and know what they want. Paterson is the heart of the industry, and the Paterson militants, heirs of a great tradition, are naturally the main driving force of the present strike. What was done and what was attempted in the epic struggle of 20 years ago in Haywood's time is not without influence even today. The Paterson strike of 1913 awakened and inspired the progressive elements of the working class. It lives in their memory. The strike of 1933 may very well exert a similar influence. If they keep to the line they have pursued up till now, if they do not falter and, above all, if they keep a sharp eye on McMahon and the NRA sharks, the militants waging the present battle will write a page worthy of the old tradition.

## THE UNIONS IN THE STRIKE

The trade union situation in the silk strike is an especially interesting example of how a mass revolt can surmount old divisions, and make its way through the most complicated forms. The A. F. of L. union in the textile industry—the United Textile Workers—is one of the most reactionary and incompetent organizations in the country. It has a long and malodorous record of betrayal which has driven the textile workers to independent unionism, in one form or another, for decades. The best militants in the industry have grown up in incessant struggle against the U. T. W. treacheries and have been steeled in hatred against it. Many of the leading militants in this strike are veterans of various independent movements. There are former I. W. W. men among them. Not a few were once active in the National Textile Workers Union (the Stalinist organization).

The main directing force in the strike comes from the Associated Silk Workers. This organization came into existence and remained for years as an independent union. Now it belongs to the American Federation of Silk Workers which, in turn, is affiliated, as an autonomous section, with the U. T. W. and through that, with the A. F. of L. Thus, the forces of the strikers have been unified under official A. F. of L. auspices by a strike committee whose most aggressive and militant members are hostile to the reactionary philosophy and practices of the U. T. W. on the one side and to the stupid, bureaucratic and disruptive methods of the Stalinist N. T. W., on the other. Under these peculiar and complicated conditions the silk workers have been welded together for the greatest strike in the history of the trade. In this achievement there is to be seen the most convincing proof that the form of trade union organization is subordinate to the substance of the movement. Trade union militants everywhere can learn an important lesson in tactics from the silk workers in this respect.

## MAIN FEATURES OF THE STRIKE

The strike has been distinguished by several other important features. It is national in scope—practically all the silk-producing centers are tied up—and from this the strike derives much of its exceptional power. The Paterson militants displayed magnificent energy in despatching committees by the truck-load to spread the strike to other points. They didn't fall into the NRA trap and go back to work under a deceptive "truce" on the promise of "adjustments" later. They reject all negotiations for separate shop or craft settlements. They stood out, and are still standing out, for a satisfactory national settlement. To secure this they rely on the picket line more than on the NRA conferences at Washington.

A black spot in the strike situation is the activity of the National Textile Workers Union. This organization, due to bad leadership, lost its opportunity in the industry. It forfeited the confidence of the best militants who once belonged to it, drove out others who raised the voice of criticism, dwindled down to a paper shell and came to the crucial test of the strike without membership, leadership or policy. The main tide of the silk workers movement was already flowing strongly in the channel of the American Federation of Silk Workers. This should have been the cue for the N. T. W. to eliminate itself and merge with the mass movement. Instead of that the attempt has been made to split the ranks and set up a rival strike committee.

This dangerous game, which incensed the conscientious militants who concerned themselves with the interests of the workers and who desired a united struggle in their behalf, only added further discredit to the people whose light-hearted adventures in the trade union movement had brought them a bad enough name already. And worse may follow, if latest reports are true. Frustrated in their efforts to make a deep split in the strikers ranks, and isolated to a section of the dye workers who are new to organization, the N. T. W. is reported in the Paterson papers to be offering separate shop settlements below the demands of the official general strike committee. They had better beware of this kind of "competition". The disavowal of such intentions in the Paterson papers of October 3 didn't come too soon.

The composition of the silk strike leadership, and the course it has followed up till now, give promise of a successful outcome of the struggle which will lay the ground for a big revival and development of progressive unionism in the textile industry. The silk workers themselves are conducting their own strike. Warding off the treacherous interference of McMahon & Co. on the one hand, and dispensing with individual "stars" on the other, the actual dir-

ection of the strike has been taken over by a broad collective group of militants, actual silk workers, who are rooted in the industry and experienced in its union struggles.

## STRIKE POLICY

The strike policy that will yield the best results is clear enough:

Systematic exposure of the strike-breaking machinations of the NRA administration. No illusions about it. No confidence in it. The workers can rely only on their own strength. Their strength is manifested in their solidarity, in their strike. Therefore, no "disarming", no "truce", no return to the shops without a definite and satisfactory settlement. This is point one in a realistic and militant strike policy. Struggle to the end for a national settlement. No trifling with the solidarity of the strikers by individual shop settlements or dickering in regard to them.

Work for a single union as well as for a single strike committee. Tighten the bonds between the striking units in the various silk centers in a single strike committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers. Persuade all the local organizations of strikers now independent, and the independent craft organizations, to affiliate with the Federation as well as with the strike committee.

In addition to the above line of policy, which flows logically out of the whole situation, a couple of additional suggestions may be offered. The first relates to the necessary preparations for the possible prospect of a drawn-out battle. The second, to the liquidation of the struggle of rival unions.

With every passing day the meager resources of the strikers dwindle and the bosses will count on breaking their ranks with the club of hunger. To meet this danger the efficient organization of relief machinery is a pressing necessity. The silk workers, who are setting an example to the workers everywhere, have every right to appeal to the entire labor movement for financial aid. They should do so without delay. What they do, or fail to do, in this respect now may easily prove decisive at a later stage of developments.

The Federation strike committee has been perfectly right in its head-on struggle against the disorganizing activities of the N. T. W. and in rejecting its maneuvers for a joint strike committee. The N. T. W. has long since lost its real basis as a union and the time for such proposals is past. What is needed in the strike now is a single union, not a joint strike committee of rival unions. The Federation of Silk Workers has already established its overwhelming supremacy. The task now is to make its organization complete as the sole union representing all the workers. To that end, the Federation would have nothing to lose, and much to gain, by offering to take the N. T. W. strikers into the union as a body. This would deprive the N. T. W. leaders of any justification before the strikers for maintaining a separate organization. Regardless of their attitude the proposal itself, if sincerely put forward, and made known to the strikers would exert a powerful influence for the consolidation of the strikers movement in a single union. The strike would thereby gain in strength.

## THE REAL TEST AHEAD

The real test of the silk strike is still ahead. It has been a comparatively peaceful affair so far while the attempt was being made to suffocate the revolt quietly with the poison gas generated by the NKA. But the class struggle has not been eliminated. The bosses have not ceased to be the ruthless enemies and exploiters of the workers. The police and all other agencies of government remain the tools of the bosses for the suppression of the workers. Even while the oily game of negotiation and maneuver goes on the weapons of force are being made ready. They may be turned on the workers in full force at any moment. Then will come the real test of the strike and of the quality of its leadership. The less illusions are entertained, the less the blunt truth of the class struggle and all its implications are concealed, the better the preparation for the coming developments.

The strike wave now sweeping over the country, of which the silk workers movement is a part, represents the beginning of a great class awakening of the American workers. The path they are entering on now, will lead them far from the place where they have stood before and from the ideas and illusions—inculcated by the propaganda of the bosses—which they have held. In the strikes they will learn by experience what the government is. They will see it in action against them every time. They will have to fight bitterly for every inch of ground they gain, only to lose it again the moment they relax their vigilance and slacken their struggle. The workers will be forced to learn that the "new deal" they need is a new social system without exploiters and without slaves. Nothing less. The strike leadership that understands this, explains it to the workers and leads them toward it is the leadership that really represents the interests of the workers.

## LOOK TO PATERSON

The silk workers, who stand today in the forefront of embattled labor, have a great responsibility. The workers throughout the country, noting their stubborn struggle and remembering, many of them, the glory of the past, will turn again to Paterson for inspiration and perhaps for leadership in the difficult and complicated task of building unions and making them really serve the interests of the workers.

The militants conducting the silk strike have shown how to make an A. F. of L. union function as an instrument of struggle. It is up to them also to demonstrate that affiliation to the United Textile Workers does not mean reconciliation with the reactionary philosophy and treacherous practices of the leadership of this organization. In the present strike such tendencies are to be observed on the part of certain individuals. Let them watch such people and warn them of the old proverb: he who gives the devil a finger will soon have to give his whole hand.

If the silk strike has already attracted national attention, its continuance to a victory will invest its organizers with a national authority. The progressive forces in the labor movement, now scattered and demoralized, need a reorganization. This is the most imperative task of the hour. If the militant elements of the silk strikers persevere with their efforts and live up to their opportunity they can play a responsible part in its fulfillment.

## Two American Congresses «Against War»

## The New York Barbusse Movement and The «People's Council» of 1917

The "historic Anti-War Congress" has adjourned, and as was to be and was foreseen, it has left absolutely no positive residue, save a bitter taste in the mouth of every revolutionist, and illusions in the minds of those workers duped by the macabre masquerade of the Stalinists.

More than once in these columns we have submitted the whole Stalin-Barbusse (in the United States: Browder-Sinclair-Dreiser) movement to a thorough criticism which laid it bare as a burlesque of a genuine united front movement against Fascism and the danger of imperialist war, as a pernicious pacifist delusion calculated to cover up the impotence of the international Stalin apparatus. The just concluded New York congress merely remained true to smuggy tradition of the Amsterdam assembly last August and the Paris gathering that followed it. It represented nothing but the Stalinist organizations plus a few handfuls of pacifists and confusionists serving as a "respectable front". Like its predecessors—the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Kuo Min Tang alliance, the "World League Against Imperialism"—it is part of the Great Illusion of Stalinism.

## The Stalinist Theory About War

The official Stalinist theory of national socialism leads directly to the conception that the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, requires, or permits, policies and practices from those pursued in the general strategy of the proletarian vanguard. A revolutionary policy must be followed "in general" in the struggle of the British working class against the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants. But in the struggle against the war danger, the British Communists must subordinate themselves to the Purcells and Cooks. The proletariat in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must conduct an independent struggle against its ruling class. But in the alleged interests of the defense of the Soviet Union, it must be tied to the chariot of Arabian princes, reactionary Hindu mystics, Balkan "peasant" leaders or demagogic office seekers from Catalonia to Cathay.

In essence, this course resulted

in the blowing up of the Second International when the crucial test confronted it. The International is an instrument of peace, and not of war, was the Kautskyan explanation in 1914. If there is any difference between that and the conduct of the Stalinists, it is that the latter half conceal themselves behind the thin mask of Messrs. Muenzenberg, Barbusse and their simulacra. Nevertheless, this does not eliminate the fact that at bottom we are dealing here with a semi-pacifist, semi-social patriotic conception, which has led to the August Fourth of both internationals.

## A Striking Comparison

The New York congress affords us the opportunity of making a most striking comparison between it and a similar movement in this country in 1917—the "People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace". If a few names and terms are changed as they have to be for the period of time that has elapsed, it will be difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Or, if there is a distinction, it lies only in the fact that the Barbusse movement and its proponents have been deteriorating and collapsing at a speedier rate.

The "People's Council" was as much a cover organization for the Socialist party as the Barbusse movement is for the Stalinists. It too had as its aim the struggle against war and the preservation of peace. It too proclaimed itself a "friend of the Russian revolution" and demanded that the peace terms of the "Russian democracy" be universally accepted. It too held its "historic conventions", represented itself as the 1917 equivalent of the "real united front", and at its constituent assembly in Chicago in September 1917 declared itself to be "representing in all over two million members" (American Labor Yearbook, 1920).

Among its founders and spokesmen could be found almost exactly

the same organizations, the same individuals—at all events, the same types—as those that composed the New York congress a few days ago. If the Barbusse movement has Mrs. Annie E. Gray of the Women's Peace Society, the 1917 movement had the equally well-intentioned Harriet Park Thomas, of the Women's Peace Party. For the Barbusse actress, Mrs. Alla Nazimova, the People's Council had the actress Miss Lola LaFollette. Mr. Leopold Stokowski's place was occupied in 1917 by the sculptor Frank Stepniens. Rabbi Israel Goldstein had his counterpart sixteen years ago in Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, just as the present secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mr. J. B. Matthews was at that time represented by its then secretary, Mr. Edmund C. Evans. The People's Council had its J. B. Salutsky then, and the Barbusse Committee has him now. Both movements had more than their quota of ministers, pastors, priests and other gentlemen of the gospel. The official party representatives in 1917 were Hillquit, Lee, Panken and Berger; today they are Browder, Minor, Hathaway and Bedacht.

The "Peoples Council" was, as is quite well known today, a miscarriage. It organized no real movement against the war, nor could it. It even proclaimed that "We are not discouraging enlistments. We are not obstructing the conduct of the war". Its belly caved in completely and there was no backbone to hold it up. The pacifists, as before 1917 and ever since, proved to be against war until... it broke out.

## A Superficial Distinction

Ah, but you forget that it was the social patriotic Socialist party that inspired and maneuvered the People's Council; whereas now it is the revolutionary Communist party that is behind the Barbusse movement—the objection is based upon a superficial distinction in this case, for the difference is less real than apparent. The Communist party does, it is

true, adopt revolutionary theses on how to fight the war danger; it speaks and writes incessantly of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, of the struggle against pacifism, and more of the same.

But—and this is the nub of the question—the Socialist party of 1917, in its own conventions and press, also paid formal homage to the revolutionary phrase. At its St. Louis emergency convention in 1917, it declared (majority resolution on war): "We particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity... The acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action: 1. Continuous, active and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions and all other means within our power." Radical enough, wasn't it? Among its signatories were not only the revolutionist Ruthenberg, but also the Centrist Hillquit and the social imperialist Berger. So much for their words. In action however, the St. Louis resolution did not prevent Hillquit and Berger from dissolving the Socialist party and its anti-war work in the wishy-washy pacifist morass of the People's Council, which served American imperialism so well, in its own way, while the war was actually on.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.  
(To be continued)

## OPEN FORUM

CUBA—Towards Workers' Revolution or Wall Street Puppet Government?

Speaker: Joe Carter  
Friday night, October 13th, 1933  
at International Workers School  
126 East 16th Street  
Auspices: Manhattan Branch,  
Communist League of America  
(Opposition)  
ADMISSION 10 CENTS

## Historic Strike of 20 Years Ago

(Continued from Page 1)

the strikers gave a lesson in proletarian unity to the whole country. Beginning with the Henry Doherty mill the strike spread like wildfire embracing all the silk slaves of Paterson who left their looms in open revolt against the introduction of the 3 and 4 loom system and for the eight hour day. The workers had toiled and starved long enough for a wage that averaged six to seven dollars a week during the year. The strikers now voiced their hitherto inarticulate demands for a 25 percent increase in wages and a minimum of twelve dollars a week for dye workers.

At the helm of the strike stood the heroic I. W. W., fanning the discontent, inspiring the faltering, guiding the militants, braving the terror, teaching the rudiments of the class struggle to countless thousands and writing a page of labor history in letters of red. The names of Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca will long be remembered for their unflinching devotion as leaders of the strike of 1913.

Thousands of strikers, men and women, thronged the picket line in the grey hours of the morning where the police beat them mercilessly. Hundreds were taken in Black Marias to filthy jails. But they were not swerved from their goal. John Reed, who reported the strike, recounted an incident where a group of nine strikers were held for more than 22 hours without food, water or bedding in a jail meant for one. And that during this whole time they never ceased cheering or singing.

Several workers were shot and killed by hired assassins during the strike. Phillips Russell wrote in the August 1913 *International Socialist Review* of an incident that typifies the magnificent spirit that animated the workers in the strike. A striker named Madonna was killed by an armed thug doing seab work in the mill. A crowd of workers gathered at the burial of Madonna.

"By her husband's open grave Madonna's wife turned and faced the throng. In broken halting English she began to speak.

"I do not cry," she said, "Madonna is dead, but still I cannot cry. They have killed my man, but I shed not one tear. After you win the strike, then maybe I cry. I do not ask help from you, though my man is dead. I ask only that you win the strike."

Is it any wonder that the memory of this strike has survived for more than 20 years?

The local press raised the red scare. The bosses were quite ready to deal with a "sable" union. They brought the J. T. W. and its misleaders Sara Conboy and John Golden, to Paterson, made a private agreement with them behind the backs of the workers and then hired the armory, guarded it with policemen, firemen with hoses ready to cool off the workers and an army of thugs, and proposed to sell the betrayal to the workers. But the strikers would have none of it. They stormed out of the meet-

ing stronger for the I. W. W. than ever.

This did not convince the bosses yet. So they tried shop conferences with the workers and secret ballots but the strikers would not be intimidated back to work. The authorities arrested Haywood and the other strike leaders several times on all sorts of trumped-up charges, but to no avail. The kept press of Paterson, the Call and the Star, set up a holler that Haywood and the others were defaming the Star Spangled Banner and substituting the Red Flag. The workers however did not fall victim to this propaganda. That they understood what was really involved was revealed by Bill Haywood who told of a meeting where the following happened!

"Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was on the platform at a big strike meeting one day explaining the significance of the red flag when a striking dyer sprang up from the middle of the audience crying:

"I know! Here is the red flag!"

"And aloft he held his right hand—stained a permanent bloody crimson, gnarled from years of toil, and corroded by the scarlet dye which it was his business to put into the fabrics worn by the dainty lady as well as the fawning prostitute."

"For an instant there was silence and then the hall was rent by cries from the husky throats as all realized this humble dyer indeed knew the meaning of the red badge of his class."

Good reason that the strikers held out, grimly determined, for almost five months, their children sent to New York to sympathetic workers, and their own stomachs empty. Take as an instance the great pageant in Madison Square Garden the like of which has never been seen before or since, in which 1,029 strikers gave a graphic portrayal of their great battle before a crowded house. This thrilling, unforgettable spectacle before a packed house was just one of the ways the I. W. W. dramatized the strike and rallied the support of labor to it.

All of the grandiose efforts of the bosses and their local agents were frustrated by the strikers and their leadership. Here is a clipping of the rabid Paterson Star of the time which relates the failure of one of these incidents:

"With flags flying and the city decked out in gala garb, the great silk mills of Paterson reopened their doors to welcome back 35,000 men and women operatives."

"The ending of the gigantic labor war was beautifully planned. The factory owners were going to forgive their erring workmen. Mayor McBride and the police saw the end of their troubles approaching. The ministers who had urged the workers to return understood their exhortations were to be obeyed."

"It was a very successful end of the strike, marred by only one thing—none of the strikers went back."

No. it was not any stunt of the work. It was economic pressure—bosses that forced the men back to sheer hunger—that began to tell after 22 weeks of strike. The strike was lost.

Because of its cost, because of the travail, the sacrifices, the heroic militancy, the Paterson strike of 1913 has gone down into the annals of labor never to be eradicated.

## Independent Craft Unions in Strike

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unions, formed clubs of the warpers and the other trades, independent of any of the existing unions in the city.

What is most interesting, however, is the fact that the National Textile Workers Union, which is committed to a policy of industrial unionism, was instrumental in the organization of the United Warpers' League and the clubs of loomfixers and twisters. Members and sympathizers of the N. T. W. were the most active figures, the creators of these organizations. There is no doubt they worked under the guidance and sanction of the leading body of the N. T. W. Why weren't these crafts amalgamated into the National Textile Workers Union? Why were they organized without any official connection with it?

So discredited had the National Union (Stalinist) become in the eyes of the workers that recruitment of experienced workers into it was wellnigh impossible. In other words, the National Union ceased to possess any vitality which would make growth possible. Instead of recognizing this fact as honest and progressive unionists, and sending these workers into the ranks of the Associated, the leaders of the N. T. W., hoping later—should better times come—to corral the skilled crafts into their paper union, followed the traditional A. F. of L. policy of separating the skilled workers from the broad mass.

But if the N. T. W. could not organize the workers directly into their own union neither could they hold them under their influence. For more than five weeks now the National Union, which has sympathizers on the Executive Board of the United Warpers' League, have been exerting every effort to get the latter organization to send representatives to the national strike committee run by the N. T. W. Except for one incident of recent date, where the full membership was not present, the warpers have every time overwhelmingly

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refused to be aligned with this splitting national strike committee. And when the membership had discovered that the National Union people had jammed through a motion to send five delegates to Allentown they immediately rescinded the motion and voted to withdraw the delegates. The workers saw very clearly what the N. T. W. was unable to understand.

From the beginning of the strike the warpers have made overtures to the Associated towards obtaining representatives on the strike committee of the latter organization. This move was consummated within the last few days, and the United Warpers have elected two militant workers to the Associated strike committee where they were well received.

In the course of the earlier attempts for a common strike committee one of the conditions put by the Associated, before this could take place, was for the United Warpers League to come to some agreement with the A. F. of L. Horizontal Warpers League. In characteristic A. F. of L. style the latter refused to come to any kind of an agreement until the United Warpers League would liquidate and its members join their union as individuals. This was refused by the membership. And for several weeks the negotiations dragged along until the rank and file of the Associated Strike Committee voted to send a letter to the Warpers League inviting the warpers to elect two delegates to the strike committee on the single condition that the elected delegates be subject to the approval of the Associated strike committee.

Eli Keller, under instructions to send the said letter, composed it in such bureaucratic fashion that the warpers rejected it. Then a delegation of the Associated strike committee, incensed at Keller's action, came to the warpers and asked that the old letter be returned and read a new invitation which was unanimously accepted by the membership.

Before the warpers lies the big job of completely organizing the craft, of amalgamating with the loomfixers and the twisters, who are already represented on the Associated strike committee, and of laying the ground for the end of separate craft unionism in Paterson by ultimately affiliating with the American Federation of Silk Workers.

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