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THE MILITANT



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'The Evil Genius of the American Labor Movement' A Monument to Gompers

"It is fitting that in the capital of the nation a statue should stand through the ages to remind future generations of the services to that nation of a patriot who served his country well."

These are President Roosevelt's words of tribute in dedicating a monument not to a general, an admiral or an imperialist free-booter but to a labor leader—Samuel Gompers, the deceased president of the American Federation of Labor. The president of the United States is so lavish with his praise for Gompers because he feels a deep admiration for the man whom he rightly considers not a tribune of the oppressed or a warrior for a new society but a staunch pillar of the powers-that-be, a "patriot".

We have no argument with Roosevelt when he says that Gompers "served his country well". Indeed Wilson's eulogy of Gompers, quoted by Roosevelt, reveals how deeply the masters are indebted to Samuel Gompers.

"If I may be permitted to do so," said Wilson in 1917, "I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision and his statesmanlike sense

of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

"In Harness"—For the Bosses From the outset of his career as a labor leader, Gompers caused the capitalist class little worry. He knew how to pull in harness—not for the workers. The bosses reaped a lucrative harvest from the placidity of Samuel Gompers who traded the fighting battalions of the proletariat for the Judas gold of respectability.

Gompers founded the American Federation of Labor; he was its president until his death in 1924. For this activity he has not suffered the storm of abuse, calumny and vilification with which the ruling class so profusely showers the protagonists of the labor movement. On the contrary he is glorified in a monument erected to his memory in the citadel of American imperialism. A curse at the death of "Big Bill" Haywood, a sign of relief at the passing of Debs and a monument for Gompers! The oligarchy of capital knows how to estimate the work of labor's leaders.

It never could be said of Mr. Gompers that he "kicked over the traces". His kick was at the working class. His long years of service, earning him such profuse praise from Roosevelt, began with renegacy from the socialist movement whose ideas he assimilated as a young cigar maker. He deserted socialism for the respectability of a "pure and simple" craft union movement whose motto was "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". He wanted no connection with the socialists because they preached a doctrine of "class hatred and violence" as an importation of foreigners. No connection with the socialists or the mass of unskilled who might be contaminated with radical ideas—this was his credo in founding the A. F. of L. in 1881. The great mass of exploited workers standing outside of the sequestered cloister of the aristocracy of labor were also outside the concern of Gompers.

A Bulwark Against Radicalism The whole career of Samuel Gompers was predicated on currying the favor of the master class, of showing them by deeds that the labor movement that he led was good 100% American—a bulwark against radicalism. In 1894 the memorable strike led by the American Labor Union and its great inspirational force, Eugene Victor Debs, dared the power of the railway magnates. The government sent the militia against the strikers. On the other side the railroad men were supported by the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance which promised to feed the strikers. The country was in an uproar, the class lines were drawn taut and the unions were clamoring for action—for support of the Pullman workers.

Gompers called a meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and refused to call either general or local strikes in support of the beleaguered railroad workers. Debs was charged with contempt of court for violating the injunction. Gompers seized this opportunity to prove to the master class that the labor organization associated with his name would have no part in radical action. The strike was lost, in no small degree because of the treachery of Gompers. Debs went to jail; Gompers won the good graces of Wall Street. Gompers was learning the lesson of solidarity—with the ruling class.

National Civic Federation It was as president of the National Civic Federation that Gompers earned his spurs as a trusted lieutenant of the capitalists within the ranks of labor. An organization composed of notorious labor haters like Ralph Easley and labor

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New Issues Disturb 53rd A. F. of L. Convention

Mass Movement Surges against Old Forms; Roosevelt Threatens Strikers

The fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in Washington, D. C., marks the largest gathering of this body representing more workers, according to the official figures, than any time since its convocation in Buffalo in 1917. Its attitude towards the NRA, the rising strike wave and the burning problem of craft or industrial unionism are up for decision at this meeting.

The convention is infused with the ballyhoo spirit of the "New Deal". President William Green told the assembled delegates of the blessings of the NRA, saying that the "tide has turned" for labor and, further, that "the president himself will rely upon the hosts of labor to see this thing satisfactorily through." Exactly what this reliance on the president will mean the delegates were not long in finding out. Senator Wagner came before the gathering and bewailed the fact that the working class, which had so patiently suffered during the four years of crisis, "should resort so largely to extreme methods after revival has begun and when further revival depends upon the success of the program of cooperation." The strikes are plainly disturbing the Roosevelt administration.

Johnson Threatens Strikers

Much sharper, much blunter, and far more threatening was the warning of Roosevelt's man Friday, General Johnson, Green had complained that the wages set in the codes were not adequate. Others had urged that the organized workers use their power to gain what they thought was so generously offered under the NRA. This was manifested in the great strike wave that has been the almost automatic response of the working class. Not so with General Johnson who attempted to persuade the delegates that their rights were "effectively" protected under the NRA administration. And if the workers will not believe this, if their conditions

of life belie it, then Johnson has this to say: "The plain stark truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike." If, in spite of this threat, the workers have recourse to the strike weapon then Johnson has the following threat to make: "Public opinion is the essential power in this country. In the end it will break down and destroy every subversive influence."

It is unnecessary to write that the delegates did not accept the challenge and fling it back into his teeth. As has been the case for years the Left wing was conspicuous by its absence. The fat salaried office holders are monopolizing the stage. The Greens and Lewises for whom Johnson has words of praise as against the rebellious coal miners, are running this show. The Stalinist party, which has consistently robbed the A. F. of L. of any organized Left wing, sent its "A. F. of L. Committee on Unemployed Insurance" to the convention. It was refused admittance on the grounds that the unions it claimed to represent were already seated at the convention and it was peremptorily thrown out by the police. No word of protest was raised in the convention.

A "Family" Faction Fight

It is true that there is a faction fight in the Federation. But this is only a family quarrel over the spoils. John L. Lewis is making a bid for power. Green is solidly entrenched. It appears that Green and his lieutenants will retain the honor of being the outstanding official servants of the capitalist class in the labor movement.

These squabbles for place and sinecures give a picture of unreality to the convention of an organization that has seen a tidal wave of unionization sweeping the country. 500 federal unions, some in basic industries, have been added to the A. F. of L. in the recent period. Whether they liked it or no, the bureaucrats of the Federation were forced to wrestle with this problem.

The convention was inescapably confronted with the issue that has churned within the labor movement generally and within the federation for decades: How to organize the vast sections of the workers in the trustified basic industries, rubber, automobile, steel, oil, etc.—in craft or industrial unions. The convention divided into two camps. On the one side, the impotent craft unions, jealously guarding their autonomy and their officials jealously guarding the dues; on the other hand the unions for whom the industrial or vertical form is a matter of growth or stagnation.

Issue of Industrial Unionism

The New York Times reports that a "long and bitter" debate took place over this question. The U. M. W. A. and the Brewery union delegations led the fight for changing the traditional form of the A. F. of L. The craft form of organization is responsible for the jurisdiction disputes wracking the Federation and hamstringing its effectiveness in organizing the unorganized in the heavy industries.

By a vote of 13,872 to 5,859 the advocates of industrial unionism were defeated. But the huge size of the minority vote foreshadows the scope that the demand for industrial unionism will assume in the future. In the end the push away from the obsolete craft union will be irresistible.

An ironic touch to the convention is provided in the resolution offered by Paul Scharrenberg of the California Federation of Labor, stating that Mooney is innocent and urging a message to the California authorities calling for his immediate pardon. It will be remembered that it was this same Scharrenberg who sabotaged the movement for Mooney's release and was the target of Mooney's bitterest condemnation. Significant it is that even the Scharrenbergs are forced to give lip service to a cause they hate. The masses are moving.

The Cuban Government Moves to the Right

The recent flare-up of the army rank and file against the officers barricaded in the National Hotel in Havana weakened the government and strengthened the soldiers. The assault was carried out against the temporizing policy of the government with regard to the agents of the Machado terror and now the champions of De Cespedes. The speed and energy with which the soldiers attacked the officers following the latter's provocation testified to their hatred of their former superiors and their dissatisfaction with the policy of the government.

The sniping from roof tops and windows and the innumerable miniature street battles which followed the battle of the National Hotel sharply emphasized the fact that large numbers of the population are armed. Following the overthrow of Machado the ABC systematically armed its members and sympathizers. The Student Directorate did the same. In the interior the workers armed themselves as best they could. In Cienfuegos the workers sacked the hardware stores and carried off arms and ammunition. Following the establishment of the Grau San Martin government and the rising tide of working class struggles the students organized the Carrabean Army, an armed auxiliary to the police and army. Today the armed detachments of students are being directed against the workers to recover from them the mills they have seized to enforce their demands for higher wages and better conditions.

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force their demands for higher wages and better conditions.

Government Turns to Right

The sending of armed detachments against the workers and the forcible suppression of the Communist Party in Havana and other cities marks the end of the Martin government's development to the left on the basis of the struggle against imperialism, and its evolution to the right out of fear of the workers and the pressure of the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists. This change of direction, which is characteristic of the whole course of the petty bourgeoisie in the position of the petty bourgeoisie in Cuban society.

The social structure of Cuba is cast in the capitalist mold: bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and the working class. But for the bourgeoisie it is a distorted one. The bourgeoisie is not master in its own house. The almost total concentration of the economic resources of the country in the hands of American capital leaves little room and very few avenues of development for the Cuban bourgeoisie except in the service of Yankee imperialism. Thus, Machado on the road to power became the vice-president of several American corporations in Cuba.

But the petty bourgeoisie cannot aspire even to vice-presidencies. The student in the university who studied law knew that nearly all of the legal practice of the country was in the hands of large American law firms. The colonos, who rented land from the large American owned mills and corporations, on which he raised sugar cane, the only market for which is these same mills and corporations, was hopelessly enmeshed in the net of American property and finance. Across the road of development into big bourgeoisie in Cuba stands the American imperialist colossus.

The Impoverishment of the Petty Bourgeoisie

On the other hand, the crisis in sugar, which began years before the present world crisis of capitalism, impoverished not only the workers but also the petty bourgeoisie. To pay the interest and principal on Machado's loans from Wall Street his extravagant public works program, and his army, he levied insupportable taxes, which fell upon the petty bourgeoisie with crushing force. Out of their decreasing income the petty bourgeoisie had to

Striking Silk Workers Protest New NRA Code

The Paterson silk strikers have met the latest intervention of the government in its attempt to impose a code containing lower wages than those obtaining before the strike. They have rejected it to a man. The battle lines stand solid.

It is this institution that is supposed to raise wages and improve conditions—the NRA—which has made the proposal to the striking silk workers that they return to work under a minimum wage of \$12-\$13. The thin veneer of the Roosevelt New Deal is beginning to peel off—for the Paterson workers at least. The first intimation that such a raw deal was being put over by Roosevelt and his crew brought a delegation of strikers from Paterson to Washington to make it clear that the silk workers would not countenance this step backward to slave conditions—that they would fight the battle to the end and get a settlement on the picket line where they make the greatest challenge to the bosses' lie.

So blatant was the proposed code, such an outright concession to the rayon bosses, that a peculiar form of united front took place in Washington. Not only the delegation of silk workers, but preachers, businessmen, politicians and silk bosses went to the capital to protest the proposed code. The bosses are making the most of this coincidence.

The Paterson Evening News purrs with uncooled delight over what it considers a demonstration of class collaboration.

"Paterson is making history today for its industrial records!"

"The trek to Washington, which brought several hundred Paterson silk strikers, manufacturers, dyers, businessmen and clergymen together fighting as one in the common cause, is an epochal demonstration of the civic consciousness of this city."

"When all shades of labor and employing thought can join hand in hand and, forgetting their basic differences of wages and hours, stand shoulder to shoulder with their proverbial enemies, the bosses, then there is some powerful moving force which is welding together so solidified and impressive a movement."

This statement is calculated to deceive the workers. The interests of the bosses and the workers are far from identical. The Paterson silk bosses are opposed to the present code because it would be disastrous to their business, their profits, in the struggle with competitors. The silk workers can rest assured that the bosses will fight for a strike settlement at rock bottom level. Just wait: tear gas and policemen's clubs will dispel all this pretty idyll of class collaboration.

«Rev.» Green Preaches

The President of the American Federation of Labor besides being a great "friend" of Labor and a still greater friend of the bosses is also a magnificent preacher. If anybody has any doubt of the labor "leader's" preaching abilities he has only to read his sermon delivered last Saturday at Washington Cathedral. In his heart-rendering appeal to the bosses to banish poverty from our sinful earth Father Green said:

"Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." Ye merciful bosses!

"Instill in those who have made possible your success the power to continue living a good life. Among them let your blessing be shown in the form of adequate and steady wages."

Bill Green, as we see, is not only a faithful servant of his earthly bosses but also a devoted preacher of the Gospel of the Big Boss in heaven.

—D. MARCUS.

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Too Much Butter!

The recent advice of the government to the farmers to plow up at least 10 million acres of cotton, while a large section of the population is clad in the shoddies of rags, was not enough. The insanity of insanities has hit the starving American proletariat square in the face is the news that there is too much butter! The solution? Well, there are many. But one and all are directed toward one end, to cut the existing supply of butter. To bring this about the dairy companies say that it is necessary to kill a large number of the cows now on hand. But this will not of course solve the question of the "surplus" butter which is already on hand. For this they need money and they have already asked the RFC for a fund of 30 million dollars to buy up

this "surplus". It will then be turned over to the tender mercies of the big hearted dairy bosses who are not a bit squeamish about saying what they are going to do with it. They say openly they will destroy it,—if necessary.

In the land where millions walk the streets and starve; where hunger stalks the country like some gaunt wolf, leaving a train of death, disease, prostitution and crime in its wake; where 8 million underfed school children try to learn on empty stomachs that George Washington was a great man; where infant mortality and suicide present a steadily rising percentage, where demonstrations of starving workers are common and frequent,—in this land there is, if you please, too much butter!

At the present time a hearing is in progress in N. Y. for a silk code. What will emerge from this hearing is still a matter for conjecture. But this much is certain: if the silk workers relax their vigilance in regard to the conviving of the NRA and the officials of the U. T. W., represented by Panken at the hearing, then the outcome of the strike will be far from favorable for the strikers.

The extension of the strike, the maintenance of the picket lines—only on this condition can the Paterson workers wrest a victorious settlement from the bosses.

OPEN FORUM

THE NEW YORK ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday Night, October 20th, 1933
at International Workers School
126 East 16th Street
Auspices: Manhattan Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Miners' Strike Bucks N.R.A.

In spite of Senator Wagner, and all the big and little flunkys of the A. F. of L., the striking miners in Pennsylvania have not accepted this wisdom. When the "magnificent policies" of the NRA were revealed to them last week by a "settlement" that did not recognize the United Mine Workers in the captive mines of the Steel Trust, the miners remained on strike. Roosevelt and Johnson had ordered them to go back to work, vice-president Murray of the NMWA had rushed head over heels to accept the settlement, Murray had promised that any miner who did not return to work "would not live long", and still the miners stayed out.

Even if Lewis, Murray and Co., try to pass off a sell-out "settlement" the miners understand the difference. After all the money which such sellouts put into the purses of Lewis and Murray is sweated out of the hides of the miners who remain in peonage and slavery. Even when the UMWA misleaders threatened to outlaw the strike, the ranks held firm.

The Miners Force A "Reconsideration"

Result: President Roosevelt is now almost talking of union recognition. Murray is again rushing headlong to open new negotiations. The U. S. Steel Trust has finally consented to confer with the U.M.W.A. In short, the miners have forced Roosevelt, the U. S. Steel, and the C. M. W. A. bureaucrats to begin all over again in their attempt to swindle the strikers out of the gains of their strike. If, instead, the miners had accepted Senator Wagner's recovery philosophy, they would be back at work with nothing gained except bullets and deaths from its steel Trust's gunmen.

The strike is far from won. Although Roosevelt is talking bravely about "collective bargaining", he is still the same man who a week ago accepted the agreement that did not recognize the union. The Murray, who is now lacking the hand of the steel bosses, is the same man who threatened death to all miners who did not accept the sell out. From such people the miners can expect nothing but treachery. If the strike demands are to be won, it will not be won through Roosevelt's promises or through the negotiations of Murray. They will be won only through the militant struggle of the workers themselves. And only through a militant policy in the U. M. W. A. will these demands, once won, be maintained. For that policy to exist, there must be an organized Left wing in the union.

PETER MORTON.

CHICAGO MEETING

ARNE SWABECK

on

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

at

International Labor Lyceum

2557 W. North Ave.

Sunday, October 22—3 P. M.

ST. LOUIS MEETING

ARNE SWABECK

at

CRUNDEN LIBRARY

AUDITORIUM

14th and Cass Avenues

Friday, October 27, 8 P. M.

BANQUET

at

7119 Lafayette Avenue

Saturday, October 28, 8 P. M.

Khaki Shirts Get Medals

New York City—Silver medals for "bravery in action" have lately been bestowed upon several members of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America who took part in the clash with anti-Fascists in Astoria, N. Y., on July 14, when Anthony Fierro, anti-Fascist student, was killed. It is for Fierro's death that his comrade Athos Terzani faces trial here solely on the basis of an accusation by "General" Art J. Smith, commander-in-chief of the Khaki Shirts.

Eight of those who were in the Astoria affair, including Smith, were decorated recently in Khaki Shirts headquarters in Philadelphia. This was done with pretentious ceremony. The silver medal is described as "the American Fascist meritorious service cross."

After "General" Smith received this honor from the general staff of his organization, he bestowed a like decoration on Adjutant General J. E. Monaghan, Col. Pasquale Rogliano, Emilio Torres, Frank Moffer, Mario Martin, Albert L. Agostino, and Algisio De Felice.

At the same time a silver cross was planned upon Mrs. Domenico Sica, widow of an Italian characterized as "the first martyr of the Khaki Shirts." Sica was killed in South Philadelphia in June, and press reports said that he met his death during an attempt of the Khaki Shirts to break up an anti-Fascist meeting in a hall. Investigation indicates, however, that Sica was not injured during the break-up of that meeting, but was stabbed afterward on the sidewalk outside, evidently by some private enemy.

New Inquiry Into Killing

District Attorney Charles S. Colden of Queens County, who agreed on August 28 to make a new inquiry into the Fierro killing, has before him the declarations of Terzani and another eyewitness, Nicholas Palumbo, made on the night of the tragedy, that Fierro actually was shot down by "General" Art Smith's associates in the Khaki Shirts.

Mr. Colden is running for Borough President of Queens on the Democratic ticket next month, and his office voiced no objection when the Terzani defense asked recently for two months postponement of the trial. It is now set for November 27.

So far no brief has been filed by the prosecution in support of Assistant District Attorney Joseph Loscalzo's resistance of the defense demand for photographs of all finger-prints on the murder-gun. Just what tangible reasons Mr. Loscalzo can offer for withholding those finger-prints remain to be seen. It is believed by observing lawyers here that the prosecution will have difficulty in justifying its position that it should not be obliged to disclose the finger-prints on the gun in advance of trial.

Terzani's four-page affidavit which accompanied the petition for the finger-prints, contends that he cannot have a fair trial unless he is permitted to show by expert testimony that the finger-prints on the pistol are not his. He challenges the state to produce those prints in open court.

Money is needed urgently for Terzani's defense. Contributions should be sent to Herbert Mahlor, treasurer of the united-front Terzani Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Too Much Coffee!

Workers who have trouble these days getting a nickel for a cup of coffee ought to have their loyalty to the capitalist system strengthened by the following article from the New York Times of October 7, 1933:

"Since July 1931, the National Coffee Department of Brazil has destroyed 3,050,124,000 pounds of coffee, having a value of approximately \$200,000,000, according to reports to the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange. The program of destruction so far has eliminated the equivalent of a full year's world consumption.

"In the last few months the Brazilian Government agency has been speeding up the destruction. In September 1933, 196,430,000 pounds, or 1,511,000 bags, were destroyed,

while in the three months ended on Sept. 30, 621,960,000 pounds, or 4,782,000 bags, were destroyed, either by burning or by dumping into the ocean.

"About 15,500,000 bags of coffee are held in the Brazilian warehouses now, against 25,048,000 a year ago and 27,999,000 two years ago."

If you go without coffee now you know the reason. There is too much of it.

CHICKEN DINNER

Saturday, October 14th at 8 P. M.

by

PROTOMAGIA

Speech by

DIEGO RIVERA

ADMISSION . . . 50c

International Workers School

126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

Sabotaging the Mooney Front

Sept. 9 was the date set for a huge Mooney demonstration on Boston Common. In preparation for this demonstration the preceding Sunday, Sept. 3, was designated as Mooney Sunday. All organizations regularly holding meetings on Boston Common Sundays were called upon to dispense with their own meetings and participate in the Mooney meeting. The C. P. was approached and promised to open the meeting from its platform and then turn the platform over to the Mooney meeting.

C. P. Fails to Appear

Sunday, Sept. 3, came. No organization held a meeting of its own. Some organizations turned out to the Mooney meeting. And the C. P.? They were nowhere to be found. It was after waiting for some time in hopeless expectation for the party to appear that the Left Opposition produced its platform and the meeting was opened, not by the C. P. as promised, but by the committee itself.

This, as we remember, was the campaign meeting to prepare the masses for the great demonstration scheduled for September 9 at which we were to hear the best speakers; those speakers capable of stirring the masses to action. And it was not an easy matter for the committee to come to a conclusion as to who should be the main speaker. For a brief two weeks before the date of the demonstration it was reported that the national office of the Tom Mooney Council of Action had made no reply to the request for a speaker. The delegate of the Communist League then proposed comrade Cannon as the speaker for Sept. 9.

It must be said at this point that if the Stalinist party had been conspicuous by its absence up till now, it became more conspicuous by its presence—by proxy—as soon as our speaker was proposed. Experience has taught us to distinguish between the attacks that come from a party member and those from a party ex-member who is trying hard to make good. And so the party "sympathizer" proceeded to point out that by no means must the Communist League delegate "who wants to disrupt the united front" be permitted to bring her political interests here and build prestige for her organization. Under no circumstances must Cannon speak because "that would give a face to the meeting." The support to this attack came from other such "supporters" of Communism who stated that they would be satisfied with local speakers for the sake of helping peace in the committee. Thus the Stalinists won a victory: the Mooney demonstration had no face.

However, when the day of the demonstration arrived, when the "impartial" chairman lauded the N. R. A. as a revolutionary movement and urged the workers to support it; and when the "dynamic" Palmer, whom the National office sent, posed Mooney to the audience not as an outstanding labor leader but as a poor victim of frame-up which might befall anybody it became evident, even to the staunch supporters of the Stalinist party, that a Mooney meeting without a face was not very attractive.

Campaign Speech for the C. P.

Out of the audience, therefore, was picked a leading party member who was to make repairs. And he did. From this speaker we got a variety of subjects. He traveled extensively, from Tom Mooney to Cuba and then to the U. S. S. R. and ended up with a campaign speech for the party. The heart of his master would have throbbed with joy if only he could have heard the concluding sentences as they fell from the lips of his best disciple: "Three cheers for the C. P.!" "Join the ranks of the C. P.!"—All at a Mooney united front meeting!

But those who work sincerely for Mooney gave serious consideration to the meaning of united front. To them a united front meant neither the exclusion of Communist speakers nor a loose, undisciplined organization where each political representative can speak for his own organization. To them it meant further that each participant in open meetings must confine himself to the subject at issue, in this case, Tom Mooney. Consequently, at the following meeting of the committee charges were brought by the most active delegates that the C. P. speakers had violated the united front. The delegates demanded action or they would withdraw.

This, which would have meant the destruction of the council of Action, was averted, at least for the time being, by a decision to put these charges in writing to the party. The argument in defense of the party that the speaker only "subbed" can merely imply that one cannot find among the party's best those who know and can take a position whenever necessary. Such is the training that cadres receive under Stalinism. Let those who shield and support such miserable action reflect for a moment. They who refused to let the workers listen to comrade Cannon for fear that his speech might draw the attention of the masses sacrificed another Mooney demonstration and made a mockery of the united front. Let them take responsibility for such failures. The interests of Tom Mooney demand an answer. Why did the Stalinists sabotage and then flagrantly violate the discipline of the united front?

—CHARLOTTE SHECHET

FROM THE MILITANTS

In the Pocketbook Makers Union

It is three months since the strike of the Pocketbook Workers was settled. To date, however, the "Fraternal Club" administration has not called a membership meeting to report about conditions in the shops or whether the agreement is enforced. Meanwhile the employers don't live up to the agreement. In many shops workers do not get the scale. The administration is not doing a thing to see to it that the employers live up to the agreement. Although the cost of living has gone up the wages of the pocketbook workers have remained the same. Yet even the old wage scale is not enforced. In many shops overtime is permitted at a time when unemployment is so serious in our industry.

Moreover, Charles Goldman, the despot, the czar of our union, is misusing the employment office for his clique. Only his henchmen are given jobs. Workers who have been idle for two or three years have no chance of getting a job and are condemned to starve with their women and children. Is it any wonder why the misleaders have not called a meeting for the last three months? Yes, they did call two sections meetings to fill vacancies in the two sections. What happened? At the pocketbook section meeting a few weeks ago the entire office staff came and terrorized the membership in order to smuggle through their candidate for the Joint Council. When they could not succeed the manager, Stein, broke up the meeting.

Two weeks later the operators' section meeting was called. Again they tried the same scheme of terrorizing, bulldozing, watching how members voted. In spite of all this the operators elected all the rank and file candidates. The "Fraternal Club" candidates were defeated. In conservative unions, even, we never hear that officers should interfere in section affairs, but in our union the "Fraternal Club" gang want to rule and dictate even at section meetings.

Furthermore, the "Fraternal Club" and the fake "Progressives", the Matins, the Ladermans, the David Myers; they, together with the union administration forced a tax of ten percent on the workers without a membership meeting. They also put on a staff of organizers and business agents without the approval of the membership.

The entire needle trades are working at the present time 35 hours a week. We in the pocketbook industry, who have so much unemployment, are still working 40 hours a week. In the meantime, according to rumors, the union officials are negotiating with the employers the terms of a Code. Have they called any membership meeting to discuss the terms of the code or to report on the negotiations? No. And why not? The answer is that the "Fraternal Club" and the "Progressives" say this union is a democratic organization and a socialist union; we are not like the Left wing who try to capture the union for the Communist Party; we are not Left wingers. So they divided the union among themselves. The right wing has always looked upon the union as its private property. This is in accordance with Socialist Party democracy in the trade unions.

Discussing «Trotskyism» in Brownsville

After ten years of repression the platform of the Left Opposition is penetrating the wall of falsehoods and silence that the mental enclaves of Stalinism built around the Communist movement. In Brownsville, for example, it no longer suffices to dismiss "Trotskyism" with a contemptuous shrug or sneering string of epithets. The ceaseless hammerings of the Left Opposition have brought results. The party members and YCLers demand clarity.

Particularly in the last several weeks the most discussed subject has been that of "Trotskyism". The lessons of the German debacle have left their inevitable imprints. There is frightful demoralization and indifference within the ranks of the party and mass organizations.

The Unemployed Council is no factor in the lives of the workers of the locality. Almost as bad off is the International Labor Defense. Notwithstanding its supposed membership of over 300, the district records show that there was not one single dues payment made last month. It would be interesting to ask Shifter and Dressin, the Stalinists in charge, why not one of the leaflets calling upon the workers to demonstrate against the Nazi Reichstag frameup, was distributed.

In the Workers' Clubs

An even worse condition, if possible, prevails in the workers' clubs. The American Youth Club, once referred to as the cream of working class organizations, has degenerated under party leadership to almost the same level as any petty-bourgeois social club. The revolutionary policies to which it was dedicated when it was launched, have,

in actual fact, been relegated to the limbo of the forgotten. The main activity of its membership at present is in making the Sunday night dances a financial success. The Student Forum exists in name only, its doom was sealed when the members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition were expelled. And J. Koss, the League bureaucrat, who rose to the highest position in the club because of his scandal mongering against the Oppositionists, has long since deserted it. Like most of others who live on slander, the first signs that he would have to participate in rank and file activity, sent him scurrying.

The logical outcome of all this is an air of pessimism and gloom pervading the Left wing movement in the neighborhood. The most glowing eulogies about the correctness of the party line and the great possibilities for organization, leave the rank and file cold. Certainly the office leadership of Sklar and Gilbert will not lift the membership out of the stupor and lassitude that exists within the ranks.

Discussing «Trotskyism»

Although there is at present a general strike of painters taking place, it is not this that is worrying the party leaders. The discussion on "Trotskyism" in the party headquarters, the open reading of the Militant the fact that a resolution demanding a debate was passed at an open air meeting at Pitkin and Bristol Streets has them frantic. They know that an accounting will soon be asked for from the district, if it already has not been done. Among the active and clear-thinking party and league members there is a growing belief that the C. P. is unable to live up to its blustering and boisterous rhetoric. Defeat after defeat on every field is driving home the painful lesson of the bankruptcy of Stalinism. With ever-growing force the conviction that the principles of the Left Opposition are correct, is asserting itself. There can be no doubt that within a short space of time the best forces of the party will renounce the organizers of defeat and take their rightful places among the inheritors of October—THE BOLSHIEVIK-LENINISTS.

—Y. C. L. MEMBER.

The Left Opposition in Australia

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA—

August 10, 1933.

Comrades: The back numbers of the Militant etc., arrived safely and satisfied a long-felt want. We cannot thank you too much for the assistance you have given us in getting a clear perspective of the situation, and we hope to be able to go ahead in the future strong in the knowledge that we have a sound international connection. It is unfortunate that we have not get contact with you before our conference, otherwise we could have improved considerably our general political line. However, we are rather elated to realize that despite our lack of knowledge regarding the international situation as a whole, we more or less arrived at a correct estimation of the situation.

We are enclosing a copy of our first pamphlet which is creating quite a sensation here. When you realize that the revolutionary movement in this country, has been spoon-fed with the sophistry of Stalinism for many years, and that a work by comrade Leon Trotsky is as rare as water in the Sahara Desert, you will comprehend what difficulties lie ahead of us. But we have every confidence. The leadership of the Stalinists is in the hands of a very mediocre set of individuals, who follow faithfully and blindly in the tortuous wake of the Comintern's zig-zags. So great is their faith in the infallibility of the Stalinist leadership that they have given up any attempt even to apply the alleged "line" to the conditions in Australia (which is not on the verge of a revolutionary situation), but mechanically repeat every tactic and even every word that emanates from the Seats of the Mighty in Moscow. They have created a new "heaven" and a new "God" and taken unto themselves the mantle of the "chosen race". The result is funny, and, as comrade Trotsky says "anything funny is fatal—in the revolutionary movement."

Bankruptcy of Australian C. P.

The sectarianism of the C. P. of A. in the past, which has now developed into Right opportunism, is responsible for the fact that the Australian Labour Party (under Lang) has been able to ban, not only the Communist Party, but all of the fraternal organizations without even a protest from the workers. No member of the A. L. P. is allowed to belong to a fraternal organization, the result is that those organizations have dwindled to a few party members and supporters, and in many cases have gone completely out of existence. The influence of the party is getting smaller every day, but owing to our present inability to widely disseminate the line of the Left Opposition, the members that are leaving the party in disgust are not turning to us, but are falling into inactivity and apathy. We are making our chief task the solving of the literature problem. Without a weekly organ our propaganda is necessarily limited and we are doing our best to overcome this difficulty. There is a wonderful market for the works of comrade Trotsky available, and we propose to reprint as many as possible in pamphlet form directly funds are available.

Yours for Communism,

For the Secretariat.

Wrecking Crew at Work in the Chicago I.L.D.

When the International Labor Defense was organized in 1925, it answered a long-felt need in the American labor movement. Here at last was a workers' defense organization which had as its primary task the defense of any worker, irrespective of his political beliefs or organizational connections. It was because of this united front character that the I.L.D. succeeded in rallying to its support representatives of almost every section of the organized labor and political movements. Thus the occasion of the 1st conference to establish this organization, was indeed a step forward. The I. L. D. experienced a rapid growth on the basis of its non-sectarian and class policy. Particularly during the campaign to save Sacco-Vanzetti, the organization rallied new sections of the working class to it and succeeded in building a genuine mass defense movement.

The I. L. D. traveled a new road when the organization was subordinated to the factional interests of the Stalinists. It became sectarian. It defended only those workers who were members of the Party or belonged to organizations affiliated to it. Non-party organizations successively withdrew from the I. L. D., until the leadership was concentrated wholly in the hands of the Party, without being able to draw to its support those many non-party elements who were affiliated to the I. L. D. at its birth. Members of the Left Opposition arrested, either at Party demonstrations or in non-party activities, were refused aid from the I. L. D., only because they were members of the Left Opposition. Sympathizers of the Left Opposition who were victims of the capitalist state, were promised defense only if they would renounce their support of the "Trotskyites". Similarly with the Lovestonites. Or else, the I. L. D. bureaucracy carried on an expulsion campaign to drive out of the organization all those members who belonged to the Left Opposition, the Lovestone group, or who did not agree with the Party or its policies.

Recent events in Chicago testify that the I. L. D. has not only not changed its inner policies but, quite the contrary, continues to pursue that ruinous course notwithstanding its disastrous effect upon the organization. The following incidents are deserving of consideration.

Up until about a year ago, the I. L. D. in Chicago, had for all practical purposes, two lawyers who handled all the cases for the organization. These were Albert Goldman and D. J. Bental. Due to various causes, the I. L. D. attracted to it a number of lawyers who offered their services, without charge, to the I. L. D., and who by and large were moving closer and closer to Communism.

This relationship was shaken with the development of the German situation and when the question of the united front was discussed in certain sections of the Party. The discussion on the German situation and the united front began last fall in the Workers School at which comrades Beidel, Goldman, Francis Heisler and Jack Scher were instructors. The latter three were lawyers for the I. L. D. In the course of these discussions comrades Beidel and Goldman who were Party members, continued to press for their point of view which coincided with the standpoint of the Left Opposition. They were subsequently expelled from the Party. While organizational measures were taken against Goldman, for the time being comrades Heisler and Scher who were not members of the Party, were allowed to continue their work in the I. L. D.

Against comrade Goldman the leadership of the local I. L. D. began a campaign of slander and finally decided not to use him any longer as a lawyer for the organization. He was no longer assigned to cases, although considered by everyone as the outstanding lawyer of the I. L. D. had the local I. L. D. evidently decided to allow him to finish up on one serious case involving six comrades, 5 Negroes and one white arrested at a demonstration on the serious charge of assault with intent to kill and conspiracy to kill, carrying with it a possible sentence of 14 years. When Goldman spoke at a Negro forum on the south side of the city, defended himself against the slanders of the Party and explained the position he took which led to his expulsion from the Party, he was then removed also from this case. This action of the I. L. D. aroused the resentment of a number of the comrades facing the charges in this case.

With respect to comrades Heisler and Scher who were not members of the Party but very close sympathizers, the I. L. D. pursued a more "lenient" policy until these comrades identified themselves with The Marxian Educational Center as instructors. From that time on they were given no cases to handle. Though no decision of such a character was formally made, the attitude of the I.L.D. to these comrades is tantamount to their removal as attorneys of the I. L. D. They are being replaced by entirely inexperienced lawyers who are prepared to accept every dictum of the Party without question.

Through it all the membership remains in a state of ignorance because none of the actions of the I. L. D. bureaucracy are made public. All of these "decisions" are made at the top without any explanation being made to the ranks.

This dangerous practice of eliminating anyone who is not in agreement with every policy and viewpoint of the Stalinized Party, has led and continues to lead to only one result: further stifling of the I. L. D., prevention of its growth and freedom of existence, and its subordination to the bureaucratic leadership of the Communist Party. In order to function in the I. L. D. you must be ready to give up all independent thought. You must be prepared to accept, and more than that, you must agree with the policies of the Party. Otherwise there is no place for you in the I. L. D. That is why the I. L. D. is a mere shell of its former self. That is why it cannot grow and no more resembles the organization of its early years. The united front policy which made possible the birth of this organization has been overthrown for a stupid policy of sectarianism. Lawyers identified with the revolutionary movement for decades, or those sympathetic to Communism cannot be used by the I. L. D. because they have views that differ from the Party leadership, while the I. L. D. finds it "expedient" and correct to employ Tammany criminal lawyers (Liebowitz) in cases involving workers persecuted by the capitalist state. In reality there is nothing strange in this practice. It is the result of the line pursued by the Party in the I. L. D. which can have no other results.

—G. M. A.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES Rousing Meetings Greet Swaback

At New Haven

New Haven.—On Tuesday, Oct. 3, before an audience of fully 100 workers, comrade Swaback gave a lecture in the Workers' Circle Center, New Haven on the "Future of International Communism". The listeners were mostly S. P. members and sympathizers with a sprinkling of Yipsels and a few C. P. members and sympathizers.

The spirit was excellent as all listened attentively to comrade Swaback's words. This was probably the first revolutionary speech most of the Socialists had ever heard. It also gave them an opportunity to compare our unrelenting criticism of the social-democracy with the Stalinist repelling and usually slanderous attacks.

In the discussion period there were some questions on the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communist tactics in general. One Socialist condemned the Third International for forgetting the words of Marx, "Workers of the world, unite". He wanted us to enter the social democracy, which, he claimed, would be revolutionary in a crisis. He was effectively answered by comrade Swaback who reminded him that the social democracy had itself broken Marx's advice in 1914 by sending working-class brothers to fight each other.

One Stalinist demanded the floor for 15 minutes and when the audience voted that no discussion should be more than 5 minutes, he refused to speak. Another more sincere C. P. member stated that the C. P. had called for a united front with the Socialists. He defended the trade-union policy of the American Stalinists. Comrade Swaback proved decisively that the comrade was in error in both instances.

After the meeting about twelve of the youth comrades went to the home of the comrade where Swaback was staying and a long discussion was held on the prospects of our youth work.

—M. G.

At Boston

Boston.—The Boston branch formally opened its headquarters Friday, Oct. 6 with the lecture by comrade Swaback on "The Future of International Communism".

The hall was packed to capacity with an audience of excellent composition and deep interest. Comrade Swaback traced the development of the labor movement. He presented the life of the Second International, its collapse and final transformation to national reformism. The Third International, comrade Swaback pointed out, came on the grave of the Second and out of necessity to carry on the work of International Communism. He described the life of the Third International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and its retreat from Internationalism since Lenin's death, under the leadership of Stalin and his theory of Socialism in one country leading to its collapse in 1933.

Comrade Swaback gave a vivid picture of the German events to which he was an eyewitness, and which were decisive in the collapse of the Third International. He pointed out the dangers facing the Soviet Union because of the wrong policies; the danger of Thermidor within the Stalinist regime. Comrade Swaback sketched the work of the I. L. O. as a faction of the C. I. throughout the last ten years endeavoring to bring it back to the Leninist path and brought forth its present task imposed by history, to build the forces for a new, a Fourth International to again raise high the banner of International Communism.

The questions and discussion which followed comrade Swaback's lecture were very interesting and important. A number of questions came regarding the Soviet Union. The workers again and again took the floor in discussion and comrade Swaback took up fully each question raised. The workers influenced

planations being made to the ranks. This dangerous practice of eliminating anyone who is not in agreement with every policy and viewpoint of the Stalinized Party, has led and continues to lead to only one result: further stifling of the I. L. D., prevention of its growth and freedom of existence, and its subordination to the bureaucratic leadership of the Communist Party. In order to function in the I. L. D. you must be ready to give up all independent thought. You must be prepared to accept, and more than that, you must agree with the policies of the Party. Otherwise there is no place for you in the I. L. D. That is why the I. L. D. is a mere shell of its former self. That is why it cannot grow and no more resembles the organization of its early years. The united front policy which made possible the birth of this organization has been overthrown for a stupid policy of sectarianism. Lawyers identified with the revolutionary movement for decades, or those sympathetic to Communism cannot be used by the I. L. D. because they have views that differ from the Party leadership, while the I. L. D. finds it "expedient" and correct to employ Tammany criminal lawyers (Liebowitz) in cases involving workers persecuted by the capitalist state. In reality there is nothing strange in this practice. It is the result of the line pursued by the Party in the I. L. D. which can have no other results.

—G. M. A.

ed by the Stalinist national policy had an excellent opportunity to hear a clear position on the importance of seeing beyond the boundaries of the U. S. S. R. in order to safeguard its existence.

An important question was the one whether the German workers were revolutionary before the advent of Hitler. Our speaker made clear that the usual attempts by the Stalinists to blame the workers for their failures are false and bureaucratic; that the workers were ready to fight, what they needed was a correct and clear-headed leadership. The defeat of the German and consequently the international proletariat demonstrated the bankruptcy of the C. I.—A number of trade union workers were interested and learned our policy in the trade union field. And if their past experience with the Socialists and light wing Communists made them wonder as to the importance of working in the A. F. of L. unions, comrade Swaback made clear to them the difference between the Socialist and Lovestoneite policy of collaboration with the reactionary leadership and our policy of working in the unions for the revolution. So interested were the workers to discuss that the meeting lasted till after midnight.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

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

Mon., Oct. 16th....New Castle, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown
Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown
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....Staunton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30....Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis
Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.
Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.

YOUNGSTOWN MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABACK
on
"THE N. R. A. and the WORKERS"
CENTRAL AUDITORIUM
225 West Boardman St.
TUESDAY, OCT. 17, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION TEN CENTS
Unemployed Free

Militant Builders

WE BEGIN

Our new sub drive is under way. The first week's results are encouraging. Our out-of-town sub getters have started off with a rush. The list below tells the story:

M. K., Youngstown 5
V. R. Dunne, Minn. 8
J. Fruitman, Toronto 3
H. Ross, Manhattan 1

This is only a beginning. Time must be allowed for returns to come in from the cities west of Minneapolis. Next week's report will show that they too are in the field after subs.

CARRY ON

Remember that the drive closes on November 15. There is still time to overtake these fast steps. But that means work. Our goal is a 100% increase in our paid circulation. We can do it—if every friend of the Militant puts his back into it.

1ST—2ND—3RD.

For the one who heads the list on November 15 there is waiting the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; second—two volumes; and third—one volume. That should make every one hustle.

Int'l. Workers School—

Fall Term
Registration—Oct. 1-15 every eve.
Announcement of Courses

Organization Principles —M. ABERN.
Applied Marxian Economics —B. J. FIELD.
State and Revolution —J. WEBER.
Fundamentals of Marxism —J. G. WRIGHT.

Write or phone School Headquarters for information:

126 East 16th Street

Tel. GRAMercy 5-9524

«Spiritual Values» for Hungry Men

Those unemployed workers who still believe that they will be helped out of their present intolerable situation by folding their hands and letting the President take care of them, would do well to read over again a speech which he made Thursday night before the Federation of Catholic Charities. Especially three statements which he made there, taken together, give the whole gist of the unemployed program of the Roosevelt administration.

First the usual sugar-coated promises: "It is for us to redouble our efforts to care for those who must still depend upon relief, to prevent the disintegration of home life, and to stand by the victims of the depression until it is definitely over." This goes along with the redoubling of the propaganda spread by the government, that it is about to spend 700 million dollars for relief, that it will buy 75 millions of farm products to be worked up into food and clothing for the unemployed, etc.

What Does It Actually Mean?

There is no question that 700 millions is a great deal of money, whether to an unemployed worker or to J. P. Morgan. But what does it actually mean even if the whole money were actually to be spent without deductions for costs of administration, honest and not-so-honest graft, profits, etc.? With 12 million workers out of jobs at the very least even after the so-called recovery, it means that for the whole coming winter the government proposes to provide about \$60 for each unemployed worker, whether a single man or the head of a family. This means all of 8 to 9 dollars a month, or 2 dollars a week. On this amount the unemployed worker is expected to keep his family together, provide food and clothing, etc. This is supposed to keep him contented and prevent him from demanding real unemployment insurance, let alone a change in the whole social system from top to bottom!

More than this, experience has shown that the Roosevelt administration is not likely to spend even the 700 millions about which all the propaganda is being made. Early this year they appropriated 500 millions for unemployment relief. In nine months' time they have succeeded in spending \$182,500,000 out of this sum; it is being very economically administered, since they still have two-thirds of it left. They can find 2 1-2 billions to spend in loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to support bankrupt corporations and banks, 3,500 millions for a so-called public works program which turns out to be battleship construction to prepare for the next war, 2 billions for the saving of the small home-owner (in reality for the saving of the mortgage sharks)—but even when they do get money appropriated for unemployment relief, they find it is very hard to spend it.

«Spiritual Values» for the Hungry

No wonder Roosevelt went on to say, right after his sweet promises of help to the "victims of the depression": "The Federal Government has inaugurated new measures of relief on a vast scale, but the Federal Government cannot, and does not intend to, take over the whole job."

Noticed with what art he raises the workers' expectations, then keeps them suspended with the carefully-worded warning that the Federal Government refuses to assume full responsibility for the unemployment question.

After this, it is quite logical that he should dispose of the whole matter by stating, "The people of the United States still recognize, and, I believe, recognize with firmer faith than ever before, that spiritual values count in the long run more than material values."

This is nothing but a translation into the language of evening dress and formal banquets of the old phrase, "You'll have pie in the sky when you die".

And what gives special point to it is the fact that he used this piece of sickening hypocrisy to show how superior the American system of "spiritual values—not grub", is to the Russian system, where they are doing away with religion but are intensely interested in such things as wheat and steel.

The Gist of the Roosevelt Program

The Roosevelt program comes to this, then: first feed the worker with promises, then shove the responsibility off to others—the state, the city, private charity. Finally, when the worker realizes he has gotten nothing at the end of it all, tell him to be resigned to his fate and to think of all the "spiritual values" which he is accumulating as he starves.

All the agencies of the State—the government itself, the newspapers, the radio, the church, all try to make him swallow these ideas, which are so profitable to them because they prevent the worker from realizing what the situation is and from putting up a fight for his demands. The first step is for him to clear away these cobwebs if they have found a place unconsciously in his own mind. Then he will be ready to think of how to organize to get what he wants, and what he must have if he is to survive as a decent human being.

—B. J. F.

It Is Necessary to Build Anew Communist Parties and an International!

1. The Course Toward the Reform of the C. I.

At the time of its inception, the Left Opposition posed as its task, the reform and the regeneration of the C. I. by means of Marxist criticism and internal factional work. In a whole series of countries, particularly in Germany, the events of the last years have revealed, with crushing force, the pernicious character of the policy of bureaucratic centrism. But the Stalinist bureaucracy, arming itself with extraordinary repressions, opposed, not unsuccessfully, its interests and its caste prejudices to the exigencies of historical development. The result was that the evolution of the C. I. took the path not of regeneration but of decomposition and disintegration.

The course towards "reform," taken in its entirety, was, however, not incorrect: it represented a necessary stage in the evolution of the Marxist wing of the C. I., it gave us the opportunity to educate the cadres of the Bolshevik-Leninists and was not without influence on the workers movement in its entirety. At all times the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy was subjected to the pressure of the Left Opposition. The progressive measures of the government of the U. S. S. R. which have held back the coming of Thermidor, were only partial and belated borrowings from the Left

Opposition. Analogous phenomena, only on a lesser scale, can be observed in the life of all the sections of the C. I.

To this we must add, that the degree of degeneration, generally speaking, cannot be measured in advance, merely with the help of its symptoms. A living verification of events is necessary. Theoretically it was still impossible in the last year to state that it was absolutely excluded that the Bolshevik-Leninists would succeed, supporting themselves on the sharpening of the class struggle, in forcing the C. I. onto the path of a real struggle against Fascism. The attempt then made by the S. A. P. to take an independent position did not serve to influence the march of events precisely because at the critical moment, the masses awaited political leadership from their old organizations. In carrying out the faction policy and in educating its cadres as to the experience of this policy, the Left Opposition, nevertheless, did not conceal, neither to itself nor to others, the fact that the new defeat of the proletariat, a product of the policy of centrism, will inevitably take on a decisive character and will demand a fundamental revision of our position on the question: faction or party?

2. Change of Orientation

What is most dangerous in politics is to fall victim to one's own formula, which was opportune yesterday, but which has lost all content for today.

The collapse of the German C. P. still left theoretically two possibilities for the Stalinist bureaucracy; either a complete revision of the policy and regime or, on the contrary, a complete strangulation of the remains of life in the sections of the C. I. The Left Opposition was guided by this theoretical possibility when, while already pronouncing the slogan of a new party for Germany, it still left pending the question of the fate of the C. I. It was clear, however, that the following weeks would have to supply an answer immediately and there was very little hope that this answer would be favorable.

All that happened after the fifth of March (Resolution of the Presidium on the situation in Germany, silent obedience of all the sections before this resolution, anti-Fascist Congress at Paris, official course of

the C. C. of the German C. P., fate of the Austrian C. P., fate of the Bulgarian C. P., etc.) is irrefutable testimony to the fact that in Germany there was decided not only the fate of the C. P. G. but also that of the C. I. in its entirety.

The Moscow leadership not only proclaimed correct the policy that had assured Hitler's victory but prohibited discussion of what had taken place. And this scandalous prohibition was neither rejected nor even violated. No national congress, no international congress, no discussion in the party meetings, no polemic in the press! An organization which has been awakened by the thunder of Fascism and which humbly supports such humiliations on the part of the bureaucracy shows by that fact that it is dead and that nothing will revive it. To say this openly and aloud is a real duty towards the proletariat and its future. It is on the historic collapse of the official C. I. that we must take our point of departure for all our future work.

3. Realism against Pessimism

The fact that two parties, Social Democrat and Communist, which had both grown up half a century apart from the same point of departure in the theory of Marxism and the class interests of the proletariat should have come to the end of their road so miserably: one by base betrayal, the other by bankruptcy, this fact can engender a feeling of despair even in the ranks of the advanced workers. "Where are the guarantees that the new revolutionary rise will not suffer the same fate?" Whoever demands guarantees beforehand should, in

general, renounce revolutionary politics. The causes of the collapse of the social democracy and official Communism are to be found not in the Marxist theory nor in the bad quality of the people who applied it, but in the concrete conditions of the historical processes. It is not a question of opposition between abstract principles but of the struggle of living social forces with their inevitable ebb and flow, with the degeneration of organizations, with the wearing out of entire generations, with the necessity resulting therefrom of mobilizing fresh forces

for a new historic stage. Nobody went out of his way to pave with asphalt, in advance, the road of the revolutionary ascent of the proletariat. With inevitable halts and partial retreats, it is necessary to go forward on a road littered with numberless obstacles and encumbered with the debris of the past. If anyone is frightened by this let him step aside.

How is the fact to be explained, however, that our group itself whose analysis and prognosis were confirmed by the whole march of developments, grows too slowly? It is necessary to look for this cause once again in the general march

4. New Reserves

The attempts made more than once in the past to create a "second party" or a "fourth international" had their origin in the sectarian experience of certain groups and circles, "disenchanted" with Bolshevism, and this is why they met with misfortune every time. We do not proceed from our own subjective "discontentment" and "disillusionment" but from the objective march of the class struggle. All the conditions of the development of the proletarian revolution imperatively demand a new organization of the vanguard and bring to it the necessary prerequisites.

The disintegration of the social democracy proceeds parallel with the collapse of the C. I. However deep the reaction is in the proletariat itself, hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the world cannot but pose to themselves the question of the further paths of the struggle and of a new organization of the forces. Other hundreds of thousands will join them in the near future. To demand of these workers, a certain section of whom have left the C. I. with indignation and the majority of whom did not belong to the C. I. even in its best years, to demand of them that they recognize the leadership of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is incapable of learning anything or of forgetting anything, would be quixotic and only retard the formation of the proletarian vanguard. Inevitably, there will be sincere Communists in the ranks of the Stalinist organizations who will turn with fright and even with indignation against our new orientation. For some of them, perhaps temporarily, sympathy will give way to animosity. However, it is necessary to be guided not by sentimental and personal considerations but by the criterion of the mass.

At a time when hundreds of thousands, millions of workers, particularly in Germany, separate themselves from Communism, partly toward Fascism, a majority in the camp of indifference, thousands and tens of thousands of social democratic workers, under the pressure of the same defeat are evolving to

5. U. S. S. R. and the C. P. S. U.

The existence of the Soviet Union, despite the advanced degeneration of the workers' state, remains even today a fact of immense revolutionary importance. The collapse of the Soviet Union would mark

the struggle of the world proletariat for the socialist revolution. The dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy grows as a result of the backward state of the U. S. S. R. (the predominance of the peasantry) and of the delay of the proletarian revolution in the West (the absence of independent revolutionary parties of the proletariat). In its turn the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy led not only to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., but also to a dreadful weakening of the proletarian vanguard of the whole world. The contradiction between the progressive role of the Soviet State and the reactionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy presents itself as one of the manifestations of the "law of unequal development." We are forced to make this historically-given contradiction our point of departure in our revolutionary policy.

The so-called "friends" of the Soviet Union (left democrats, pacifists, Brandeburgers and their ilk) repeat in chorus with the functionaries of the C. I. that the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, that is above all, the criticism of its false policy, "readers aid to the counter-revolution." This is a point

The defense of the Soviet Union against the danger of military intervention has now become a more urgent task than ever before. The official sections of the C. I. are impotent in this field, as they are in all others. The defense of the Soviet Union has become an empty ritual phrase in their mouths. The neglect of the C. I. covers itself with worthless comedies in the manner of the anti-Fascist congress at Amsterdam. The actual resistance of the C. I. to military intervention on the part of the imperialists will be even more insignificant than the resistance it has put up against Hitler. To nourish illusions on this subject means to march with eyes closed towards the catastrophe. For an active defense of the Soviet Union it is necessary to have genuine revolutionary organizations, independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, standing on their own feet and having support among the masses.

The formation in several countries of strong revolutionary organizations, freed of responsibility for the crimes and mistakes of the reformist and centrist bureaucrats, armed with a Marxist program and a clear revolutionary perspective, will open a new era in the development of the world proletariat. These organizations will attract to them all the real Communist elements, who today still do not dare to break with the Stalinist bureaucracy and, what is more important, they will gather under their banner the young generation of workers.

the beginning of a frightful reaction in the entire world, perhaps for decades. The struggle for the conservation, the cleansing and the strengthening of the first workers' state is indissolubly connected with

the struggle of the world proletariat for the socialist revolution. The dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy grows as a result of the backward state of the U. S. S. R. (the predominance of the peasantry) and of the delay of the proletarian revolution in the West (the absence of independent revolutionary parties of the proletariat). In its turn the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy led not only to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., but also to a dreadful weakening of the proletarian vanguard of the whole world. The contradiction between the progressive role of the Soviet State and the reactionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy presents itself as one of the manifestations of the "law of unequal development." We are forced to make this historically-given contradiction our point of departure in our revolutionary policy.

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6. U. S. S. R. and the C. I.

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The appearance and the development of such revolutionary organizations, their struggle for the So-

viet Union, their constant favoring of the united front with the Stalinists against intervention and counter-revolution—all that will have an immense importance on the internal development of the Soviet Republic. The more acute the dangers at home and abroad become and the greater the force represented by the independent proletarian vanguard, the less the Stalinists insulate as they remain in power, will be able to reject the united front. The new relationship of forces will have to weaken the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, strengthen the Bolshevik-Leninists inside the U. S. S. R. and open an incomparably more favorable perspective for the Workers Republic as a whole.

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7. «Liquidationism»

The bureaucratic charlatans (and their lackeys, such as the Brandeburgers) speak of our "liquidationism"; with neither sense nor scruples they repeat words torn out of the old Bolshevik vocabulary. Liquidationism was known as a current which denied the necessity of an illegal party under "constitutional" capitalism, by trying to replace revolutionary struggle with adaptation to counter-revolutionary "legality."

The necessity for an illegal organization, but who made it the instrument of a hopelessly false policy; they posed as their immediate task after the vanishing of the revolution, the preparation of armed insurrection. Lenin did not hesitate to break with them, although there were many irrefragable revolutionary leaders in their ranks (the best of them later returned to the ranks of Bolshevism.)

No less false are the statements of the Stalinists and their Brandeburg lackeys that the Left Opposition is creating an "August" conference against "Bolshevism." They

mean by this designation the attempt made in 1912—one of the numerous attempts of its kind—to unite the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks; let us recall that Stalin made a similar attempt not in August 1912, but in March 1917! In order for the analogy to have a grain of sense one would first of all have to recognize the Stalinist bureaucracy as the representative of Bolshevism; secondly, it would require us to pose the question of the unification of the Second and Third Internationals. But there is no question of either one or of the other. The charlatanesque analogy aims to mask the fact that the fraudulent opportunists are trying to get into good graces with Stalinist centrism on the basis of reciprocal amnesty, whilst the Bolshevik-Leninists pose as their task the building of a proletarian party on the foundation of principles verified in the greatest struggles, victories and defeats of the imperialist epoch.

8. On the New Road

The task of these theses is to call upon the comrades to consider completed, the present historic stage and to mark out a new perspective for work. But what has been said above still does not predetermine the next practical steps, the concrete changes in policy, the rhythms and the methods of the transition to the new road. It is only after having assured agreement of principle concerning the new orientation—and previous experience permits us to believe that such an agreement will be reached amongst us—that the concrete tactical questions, conforming to the conditions in the different countries, can be placed on the order of the day. In any case, it is not a question of immediately proclaiming new parties and an independent international, but of preparing it. The new perspective means that counting on "reform" and demanding the reintegration of the Oppositionists into the official parties should be definitely discarded as utopian and reactionary. The daily work should take on an independent character determined by the possibilities and the forces at hand and not by the formal notion of "faction." The Left Opposition finally ceases to consider itself and to work as an "Opposition." It becomes an independent organization which makes its own road. Not only does it create its fractions in the social democracy and the Stalinist parties, but it carries on independent work among the non-party and unorganized workers. It creates its basis of support in the trade unions independent of the trade union policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Where and when conditions are favorable, it participates in elections under its own banner. Towards the reformist and centrist organizations including the Stalinists, it guides itself on the general principles of the policy of the united front. Especially and above all, it applies the policy of the united front to defend the Soviet Union from external intervention and from internal counter-revolution.

—G. G.—

Discussion Articles

On the Slogan of Nationalization

In proposing the slogan for nationalization, comrade Weber seeks to forestall any objections to it "in principle."

In his opinion slogans are largely a matter of expediency and he argues that "the decision as to the correctness or incorrectness of a slogan rests to a large extent (our emphasis) on our judgment of the ripeness or unripeness, not of the advanced workers but of the mass of workers to rally around and fight for a given slogan." Such an approach to slogans is one-sided, formalistic, and, in our opinion, fundamentally erroneous.

For the justification of any slogan Marxism demands the analysis of the economic reality, of the political foreground, and of the political meaning of the slogan. As an example let us take a slogan such as "revolutionary national defense." We cannot for a moment maintain that our acceptance of, or objection to this slogan involves no question of principle but is largely a matter of expediency—of our ability to judge whether the masses will rally and fight for this slogan. No matter how backward the workers may be, no matter what numbers they may rally, we are opposed in principle to the slogan of "national defense" whenever the economic and political conjunctures are such that this slogan can have no political content other than that of social-chauvinism. When the war is an imperialist war to raise this slogan is to betray our principles. To raise this slogan in a colonial or semi-colonial country (India, China) when it is fighting to cast off the yoke of imperialism, is entirely in keeping with our principles.

Moreover, it is not enough to only ask whether under the given economic and political conditions, a slogan may acquire an opportunistic political content, we must also make sure that it excludes an adventurist political content.

Political Content of Slogans

Comrade Weber admits that the

slogan of nationalization, if divorced from the slogan of workers' control, could have only a reformist (opportunistic) political content. But no proof is presented that the slogan of workers' control would not be adventurist at this time. Its adventurist content is excluded on the grounds that the masses will rally around the slogan of nationalization. To a large extent we cannot be motivated by such considerations. Let us allow that the masses, in all their backwardness, do rally around the slogan of nationalization—what then? Unless we can tie up in reality this slogan with the slogan of workers' control, what will be the political content of the slogan of nationalization? The answer to this question supplies the key to our acceptance or rejection of this slogan.

From our analysis of the present economic and political conditions, we maintain that the slogan of nationalization cannot be advanced at present with a principled political content. The question of workers' control raises directly the question of the agency whereby such a slogan can be concretized. The fight for control over industry is the special historic task of factory committees. Lacking this historic agency, the slogan of workers' control is meaningless.

We must not confuse factory committees with labor unions. Factory committees cannot be substituted for labor unions. But there is a connection between the two. To speak of factory committees, as a general slogan, when the bulk of the workers are not even organized into unions is to leap over an historical stage, from reality into a vacuum. This does not mean that we do not propose shop committees in industrial unions of advanced workers ready to take this step even now. But we must remember that on the road of the development of a class toward class-consciousness, the labor unions are a gigantic step forward. The bulk of the American workers has yet to take this step; the bulk of the American

proletariat is as yet not unionized, particularly in the decisive basic industries. This means in the language of politics that the slogan of workers' control can only be posed on paper. This means that in reality the slogan of nationalization can acquire only the political content of reformism—"government ownership."

The Isolation of the Vanguard

In this connection—touching the economic and political organization and the advancement of the proletariat—we cannot discount as inconsequential or secondary the condition of the vanguard itself. Comrade Weber proposes to disregard the fact that the vanguard is isolated as yet from the backward masses, and that even the Left wing (including here the reformists) constitutes an insignificant minority. Comrade Weber fails not only to distinguish sharply enough between "the party" and "the class" but also to stress, the essential function of the party. An isolated vanguard cannot instill any slogan with its true political content. It is only the power of organization of the Communists that enables the advance guard to be the leader of the whole class. The unorganized masses themselves can neither leap ahead nor advance, no matter how much sound advice they receive from the sidelines.

True, we are faced with illimitable opportunities and perspectives, but we must guard against befuddling ourselves by seeking for short cuts. Before we can pose the slogan of nationalization plus workers' control, we must root ourselves in the unions; the decisive section of the proletariat must be unionized, and not a small minority as at present. We must first establish factory committees not merely as "shop (grievance) committees" but as an integral part of the elementary mass organizations of the proletariat. When comrade Trotsky proposed the slogan of nationalization for England, he did not overlook the fact that the bulk of the English workers was strongly unionized, that factory committees were a reality and not a wishful-filment.

Workers Unorganized

The workers of America are not only backward, they are still unorganized. This is a fact. The elemental urge toward organization is manifest. But exaggerate the in-

flux into A. F. of L. unions to the utmost—and the fact remains that the great bulk is outside of even the reactionary unions (to say nothing of the unemployed). The workers must be organized, and this stage can be achieved and passed very rapidly, provided we ourselves can take the necessary leap ahead in this direction. Not only must we go into unions already formed and forming but we must initiate unions where none exist. The trade union theses of the 2nd C. I. Congress chart the course that is immediately ahead. In the period immediately before us, our slogan must be INTO THE MASSES!

But won't we lose valuable time thereby? Won't that restrict our work solely to union activities, etc., etc.? Isn't that syndicalism, etc., etc.? Of course not!

In his anxiety to endow the economic struggle with a political content of the widest possible scope, in his fervor to advance the masses politically, comrade Weber overlooks also the fact that under present conditions, every and any strike acquires immediately a political significance, and if it attains a wide enough sweep, it becomes of primary political consequence, preparing the masses for much wider activity.

"The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes a political struggle during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development." Precisely because of this, we can in a comparatively short time achieve advances beyond our most sanguine expectations. Only, we cannot skip over the necessary historical stages.

Transitional Slogans

The initial steps must be taken. Elementary mass organizations are required. And in the economic struggle now unfolding under the NRA, we must participate actively, using our transitional slogans. The right to organize! The right of assembly! The right to strike! The right to picket!, etc.

Only in this manner can the decisive sections of the proletariat be mobilized. And the import of this mobilization must not be overlooked, nor the role that we must play in it. Once the workers have been mobilized, once the base for factory committees have been established, then the slogan of nationalization and workers' control will be on the order of the day.

We agree with comrade Weber

Letters from Fascist Germany

Since March the German proletariat has been cut off from the outside world. It depends on rumors and hearsay. The small cadres that are still active hardly dare today to approach the comrades who are known to them and distribute material. The majority of the comrades of the former parties are hanging in mid-air. The only possibility for coming into contact with them is by word of mouth. One often hears the answer, "Ah, let me go, I don't want to see or hear anything more." If one succeeds in talking to a comrade of the C. P., his first words are usually, "Nobody would have thought that it should come to this." If one asks, "How can we come out of this misery?", the most usual answer is, "Only a war can save us." If we ask further, "Against whom?" we hear, "Against France, against Poland, and finally against Soviet Russia." If we reply to this, "But this is silly—why are we against war, are we hoping for one as soon as possible?" the answer is, mostly, "If no war comes, we do not know how they will let us perish. But after this war must come a revolution." Even a non-party woman said to me a few days ago, "I would sooner see my husband fall in a war, than be tortured to death by the Fascists."

Brown-Shirted Trade Union Methods
The Fascist terrorists weigh even more heavily on the working class. In the shop, the workers are being forced into the Fascist shop

nuclei. In the trade union meetings of the "Workers' Front" the workers are compelled by threats and shoves to end up by standing with raised arms and singing the Horst Wessel song. The right of joint decision in the unions, discussions at the meetings, are things of the past. Nobody has any right to talk any more, everybody can only listen. If anyone dares a single word of criticism he must pay for it in a concentration camp. The only thing missing is for the union members to have to stand at attention while listening to the speeches of the brown-shirt "leaders."

In the People's House at Leipzig a few trade union meetings were held again, among others those of the book-printers and bookbinders. At the book-printers' meeting the brown-shirt "colleague" tried to fake up an impression through his "courage" in the face of the innumerable threatening letters which he was supposed to receive every day. He promised the printers that he would provide work for them. A few of them laughed at him and remarked, "Yes, at relief rates!" They were taken out of the meeting and brought into a concentration camp. At the end, the Horst Wessel song was sung. The majority of those present left the hall demonstratively.

At the bookbinders' meeting the former chairman of the Bookbinders' Federation, Emil Kloth, spoke. This labor skate, who had been chased out by the workers in 1919 and had gone over into the camp of the class enemy, boasted of the special friendship of the "great leader," Herr Kloth said he would assume the task of educating the bookbinders into Nazis. In saying this he admitted that the majority of the workers take a hostile attitude toward the Nazis. He openly threatened more drastic measures against those with whom gentler means failed. In his speech he drove an attack against internationalism. This fallacy, which was an invention of that Karl Marx, was supposed to have brought the working class to its ruin. Only when it was converted to national socialism would it begin to rise again.

The "former Marxist" had the following to say about Marx, "Marx" was not even able to find a means

of livelihood, his wife had to go to work as a servant. Instead of this, he wasted his time writing useless stuff like 'Capital' ". Any comment on this would be superfluous. At the close of his speech Kloth sang hymns of praise to the "Leader." The Horst-Wessel song was then sung. Because of the experience with the book-printers, the doors were guarded by storm troopers in plain clothes and nobody was allowed to leave the hall before the end of the "singing". Whoever did not raise his arm during this, got a shove in the elbow—"Arms up!" And so it was that "everybody" saluted the leader.

FROM BERLIN.

...The possibilities of work become more difficult every day. Fascism is systematically trying to suppress every quiver of revolution. By the use of a terrific expenditure of police force even those possibilities of work are being destroyed which we still thought sure. The Fascists have been learning in the meantime. In addition, the new draconian laws, which in many cases provide the death penalty for illegal political activity, are causing vacillations and uncertainty in the ranks of the remnants of the revolutionary cadres. Comrades, who were formerly very good Communists, today become very soft under certain circumstances. They also have the frightfulness of the death sentence executed on the four Communists in Altona.

Still the work is being carried on. A mimeographed paper is published, and *Unser Wort* is distributed. The paper has considerably strengthened us politically, it enjoys great prestige particularly among S. P. and S. W. P. circles.

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EDITORIAL

The A. F. of L. Convention, the Strike Wave and Trade Union Perspectives

The 53rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convened at a turning point in the life of the labor movement when the resurgent forces of new life, thrust forward by the powerful impulsion of the class struggle, are beginning to push their way through the dry crust and restraining forms of conservative trade unionism.

The new masses who are sweeping into the trade union movement, heralding their arrival by tumultuous struggles, are without any direct representation at the convention. The strike wave, the great, new, vital and determining factor in the labor movement, lacks an authentic spokesman there. But this dread spectre is present all the time and dominates the proceedings. The strike wave is the unofficial delegate which disturbs the dead calm of self-satisfied conservatism so familiar at all A. F. of L. gatherings in recent years. All the important speeches and deliberations were made as if in reply to the thunderous arguments of this new force which is speaking in terms of class battles, of strikes and picket lines.

The forces of resurgent life, represented by the strike wave, which have not yet found formal expression in official representation, did not record their real strength in the convention proceedings. They only recorded their presence in the situation and served notice of a future participation. That alone was sufficient—so ominous is the new power—to make it the axis around which all the proceedings and discussion revolved. The stormy and irrepressible forces of the new labor militancy, clamoring their demands in the nation-wide strike movement, evoked the terrified concern of the labor lieutenants of capital gathered in solemn convention, and of the political spokesmen of capital, including the president of the U. S. and his general, Johnson, who addressed them.

The Real Program of Roosevelt

The real design behind the benevolence of the Roosevelt administration towards union organization was brought out more sharply and clearly at the convention. They want a trade union movement that will be an instrument to restrain the workers, to prevent strikes and to suppress and outlaw the strikes that do occur. Only a few months have gone by since the NRA was hailed as the liberator of the workers, and already the iron fist is coming out of the velvet glove. Roosevelt's threat to put the recalcitrant horses in a corral; General Johnson's blunter declaration, "You cannot tolerate the strike," and his appeal to public opinion "to destroy every subversive influence"; the glorification of Gompers and the reminder of his role in dragging the American workers into the war—in these expressions of the authentic spokesmen of the capitalist exploiters the Roosevelt program was given a plainer and more easily read translation than before.

The appearance of Green in a Washington church pulpit, with his pitiful appeal in biblical language to the "masters" to be good to their "servants", unspeakably contemptible and servile as it was, only served to demonstrate how neatly the A. F. of L. leaders have fitted themselves into the NRA scheme to harness the insurgent movement of the American workers through the official trade union movement. There is no doubt where they stand, nor where the convention which they dominate stands.

The New Factor in the Labor Movement

But the outward manifestations at Washington are by no means an accurate reflection of the situation within the A. F. of L., and still less of the present-day labor movement in its broader aspects. Against the policy and intentions of the capitalist politicians and their labor allies, as revealed at the Washington convention, the new outstanding developments must be considered—the influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers into the unions, the formation within a few months' time of 500 new federal unions, the insistent demand for the industrial union form of organization to meet the needs of the newly organized masses. These factors, counterbalanced to the formal official decisions and pronouncements, require consideration in a rounded view of the actual situation.

They are an essential part of the "proceedings" of the 53rd convention of the A. F. of L. And in addition to that, the thunder of the strike wave outside the door also belongs in the record. An appreciation of the present situation in the trade union movement, and of the A. F. of L. convention as a distorted reflection of it, is possible only if these factors are taken into account and given due weight and importance. In that case the one-sided picture of the Washington gathering, as just another expression of hide-bound conservatism, fades away and we see the actual movement as it is in reality, fermenting with new life and on the verge of great convulsions which will upset all the schemes and plans.

Nothing was firmly settled or decided for the labor movement at the Washington convention. The new elements at work in the trade unions registered themselves and served notice, so to speak, of a further participation later on. The contending forces in the trade union movement, which will clash with increasing fury from this time forward, met in a preliminary skirmish at Washington. From there the conflict will be transferred back to the field of class struggle—to the strikes, the picket lines, the battles with the state forces and armed thugs, and the forthcoming internal struggles within the trade union organizations.

All of this is projected on the basis of a strike wave of such dimensions as has not been seen in recent times and which, in our judgment, is only a curtain raiser of what is to follow. The bosses and their political and trade union agents apparently have the same opinion. They have enunciated their program at the A. F. of L. convention. The labor movement itself, that is, the real movement of the masses, has not yet worked out an estimation of the perspective and a program of its own. This is the big task and need of the present time. Its solution devolves naturally on the class conscious elements.

The strike wave is the first reply that the American workers have made to the frightful conditions and standards imposed upon them during the crisis and which the NRA mechanism is seeking to stabilize and make permanent. The present scope and

insurgent militancy of the strike wave are especially portentous as to what is to follow if the workers fail to get satisfaction of their demands.

Trade Unionism - - After the Collapse of the NRA

And this, in our opinion, is precisely what is going to happen. The attempt of the Roosevelt administration to "plan" industry on a basis of capitalist private ownership is inevitably doomed to a resounding collapse, and that very probably in the near future. With that, and with the failure also to satisfy the expectations of the workers which were aroused by the ballyhoo campaign of the NRA, will come a tremendous disillusionment of the workers and a rapidly increasing tendency, on their part to resort to more aggressive struggles; to rely on their own strength and organization. Trade unionism, which was held out to them in the first stages of the NRA as a device to restrain their independent movement, will become for the workers the medium for its expression on a colossal scale. The workers will turn to trade unionism in real earnest, and they will be bent on making the unions serve as instruments of struggle against the exploiters.

Then, as has already been clearly intimated in the threatening speeches of Roosevelt and Johnson at the Washington convention, the benevolent mask of the Roosevelt administration will be taken off. The unions they encouraged, and even coddled, as long as they thought they could serve as "harness" will meet open opposition from the government. All the forces at its command, from systematic anti-union and anti-strike propaganda to police and military force, will be brought to bear. The unions, insofar as they really fight—and that is the function which the conditions of the times impose upon them—will have to fight for their existence against the government itself.

The capitalist attack against the trade unions as organs of struggle will be carried inside the unions. Green, Lewis & Co. will be called upon to purge the organizations of their militant elements and restore the unions to conservative and respectable docility. The prompt response of these treacherous agents of capital to this demand is assured in advance; their attitude at Washington, in harmony with all their previous conduct, signifies this first of all.

New Struggles within the Unions

The trade unions, swelling into larger proportions by the influx of new members on one side, will witness wholesale expulsions and splits, engendered by the reactionary bureaucracy, on the other. Insurgent workers who insist on striking—the "horses" that "refuse to work in harness"—will meet the condemnation of the labor bureaucracy. Their strikes will be outlawed and denounced as Communist plots. A campaign of red baiting will be inaugurated against revolutionaries and Communists. Where these do not exist they will be invented. Every worker who wants to fight for his rights and wants to make the union fight for them will be branded as a "red". The next developments of the trade union movement will unfold in a seething tide of labor rebellion—"outlaw" strikes, clashes with the authorities, fierce internal struggles in the unions, expulsions and splits.

The fact that already today hundreds of thousands of workers are streaming into the trade unions is in itself a fact of incalculable significance. The workers are on the move. That is what is new, that is what is important in the situation. The trade union is the first and most elementary form of working class organization, for which no substitute has ever been invented. The workers take their first steps on the path of class development through that door. Hundreds of thousands are taking this step already today, a large percentage of them for the first time. Millions of others will follow them tomorrow. No matter how conservative the unions may be, no matter how reactionary their present leadership, and regardless of what the real purposes of the Roosevelt administration were in giving a certain encouragement and impetus to this trade union revival—in spite of all of this, the movement itself represents an elemental force, a power which, properly influenced at the right time by the class conscious vanguard, can break through all the absolute forms and frustrate all the reactionary schemes.

The Task of the Militants

This movement of the masses into the trade unions can be seriously influenced only from within. From this it follows: Get into the unions. Stay there. Work within.

Before any serious development of a revolutionary organization can be expected in America this penetration of the trade unions must begin in earnest. The militants who undertake this task now, after all the discredit brought to the name of Communism by the Stalinists, will labor under a double handicap. The complete and unchallenged supremacy of the reactionaries in the trade union leadership; the weight of the government and of all capitalist propaganda and repressive forces on their side; the popular hostility to Communism and the relationship of forces in general—these circumstances alone will constitute huge obstacles at the beginning. Besides that, the new Left wing movement will have to pay for the sins and failures of the old.

The labor fakers will start new expulsion campaigns against the radicals the movement their influence is felt again in the mass movement. It is folly to think that the task of penetrating the mass trade unions, under the given conditions, and of reconstructing a vigorous Left wing within them can be accomplished with brass bands playing and banners flying. Quiet and persistent work, and loyal cooperation with all progressive-minded workers who want to build fighting unions—this simple prescription stands first in order. The rest will follow.

We give no pledge to refrain from revolutionary activity in the unions or to turn our backs on "outlaw" strikes. We leave such trade union tactics to opportunists and traitors. It is our aim, on the contrary, to be with the masses, especially at the moment of their sharpest collisions with the capitalists, whatever form these collisions may take. In order that this association with the revolting masses can have a fruitful revolutionary influence, it has to begin now by an entrenchment of the militant and class conscious elements in the A. F. of L. unions and the formation of a Left wing within them.

Notes of the Week

SAID THE MAD HATTER

When you hear about the great need of killing 1,000,000 hogs to help the Drive toward Prosperity, you will, no doubt, look up and wonder. A sneaking suspicion will grow within you that there is something cockeyed with a system that requires such waste to keep going.

You look around you. Eleven million hungry men are still pounding the pavements, unemployed. The bright fellows in the government's brain trust keep on thinking up all kinds of plans to keep the grain crop down, to curtail the live stock. They have to. The leaders of this system that we call capitalism tell them we have too much.

That's the big trouble with us. We have too much. That is why eleven million men must starve.

Odd enough, every worker will admit to himself, and keep wondering. But sometimes the mad hatters of capitalism carry their crazy talk and topsy-turvy ideas so far that the worker can't just stop with mere wondering.

The other day, for instance, Mr. Gerard Swope, a big bug among the boss class, the head of General Electric and a member of the NRA board, was caught thinking aloud. He was comparing the NRA with the Russian five year plan. Said Mr. Swope:

"The Soviets started from scratch. They had no industry, no financial structure, no problems of overproduction such as we had to deal with.... Their economic problem is comparatively easy."

The Soviets, under Lenin and Trotsky, took over a country forlorn, neglected and backward, the ruins of an empire misruled by medieval despots. Its industry lay in ruins and devastated, the wreckage of a criminally futile and disastrous war. A hostile capitalist world surrounded Workers' Russia. When that world could not put it down by force of sword, the international boss class tried to cut off Russia's credits, its sources of economic life. It was still another attempt to throttle it. In the cockeyed world of Mr. Swope.... Their economic problem is comparatively simple", but....

"But over here we have an overdeveloped economic and industrial pattern.... That has been a colossal task with which Russia never had to be bothered."

The United States entered the world war a debtor nation. If it came out of it the outstanding creditor nation, the dominant world power. Its industries surpassed in wealth and technical progress those of all other countries. Its rulers became the real dictators in a war-ridden Europe. Its resources—unlimited. A whole world stood ready to do its bidding. It had everything. "That has been a colossal task with which Russia never had to be bothered."

Help! We've got too much, cries this loon. And you've got to do more than just wonder this time. Because there is some reason in his madness this time. Says Mr. Swope—of the Soviets:

"When they need more coal they expand their mines, put more men in them and produce. The same is true of mills and other industrial structures." They do the job.

But over here, in NIRA America, "with all the natural (?) human jealousies that go with it,"

"different groups strive for different advantages, and in many cases with little regard for the general good."

Here you can't do the job. You've got all the tools and all the materials, but you can't do the job. "Different groups strive for different advantages, and in many cases with little regard for the general good."

Mr. Swope knows his capitalist system, the system of profit and greed, of wasteful competition and industrial anarchy.

That is the big difficulty over here. That is what stands in the way of solving the problem in the U. S. A. And Mr. Swope tells you—that's the only thing that stands in the way. In so many words.

—G....

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Two Congresses «Against War»

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

(Continued from last issue)

But the final resolution of the New York convention—is that a pacifist document? Merely to ask such a question is to display a vast gullibility. What do the words of this cooked-up resolution matter? Those who voted for it include not only the Stalinists, but persons whose avowed policy is to "promote peace between religious, classes and races" or "who are opposed to every kind of war"—and similar class collaborationist, reactionary pacifist clap-trap. What possible resolution can be adopted jointly by such elements and genuinely revolutionary elements? Nothing but a document of deceit, of sham, a mere collection of words strung together on a Stalinist string to serve as a noose for the militant proletariat and its fight against imperialist war.

The United Front and War

So you are opposed to the united front? Not at all. In the first place, a genuine united front, and not an indecent burlesque, would start off with an open appeal by the Communist International for a conference with the Second International, the Amsterdam International, the independent organizations, the syndicalists and the International Left Opposition, to discuss a minimum program—and not to set up a special organization. In the second place, a united front with sincerely pacifist elements can never be organized to fight war in general, or even imperialist war as such. The pacifists are totally incapable of even starting such a fight, and the duty of the Communists is to say so plainly. A united front with such groups can be confined to nothing more than concrete questions of the moment, can be

maintained only for a brief time, and cannot, must not, take the form of a united organization. Anything else means a bastardized "anti-war" movement, a cruel misrepresentation, a deliberate fraud, a wax figure that melts as soon as events warm up a little.

Hasn't that already been demonstrated in less than a year? What did the Amsterdam movement do to halt the progress of Fascism in Germany? NOT A THING? What genuine, virile mass movement is it setting in motion now to ward off the insolent attacks upon the Soviet Union by Japanese imperialism? NONE AT ALL! The truth is that it is as bankrupt, as impotent, as misleading as the Stalinist which brought it into being.

The Left Opposition does not conceal for an instant its attitude towards this monstrosity perpetrated upon the militant working class. Our position towards it is not a new one. It is identical with that of the Left wing of the generation ago, which had to combat similar manifestations of opportunism treachery and bureaucracy in the Socialist parties of that time. We can therefore do nothing better here than to quote with approval the views of the Left wing in the Socialist party with regard to the People's Council sixteen years ago, expressed in the official organ of the Left, *The Class Struggle* (Sept.-Oct., 1917). With hardly the change of a phrase, it applies word for word to the problem in hand.

The Left Wing in 1917

"The Socialist party in its support of the People's Council has again made a tactical error of the first importance. Indeed, the tragedy of the situation is seen in the circumstance that our party has

practically lost its identity nationally as a force against the war. At its anti-war activity is virtually centered in the People's Council, an organization that does not accept revolutionary action, and the conversation of which, moreover, is strengthened by the party bureaucrats dominant in its management. The People's Council is being used by the Socialist party officials to make votes for the party. This may succeed, temporarily, but its ultimate effect will be to make recruits for the Gompers-Spargo party of 'practical' social reform.... It is easy to enthusiastically accept the People's Council. The more difficult task, indispensable, is to cleave to fundamentals and express our own independent action in our own revolutionary way as adherents of international socialism."

Let the fate of the Socialist party and its "People's Council" serve as a grisly warning! The August 4th of the Comintern in Germany already indicates the fate to which the Barbusse movement has been doomed from its inception. M. S.

P. S.—The call for the New York conference started out by welcoming "the step taken by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair." Not one of these three dragon slayers was even present at the congress! Sinclair is running for governor of California on the Democratic ticket. Dreiser has endorsed the Roosevelt program. Anderson follows in his footsteps. Shouldn't it begin to be clear now where the "heads" of the "historic congress" have been pulling its "body"—to say nothing of its Stalinist posterior?

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

On Gompers

(Continued from Page 1)

misleaders like Gompers and Mitchell, this Civic Federation was an open class-collaboration agency consecrated to the idea of "the partnership of labor and capital", to the settling of strikes at the expense of the workers and to blocking the road to organization of the unorganized.

Through this organization and together with the kings and barons of finance and industry Gompers waged a bitter struggle against socialism within and without the American Federation of Labor. As president of this organization he was instrumental in betraying the steel strike of 1901 and numerous strikes thereafter. The membership of Gompers in this capitalist organization and his concurrent presidency of the American Federation of Labor is keenly symbolic of his role of the guardian, the watchdog of the interests of the capitalist class in the labor movement.

Against the I. W. W. this evil genius of labor unleashed the virus of his hatred. That the I. W. W. was championing the cause of the oppressed and challenging the strongholds of trusted capital meant nothing for Gompers. They were reds, "against the government" and he was out to destroy the I. W. W. When the U. T. W. officials acted as strikebreakers at Lawrence in 1912 to stamp out the militant battle led by the I. W. W., Gompers condoned the act. The same at Paterson in 1913 by a back-door agreement with the bosses. With remarkable indifference Gompers ignored the bloody massacre of the striking coal miners in Ludlow Colorado by the Rockefeller interests. Similarly with the St. Bartholomew's night in the copper strike in Calumet, Michigan.

Against Industrial Unionism... Gompers detested the I. W. W. as much for their industrial form of organization, which cut across the lines of craft and encompassed the mass of unskilled, as for their burning creed of class struggle. The consistent policy of Gompers was to divide the organized workers into innumerable segments, to rip the labor movement asunder with wasteful jurisdiction disputes. To this every day the American Federation of Labor is torn by fruitless jurisdictional bickerings—the seed sown by Gompers is still sprouting its rotten fruits.

"Non-Partisan" Politics

In politics as in the trade unions, Gompers earned the statue erected to him in Washington. Here he chained labor to the political chariot of the capitalist class—the Republican and Democratic Gold-Dust twins of Big business. By the slogan of "Reward your friends" Gompers made labor the grovelling lick-spittle of the political representatives of the bosses. He shielded away from a party for the workers like leprosy, only to maintain a corps of toadying lobbyists who crawled on all fours for favors

from the standpat parties of the master class.

A Recruiting Sergeant For Capitalist War

It was quite appropriate that Gompers should be the recruiting sergeant for the American Imperialist plunderbund holding the American workers in line for the slaughter for profits they were prosecuting in Europe. The capitalists made certain there would be no trouble from the workers when they entered the war by immediately enlisting the only-too-willing services of Gompers. He secured a declaration from the A. F. of L. pledging its support of the government in the war in the event of United States' participation. Gompers was a member of the Council of National Defense created in 1916, and was influential in priming American public opinion to war consciousness.

Prior to and even after the outbreak of the war to make the world safe for bigger and better profits there was a large pacifist sentiment in this country and in the labor organizations. This would never do for Gompers who put his whole heart into the patriotic campaign into driving the workers into the Morgans' carnage. He was the father of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy which enlisted the social-patriots like Spargo and Russell and spread war propaganda from one end of the country to the other.

If the war was to be a success (there must be a docile, unrebelling, hard working proletariat in the home country and Gompers was the man for that.) A member of the War Labor Board he watched hawklike that there be no strikes during the war; and if such broke loose in spite of him, Gompers had a machine to hamstring the workers struggle for whom exploitation grew more intense in times of war. And for this service Roosevelt is not stingy in his plaudits when he says that "it was his (Gompers) patriotic leadership for the unanimous mobilization of the workers in every part of the union which supplemented the mobilization of the men who went to the front". A monument to Gompers in Washington—little crosses on the battlefields of France for the workers who fought for Wall Street's gold.

In His Dotage—Fighting the "Reds"

For Gompers the war did not end with the declaration of the armistice in November 1918—not the class war, to be sure; he had long ceased to recognize that. Under the cry that the war was still on, Gompers and Lewis, frightened white by the invocation of the Lever Act declaring the coal strike outlaw, drove 425,000 coal miners back to the pits. Gompers did everything in his power to sabotage the great steel strike of 1919 and he finally succeeded in putting the rebellious steel workers "in the corral".

Samuel Gompers spent his dotage in a fitting manner—fighting reds. Here he was the fury of old age incarnated. Part and parcel of the post-war red hysteria, Gompers did his "bit" to preserve "American institutions" from the Bolsheviks. He hounded the Communists and expelled the Left wingers from the A. F. of L.

The American workers will remember this labor lieutenant of the capitalist class with an oath of hate on their lips. After the proletariat of this country crosses the pinnacle of power it will write this inscription under the monument in Washington:

"Samuel Gompers—the Evil Genius of the American Labor Movement."

—GEORGE CLARKE.

Cuban Gov't

(Continued from Page 1)

But this victory and the failure of the workers to raise their struggle to the plane of the contest for state power placed the Left wing of the petty bourgeoisie in power. There, of course, they cannot long remain. Below, the workers refuse to be satisfied with programmatic promises which supplement pledges to the imperialist wolves that their loans and property will be respected. The workers are taking over mills and mines as guarantees of their demands for higher pay and better conditions, setting up workers' committees to run them and here and there they are setting up Soviets and organizing a Red Guard. All this constitutes a potential threat to the whole capitalist-imperialist system in Cuba.

This threat has driven the petty bourgeoisie to the right, toward the American "mediators". This is covered up by the protest that the workers are provoking armed intervention. The anti-imperialist of the petty bourgeoisie is not the revolutionary, international anti-capitalist program of the workers; it is the futile, nationalist, hodge-podge of the desperate middle class without a social program and without the resource and ability to guide the destinies of modern society.

In the first period following its assumption of governmental power the petty bourgeoisie made concessions to the workers. The arbitration of strikes which they instituted granted the workers' demands. At this stage of the revolution the petty bourgeoisie saw in the workers allies against the imperialists, levers with which to force concessions for themselves.

But when the workers refused any longer to follow the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie and conducted independent struggles in their own interests the petty bourgeoisie became terrified at the rising spectre of the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, the swift development of the workers' struggles and their increasingly revolutionary character frightened the bourgeoisie who, dissatisfied with the "liberalism" of the government, made and are making attempts at armed insurrection to overthrow the government of the petty bourgeoisie after which they hope to put down the workers. In this they are encouraged by American imperialism.

The fear of the bourgeoisie and the imperialist, on the one hand, and the fear of the workers on the other, and the vacillations between these giants reflect the contradictory position of the Cuban petty bourgeoisie. Today, as was inevitable from the beginning, it is swinging to the right against the workers. That is the meaning of the shooting of the Communist demonstrators in Havana and in the interior. That is the meaning, of the sacking of the Left trade union center. That is the meaning of the organization of the Caribbean Army and the illegalization, in practice, of the Communist Party.

It remains to be seen whether the workers will not drive off the armed students who are moving against the seized mills and mines; and whether the workers, confronting the soldiers cannot win them over. What they need most for that is a correct program and leadership. The influence of Communism is growing. But the failure of the workers to put forward political demands signifies that the Communist Party, hattered by Stalinism, is not measuring up to the great tasks that the situation has thrust upon it. —T. STAMM.

== Banquet ==

To Celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the American Opposition and the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution on Saturday, Nov. 4th, 1933, 8 P. M. At STUYVESANT CASINO 9th Street and Second Avenue ADMISSION . . . 50c Auspices: Local N. Y. Communist League of America (Opposition) 126 East 16th Street