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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Strike Wave Hits Canada Struggles Show Labor Revival

Toronto.—

During the past several months there has been developing in Canada a strike movement of portentous moment. Parallel to the movement in the United States although much smaller in size, the strike wave in Canada is sweeping across the country, gathering momentum with each victory and giving the urge to increasingly greater struggles of the masses.

Theoretically, the situation here is of very broad significance, especially in the contrast it presents to the American situation. The question of the immediate source of the strike wave is somewhat simplified because of the absence of an N. R. A. to incite; that this immediate source is the cyclical upturn can be concretely illustrated by reference to the specific instances composing the movement—for example, the strike of the workers of Hallman and Sable took place at a time when the firm was doing its heaviest business in four years; the upholsterers struck under the condition of a similar industrial pick-up; and the strike of the furniture workers also occurred at a time when new orders were bringing the workers back to their jobs.

Radical Term of Movement

Because of the absence of an N. R. A., however, the movement here has taken a more radical direction. In Canada, even more than in the United States, the great masses of the workers are still unorganized and therefore more bitterly oppressed by the crisis. The growth of the depression gave rise to a process of gradual liquidation of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie; and now that the industrial revival is returning the workers to the factories they are finding themselves integrated into larger and more organized economic units—which in itself would produce an urge to unionize.

Rise of the Strike Wave

It is of interest to trace the progressive development of the movement over the course of the past few months. Beginning with June there have been the following strikes:

Strike of 1000 mine workers of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia—in the face of a lockout when they refused to accept a pay-cut.

Strike of 2000 lumbermen of the Thunder Bay region for an increase of thirteen cents per cord.

Strike of 350 fur-workers in Toronto—which won for them a 20% increase and reduction in hours.

Strike of 100 canning factory workers in St. Catharines—against wages of 10 and 15c per hour. Successful.

Strike of 700 workers of the Mercury Mills in Hamilton. Concessions won.

Strike of 1400 miners in Est Courlee, Alta. Successful.

Strike of 250 upholsterers in Toronto under the leadership of the W. U. L. Large wage increases won.

Joint strike of 700 furniture workers in five factories, and 80 workers of the Swift Co. in the town of Stratford. This can truly be called the crest of the strike wave, from the point of view of its militancy, the proportions it has taken on, and its potential after-effects. This Christian-Canadian town of 17,000 people has been witnessing events of really International-Bolshevik portent.

Mass Movement in Stratford

The strike of the furniture workers was called on Sept. 14. The strike of the Swift workers took place in an entirely spontaneous manner on the Monday following. It was quickly taken in hand by the W. U. L. and almost instantly the two strikes became knitted into a solid mass movement. Returned soldiers served as buglers to summons the men from one factory to another whenever help was needed. The whole town is behind the strike—employed and unemployed, returned men and militia men. When it was suggested in the city council that the militia be called upon to maintain order, it was discovered that the entire militia was out on the line with the strikers. In desperation the mayor appealed to the government who promptly sent him 120 troops and four tanks from other towns. This action raised a storm of protest throughout the country. The A. F. of L. locals in Stratford formed a united front with the W. U. L. on this issue. Tremendous demonstrations were staged at one of which 8,000 people—more than half the town—turned out. In normal times strikes occur in a sporadic manner and have value almost entirely as individual economic struggles. The present strike wave, on the other hand, is a definitely organic process, a

growing movement of the masses; and as such it assumes a constantly more definite political character. In Canada its political character has been brought brazenly into the open by the intervention of the military in Stratford. Much depends on the outcome of the Stratford situation. A victory here would spur the vacillating furniture workers throughout the province forward, it would set the spark to the Canadian railway workers who have been on the verge of strike for several months now... and these strikes in turn would give an impetus to other struggles.

—I. LEVINE.

Order Bellusi to Be Deported

Philadelphia.—Antonio Bellusi, a militant Italian worker, has been ordered deported to Fascist Italy. The deportation proceedings against him, which have been pending for some time, resulted in this decision. Comrade Bellusi was arrested in Wilkes Barre on the charge of distributing the Militant. He has been in Gloucester immigration station for several months. We want all workers sympathetic to Communism to write to comrade Bellusi there.

Comrade Bellusi has been active in the labor movement in Italy and America since 1918. In that year he joined the Italian Socialist Party. Later he joined the Communist Party of Italy founded by Bordiga. If we do not stop this deportation comrade Bellusi will be delivered over to Mussolini's fascist murderers.

So far we have had very little assistance from the I. L. D. in Philadelphia. The I. L. D. Committee Against Deportation failed to hold a meeting week after week. Three mass meetings which had been arranged were postponed. Something will have to be done to organize the support of the workers for comrade Bellusi.

—L. R.

OPEN FORUM

THE NRA AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

Speaker:

JACK WEBER

Friday, October 27th, 1933

8 P. M.

at International Workers School
126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Hitler's "Bombshell" at Geneva German Fascism Bids for Arms Independence

Nazi Maneuvering for Free Hand in Military Adventure. Prepare for Drive against the Soviet Union; Seek French Aid.

Last Saturday Hitlerite Germany bolted the League of Nations and the Geneva Disarmament Conference in a precipitant action which the press universally describes as a bombshell. Insofar as the Hitlerist maneuver contributes to a more complete and accelerated decomposition of the farce of capitalist "internationalism," the bombshell has no doubt hit its mark.

After the departure of Japan last year, the German "Austro-Prussian" as the Nazi diplomats express it—leaves little more of the League of Nations than its bare name. The sudden and startling move of the Reich followed repeated and increasingly difficult attempts, of the former allies on the one hand, to hold the lines of the status quo achieved by their robbers' treaty of Versailles; and of National Socialist Germany, on the other hand, to achieve "arms equality" and a free hand in war preparations. The desperate internal and external, economic situation of post-war Germany brought into its leadership a clique of political adventurers prepared for any gamble. It was only to be expected that the latter would, the moment they felt themselves to any degree masters of their own house, initiate drastic action on the foreign front.

The Adventurism of Despair

The men whom the agonizing Reich bourgeoisie brought into power are destined to extend their adventurism of despair beyond the national borders. Under the camouflage of a "pacifist" and "disarmament" propaganda which has characterized the inter-European diplomatic maneuvers ever since the World War, Hitler attempted to get universal approval for his plan to reestablish Prussian militarism within the framework of the League of Nations. Facing, as he had always expected to face, an immovable aversion on part of the former allied powers to give up any of gains they achieved over Germany by the Versailles pact, he has from the first sought to bring about a showdown by an open break which would clearly be to advantage to him.

He merely seized the opportunity offered by the British-French stubbornness at Geneva last week. The pacifist Hitler throws the onus for the failure to disarm right into the face of the British and the French, and their dilatory tactics. Winning sympathy thereby for his "sincere desire for peace and disarmament" from all sorts of neutral nations,

he makes the "just" demand: on that basis to be allowed an equal opportunity to arm up to the standards of the rest.

Fascism Seeks Military Independence

Fascist Germany is out to get a free hand in girding itself for its next, external attack. The unkind eye cast by the United States upon the British-French hegemony on the continent, its "disinterested" and "neutral" stand; the aloof position of Mussolini, growing out of Italy's special interests—undoubtedly aids Hitler's strategy. France and England are faced with a fait accompli in the German move for military independence. The hope for allied control over German armaments—arising less from fear of an immediate war, than from a view to more distant advantages—has been badly shaken by the Nazi "bombshell."

The Reich government, on its part, has made clear that in striking out for armaments independence it in no way gives up the idea of cooperation with the governments of France, Great Britain, et al. On the contrary. In his radio speech explaining Germany's action, Chancellor Hitler goes out of his way to point out that this latest step is not at all intended as an affront to the above two nations. He goes further than that. The Nationalist Hitler makes a direct gesture, to the French, to bury the hatchet with the Erbfeind (the "hereditary enemy" who takes up such an important place in the Nazi ideology of the Nazis).

"It would be a tremendous event," said Hitler, "if the two peoples could once and for all ban force from their common life.... After the return of Saar to the Reich, only a madman could believe in the possibility of war between the two states."

A French-German Alliance?

Inclination to accept this overture was not lacking among French ruling circles, immediately after it was made. After all, the independent stand of Germany was an accomplished fact. The question arose of how to deal with the new reality. French-German cooperation, on a new, separate basis, was a possibility in any case. The sentiment in this direction grew with the publication of the fascist Chancellor's speech in full. A striking passage therein reads:

"When, however, the French premier asks why the German youth is marching and falling in line, I reply, it is not to demonstrate against France, but

to evince that political determination that was necessary for throwing down Communism and that will be necessary to hold it down."

In the same speech, the Nazi leader alludes further to the aims of Germany's newly gained independence of action:

"It is not immaterial whether on the Rhine or on the North Sea the outposts of the spiritually revolutionary and expansive Asiatic world empire stood watch.... when the National Socialist movement snatched Germany back from the brink of this threatening catastrophe; it not only saved the German people, but also rendered a historical service to the rest of Europe."

Hitler's "Eastern Orientation"

On the basis of extending this "historical service," by a transition from the defensive to the offensive (for which full armament freedom is needed), the French ruling class sees more than an even chance for a German rapprochement. It demands that Hitler explain himself more fully. But it already knows clearly his motive. He has made his "Eastern orientation"—the Drang Nach Osten—more than sufficiently clear.

What has been hot and the brush burned like oil. At quitting time the 3400 men were told not to go home but remain to put out the fire. The more rebellious spirits, who refused, were threatened with withdrawal of work orders, and with clubs.

Who work these unemployed? Aged and youthful, laborer and white-collar worker—all poorly fed, poorly shod and poorly clothed. They had just finished a fatiguing day's work underneath the hot California sun. They were totally ignorant of fire fighting.

Down the steep canyon walls the men rushed, impatient to put the fire out, anxious to get home. But the flames flared, the men attempted to climb the canyon only to fall into the flames like scorched flies. "Paupers" (unemployed) are not eligible for State Workmen's Compensation. Barring an undetermined but trivial sum of county insurance the families of these men are to be complete objects of the most miserly charity.

The blood spots of murder of the unemployed will not come off the hands of the capitalist class. The working class has indicted them. Into the collective consciousness of the masses the guilt of capitalism has been branded.

(Continued on Page 4)

Trial Exposes Nazis' Guilt Frame-up Victims Face Death

Every day raises in bolder relief before the entire world what a gruesome farce is taking place in Leipzig. Even the wretched travesty upon justice conducted by the Nazi savages has heralded to the world that the scorch of guilt is singed on the brow not of the accused, the brave Communists in the dock, but ineradicably on the Hitlerite accusers.

The evidence that appears before the "court", the evidence that has leaked into the trial, the testimony of any of those that have been able

to tear away the gag, sends shivers of fear down the spines of the indictors. A more patent frame-up has not been known in this crooked capitalist world. The spectre of the denunciation of the whole world sits in the trial like Banquo's ghost. It has driven the Fascist persecutors frantic.

The contradictory evidence of the Nazi dupe, Van Der Lubbe, threw the first monkey-wrench into the well-oiled plan to place the heads of the Communists on the hangman's block. The solemn verdict of the International Commission of Jurists that sat in London confounded the executioners. The thundering indictment of Torgler and Dimitroff, tortured and manacled for months by the Nazi beast, has announced to the wide world that the diabolic scheme of intimidation could not silence the voice of the revolutionaries. And now the "Brown Book of Hitler Terror" looms ominously before the drum head court martial. For the time being the German Fascists have been diverted from the attempt to place the onus of guilt for the Reichstag fire on the Communist victims. They are busily preoccupied with exonerating Goering and his accomplices, who are the real incendiaries.

The curtain has been lifted. Nothing the Hitlerites may do will blind the world as to who is the real perpetrator of the heinous deed. The secret passage from the Reichstag to Goering's offices, the deliberate absence of the Berlin are department until after the fire had done its intended damage, is blazing proof that the spark was ignited by the brown hordes to provide the excuses for the proscription of the German Communist Party.

Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanef stand in the shadow of the fascist guillotine! The bourgeois gentleman of motley "liberal" shadings have agreed to their innocence. But that is not enough to stay the hand of the fascist butcher. Only the mighty power of the international proletariat can shatter the plans of the Hitler, Goering and Co., to fragments. This protest has not been heard.

The working class must not be silent. In its protest it must show the capitalists that international solidarity is not dead. Let this cry resound throughout the four corners of the globe; let it be thundered forth in huge demonstrations and strikes: "Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanef must be freed!"

CHICAGO MEETING ARNE SWABECK

on
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

at
International Labor Lyceum
2557 W. North Ave.
Sunday, October 22—3 P. M.

The Organizing Campaign of the New York Food Workers

The Hotel workers of New York City and vicinity are responding to the organization call of the Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. The response is so enthusiastic that it surpasses the most optimistic expectations of those workers who devoted themselves to the great task of building the union again to its former strength. This splendid response is not at all accidental but on the contrary has a justification in the fact that this union has shown the workers in the past that it can defend its interests in an effective way.

Twenty-one years ago, in 1912, the Hotel Men's Association through their chiefs and head-waiters exercised a virtual terror over the workers in order to exploit them more effectively. Conditions became so intolerable that the workers determined to end them organizing themselves into a union. The A. F. of L. union, with its craft divisions did not inspire the Hotel and Restaurant Workers. Therefore, they preferred to organize themselves into an industrial union, accepting in its ranks every worker of the shop. The 1912 strike is still remembered by many old-timers in the industry as the first militant attempt of the workers to enforce humane conditions of work. Although this strike failed to organize the workers, still it succeeded in bringing home the determination of the Hotel and Restaurant workers to put an end to the humiliating conditions.

The Strike of 1918

In 1918, another attempt at organizing the Hotel workers was undertaken by this union, this time of a far wider scope. More than

18,000 workers participated in this strike. The main hotels of the city of New York could not open their dining rooms, because not only the waiters were on strike but the bus boys and the cooks with their assistants and dishwashers. The Hotel Men's association refused very stubbornly to recognize the union although they were forced to grant almost all its demands, that is, higher wages, the establishment of eight hours work day off and sanitary conditions (lockers, washing-rooms, and the rest). They employed negroes as strike-breakers and this fact alone must teach us how necessary it is to recognize the negro as workers with equal rights in our ranks. Already many negro workers are coming to the headquarters inquiring about our drive. The bosses also organized a central employment office with a black list carrying the names of the militant Hotel workers.

Because our union did not succeed in forcing the Hotel Men's Association to recognize it and thus to secure the closed shop, the union lost many of its members, retaining a few who were devoted and willing to keep the organization alive. The next effective struggle took place in 1924 when the Union had as closed shops the entire Proctors Corporation, that is, the main Broadway cabarets. But when these cabarets were closed the union was reduced to four closed shops comprising in all not more than six hundred workers.

The 1929 Strike and Split

In 1929 this same union undertook the organization of the Cafeteria workers and succeeded splendidly in mobilizing more than three thousand workers in a militant

strike that won the admiration of every unionist. This success, instead of serving as a basis for further struggles, led to the weakening of the union. This was not on account of any blows from the bosses but from the very people who were bragging about revolutionary devotion and the rest. The Stalinists split the union in order to build a sectarian organization under their exclusive control.

It must be said openly that this organization, the Food Workers' Industrial Union, did the worst service to the Hotel workers of our city. While accepting participation last August in a united front, its leaders, in a mass meeting for union agitation, attempted to confuse the workers by distributing cards, bearing the address of their own organization. Their spokesman, Gromber, evaded the question of fusion of the two unions and spoke the worn-out phrases of trade unionism. Comrade Gitlow, speaking as the representative

== 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

of the Hotel and Restaurant workers branch of the A. F. W., pointed out that now, more than ever, the workers must undertake seriously the establishment of one union in the industry. These remarks of comrade Gitlow were received enthusiastically by the workers present. The Stalinists could not accept such a proposal because their high priest Browder told them plainly in the columns of the Daily Worker that "many trade union functionaries of the Party while working in other unions must at the same time try to build the 'Revolutionary unions'." In other words, go out and smash the other unions. Such is the policy of the elements who destroy whatever they are unable to rule.

The following meeting took place under the auspices of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union because the Stalinists violated the united front by not only withdrawing themselves from it but also by evading the fusion of the two unions into one.

They resorted to such debasing and degrading methods as for instance the carrying of huge signs around the streets that were leading to the Palm Garden where the mass meeting took place informing the workers that the mass meeting would take place the next day. In spite of this sabotage the hall was packed and was addressed by comrades Cannon, Gitlow and Field and others. The union has succeeded in organizing more than 2,000 workers in more than 35 hotels, some of which rank as the biggest in New York City.

Bosses Prepare to Fight Union
The bosses, in anticipation of the pending militant fight of our union, already are putting into motion,

the mobilization of all the Fraternal Societies of cooks and waiters. The outstanding organization of this nature is the Geneva. Rumors are widely circulating that already its leaders have received a fat portion of the sum that the Hotel Men's Association have raised in order to combat the efforts of the workers to organize into a powerful union.

In other words, the bosses are already preparing certain scabbing machinery to defeat our efforts. It is necessary to follow carefully those steps of the bosses. One of our elementary duties is to approach the members of the Geneva and the like and convince them to join our Union and, at the same time, to expose the scabbing character of their leaders who, as is plainly known to all, are nothing but agents of the bosses. The Geneva especially always aims to serve one purpose, namely, the interests of the Headwaiters and Captains. Only our Union is in a position to serve effectively the interests of the Hotel and Restaurant workers. The 54 hours a week and the apprentice system, which are discussed quite extensively in another article in this issue, would have been inserted in the code if our Union as well as the other unions did not undertake their organizational drives. Very soon the hearing will be held in Washington, D. C. and the stronger we are the easier it will be for us to enforce our demands in the code.

The Fight for Union Recognition

As could be expected this rapid growth of the Union created quite a great problem to be handled by a few workers. The form of its constitution fortunately, is an ideal one. But as the form of the A.

F. of L. Unions is subordinated many times to the substance of the movement, so the industrial form of our union is not always a guarantee of its automatic application. Therefore the workers themselves, who join our Industrial Union, must be educated to understand our union thoroughly and must be encouraged to participate in its leading committees and especially in its organization committee. Then and only then will we be able to fulfill our great task of organizing the Hotel and Restaurant industry so thoroughly as to insure the recognition of the union by the mighty Hotel Men's Association. Otherwise, even if the bosses will be forced to recognize the demands of the workers they will do so only temporarily, under the pressure of the drive. In order to assure permanent gains, and not permit the bosses to throw overboard all these concessions it is necessary to force this recognition of the union and the closed shop.

Let all of us redouble our efforts and bring into the union more fellow workers in order to force our bosses to recognize our union. Thus we can put a stop to the miserable wages and long hours. We can also end the humiliation that we, the Hotel and Restaurant workers, are forced to undergo, not only from the guests of the hotels, but also from the militaristic commands of our head-waiters and chefs. We must always bear in mind that besides the kitchen and the dining-room departments we can also organize the other workers of the hotels who are equally exploited by our bosses, that is, chamber-maids, laundry-workers, elevator operators and the rest.

—ARIST. CALDIS.

Trotsky Writes To the British «New Leader»

October 2, 1933

Editors "New Leader"
Dear Comrades:

In the *Daily Worker* of September 14th I found the letter of comrade S. A. Smith who defends the I. L. P. from the accusation that its delegates have participated in Paris in the building of a Two and one Half International. I have no basis whatsoever to interfere in the essence of this polemic. I must point out, however, that from the letter of comrade Smith the conclusion might be drawn that in Paris there was actually laid the foundation for a Two and One Half International, although without the participation of the I. L. P. I consider it necessary to dispel any misunderstandings. That readers of the "New Leader" might have on this score.

It is true, that certain organizations which occupy an intermediary position between the Second and the Third International, such as the Norwegian Workers Party, the French P. U. P., the Italian Maximalists and others, have participated in the Paris conference. But precisely all these organizations expressed themselves against the new International. For the creation of the new International, not a Two and One Half, but a Fourth International, were the following organizations: The International Left Opposition, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany and two Holland Socialist parties, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist party.

I urge the readers of the *New Leader*, as however, also the readers of the *Daily Worker* to acquaint themselves with the Declaration of the named organizations "On the Necessity and Principles of a new International". Here I shall quote only one paragraph (No. 8) out of eleven.

"While ready to co-operate with all the organizations, groups and fractions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxism policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism, or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions, or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the new International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the questions of insurrection, proletarian dictatorship, Soviet form of the State, etc.

In conclusion I allow myself to say that the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) is much further removed from centrism (No. 2-12) than the present Barbussovian Comintern.

With revolutionary greetings,
L. TROTSKY.

Left Wing in Teachers Union

The continued attacks on their living and teaching conditions and the attacks now pending are awakening the rank and file of the Teachers Union of New York City to the need of action to protect their interests. Their alarm and their desire to resist is making itself felt on the conservative union administration. Under this pressure the administration is moving toward the left. It now demands unemployment insurance for unemployed teachers and speaks of holding mass meetings of the teachers and is engaged in organizing them, whereas formerly it preached the gospel of reliance on the state legislature and condemned the Left wing for insisting on mass actions of the teachers themselves.

It goes without saying that we have no faith in the administration. It sold out the teachers in the fight against salary cuts a year ago. And if it gets the chance it will do it again. But what is important for the teachers in this new "turn" of the union administration is that it has been forced to move in the correct direction. By this "turn" it opens up possibilities that may well sweep beyond the limits which it sets for the fight.

Left Wing's Opportunity

An alert and correctly oriented Left wing can play a decisive part in this movement. This is the opportunity for which it has been working and preparing. In this period and in the period to come its influence and strength should grow.

But this new perspective finds the Left wing unable to realize the opportunities that are presented to it. The Left wing is divided into two groups that are as hostile to each other as they are to the union administration. The Progressive Group which carries out a Lovestone trade union policy thunders against the administration in its literature and speeches but supports it against the rank and file, the other Left wing group. Their orientation was reform of the administration. They condemned in principle any independent activity on the part of the Left wing. They branded as dual unionist any such attempt. That they themselves organized some of the unemployed teachers outside the union and did not until a few

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

C. L. A. Activities in New York

REORGANIZATION.—The New York branch having grown beyond the size within which effective functioning is possible, the membership decided to reorganize on the basis of borough units. Working branches are now operating in the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn, enjoying the full autonomy of branches in any other part of the country, each with its own executive committees, while having the work centralized and guided by a City Executive Committee. Enthusiasm is running high and each of the branches is working out plans for concentration on its own territory.

All three branches now have their own headquarters. In this way, there will not only be a center in each of these boroughs for forums, branch meetings, the smaller mass meetings, classes, but also a gathering place for all friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

New York's headquarters remain as before at 126 East 16th Street and are open all day long. The headquarters of the Bronx branch have just been opened at 535 East 146th Street. George Saul is the branch organizer. The headquarters of the Brooklyn branch are 154 Watkins Avenue corner of Belmont, with Joseph Carter as local organizer. All three branches meet on Tuesday at 8 o'clock in the evening.

OUR MEETINGS.—The first two mass meetings in the series organized "For a New Communist International! For a New Communist Party in America!" proved to be highly successful. The Manhattan meeting at Irving Plaza had the hall full to midnight, listening to the speeches of comrades Cannon and Shachtman and participating actively in the question and discussion period. In the Bronx, some 200 workers turned out to attend the Hollywood Garden meetings.

Plans are being made by all the branches now to follow up the initial meetings with others dealing with the same subject.

SCHOOL AND FORUM.—The full term of the International Workers School began in Manhattan last Monday, October 15th, with two of the courses: The State and Revolution given by Jack Weber, and Fundamentals of Marxism given by John G. Wright. Both of these courses are given from 8 to 10 P. M. Monday evenings. Two other courses are given at the same hour on Wednesday: Organization Principles by Martin Abern and Applied Economics by B. J. Field. The admission to each session is twenty cents, and the fee for an entire course, ranging from ten to twelve sessions, is \$1.50. Registrations are still being accepted at the headquarters of the school, 126 East 16th Street, all day long and in the evenings up to 10 P. M. Complete outlines for the courses are to be made available to registrants at ten cents a copy, and twenty-five cents to others, not students, who are interested in

them.

The forum season is also getting under way. Each of our three branches plans to have its own local forum in its own quarters. Manhattan has already begun, and its forums will take place every Friday evening at 8 P. M. sharp. Last Friday, October 13, Joseph Carter spoke on the significance of the revolution in Cuba. The week following, on October 20, Max Shachtman will speak on the municipal elections in New York and put forward the standpoint of the Left Opposition, discussing at the same time the problem of what tactical revolutionary workers should vote for in the coming elections. Bronx and Brooklyn forum meetings will be announced in the coming issues of the *Militant*. All workers are invited to attend and participate in the question and discussion period from the floor.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS.—All efforts are now being concentrated in the New York organization to make every member an active militant in the trade union movement. As the work is being systematized more and more. It is being seen that hitherto un-unionized members join the union of their craft or industry. Several of our comrades are now very active in the organization campaign being conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. Others are leading the movement to organize the Greek-speaking painters, of whom there are upwards of 2,000 in New York City, into a local of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of the A. F. of L. One of our comrades is the most active militant among the novelty mirror workers who are now seeking to establish a local of the American Federation of Labor following their strike. The Stalinists, in this field, are engaged in their customary work of disruption and are flitting with the idea of a "red union" for these workers. Another one of our comrades has just returned from an organization drive among the clothing workers of Haverstraw, New Jersey, conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which took the form of a militant strike lasting several weeks. Our younger comrades have been active in the recently concluded strike of the Doll and Toy workers union. Others have been in the front line of the strike of the New York upholsterers. There, by the way, as a result of the work carried on by us, the Stalinists have pounced down upon one of their own militants in the Upholsterers Workers Industrial union, comrade Arthur Brandmark, who has now joined the Opposition.

To continue the work of clarification of trade union policy, the City Committee has called a joint membership meeting of all three branches to be held Sunday, October 22nd, at the New York headquarters, for a discussion of our trade union line, to be led by comrade J. P. Cannon. The meeting is to start at 1 P. M. sharp. All comrades are required to attend and participate.

THE BANQUET.—Attention is called to all friends and sympathizers of the Opposition to hold open the date of Saturday, November 4, so as to attend the banquet of the Left Opposition arranged by the New York local. The banquet will take place on that day, 8 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue, with music, entertainment, a dinner and brief speeches. Admission: 50 cents. Further announcements in coming issues.

—CITY COMMITTEE.

Successful Meet in Brownsville

The third meeting in the series organized throughout the boroughs of New York on the New Communist International and the New Communist Party in America, was successfully held in Brownsville at the Premier Palace last week, with a sounder trouncing of Stalinism and the Stalinists than either they or we had calculated on. More than one hundred and fifty workers were assembled, listening attentively to the presentation of our point of view by Max Shachtman when an organized group of Young Communist League and Communist Party members gathered outside the hall and were finally admitted. After the remarks of the two Opposition speakers—comrade James Cannon having followed Shachtman—the floor was thrown open for questions and discussion.

The first speaker in the discussion, was the representative of the Section committee of the official party, a Stalinist named John Morris, who was granted 10 minutes in which to present his apology for the criminal course of his leadership. Despite the courteous extension of his time by chairman Carter, Morris tried to speak for more than half an hour, standing on the presumptuousness and insolence of hooliganism. In order to bring the meeting to an end then and there and prevent further discussion or summary, Morris impudently announced that he would take up a collection for the *Daily Worker* on the spot. Together with his supporters, he succeeded in throwing the meeting into momentary turmoil, until he was gently heaved off the platform and his milling companions escorted back to their chairs. The pitiful attempt at thuggism and intimidation did not, of course, make any serious headway and during his denunciation of the Stalinist tactics in the summary, com. Shachtman

was vigorously applauded by the workers present.

Comrades throughout the country should take note of this incident, which marks the recurrence of the Stalinist policy of breaking up meetings and seeking to disrupt the Opposition gatherings with the only means at their disposal: violence, rudeness, hooliganism. Such a reactionary course can be met with only one reply and the Opposition everywhere has been prepared and will continue to be prepared to make that reply. We have not the slightest intention of allowing our meetings to be dispersed by the flying squadrons of Stalinist workers misled by the bureaucrats who comfortably occupy their office chairs during these frays. Oppositionists, defend your meetings and beat down all hooliganism in the labor movement!

700 Hear Swaback in Toronto

Toronto Canada.—A huge meeting was held for comrade Arne Swaback was held in this city. 700 workers turned out to hear his analysis of the international situation and the tasks of the Communists. The size of this meeting is so much more gratifying in view of the counter meeting held the same evening by the Stalinists and several trade union meetings in progress the same evening. A fuller report of this meeting will be given in a subsequent issue of the *Militant*.

Phila. School Starts Classes

The Philadelphia Section of the International Workers School opens its Fall term, Tuesday, October 17th, at 524 Thompson St.

The classes will be held on Tuesday and Friday of each week on the following schedule:

SUBJECT INSTRUCTOR
A. B. C. of Marxism—
7:30 to 9 P. M.—T. Holmes
Labor in American
History—9 to 10:30
P. M.A. J. Carey
Friday
Communist Manifesto—
7:30 to 9 P. M.—S. Hardy
History of the Left
Opposition—9 to
10:30 P. M.—B. Morgenstern

The duration of the term will be ten weeks. In the elementary class registration must be made within a period of three weeks at a fee of 25c.

In advanced classes registration can be made at any time on payment of 50c, single classes 10c. These classes mark the beginning of intensive educational activities in Philadelphia by the Left Opposition.

Our Open Forum, under the auspices of the International Workers School, will hold its first meeting, Sunday, October 22 8 P. M.

SUBJECT: LABOR AND THE N. R. A.
Speaker: B. Morgenstern
Your attendance at these classes and cooperation in the Open Forum, and other important work of the Left Opposition is sincerely desired.

Swaback Lecture in Rochester

Rochester, N. Y.—The following is a report of comrade Swaback's lecture here in Rochester. The meeting was orderly and nobody interrupted Swaback. The audience was composed of about 20 members of the Stalinist party, 20 of the proletariat and about 10 of our sympathizers. About 25 others were there.

After Swaback had spoken, Sam Essman, one of the Stalinist leaders here, arose, and commenced to speak. He admitted that the Stalinists made many mistakes but that nobody was perfect. He said that they welcomed criticism within the party and that the Trotskyists were trying to demoralize the party. He forgot that Trotsky was in the party when he criticized and we know what happened to him. The party welcomes criticism of other but not of its policies. When someone criticizes its policies they expel him, and then they don't have to listen to his criticism because he is not within the party any more. Very intelligent tactics! I'll say! When Essman finished his spiel, instead of giving Swaback a chance to answer him, he gathered his lambs around him and adjourned to their meeting room where, I suppose, he gave them an explanation of Swaback's criticism. Their party alone left the room. The remainder of the meeting was orderly with questions being asked and answered within the room.

—A COMRADE.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

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

Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.
Sun., Oct. 22nd....Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 26th....Stanton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30th....Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis
Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.

PARIS CONFERENCE

Ed. Note: For the information of our readers who wish to follow all the important international developments step by step, we are reprinting here, with the general resolution which was adopted by a majority vote at the Paris conference of Left socialists and independent Communist organizations. As stated in the resolution, of the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition (*Militant*, Oct. 7th) our delegation did not accept this resolution. It is reprinted here however as a document of information.

RESOLUTION OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE

The International Struggle of the Working Class

1. Since the publication of the public manifesto at the beginning of February of this year by the seven independent revolutionary socialist parties, events have developed with a terrifying force.

2. The world crisis has shaken the capitalist system of production to the point of chaos and ruin and has forced capitalism to apply the most extreme measures in order to maintain the position of the ruling classes.

3. World unemployment increases from day to day and the attacks on the standard of life and on the political rights of the working classes grows in brutality everywhere.

4. The danger of war has reached the critical point and the militarist and nationalist passions are developing from one and of the world to the other.

5. At the same time Fascism, the terroristic force of capitalism in agony, with the single aim of destroying the workers organizations and plunging the workers into wage slavery and under tyranny will march rapidly with the aid of violence and armed forces.

6. The Hitlerite regime has completely destroyed the workers' organizations. Never before has the world known such a disaster, one which has struck down the German organizations which were engaged in safeguarding the interests and the rights of the workers.

7. The victory of Fascism in Germany has shown the entire world the bankruptcy of the social democracy and the Communist Party. The Social Democracy was the strongest pillar of the Second International. Its policy in the capitalist state, its collaboration with the parties of the middle classes, its participation in governmental coalition, its toleration of reactionary governments (policy of the "lesser evil"), has led it to abandon the defense of the inter-

nationalist unity of this class on a revolutionary socialist basis. The first step should be made by convening a world congress and re-accepting the organizations which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the realization of socialism. This world congress should have as its principle task the studying of a general expose of the principles and policies for effective revolution action which will be prepared and submitted to the parties by the independent socialist parties. These parties will take the initiative for the meeting of the congress at a date which will be determined later and they will make an appeal for this congress to all workers organizations.

12. The independent socialist parties will be convinced that this appeal will be listened to by millions of workers whose admirable courage and perseverance has not been shaken by the policy of bankruptcy which has led from one catastrophe to another.

As our comrades and friends all over the country in the sub drive the list of subs is shooting up. Look at the list:

Branch	Youngstown	14
V. R. Dunne	Minneapolis	5
M. Abern	Bronx	4
C. Hedlund	Minneapolis	4
S. Hardy	Philadelphia	4
J. Fruitman	Toronto	3
C. Shechet	Boston	3
L. Goodman	Philadelphia	2
Eckelberger	New Castle, Pa.	2

The following comrades got one apiece: H. Ross, Manhattan; M. Kent, Brooklyn; R. Schapp, Brooklyn; A. A. Buehler, Kansas City; J. Carter, Brooklyn; H. Capelis, Manhattan; O. Coover, Minneapolis; M. Gottlieb, Minneapolis.

Add them up; that makes 49 new subs since the opening of the drive. And there are still a little less than four weeks to go. We expect the drive to gather still greater momentum as it goes along.

THREE FACTS.

Three facts stand out from the above list: The branch is showing the field a clean pair of heels. Number two: Notice the number of comrades and cities that are figuring in the list. That is one of the brightest things about the drive. And three: Minneapolis and the New York units are dotting the list which means that if you take it from the point of view of collective, organized activity, they are doing a fine job bolstering up the list.

QUOTAS.

A number of cities have set quotas for themselves in the drive. New York has undertaken to raise a hundred dollars in subs divided as follows: Manhattan—fifty; Bronx and Brooklyn—twenty-five each. Berkeley has set a goal of twenty-five subs. So has Philadelphia. How about Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and the other cities not yet heard from?

ON THE "HISTORY".

We forgot to say in our previous announcements that wherever there is a tie on November 15 when the drive closes the prize for that place will be given to both the tying contestants. This makes it an even greater inducement. The prizes are: for first place—the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; for second place—two volumes; for third place—one volume. That is a prize worth shooting for.

FROM THE WEST COAST:

"The Paterson strike issue of the *Militant* is a dandy, and if I'm any judge it should win for us many new friends. The new character of the *Militant* will appeal more to the workers."

ests of the proletariat and consequently to ruin the German workers' movement as is to be seen during the Hitlerite era. The policy of the social democracy was essentially that of the Second International. Even after the complete failure of this policy, neither the Second International nor any of the parties which comprise it have drawn the lesson of the terrible events in Germany.

8. On the other hand, the German Communist Party has existed for fourteen years. It had the great moral support which was given to it by the presence of the Soviet Union; it obtained the vast material assistance for its propaganda and it worked in favorable conditions created by a world crisis of unprecedented proportions. By its mistakes, it also demonstrated its complete bankruptcy.

9. The Third International cannot escape its heavy responsibilities for the bankruptcy of the German Communist Party whose pseudo-revolutionary policy was ordered by this Third International and the latter has completely assumed the responsibility for the mistakes by rejecting its own ideology. This degeneration of the Third International, dominated by the Russian Communist Party, and the results of the absence of a revolutionary movement in other countries through the formula of socialism in one country, the bureaucracy of the Third International has betrayed the interests of the world revolution. It introduced the struggle of the Russian Party into the parties of the other countries. It has strangled internal democracy. It has persecuted the critical spirits as heretics.

10. We have appealed for unity of action. This appeal has received no effective response from the two Internationals.

11. Considering the bankruptcy of the policies and the organization of the second and third Internationals, the socialist workers of the world are more than ever faced with the enormous task and the necessary task of regenerating the international movement of the working class and retrieving the international unity of this class on a revolutionary socialist basis.

The first step should be made by convening a world congress and re-accepting the organizations which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the realization of socialism. This world congress should have as its principle task the studying of a general expose of the principles and policies for effective revolution action which will be prepared and submitted to the parties by the independent socialist parties. These parties will take the initiative for the meeting of the congress at a date which will be determined later and they will make an appeal for this congress to all workers organizations.

12. The independent socialist parties will be convinced that this appeal will be listened to by millions of workers whose admirable courage and perseverance has not been shaken by the policy of bankruptcy which has led from one catastrophe to another.

as cheap as possible. About three-fourths of the school children in the agricultural districts are kept out of school for the beets for a month to six weeks each fall.

"The beet labor is done by either native Americans, German-Russians, Mexicans, Japanese, or Italians, each of which are prejudiced against the other nationalities."

"Most of these people are housed in miserable shacks or granaries in the summer time; and move to towns in the winter time where they live from a very small sum doled out by the county, the State Relief, or some other form of so-called charity. Each month each district or county advertises the list of people who have received county aid, also to what amount. They do not get enough to feed, clothe, house, and keep warm their home and are often driven to stealing or writing checks without funds or, in some cases, to boot-legging."

"The landlords, businessmen, government employees, and teachers say that they are undesirable foreigners, or if they happen to be native Americans, they are poor managers, or they say they are undesirable because they inherit criminal tendencies like drinking and stealing; or they are half-wits, ignorant, lazy, or degenerates."

"Practically every beet farm is owned by a landlord and farmed by a tenant, who hires people to do the labor. In some cases the farms are owned by farmers who have government loans that would take them 33 years to pay for them."

When one keeps in mind that the first important strike of sugar beet workers in this country took place only a year ago last summer in Colorado there is justification for the conclusion that this section of the working class too, pushed on by the conditions here described, will transform their present restlessness into that of organized struggle to improve their conditions as agricultural workers.

The problem of organizing the agricultural workers and educating them to think in working class terms and act in solidarity with their fellow workers everywhere is now posed before us. "They are not organized," writes my brother, "and do not feel as a class, but feel that they are unfortunate individuals." That is to say, they feel the need for organization.

—GEORGE J. SAUL.

Where are the Stalinists Today?

The Stalinists boast that they are the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. But are they? Let us see.

Today the workers in the United States are in motion as they have not been since the crisis set in. The six hundred thousand miners are stirring with unrest. Thousands have struck for recognition of their union. Thousands are still striking for recognition of the U. M. W. A. This is the largest group of workers in a single industry in the United States. This is a basic industry. The miners are a decisive section of the proletariat. In traditions of struggle, in organization, in fighting quality they belong to the most advanced section of the American working class. How much influence have the Stalinists who once led the Left wing insurgent miners got among them today? Almost none. How many of the recent and present struggles have they led or influenced? Very few; certainly not the larger struggles.

In New York City almost a hundred thousand workers have struck for better wages and conditions. Thousands more are threatening to go on strike for essentially the same demands. Where were the Stalinists? How many of these struggles did they lead? Almost none. How many of these workers are following them? Very few.

Where are the "revolutionary" trade unions of the TUUL? Viewed organizationally and in the columns of the *Daily Worker* they lead a certain existence. They hold conferences and pass resolutions. But they have no influence on the struggles of the workers who are streaming into the A. F. of L. They are shells. And they cannot be revived. It is hopeless to think that the future course of the workers' struggles will lead through these paper shells.

The capitalist press admits there are close to a million unemployed in New York City and says there is no prospect of improvement this winter. Relief has been curtailed. Where are the Stalinists? What are the unemployed councils doing? Nothing. They have no real existence. There is no movement of the unemployed in New York City. And the Stalinists are out of the picture.

The Stalinists are bankrupt. If the Stalin party can be said to exist at all it is only as a bureaucratic apparatus with a diminishing number of workers. Politically the Stalin party is dead. As events and the class struggle are drawing a balance under the policies of the Stalinists and the Left Opposition, the Stalinists who began as a party are retrogressing to an ineffectual opportunist propaganda group while the Left Opposition which began as a Marxian propaganda group is moving toward the creation of a new and genuine Communist party on the unshakable foundations of Marxism and Leninism.

Exploitation of Farm Laborers

The economy of the United States has undergone such deep-going change in the last decade and a half that what was formerly an avenue of escape from wage slavery for the industrial and agricultural proletariat (home-steading or tenant farming) has become a closed alley or an irreparably broken ladder.

As wage workers, though inarticulate and practically isolated from political or any kind of class guidance, America's agricultural proletariat is in desperation and restlessness. They are moving about or planning to move, knowing the far-reaching influences of the present economic system.

Just today I received the following request from my brother Robert, a beet worker in the state of Colorado:

"Try and let us know if you think that there will be any chance of getting a job in New York this winter, as there will be nothing going on here. I am quite sure that I shall not stay here after beet harvest; and maybe Richard will go with me too, but he talks about going to Idaho or Oregon. I imagine that the economic system is about as cruel toward the proletariat class most any other place as it is here, but there is not much industry in this part of the country: the beets are about the only industry here, while Oregon and Washington have beets, fruit, lumbering, hop-raising, ship work, and stock raising. Another great handicap here is that you have no chance to learn much of anything and there is no entertainment afforded which amounts to anything. Life is very monotonous and lonesome here."

In the same letter we are given the experiences back of this conclusion, this state of mind. For blocking, thinning, hoeing, and topping the sugar beets the agricultural workers have received \$11.50 per acre this year. "Food, clothing, and rent are about the same as when they paid \$30.00 per acre; some things are higher and some cheaper."

Children under sixteen years of age are worked in almost all of the beet fields. "There is supposed to be a child labor law here, but it is not enforced because the Sugar Co. wants their labor done

It Is Impossible to Remain in the Same International with Stalin, Manuilsky, Losovsky and Company -- (A Conversation)

A.—It is time to break with the caricature of an international which is in Moscow. It is impossible to bear even a shadow of political responsibility for the Stalinists. We have been very prudent and very patient with regard to the Comintern; but there is a limit to everything; now that, before the eyes of the entire world, Wells on the one hand, Stalin on the other, have placed Hitler in the saddle, now that the Comintern despite the catastrophe has proclaimed its policy inflexible—no man of judgment will any longer hope that this clique can be "reformed".

The Comintern "As A Whole"

B.—The clique certainly not, but the Comintern taken as a whole?

A.—One must not be deceived by general phrases. The "Comintern as a whole" is an abstraction, not to say, an empty expression. The control is in the hands of the Stalinist clique. For six years now there has been no Congress. Who has trampled the statutes underfoot? The clique. By what right? By the right of usurpation. Not one section, not one local organization, not one paper has dared to breathe a word about the necessity of an International Congress. This means that in fact, the fate of the "Comintern as a whole" lies in the hands of an irresponsible clique.

B.—That is incontestable, but isn't that just how the matter stood a year ago, when we had not yet withdrawn the slogan of the reform of the Comintern?

A.—No. That is not how the matter stood. A year ago one could still hope to save the situation in Germany. We did everything in our power to throw light on the logic of the situation. If the Comintern were a responsible organization, its leadership could not have failed to hear the voice of events. It is absolutely impossible to expect a more powerful voice. And if the Comintern remained deaf this time, it means that it is a corpse. In still another respect a decisive change has taken place. Last year the German Communist party still existed. In the whirlpool of great events, it still had to reckon with the working masses. One was able to hope with a certain right—up to the hour of the verification—that the development of the struggle of the masses would not only make Thaelmann's Central Committee turn about, but also the Praesidium of Stalin-Manuilsky. That did not take place. Of the German Communist Party nothing has remained but an apparatus which grows weaker every day and becomes increasingly alienated from the masses. The point has been reached where the Central Committee prohibits the illegal local organizations from publishing their own articles and appeals; the duty of the local committees is but to reprint the revelations of the Manuilsky and the Heckerts. Every movement of thought represents a mortal danger for these people. The victory of Hitler is not really a "defeat" for them; it has freed them from all control from below—but not that the strongest party of the Comintern has left the stage there is decidedly no means, no channel and no lever, left by which to act upon the clique that rules the Comintern.

The German Party

B.—Can the German Communist Party be spoken of as the strongest party of the Comintern? You seem to forget the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

A.—No, I have not forgotten. Even if one recognizes that the C. P. S. U. is a party (in reality, within the administrative cadres of the C. P. S. U., which change according to the will of the clique, several parties are conducting a covert struggle against each other), this party is, in any case, not an active section of the Comintern. The Soviet workers have no idea of what is happening to the proletarian movement in the west; nothing is communicated to them, or still worse they are ignobly deceived. Within the Political Bureau itself, with its present composition, there is not a single person who knows the life and the tendencies of the workers movement in the capitalist countries.

The slogan of the "reform" of the Comintern was, for us, never a hollow phrase. We counted on reform as on a reality. Developments followed the worst road. That is precisely why we are compelled to declare that the policy of reform is exhausted to the very end.

B.—Is it then possible for us to leave the centrist bureaucracy the banner of the Comintern?

A.—One should not be misled by ambiguous formula. What is understood by a banner? A program? But it is long, since we have rejected the program adopted by the VI Congress, a program of a mixture of opportunism and adventurism. In the course of several years, basing ourselves on the lessons of events, we counted upon changing the program of the Comintern by internal means. Now this possibility has disappeared at the same time as the possibility of "reform". To the miserable eclectic program of the Comintern, we must oppose our Marxian program.

The First Four Congresses

B.—And the first four congresses of the Comintern?

A.—Naturally, we do not abandon them. All the more so as the Stalinists have long since renounced them and given them over to us. Our program we will build up on the foundations established by the

first four congresses; it is an irreproachable Marxian foundation, it is our foundation. The lessons of the recent years—only the Left Opposition has translated them into the language of Marxism. Our International Pre-Conference has drawn the balance of these lessons in its eleven points. There is, however, a gap in this balance. The Pre-Conference met on the eve of the decisive examination to which history submitted the Comintern. The complete and conclusive collapse of the Comintern is not recorded in the decisions of the Pre-Conference. It must be done by the Conference. As far as everything else goes, the decisions of the Pre-Conference retain all their force. The principal documents of the first four congresses plus the "eleven points" of the Left Opposition—these are the fundamental elements of the true program of the Communist International.

B.—The opponents will, in spite of everything, say that we are renouncing the banner of Lenin.

A.—The opponents have been shouting that for some time, and all the more loudly, the more they tremble in the mud the heritage of Bolshevism. As for us, we shall say to the workers of the entire world that we are taking upon ourselves the defense of the banner of Marx and of Lenin, the continuation and the development of their work in the intransigent struggle not only against the reformist traitors—that goes without saying—but also against the centrist falsifications of Bolshevism. The usurpers of the banner of Lenin, organizers of the defeats and the capitulations, the corrupters of the proletarian vanguard, the Stalinists.

The C. P. S. U.

B.—Then what is to be done about the C. P. S. U.? What is to be done about the U. S. S. R.? The opponents, will they not say that we consider as lost the achievements of the workers' state and that we are preparing the armed insurrection against the Soviet Government?

A.—Certainly they will say it. They have been saying it for some time now. What else can they say to justify their ignoble persecutions of the Bolshevik-Leninists? But we are guided not by the calumny of the opponents, but by the actual course of the class struggle. The October Revolution, with the Bolshevik party at its head, created the workers' state. Now the Bolshevik party no longer exists. But the fundamental social content of the October revolution is still alive. The bureaucratic dictatorship, in spite of the technical successes acquired under its reign (against itself), enormously facilitates the possibility of the capitalist restoration. But luckily, the point of a restoration has not yet been reached. With favorable internal, and above all international, conditions, the edifice of the workers' state can be regenerated on the foundations of the Soviet state, without a new revolution. For a long time we have reckoned that we would succeed in reforming the C. P. S. U. itself, and through it as intermediary, in regenerating the Soviet regime. But the present official party now bears much less of a resemblance to a party than two or even one year ago. The party congress has not taken place for more than three years and nobody talks about it. The Stalinist clique is now whitewashing down and reconstructing its "party", as if it were a disciplinary battalion. The aim of the purging and of the expulsions was first of all to disorganize the party, to deprive it of the possibility of thinking and of acting; now the repressions have as their aim to prevent the reorganization of the party. Yet the proletarian party is indispensable if the Soviet state is not to perish. There are many elements for it, but it is only in the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy that they can be brought to the surface and united.

To speak now of the reform of the C. P. S. U. would mean to look backward and not forward, to assuage one's own mind with empty formulae. In the U. S. S. R. it is necessary to build a Bolshevik party again.

The Road of Civil War

B.—But isn't that the road of civil war?

A.—The Stalinist bureaucracy conducted the struggle against the Left Opposition even in the period when we were quite sincerely and with conviction for the reform of the C. P. S. U. The arrests, the deportations, the fusillades—what are these if not the civil war, at least in embryo? In the struggle against the Left Opposition, the Stalinist bureaucracy was an instrument of the counter revolutionary forces and by that fact, it isolated itself from the masses. Now the civil war is placed on the order of the day along another line, between the counter revolution going over to the offensive, and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the defensive. In the struggle with the counter revolution the Bolshevik-Leninists will obviously be the left flank of the Soviet front. The fighting bloc in coalition with the Stalinists will flow here from the whole situation. It should not, however, be thought that in this struggle the Stalinist bureaucracy will be unanimous. At the decisive moment, it will break up into fragments and its component elements will meet again in the two opposing camps.

B.—So the civil war is inevitable?

A.—Right at the present moment it is taking place. By maintaining the present course, it can only become more acute. With the further impotence of the Comintern, with the paralysis of the international proletarian vanguard and under the conditions of the inevitable growth of world fascism the victory of the counter-revolution in the U. S. S. R. would be inevitable. Naturally, the Bolshevik-Leninists will continue their work in the U. S. S. R. regardless of the conditions. But the saving of the workers' state can be effected only by the intermediary of the world revolutionary movement. In all of human history, the objective conditions for the regeneration and its rise have never been

so favorable as now. What is lacking is the revolutionary party. The Stalinist clique can rule only by destroying the party, in the U. S. S. R. as in the rest of the world. One can rear himself away from this vicious circle only by breaking with the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is necessary to build a party on a fresh spot, under a clean banner.

Pressure on the Bureaucracy

B.—And how will the revolutionary parties of the capitalist world be able to act upon the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R.?

A.—The whole question lies in the genuine strength. We have seen how the Stalinist bureaucracy crawled before the Kuo Min Tang, before the British trade unions. We have seen how it is crawling now, even before petty bourgeois pacifists. Strong revolutionary parties, truly capable of fighting against imperialism, and consequently of defending the U. S. S. R. will compel the Stalinist bureaucracy to reckon with them. Much more important is the fact that these organizations will acquire an enormous authority in the eyes of the Soviet workers and will thus finally create favorable conditions for the rebirth of a genuine Bolshevik party. It is only on this road that the reform of the Soviet state is possible without a new proletarian revolution.

B.—So then: we abandon the slogan of the reform of the C. P. S. U. and we build up the new party as the instrument for the reform of the Soviet Union.

A.—Perfectly correct.

B.—Is this tremendous task commensurate with our forces?

A.—The question is put erroneously. First of all, it is necessary to formulate clearly and courageously the historical task and then to assemble the forces for its resolution. Certainly we are still weak today, but that does not at all signify that history will grant us a delay. One of the psychological sources of opportunism is the fear of great tasks, that is, the lack of

faith in revolutionary possibilities. However, great tasks do not fall from the sky; they emerge from the course of the class struggle. It is in these same conditions that we must seek the forces for the resolution of the great tasks.

Danger of Adventurism

B.—But doesn't the overestimation of one's own forces often lead to adventurism?

A.—That is absolutely correct. It would be pure adventurism if we were to "proclaim" that our present organization is the Communist International or if, under this name, we were to unite ourselves mechanically with the various other opposition organizations. The new International cannot be "proclaimed"; it still has to be built. But one can, and one should, from today onward, proclaim the necessity to create a new International.

Ferdinand Lasalle, who was no stranger to opportunism, nor to adventurism, nevertheless expressed the fundamental requirements of revolutionary politics: "Every great action begins by the assertion of what is." Before replying practically to the questions: How is a new International to be built, what methods are to be applied, what delays are to be fixed—it is necessary to assert openly what is: **The Comintern is dead for the revolution.**

B.—On this point, in your opinion, there can be no longer be any doubts?

A.—Not a shadow. The whole course of the struggle against National Socialism, the conclusion of this struggle and the lessons of this conclusion—equally indicate not only the complete revolutionary absence of the Comintern but also its organic incapacity to learn, to mend its ways, that is, "to reform" itself. The German lesson would not be so crushing and so unimpeachable, if it were not the crowning piece of ten years of the history of centrist blundering, of pernicious errors, of ever more frightful defeats, of increasingly fruitless sacrifices and losses, and, in connection with that—of a complete theoretical devastation against adverse criticism.

With the arrival in Shanghai of an anti-war delegation from Europe, headed by a real, live lord, Stalinism carries a stage further its opportunist and criminally false policy of substituting nondescript junketings for real revolutionary work in the international sphere, with the repudiation of revolutionary internationalism in practice which follows from the doctrine of socialism in a single country.

A large crowd of workers and students, commanded thereto by the Communist Party, gathered at the wharf with bands and banners to greet Stalin's newest friends. The tragic consequences for China's workers that flowed from Stalin's earlier friendships, first with Chiang Kai-Shek and then with his "reliable ally", Wang Ching-Wei, would seem to have left not a trace in local Communist consciousness. Thus it was possible for a Lord Marley to be welcomed by workers and students at Communist command. The fatal errors committed by the Stalinists in China, and still persisted in, are carried into all spheres. Lord Marley, only recently minister in one of the most ruthless and rapacious imperialist governments, is greeted by Chinese workers because the Stalinists are parading him, like many others of the same ilk, as a genuine opponent of imperialist war. Thus further confusion is heaped upon the already confused and disoriented Communist Party of China. Fresh Stalinist crimes against the working class are in preparation.

Ignore Shanghai Workers

Quite characteristically, the delegation completely ignored the waiting demonstrators, who cheered and shouted slogans, the while defending their banners from police at U. S. A. (John Dos Passos), Canada and Australia. The world contempts to seize them. Lord Marley addressed the press instead. He said that the congress to be held at Shanghai was organized by the world congress against war held at Amsterdam last year and that further delegates were expected from the press had affiliated with it "more than 30,000 organizations," representing millions of people! (We know what Stalinist "thousands" and "millions" really amount to.)

The labor lord went on to express the hope that the conference would be able to establish a permanent bureau in the Far East. "With the help of the people, we may be able to accomplish something. We depend upon the support of all intelligent people both here and abroad." And then the redoubtable war resisters were whisked off in automobiles to comfortable hotels as befitted their exalted stations, leaving the demonstrators to march down the street without their "heroes".

Detachment from the masses, the lofty disdain of the intellectual for the "common herd" (the support of all "intelligent" people is what is wanted), the pious hope that they may be able to accomplish something—here is the true measure of this latest Stalinist outfit.

(Continued in the next issue)

Muenzenberg's Symbol

Wherever the conditions of bourgeois democracy open up a certain space, the Stalinists, thanks to the apparatus and the cash box, simulate a political activity. Muenzenberg has now become a symbolical figure of the Comintern. But who is Muenzenberg? He is an Oustic* on the "proletarian" arena. Empty slogans, which engage one to nothing, a little bit of Bolshevism, a little bit of liberalism, a stock exchange of journalists, literary drawing rooms where friendship for the U. S. S. R. has its price, a theatrical hostility towards the reformists, changing easily into a friendship for them (Barbusse), and what is important, a well-adorned cash box, independent of the working masses—that is what Muenzenberg is. Living politically on the alms of the bourgeois democracy, the Stalinists still demand of it the crowning point—that is strike down the Bolshevik-Leninists. Can one sink lower?... Yet, let the bourgeois seriously lift the fascist, or the simple police, fist, and Stalinism draws its tail between its legs and retires docilely into the void. The Comintern in agony can give nothing to the world proletariat, absolutely nothing, save evil.

The Comintern a Brake on the Revolutionary Movement

B.—That the Comintern, as the central apparatus, has become a brake on the revolutionary movement, it is impossible not to acknowledge, just as it must be agreed that a reform of the apparatus, independent of the masses, is absolutely unrealizable. But what about the national sections? Are all of them in the same stage of degeneration and decadence?

A.—After the German catastrophe, we have seen, in Austria as well as in Bulgaria, how the Stalinist parties were liquidated without resistance on the part of the masses. If the situation is more favorable in some countries than in others, the difference, despite everything is not very great. But let us even admit that one section of the Comintern or another is conquered by the Left Opposition; the morning after this fact, if not on the eve, it will be expelled from the Comintern and it will have to seek for itself a new international (something of that sort happened in Chile). Cases of that sort took place also during the appearance of the Third International: thus, the French Socialist Party, transformed itself officially into the Communist Party. But that did not change the general direction of our policy with regard to the Second International.

B.—Don't you think that thousands of "Stalinists" sympathetic to us will move away from us in fright when they learn that we are breaking finally with the Comintern?

The Axis of the New Crystallization

A.—It is possible. It is even absolutely likely. But it is with all the greater decision that they will join with us at the following stage. It must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that in every country there are thousands of revolutionaries who have abandoned the official party, or who were expelled from it, and who did not join us in large measure because, in their eyes, we were only a faction of that same party with which they were disgusted. An even greater number of workers are right now separating from reformism and seeking a revolutionary leadership. Finally, in this situation of putrefaction of the Social Democracy and the collapse of Stalinism, a young generation of workers is rising for whom a stainless banner is needed. The Bolshevik-Leninists can and should form all these numerous elements. Then all that is of a living nature in the Stalinist "International" will shake off its last doubts and will join us.

B.—Are you not afraid that the new orientation will encounter an opposition within our own ranks?

A.—In the first stage, it is absolutely inevitable. In many countries, the Left Opposition is linked up by all its work, more than anything else, if not exclusively, to the official party. It has penetrated very little into the trade unions and had hardly interested itself at all in what is happening in the ranks of Social Democracy. It is a high time an end were put to narrow propagandaism! The turn should be preceded by a broad and serious discussion. It is necessary that each member of our organization reflect to the very bottom of the problem. The events will help: every day will bring irrefutable arguments on the necessity of the new international. I do not doubt that the turn, realized together and with decision, will open up before us a broad historical perspective.

July 20, 1933. —G. G.

* Oustic: Notorious French financier, industrialist, shady stock speculator, trust magnate, intimate of politicians in all camps swindler. Finally brought to trial and condemned—Trans.

Who are the sponsors of the projected anti-war congress in Shanghai? The same people who

brought to birth the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Communist-Kuo Min Tang alliance, the League Against Imperialism, the World Congress Against Imperialist War held last year at Amsterdam and, more recently, the Anti-Fascist Congress at Paris—the centrist managers of the Communist International, headed by Stalin. That the tracks lead un-

mistakably to Moscow is sufficiently indicated by the presence among the delegates of Vaillant-Couturier, editor of *L'Humanite*, who certainly would not be here without Stalinist approval. To be sure, he is not here as a representative of the Communist International or even of the French Communist Party (he would doubtless vigorously repudiate any such charge), but as a representa-

tive of the ubiquitous Henri Barbusse—that good novelist made a poor politician by the Moscow epigones.

However, we are already acquainted with this old Stalinist trick. By refraining from having any direct, official representation the mandarin of the Communist International insures itself in ad-

vice the widest degree of inner party democracy. The various groups composing the New Party must be given the freedom to present their views to the party membership. There must be freedom of discussion and the most thorough consideration by the Party as a whole of the problems before the movement.

3. The system of discipline can under no circumstances parallel or be similar to that of the official Communist Party today. The right of the bureaucracy from on top appointing all the functionaries must be abandoned. The election of officials from the lowest to the highest must be instituted. Leadership must come as a result of worth, ability and approval of the membership. Discipline must be built up on the basis of establishing the authority of the leading organs of the Party. Bureaucratic mechanical discipline, characteristic of the official Communist Party can not be continued in the New Party.

4. The building of new Communist Parties in the various capitalist countries, based upon the conditions of the respective countries and the needs of the masses assures the building up of a genuine international Communist organization.

5. The New Party can under no circumstances support the present Communist International system of organization. It must oppose the right of an international organization to dominate policies and determine the leadership of its sections as destructive of the best interests of building up an international Communist movement.

6. The New Party must recognize the Soviet Union as a workers State and give it its wholehearted support, however not giving up the right to criticize the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

This article is written in order to arouse discussion of this important question before the Communist movement. All Communists, sympathizers and revolutionary workers are welcomed to freely discuss this question of a New Communist Party in the columns of the *Voice of Labor*.

1. The new Communist Party cannot be organized on the basis of the acceptance of the program of any one of the Communist Opposition Groups. It must include all the Communist Opposition forces plus the left forces in the Socialist and Labor movement who are ready to accept the fundamental principles of Communists and categorically reject dual unionism, the theory of the united front from below and the theory of social fascism.

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EDITORIAL

The Boycott of Fascist Germany

The resolution of the A. F. of L. convention for the boycott of German goods, following a similar action by the British Trade Union Congress, undoubtedly raises the issue of the boycott to a higher importance and, at the same time, increases the weight of reformist influence in the international agitation against Hitlerism. A positive position on the question of the boycott, which is now brought into such prominence, is obviously required of all the various tendencies in the labor movement.

What is especially necessary is preciseness as to the aims of the boycott, its terms and its limitations. Otherwise the slogan lends itself to vague generalities, finding no one to anything in particular. That is where the agitation on the question stands now, and that is why the opportunists of all countries are having such a happy time with the slogan. The revolutionary wing of the labor movement ought to call for a showdown on the issue of boycotting Hitler's Germany.

As a demonstrative action on an international scale, designed to show working class solidarity with the hard-pressed German workers and stern protest against their fascist torturers, a well-organized international boycott—suspending transport and communication for a definite time—could serve a useful purpose. Such an action, concentrating the force of international labor in a single paralyzing blow, could be a means of lifting up the spirits of the German workers and helping them to their feet again. The German workers, disunited and demoralized by the bankruptcy of all their organizations, and overcome with a sense of isolation and despair, need desperately now the concrete and visible proofs of international class solidarity.

A boycott, a real boycott, such as it is within the power of the international labor movement to enforce for a limited time, could serve as such a demonstration. Therein would lie its principal value. And, in addition, such an action would revive and strengthen the international labor movement by the revelation of power inherent in it.

Of course the A. F. of L. resolution was never intended by its sponsors to lead in such a direction. It is a face-saving gesture, calculated to put them "on record" without committing them to any obligations. The real measure of the Washington decision can be seen in the fact that Furuseth, head of the Seamen's union, voted against the boycott resolution. This passed without comment, as a matter of course. They intend no action against German fascism. They do not mean it seriously. The mere exhortation to refrain from the purchase of German goods—the passive, voluntary abstentionism of unorganized individuals—is not a real weapon of the struggle against fascism. Such a program has many negative aspects. And it is a harmful substitute for an organized action of the working class.

What is needed is an international, organized mass action which brings all its force to bear on one point at one time. The revolutionary elements in the labor movement ought to pick up the slogan of the boycott and drive the agitation in this direction. The A. F. of L. resolution, which gives the issue an official sanction, can be utilized as a springboard for the agitation in the unions. An international strike against the handling or transport of German goods and communication, as an anti-fascist demonstration for a definitely limited short time, should be the aim. The united front of workers' organizations is required. In such an action, which would blow the breath of life into the boycott, against Hitlerism, the railroad and transport unions would necessarily play a major role. Without their participation the agitation for a boycott is nothing but sound and fury.

Making Fun of International Communism

ONCE again proletarian internationalism, the spectre which haunted exploiters since the manifesto of '48, has become an object of their scornful derision. In 1914 the rulers of Europe, plunging into the desperate hazard of the war, breathed with relief when the Socialist parties, one after another, renounced their international obligations and forgot the oft-repeated pledges of international solidarity. Then they began to laugh. The bourgeois press of the world made fun of the contrast between socialist words and deeds. Now they are regaling themselves again. This time the object of their ridicule is the conduct of the Soviet Government and the Comintern regarding the Fascist assassination of the German labor movement.

It is a common thing nowadays for bourgeois correspondents, pointing to the abandonment of the prostrate working class of Germany, to interpret the Stalin policy of socialism in one country as a renunciation of international revolution. The New York Tribune and the New York Times, both authoritative journals of big capital, discoursed on this theme within the same week. The Times (October 12) jibed at the failure of Moscow, which "had proclaimed solidarity with the Communists all over the world", to "concern itself with the annihilation of the Communist Party of Germany."

The shameful record of the Soviet bureaucrats, who are also the leaders of the Comintern, may well evoke the scornful jests of the international class enemy. And the poorest of all answers is the answer of the Daily Worker to the effect that the Times has fallen under the influence of Trotsky. The true ex-

planation of the sardonic mirth of the capitalist press lies in the bitter facts.

It is a fact that the Comintern remained silent in the fateful days when everything hung in the balance in Germany, giving no clear word of advice and not even hinting at a demonstration action. The Comintern imposed the policy that led to the defeat and reaffirmed it afterwards. Soviet diplomacy—speaking directly for Hitler's benefit—hastened to give assurance that it would never think of interfering in another country in either a revolution or a counter-revolution. And, most shameful of all, the world has yet to learn of a single demonstration organized within the Soviet Union against the Fascist butchery of the German proletariat.

It is not in the least what the Bolshevik-Leninists, in opposition, have said but what the Stalinists, in power, have done that occasions the gloating merriment of bourgeois journalism over the downfall of internationalism.

But, for all that, they are laughing too soon. Internationalism, after its second historic defeat through false leadership, will rise again and become once more the inspiring and unifying force of the proletariat and the dread spectre of its enemies. Facing the bitter truth in shame and humiliation, but steadfast in the old faith, the true internationalists will work to hasten on that day. This is the greatest work of our time. It must be carried forward under the clean banner of a new International.

The Expulsion of Joe Angelo

ANNOUNCEMENT in the latest issue of the Progressive Miner of the expulsion of Joe Angelo demonstrates more graphically than any other single act how closely the leaders of the P.M.A. have come to the basic policy of Lewis and how basely they have betrayed the confidence which the Illinois miners unwisely gave them. The expulsion of Angelo is a symbolic act. It is a demonstration by the despotic imitators of Lewis against militancy, against union democracy, against the deepest impulses of the Illinois miners for an honest, fighting union—against everything, in short, that gave rise to the magnificent rebellion of the miners, their break with the Lewis union and the formation of the P. M. A.

With Pearcey and Keck, as with Lewis and Farrington, the hounding and expulsion of Communist militants is not an isolated policy. It is bound up in every case with the treacherous game of selling out the interests of the miners and is a necessary part of the preparation for it. By getting rid of the union's conscious and incorruptible militants the misleaders always aim to disorganize the rank and file and rob them of the power of organized resistance to their perfidious service to the operators. The Illinois miners, who have risen in such heroic revolt and who have been betrayed so often by false leaders, are being maneuvered into another debacle. The expulsion of Joe Angelo is another warning signal, sharper, clearer and louder. Let the miners of Illinois be on guard and organize to defend themselves before it is too late!

The Socialist Party After Hillquit

MORRIS HILLQUIT, the deceased leader of the Socialist Party, was a unique figure who leaves no successor. A "European" social democrat on American soil, he was especially adept in dressing up the grossest opportunism in the formal garb of "Marxism." He cast the party in the image of its European contemporaries and made it one of the very worst representatives of this discredited school. The American S. P., shaped under Hillquit's hand, had all the vices of European Social Democracy without its strength in the workers' mass movement. Hillquit's Party imitated the Social Democracy in its period of senile decay without ever having experienced it: effectiveness as the organizer of the workers' movement in its period of youth and bloom. The American Socialist Party has been a horrible caricature.

The death of Hillquit upsets the balance of forces inside the Socialist Party and will start a new internal ferment. The pseudo-Marxist "old guard", which lost its head with the demise of Hillquit, will be obliged to yield the hegemony in the leadership to Norman Thomas. Under Thomas the S. P. will present a superficially different appearance. It will be more attractive to bright, "forward-looking" people who want to get somewhere quickly. But the content of its policy will not draw the party nearer to the militant workers. It will not express their impulses and aims. Still less will it lead them toward their historic goal. Where Hillquit robbed the Marxian formulae of their breath of revolutionary life, Thomas dispenses with the formulae altogether. Workers in its ranks who aspire toward a revolutionary fight against capitalism, will find the atmosphere suffocating and unbearable.

The insurgent youth and worker elements, who supported Thomas as a "lesser evil" against Hillquit, will be thrown on their own resources and compelled to formulate their standpoint more precisely. Political issues, which have smoldered in the internal conflict without a clear expression, will break through the struggle of persons and cliques. A new Left wing, moving toward Communism, will begin to take shape.

These predictions require no clairvoyant gift. Such developments are implicit in the whole situation of present-day Social Democracy, as is verified by the happenings in all the European parties. The American S. P., under the impact of the great events abroad and the class struggle at home will begin to catch up with the European developments at a faster pace.

please, even respectful. If a mother of five or more children spends most of her time in the relief-bureau soliciting for a relief-ticket or a bundle; if thousands of men stand in bread lines waiting for a sandwich and a cup of coffee; if millions of working class children go to school without a breakfast—that's certainly American, civilized, humane and what not.

Hoover was for all this; Roosevelt is for the same. Hoover was against unemployment insurance which would insure the working man against downright starvation and degradation; Roosevelt is also against it. Hoover substituted charity for social insurance; Roosevelt is doing the same. Hoover appealed to kindhearted Americans to help their unfortunate fellow citizens; Roosevelt broadcasts an

appeal to the American people on the "Mobilization for Human Needs." Roosevelt is a greater demagogue than Hoover. He doesn't call federal unemployment insurance the "dole" or other names. He simply avoids mentioning it altogether. Instead he glorifies charity. To him this is the "fundamental basis of American civilization"; a thing "essential to the whole American scheme of life."

—D. MARCUS.

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB AFFAIR
ENTERTAINMENT DANCING REFRESHMENTS
Saturday Evening, October 21st.
at the International Workers School
120 East 16th Street
ADMISSION 15c

Notes of the Week

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE NRA.

The leading article of the New York Herald Tribune Sunday Magazine, last week, makes an eloquent plea for "No More Strikes".

"One of the ironies of the day in this country", it says, "is that one of our greatest organized efforts, one which has always been the loudest in the denunciation of war between the nations, is insisting on its own right to use force in settling its difficulties."

And then it goes on to quote William Green on the right to strike. (Another of the ironies of the day, by the way.) The argument runs as follows: The nations (sic) have found that force is wasteful, futile. They have set up a Kellogg Pact and a League of Nations to banish war from their midst. Why can't the workers take an example from that?

There is the NRA. The NRA is concerned with the welfare of the workers as the League is with that of the nations (sic). Why not let NRA replace the strike as the League has replaced war?

Still another of the ironies of the day! Even while those words were being printed, the noble example which the American workers were to follow—received such a dislodging shock that there remains very little to follow. Germany split from the League of Nations with a "bombshell". War talk and war preparations are again seizing a feverish world. A most unfortunate example.

While the example is hardly worthy of pursuit, it does no doubt offer a resemblance. It is a resemblance worth a worker's attention.

Both the League of Nations and the NRA were born out of the despair wrought by wasteful destructive capitalist competition. In the first case, among the various capitalist nations. In the second case, among the different capitalists in the United States. They were both meant to serve as a sort of a regulator of this competition.

When the League was formed, the powerful capitalist United States refused to join. It believed it could contribute to the "welfare of the nations" on the outside, without international control.

When NRA went into effect, the richest single capitalist in the United States, Henry Ford, refused to join. He thought he could contribute to "industrial welfare" on the outside, without national control.

Japan and Germany, two of the major powers, have bolted from the League. How soon will it be before the big capitalists will be bolting from NRA?

Why is the League blowing up? Because it is bound by the very laws of capitalism. Capitalism means ruthless competition. Capitalism is war, war of all against all. Capitalism signifies the perpetuation of the use of force. How could the League help blowing up? How can NRA help blowing up?

The argument is really in favor of the use of the strike. As long as capitalism exists, peace among the nations is insecure. As long as capitalism and wage slavery, the demands of competition and the production for profit exist—just so long must hire and fire, unemployment, insecurity exist for workers. What better way has the worker to gain any measure of security, any degree of protection and improvement than by the collective, organized effort with his fellow workers—by the strike?

In spite of the eloquent plea, in spite of the supplications of the NRA boosters, the workers are continuing to strike. They draw their conclusions from past examples. Some day they will draw a final conclusion. They will learn that there is no way of gaining welfare and of banishing war than by sweeping away the whole capitalist system, with all its camouflage, with its League of Nations and NRA's, with all its reign of force and terror. And they will do that by force. That will constitute one of the ironies of another day.

And speaking of ironies, the greatest of all is perhaps the fact that the "No More Strikes" article in the Herald Tribune is signed by none other than Ida M. Tarbell, the author of the "History of the Standard Oil Company", a crusading muckraker and anti-Rockefeller campaigner of a past day....

—G.....n.

THE MILITANT

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The Food Workers' Industrial Union and the Split from the A. F. W.

A Horrible Example of Stalinist «Third Period» Trade Union Policies

In 1929 the "third period" policy of Stalinism produced a split away from the Amalgamated Food Workers and the formation of the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. A series of great strikes took place. Following this, within the newly-formed "revolutionary" trade union the bureaucracy began to consolidate itself. By the end of 1930, the situation, after over a year of crisis, of inactivity and stagnation in the FWIU was, as follows: The members were becoming dissatisfied with the leadership, and particularly with the bureaucratic methods of the then general secretary, Sam Weissman. He was brought on the carpet before the party control commission, on charges of drunkenness, irresponsibility, misproprietation of funds, etc. The party could not afford to whitewash him, as it had to cover up its own bureaucratic regime in the union. He was therefore removed, without any explanation to the members as to the reasons for the removal. The then leadership of the Cafeteria Department next proceeded to outline a three-months program of activity, no part of which was ever carried out.

Clique Rule in the Union

With the continued inactivity, the union began to lose both in influence and in numbers. Many of the most militant workers left the FWIU to join the AFL. The dissatisfaction of the workers was further expressed in a series of struggles by the rank and file against the cliquism of the apparatus.

This was shown sharply, for instance, in the question of the cooperative restaurant. The party functionaries used the jobs in the "coop" as a political weapon, maneuvering so as to throw workers out of their jobs if they disagreed with the leadership, under one pretext or another. This of course only served further to discredit the FWIU.

About this time the cooperative again came on the order of the day in the union and in the fraction, resulting in a bitter fight by the comrades against the cast-iron bureaucratic rule of the party leaders in the union. The struggle began with the Allerton Ave. stores. First a tax of 10% was proposed on the wages of party and non-party members working in the "coop", and this step moreover, was taken without consulting the union. For this Zack, secretary of the TUUC, was responsible. At one meeting he denounced the non-party workers without exception as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the working class because they refused to obey this decision.

Gagging the Workers

Encouraged by this action of the T.U.U.L., the bureaucracy did not stop at this point. They were determined to gag the workers into submission, and into mechanical acceptance of orders. The question of the party camps was under discussion in the party fraction. It was there proposed to cut wages. After a discussion of several weeks had resulted in the leading fraction's recommendation, by nearly unanimous vote, of a wage cut proposal of 20%, the party proposed a cut of 40 percent. The 20 percent cut proposal was then brought into the general fraction, against a counter-proposal by the District Camp Committee to consider a cut of 40%. After heated discussion within the fraction, the decision was unanimously rejected and turned back to the party committee. For this, the following night the Central Executive Committee proposed another meeting, in the course of which the writer was demagogically attacked as a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite" for not consenting to the decision of the C. E. C. Finally a vote was taken adopting the ultimatum decision of the C. E. C. for a 40% wage cut with 14 voting against and many abstaining.

Campaign Against "Trotskyites"

They carried out the decisions of the last convention of the union according to their own interpretation for example: Ebermeyer was made national secretary of the FWIU, an organization which outside of New York existed only in his own portfolio; Kramberg was taken out of the union; Bill, the organizer of the Cafeteria Department, was removed by the famous "open letter" of the TUUC and denounced as irresponsible, disloyal and intriguing; while twice removed, today this individual is again an organizer for the union, in spite of the public denunciation in the open letter. The result was that the plan actually was dropped from the activities, because the bureaucratic leadership was not really convinced of the necessity of the task. A number of comrades, including the writer, were expelled from the party, and a campaign of terrorization was instituted inside the union against the "Trotskyites".

Yet the workers did not take the revived activity seriously, because of their bad experiences of the past. Only ten comrades carried the whole burden of the drive. Therefore the results were rather disappointing on the whole. The strike is over, without any explanation having been given even to this day as to why it was lost. The workers still cherish certain illusions as to the strike being reopened after comrades come back from the camps. Not only that, but at a recent meeting of the un-

ion Kramberg announced that the strike was settled, that twenty workers would go back to their jobs immediately, and that within three months all the workers would be back on their jobs. This only resulted in disappointment; the strike has not been reopened, no workers have gone back, and the leadership has not a single explanation to give the rank and file. The workers have a special additional right to demand an explanation and an accounting because they were making financial sacrifices in preparation for the drive for 27 weeks straight, and nobody knows yet what has happened to the funds, as not even a financial report was given.

Favoritism in Giving Jobs

One of the worst features of the internal life of the FWIU, and one opposed to the principles of a class-struggle union, is the family cliquism and favoritism in handing out jobs. For example, in one case a worker had been working steadily for two years, quit his job of his own accord and within a few days had another, while other workers of long standing and active in the union who have been unemployed for months and years, have been discriminated against, and received no jobs. New workers are being induced to come into the union with the promise of a job, so that they come in, not on the basis of trade union convictions, but looking on the union as an employment agency. The "extra" jobs are being used as a club over the heads of the workers to strengthen the power of the cliques.

All these mistakes and many more flow out of the basic fault of the "third period" theory, with its "revolutionary trade-unions", "united front from below", "social fascism" and other misleading slogans.

Unquestionably there is a great revival of trade-union activity going on now. Throughout the country the workers are looking for organization. The conservative unions are growing by leaps and bounds,

while the FWIU stands still or shows insignificant gains. Unless the Left wing workers can break through their present isolation from the masses, the labor fakers of the A. F. L. will be able to mislead the newly-awakening workers and thus further betray the interests of the working class.

The Split A Fundamental Mistake

The fundamental mistake, flowing out of the "third period" theory, which lies at the bottom of all the other mistakes, was the deliberate split from the A. F. W. in 1929. This was one of the most criminal and stupid examples of Stalinist misleadership, because the Amalgamated is a recognized class-struggle industrial union with considerable prestige and a record of militant activity. In this case there was not even the excuse, as in the A. F. of L. unions, that the trade union fakers were threatening to expel Communists.

The experience of the past years has shown us that the splitting policy was false to the core and must be corrected. With the revival of the Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated from a skeleton organization to a rapidly growing one, at present the Left wing cadres and Communists have a wonderful opportunity to induce a growing mass movement, and build it up as a genuine trade-union so that it can become a mighty force for the New York food workers and encouraged a sound united front policy with respect to the A. F. L.

For these reasons we must say openly that the place for the Left wing workers now is in the A. F. W. Those of them who are now in the FWIU must propose that preparations be made immediately for a merger of the two unions as a first step toward one union for the industry, and for a general organizational drive throughout the hotel, restaurant and cafeteria industry.

—JAMES GORDON.
Member, Food Workers' Industrial Union.

Hitler's «Bombshell» at Geneva

(Continued from Page 1)

ranks to Hitlerite Germany. In replying to the accusation, the company makes a denial of the specific charge, but not of the general one. More interesting is its reference to relations with the French government:

"The company does not export war material without government authorization. That regulation is still in effect." The statement of the blood-stained war manufacturers then goes on to accuse those campaigning thus against it, of harming the "pacific policy of France!"

It is common knowledge in Europe that Hitler has been rearming secretly for some time. It is also common knowledge that the Quai d'Orsay is well aware of this fact. Now the munition manufacturers of France itself indirectly confirm shipment of arms to Germany with government knowledge. The new turn has gone far already.

German-Japanese Plans in Anti-Soviet Front

On top of the above, reports have been abundant of a German-Japanese plan of cooperation. The purpose of it is unmistakable. The documents published recently by the Soviet press from the dossiers of Japanese secret diplomacy are enlightening enough. Now comes a report from Mukden of a loan of \$60,000,000 to be made by France to Manchukuo, Japan's outpost for anti-Soviet aggression. "Preliminary negotiations", says the report, "have been concluded between President Hata of the South Manchurian Railway and Andre D'Olivier, a representative of French capitalists."—N. Y. Times, October 18, 1933.

The anti-Soviet front is forming fast.

In the face of these developments, the futility and the criminal self-deception of the Stalinist "Non-Aggression Pacts" becomes remarkably obvious. A real defense of the Soviet Union is imperatively necessary. The stupid, quasi-practical policy of the Stalin regime in foreign affairs is due for a collapse. A realistic appraisal of the conditions in the Soviet Union, a corresponding raising of the standards of living of the workers and a strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry is just as necessary as a reversal of the foreign policy. The Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of accomplishing either one of these tasks. It prepares the road for Thermidorian reaction. That has been shown by the entire past.

The International Workers' Front

The preparation for a resistance on the part of the international working class to the imperialist war plans likewise depends upon a rejection of the policy of the Stalinists. No "Anti-War Congress" composed of pompous intellectuals, without a stable social basis and impotent because of their individual isolation, will ever serve to weld the proletarian front against imperialist war and attack on workers' Russia. The Einsteins, the Dreisers, the Upton Sinclairs and Sherwood Andersons are already deserting the Stalinist Banner. Only

the united front of workers' organization, from top to the bottom can accomplish this task. To achieve this, the Communists must go to the masses, entrench themselves in all organizations in which workers gather en masse.

Both the preparation against attack inside of the Soviet Union as well as against imperialism war in all the capitalist countries demands the support of the line of policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Time is short and events are moving fast. The Bolshevik-Leninists must live up to their task.

—S. GORDON.

Bronx Butchers Strike

New York.—The Meat Cutters of the Westchester Meat Market are on strike for the 48 hour work and a raise in wages. They are striking against a work day of from 11 to 18 hours a day. Their wages have been reduced from \$48 which they were earning a year and a half ago by three wage cuts to \$20 today. They are led by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Bronx branch of the Communist League has offered to contribute its services, speakers, etc., to help the strikers in their fight.

Two of the striking meat cutters, Dave Cohen and Sam Klein were arrested on the picket line on charge by the boss of the market of "disorderly conduct". They were tried and released. The judge had to save the face of the boss who is violating the NRA code. The boss came to court and said he would comply with the code by cutting the Saturday workday from 15 to 12 hours.

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

A special general membership meeting of the New York branches will be held this Sunday, October 22, 1933, at 1 P. M. sharp, in our headquarters at 128 East 16th Street New York. Members of all the branches are required to be present. ON TIME. The subject of the meeting will be the position of the trade unions in the United States today and the policy of the Communist League. The discussion will be led off by comrade J. P. Cannon and there will follow comments from the floor.

—CITY ORGANIZER.

S. T. LOUIS MEETING ARNE SWABECK at

CRUNDEN LIBRARY AUDITORIUM
14th and Cass Avenues
Friday, October 27, 8 P. M.
B A N Q U E T at

7119 Lafayette Avenue
Saturday, October 28, 8 P. M.

SPRINGFIELD MEETING ARNE SWABECK at

"THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM"
Wednesday, Oct. 25 at 7:30 P. M.
at
MASONIC HALL,
119 North 8th Street,
Springfield, Ill.

Hoover and Roosevelt

"There is nothing new under the sun," says the old proverb. Hunger-Hoover goes and NRA-Roosevelt comes and the same boss rule stays—the rule of bigotry, deception and brutal force. Roosevelt, however, knows better how to mix all these ingredients in the proper proportions and doesn't forget to add some NRA flavor to it.

The Chief Engineer of the crisis was against unemployment insurance. He called it "dole", a thing un-American, degrading, humiliating, enslaving and so on. If a hungry, ill-clad and ill-shod "buddy" runs after you and ten others asking for a nickel that's "American", Christian, humane, and, if you