

PRICE
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CENTS

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME VI, NO. 54 [WHOLE NO. 201]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1933

PRICE 2 CENTS

Biased Judge Rushes Negro Boys to Chair

No Reliance on Capitalist Justice; Only Mass
Pressure of Workers Can Save Scottsboro Boys

For the third time in three years Scottsboro there is no essential difference. Scottsboro is a legal version of St. Joseph. Priests can approve it with undisturbed consciences. Editors can congratulate the nation on the triumph of law and justice. The pious, the patriotic, the reformers can all sleep easier. Capitalism can breathe more freely.

The Meaning of "Justice"

Scottsboro should open the eyes of the last doubting Thomases to the meaning of justice in capitalist courts. It ought to burn the lesson home that only the workers can get the boys off; only the workers organized in a powerful movement of mass demonstrations.

The "Impartial" Jury

The jury which tried Patterson and the juries which will try the other defendants are supposed to be made up of impartial men who have no fixed ideas about the innocence or guilt of the boys. They are all white men, and if you wish you can believe that they have no prejudices against other men just because their skins are black. These juries are all local residents in a non-too-numerous community where the Scottsboro case has been the subject of discussion for years. How many sat in the courtroom during the previous trials? Leastways we are asked to believe that these men heard a good deal of argument on the case, participated in it, read the editorials in the Southern papers urging them to "lynch the damned niggers," and still have open minds. One has to be as simple and trusting as a child to believe this fairy tale out of the capitalist propaganda book. These men are all set against the Scottsboro boys no matter what they say they believe or don't believe.

If there was one among them who had any lingering doubt, the way Judge Callahan ran the trial would have removed it. Callahan was fair. He gave the defense its day in court. Sure, he didn't allow the Jew lawyers from New York to play tricks on the court. He defended Southern womanhood. Yes, sir.

Cards Dealt from the Bottom

There isn't a white farmer in the neighborhood who could have held his opinion of Patterson's innocence against the bias of the up-right justice's charge to the jury and his bewildering judicial hair-splitting. Callahan dealt cards from the bottom of the deck. That's what he is there for.

Callahan does his job well. There's nothing raw like the stuff Horton pulled and the speeches prosecutors Knight and Wright made in the last trial. It's all strictly according to Hoyle. Callahan is carrying out the order of the Supreme Court to do it over again and out out the mistakes.

Callahan made one serious slip. In his charge to the jury which consumed an hour and a half of Patterson's life he FORGOT to remind the jury that if they found the evidence insufficient to prove the charge against Patterson they could bring in a verdict of acquittal. Strange omission! Convenient memory! Only when reminded by the defense counsel and the prosecutor did he pertinaciously add this detail.

That slip gave the whole show away. What of that? Bias is no ground for acquittal in the higher courts. The learned justices do not arrive at their decisions by obvious facts and simple considerations. For them the question is not whether Callahan showed bias. They will take out their legal yardstick and see whether what Callahan said or did dealt the defendant, who is presumed innocent until proven guilty, a fair trial by violating this statute or that law or is not in accord with the decision of judge so-and-so in this-and-that case. You can be as lunatic on the bench as Tolp of California is in the governor's chair, but if you want your stuff to go over with the boys higher up you have got to make it appear that you are sticking within the law. If you do they will give you the official O. K.

Learned from Massachusetts

And whoever heard of a high court saying straight out: the man is innocent, release him? Where and when did that happen? In the Mooney case? In the Sacco-Vanzetti case? Where? When? The cards are stacked against the boys all the way up the line.

The strategy of the capitalists is plain. They want to give the country another "fine lesson." "In California," they want to say, "and in Maryland they do it with the rope and the fagot; but in Alabama they are civilized. There they burn innocent men in the electric chair according to the law. But first they torture them in jail for years, holding out a ray of hope to them and snatching it away again. They learned that from what Massachusetts did to Sacco and Vanzetti."

Between St. Joseph, Mo., and

American Imperialism at the Montevideo Congress

The Seventh Pan-American Conference convened December 3 at Montevideo, Uruguay with twenty-one nations represented. The American delegation, headed by Secretary Hull, arrived prior to the conference to line up puppet delegates and to attempt to iron out and side-track some of the most difficult problems that are sure to upset the conference if they are thrown open for discussion on the floor. This is the first Pan-American conference to be held since 1928. It is convened at a time when the economic life of Latin America is almost at a standstill as a result of the crisis within the leading imperialist nations, particularly the United States.

These secondary capitalist nations of Latin America have long ago been subordinated to the imperialist powers. The leading capitalist nations, such as the United States, have attempted to shift part of the crisis burden onto the lesser nations of Latin America.

The conference has been compared to the last London conference. The capitalist press says the Montevideo meeting will succeed and will accomplish for America, what the London conference failed to accomplish for world capitalism. However, the set-up is entirely different even if economic problems hold the center of the stage at the Pan-American conference.

At Montevideo there will be a meeting of unequals. The leading capitalist nation in the world is able to hold a conference with 20 other nations under the self-made jurisdiction of the Monroe Doctrine the enforcement of which Roosevelt hopes to modernize with his "new diplomacy." The London conference was a battle of the leading imperialists of Europe and America; the Montevideo conference is the set-up of American imperialism.

Most of the delegates are puppets; others will be forced to cringe before the might of Yankee imperialism or stand the consequences. The other imperialist powers, particularly England are forced to pound away within the conference in an attempt to prevent America from constructing something tangible for itself. England will do this primarily through such forces as she can muster within the Latin American countries for policies that will be cloaked in the form of "national" demands of this or that Latin American country.

In the past, Argentina has been the main opposition force to the United States in the Pan-American conference, not only because of its weight within South America but because England has been fighting American imperialism tooth and nail in the struggle for domination within this first rate Latin American country.

War and revolution will be discussed extensively in the different caucuses. Bolivia and Paraguay are in the midst of the Chaco war. Peru and Colombia have not yet settled the Leticia affair. The Cuban revolution is in the foreground. Secretary Hull attempted to inject America's "good will" into the Chaco War before the conference, but Paraguay rejected his "kind" offer. Labor delegates from Haiti caused uneasiness, and showed that all was not so well in lining up safe and sound delegates to the conference, when on the first day he condemned American's 15

year military action in Haiti, intervention in Latin America, and the present financial supervision in Haiti which reveals how the Roosevelt government is driving ahead with great speed for better imperialist domination.

Revolutionary Cuba has not spoken yet. But it is very doubtful if the petty-bourgeois government will go beyond words, and this only for the sake of bargaining power and compromise with American imperialism. It is very doubtful if the voice of the oppressed workers and peasants will even get a word into the proceedings. What opposition does materialize will be that of the nationalist bourgeois opposition to American imperialism and of spokesmen for British imperialism.

The economic factors and questions to be considered at the conference take on a varied number of forms. The American imperialists are attempting to avoid these problems which will interfere with the further development of the NRA and the struggle of the Dollar vs. the Pound. The U. S. Government issued a statement on November the 9th, which said in part: "Unsettled conditions, such as European commercial quota restrictions, make it seem desirable for the United States to forego immediate discussions on such matters as currency stabilization, uniform import prohibitions, permanent custom duties and the like."

A real discussion on the above points, and not mere talk by puppet delegates, would really be stepping on Uncle Sam's toes. That is the reason America hopes to keep these points off the Agenda. The question of debts is important, but America does not care to talk debts when her creditors are bankrupt and may ask for a moratorium; rather it is wiser to see what can be done to use these debts as clubs to line the countries up for further economic penetration by America. That is what the delegates of the Wall Street government hope to accomplish. America as the creditor, facing this condition, is opposed to debt discussion; many of the debtors, on the other hand, hope to force discussion. As a compromise American imperialism will agree to discuss debts so long as the discussion does not lead to decisive action.

Regardless of what form the economic discussion may take one thing is certain. The conference is an American Imperialist set-up for the benefit of American imperialism. To strip the issues bare, the U. S. imperialists are primarily interested in the following, from an economic standpoint: To strengthen their position and control over Latin America in the struggle against the other imperialists. To arrange long-term credits for private and public projects, which will enable America to export surplus capital so vital for America's internal life and, at the same time, enable her to use these projects to further consolidate her Latin American empire.

The American delegates are empowered to offer a half a million dollars as a start for the Texas-Santiago highway, to assume the major share of the expense of an engineering survey for a proposed Central American-Rio de Janeiro railroad. These projects will open up the doors for capital investment and the further extension of American imperialism. The aims of the U. S. Government in the Pan-American conference are the further extension of American domination, the elimination of other imperialist contenders and a straightjacket for the workers and peasants of Latin America to prevent the Soviet idea that raise its head in the Cuban revolution from becoming a living reality in the Western Hemisphere.

The conference is only two days old. Although it is America's set-up. There are factors within it that may get beyond the control of Wall Street. The results of the conference will be discussed in a later issue of the Militant.

—HUGO OEHLER.

DRIVING FOR THE NEW PARTY

Less than two months have passed since we issued our public declaration for the creation of a new International and a new Communist party in this country. Already there have been a good many indications of a hearty response to our revolutionary program. They come to our greetings in much greater numbers than before. Serious questions, asked sympathetically, manifest their live interest in the issue. The response is reflected most directly in the actual growth of the League. New branches are springing up and nearly everywhere the existing units are teeming with life and activity, extending the influence of the Left Opposition and its sympathetic circle.

To assemble the forces for the creation anew of a revolutionary party—this is the gigantic task which we have undertaken in this country. It will test the ability, devotion and capacity for sacrifice of every comrade. Our task is facilitated by the present raising curve of the labor movement as a whole. The most momentous problems will be posed before it in the next immediate period. For these a correct solution can be advanced only from the arsenal of Marxism. It is in the crucible of the struggle that all the programs will be tested. To be the most active participant in it is our aim.

We have taken the first preparatory step by openly proclaiming our orientation for a new International and a new party. This first decisive step has been followed by the elaboration of an Action Program for the coming immediate period.

Action Program is the popularization of **The Militant** and the establishment of a monthly theoretical organ. We have already made a beginning towards the popularization of the contents of **The Militant**. We have reduced its price to put it within reach of the workers so fearfully hit by the ravages of the capitalist crisis and the new pressure of the "recovery" measures. We aim to make **The Militant** a real builder of this new movement which, while maintaining entirely its unequivocal Marxian position, speaks in terms understandable to the workers. We aim to have it yet more fully reflect their struggles and aspirations and serve as an unflinching guide.

We plan the publication of a theoretical organ in the near future. A number of new pamphlets are coming up. Organizers are to be placed in the field.

But all of these aims, which are necessary parts of the big job of assembling the forces for a new revolutionary party, depend for their fulfillment on the financial support we receive now from our comrades and friends. This point now stands out prominently and imperatively. We are depending on you to stand with us now. Funds are urgently needed for current work as well as for the promotion of the new projects in our program of action. Enroll yourself now as a supporter of the new party of Communism in a concrete, practical way. Send your contribution to **THE MILITANT** 126 East 16th Street New York City

Shoe Workers to Merge Unions Independents at Boston Convention

The eyes of the labor movement will be on Boston next Monday, December 11, when the amalgamation convention of the independent unions of shoe workers convenes for the purpose of uniting them into a single body. This convention comes as the culmination of a long struggle of the rank and file to bring about the amalgamation in the face of the most stubborn resistance and sabotage of the conservative officials. When the delegates meet at Boston next Monday they will stand instructed by referendum vote of the organization to take the necessary steps to bring about the unification. The referendum carried by the overwhelming majority of more than 30 to 1.

Directly represented at the convention will be the National Shoe Workers' Association, with approximately 26,000 workers; the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, with approximately 30,000; and the Independent Shoe Workers' Union of Salem, with about 2,000 members.

The attempt to bring the Brotherhood of Shoe Workers and Allied Craftsmen of Brockton, with about 11,000 members, into the amalgamation movement has not yet succeeded because of official opposition, but a strong rank and file sentiment for the unification exists there also.

Independent Unions in Shoe Industry
The shoe industry has long been noted for the multiplicity of independent unions. The shoe workers were forced onto this path by the systematic betrayals of the official A. F. of L. body, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Even from the standpoint of typical American reactionary unionism, this "label" union stands in a class by itself as a corrupt and boss-serving organization. The impulse of the workers for genuine trade unionism manifested itself in almost every revolt through the medium of independent organization. The weakness of their movement arose from the inability up till now to bring the various independent organizations together; the conservative officialdom, which fastened itself on the two main organizations, blocked the unity.

The strike wave of the past season gave the necessary impulse to the movement from below and carried it forward with a surging militancy to the present result. If the delegates at Boston succeed in carrying out the mandate of the rank and file, and come out of the convention with a harmonious program for the final amalgamation of the unions, a new day will dawn for the shoe workers of the country and a bright page of labor history will be turned. The solidarity and hope of the advanced workers everywhere will be with the convention in its deliberations and every progressive tendency in the labor movement will be strengthened and encouraged by its success.

Bright Prospects of New Independent Union

The bright prospects for the emergence of a new powerful union of workers on an independent basis, at a time when the general tide is flowing strongly in the channel of the A. F. of L., demonstrates once again that the labor movement follows nobody's pre-conceived plan or arbitrary pattern, but takes its own course in different industries according to differing circumstances. If the general developments of the past months dealt a crushing blow to those who prescribed the arbitrary building of new independent unions all along the line, the specific situation in the shoe industry, which drove with the force of necessity to the constitution of a completely independent union, refutes the A. F. of L. fetishists no less conclusively.

The new amalgamated shoe workers' union will not be a "dual union"; it will be the legitimate and genuine organization in the industry and will be entitled to the unqualified support of the workers in its struggle for supremacy against the A. F. of L. union, the corrupt and treacherous "Boot and Shoe" Tasks of New Union

In our opinion the new union will have the task of making further efforts to come to an agreement and unification with the Brockton Brotherhood (Independent) and in waging a determined battle to organize the entire industry in head-on collision with the corrupt "Boot and Shoe" affiliate of the A. F. of L. The worst danger to the new movement is presented by those who have some maneuvers with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union up their sleeve. The problem of the new union is to become a power in its own right and drive its corrupt rival from the field with the help of the betrayed shoe workers still within its ranks who only await a favorable opportunity to break away from it and unite with their fellow workers in a genuine labor organization.

The developments among the shoe workers provide another instructive lesson regarding the real trend of the labor movement. In demonstrating the vitality that remains in the independent union movement they prove concretely, at the same time, that the organizations of the Stalinists cannot be the medium for its growth. The Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union, after trying in every way to disrupt the amalgamation movement and to take the place of the other unions, has been reduced to such a weak position that it had to apply for admission into the amalgamation convention at the last moment under pressure of its own members. The Stalinists contributed nothing but disruption and disorganization to the effort to bring the shoe workers together and have completely discredited themselves.

"Answer 'Yes' or 'No' "
"Usually they were brought to a room and commanded to stand by a stone pillar. Then a commissioner began the investigation, continually insulting the prisoner. The alleged crime was put as a question, and the prisoner could answer only 'Yes' or 'No'. If he answered otherwise, the stormtrooper punched his face so hard that his head struck the stone pillar with terrific force."

"It is impossible to describe the results of this treatment. The victims almost lost consciousness, and the more they screamed the more pleasure their torturers gained.... 'If this first 'admonition'... they called this brutal treatment — did not succeed, it was reinforced by blows from the rubber truncheons on the head and back, until the wretched victims admitted anything to avoid further torture.... In some cases the accused were

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«No!»-Unser Wort's Reply to the Hitler Plebiscite

(The following article, reprinted from *Unser Wort*, the German organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists, was published prior to the Nazi plebiscite on the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the sanctioning of Hitler's foreign policy.—Ed.)

There are many reasons for the Hitler Plebiscite and the withdrawal from the League of Nations. In the first place they seem to have been dictated by the daily worries of the Hitler government. While these worries do not permit us to predict the fall of German Fascism, nevertheless we must not neglect them.

First, there is the trial on the burning of the Reichstag which is truly not a glorious page in the history of Fascism, and which seriously compromises the Hitler government before the foreign world. There are also the differences in the leadership which they will not be able to stifle or minimize for very long. There is, moreover, the rapid decline in the confidence and enthusiasm of the petty bourgeois masses gathered from reports of all parts of the Reich. All this makes it necessary to "do something," to divert the attention of the foreign world and the popular masses, to find a slogan which will mobilize everybody for the creation of a new national united front. The field of "external national policy" is quite appropriate to this end. Nowhere had the agreement with the Fascist bandits of all sections of the population been greater; nowhere has the noisy work of the Fascists borne better fruit, in no question is the ideological centralization of the German proletariat more marked, thanks to the shameful activity of the Socialist and Communist parties, than in this field.

Even if this plebiscite was not an organized comedy—whose results are made to order by the Minister for Reichstag Fires, that is the Minister of Propaganda—Hitler could secure votes on this field better than on any other. The "imposing" results of these elections backed by all the methods of Fascist terror, compared with which the "Balkan elections" are orgies of democratic freedom, will appear in the eyes of the outside world—which has no real notion of this German Macedonia—as a demonstration of the German people in favor of Hitler. There are important tasks of activity and propaganda for the emigrants in this field.

Hitler's step—the withdrawal from the League of Nations—has far deeper consequences than the trivial interests of daily agitation. It was dictated almost completely by the development of German imperialism after the war. The imperialist contradictions being opposed to its complete annihilation, German imperialism, suffering in its own forces, struggles forcibly to reach first rank. If it cannot obtain it as an independent force it endeavors to become an equal ally treated with equality and esteem. For only a war, openly posing the question of a new division of the world, could re-establish its own status. In this connection, Hitler is only continuing what was begun by Stresemann and Herrmann Muller.

The move of Hitler in Geneva rests less on his courage than on the utilization of the Japanese experience. The great powers of the League of Nations have so demonstrated their weakness on the departure of Japan, that Germany, still weaker, has permitted itself to do likewise.

The unparalleled economic decadence has forced Germany to look for quick solutions and to desert the path of patient negotiations. Experience has vindicated the position of Germany. No one wants today to engage in war with Germany; no French paper dares to pose the question of sanctions.

On the other hand it would be false to imagine that Germany wants to go to war tomorrow. Several years of preparation are necessary. Still less does it want war against France. In this sense Hitler's speeches are quite "sincere." They want to buy the dearest alliance, but not for war in the west. The real way for war, particularly for Hitler Germany, is the East.

The decision of Fascist Germany has sown the greatest confusion in the socialist and Communist parties. Both of them, kicking over Marxism, have accused Hitler not of nationalism, but of lack of nationalism. The whole agitation of the C. P. G. up to the month of June still tends to demonstrate the national "treachery" of Hitler. The Deutsche Freiheit stammers pitifully that the action of Hitler leads to a worsening of the positions of Germany as if it were paragraphs and statutes and not relationship of forces which decide.

Hitler is still not national enough for the C. P. G. We will be curious to know whether the C. P. G. wins a single Nazi with the help of this "tactic." But at the same time the C. P. G. has fallen into another contradiction. While the C. P. G. follows the line of the former foreign policy of the U. S. S. R., Litvinov has already embraced Herriot; Pilsudsky and Molotov send telegrams of protest against the German disturber in the ranks of the League of Nations. The entire policy of the last years has deprived the U. S. S. R. of its independence on the international arena and forces it to follow one or another bloc.

We Internationalist-Communists have a fundamentally different point of view on the national question. For us, the main enemy is German imperialism, the representative of exploitation and the artifice of the next war, and not the treaty of Versailles, whose abolition can only help our enemies. We have never followed a nationalist policy as do the miserable epigones of Bolshevism. We have always fought it as a policy which strengthens the exploiters and brings war nearer. In this sense we arouse the masses, today again, against this Hitlerite policy which despite its pacifistic phrases and by means of its pacifistic phrases is preparing for war. There is only one way: to reject this shameful plebiscite of the organizers of hunger and the hangmen!

NO!

Unemployment Insurance - A Slogan to Unite Teachers and Workers

The growth of the population, the struggle against illiteracy, the lack of schools and the increasing specialization of knowledge and improvement in educational methods all make necessary an expansion of the educational system of the United States, particularly what is called the free school system. But no expansion is taking place. On the contrary, under the pressure of the crisis the capitalists are trying to conserve profits or reduce losses, among other means, by easing the tax burden through economy in civil and state government at the expense of the educational system.

The toll this economy has exacted can be gauged from some figures given in a recent resolution presented to George F. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education, by four hundred representatives of forty educational organizations. "More than 2,200,000 children of school age are already deprived of educational opportunity" and "nearly 2,000 rural schools failed to open this fall". To these figures should be added the curtailment of school terms, the shortage of indispensable material like text books, the crowded classrooms and the other easily imagined injurious effects of this economy.

What all this means to the teachers can be seen from statements in the same resolution. "One in every three American teachers is now receiving less than \$750 per year. Thousands of teachers are receiving no salary at all."

Not A Temporary Phenomenon
There is good reason to believe that this contraction is not a temporary phenomenon. The need for economy is not likely soon to disappear. The crisis is not over. The bankers and realty interests will continue to squeeze for greater profits and greater economies. And this crisis, should the capitalists succeed in overcoming it, will be succeeded by others of a deeper character. If our present experience means anything it indicates that the attacks on the educational system will increase and cut deeper.

It follows that the employed teachers will suffer a drastic lowering of their living and working conditions if they do not organize and resist. The thousands of unemployed teachers and the thousands more who are qualifying to teach will never do so if they wait for the capitalist masters of society to provide them with the opportunity. Together they should struggle for the expansion of the educational system and resist its contraction.

For this they need unity. The unemployed should support the struggle of the employed against curtailment of school facilities as every successful resistance increases the possibility of advancing to the counter-attack for expansion of them. The employed should support the struggle of the unemployed for work and relief as every success in this direction removes a threat against the lowering of their own standards through the pressure of the unemployed for work.

Unemployment Insurance For Teachers
The fight for unemployment insurance is one of the best means of uniting the employed and unemployed.

Red Fleet Greeted with Cry: "Long Live Trotsky" During Visit to Greece

Athens, Oct. 28
An extensive agitation was carried on by our comrades among the sailors of the Red Fleet during the five days they stopped over in the port of Phalere.

The fleet, composed of a cruiser and two destroyers entered the port of Phalere on Monday morning. The first day was devoted to official visits. The eight admirals paid their respects to the minister of the Navy. The minister returned the visit of the fleet, receptions, speeches of friendship and mutual admiration, etc. The police were mobilized. No one could approach the harbor. The streets of Athens were full of dicks and bulls. But as the admirals left the ministry of Navy, their auto was covered with the leaflets of the organization and the admirals were greeted with

shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet and Army! Long Live Trotsky!"

The second day was the sailors'. The sailors, in groups with officers at their head, went to visit the museums. It was then that we had the opportunity to carry on an extensive agitation. A group of comrades distributed leaflets in Russian to them in the Archeologic museum. The sailors were accompanied up to the station with shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet, Long Live the Red Army! Long Live Trotsky!" On Concord Square the police attacked our comrades and arrested a comrade, as well as a worker sympathizer, who had crashed the ranks of the sailors and distributed the leaflets. Under coercion the sailors made no gesture and did not accept the leaflets.

On the Acropolis another strong group of comrades mixed with the sailors and discussed with them. They stated that the sailors showed an intense interest, but the officers intervened and pushed them away. There were sailors who insulted the name of comrade Trotsky. But a great number remained silent and showed a kind of astonishment to see so many "Trotskyists".

A big sailor approached our comrades and said in a low voice "Trotsky is O. K." Another, bearing the insignia of the C. P. pushed him away and insulted him. For three hours our comrades persisted, singing the Internationale and resolutely playing them with questions on the expulsion of comrade Trotsky and the fate of Rakovsky.

At Every Step
But what caused most surprise among the sailors was the fact that as they strolled along in small groups they encountered "Trotskyists" at every step who greeted them with the shout: "Long Live Trotsky!" and handed them leaflets. There were cases where the sailors answered with insults. But some of them (those who were not accompanied by officers) took the leaflets and hid them. In the stores where the sailors bought foot-wear and small articles they were asked to read leaflets of our organization. Our comrades of the trade union of store employees who were well-supplied with leaflets enclosed them in the purchases made by the sailors. There were also characteristic scenes in which on the one hand the bureaucrats showed their wrath and the terror to which the sailors were subjected.

A group of sailors were making purchases at a store. The guide showed them a survey of the party. The sailors said: No, it is Trotskyist. All the Greeks are Trotskyists. The C. P. did nothing. It could only mobilize a dozen bureaucrats, gathered in the Acropolis in a very hazy manner, so as not to disturb the friendly relations of the two countries. This was the only demonstration of the Stalinists. The journalists were not given the right of entry on the warships. The most characteristic thing was that the sailors did not dare to speak to anyone. Even when people knowing foreign languages offered their services as interpreters, the sailors did not accept them.

—T. STAMM.

Greetings to Australian 'Militant'

We are happy to announce the receipt of another paper from a far end of the world bearing the title, *The Militant*. It is the organ of our newly-formed Australian section known as the Workers' Party (Left Opposition). The Australian *Militant* is a twelve page mimeographed journal devoted to theoretical problems facing the working class in Australia and internationally.

There is powerful testimony to the growing strength of the ideas of Marxism as represented by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the appearance of a group of comrades and a paper advocating them in far away Australia. We take particular pride in making this announcement not only because the new paper is a namesake of our organ and because of its reprinting of articles from the *Militant* and *Young Spartans* but also because we feel a particular responsibility in the formation of the Australian section of the Bolshevik-Leninists. It was the *Militant* that carried the message to them.

Revolutionary greetings to our Australian comrades! More power to your progress and success in the Australian labor movement! We are wholeheartedly with you in your struggle for the proletarian revolution in Australia!

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

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The Attitude of the Sailors
As to the general attitude of the sailors—they were silent, austere and "wise". When they entered a store, one of them, always with a party insignia, remained outside and watched. They all bought foot-

wear for themselves or for their wives, stockings and watches. They were well-clad save for their shoes which were in bad condition. During their noon-hour meal (they ate on the Acropolis) they ate a cheap quality of bread and margarine.

The cruiser "Krasny-Kavkaz", built in the U. S. S. R., made a great impression, by its armament and generally by its construction, on the journalists and the officers of the Greek navy. They wrote many articles on it.

The fleet left for Naples, Italy in the evening. They will probably go also to Marseilles. The opportunity will also be present there to show the sailors of the Red Fleet that the liquidation of "Trotskyism" only exists in the minds of the bureaucrats of the Stalinist clique.

CHICAGO
INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM
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DECEMBER SCHEDULE
Dec. 3.—The Crisis in Chicago Education.
GEORGE MAHIN, Executive Secretary Chicago High School Teachers Assn.

Dec. 10.—Science and Social Changes
Prof. BRODA BARNES, Physiology Dept. Univ. of Chicago.
Dec. 17.—Nationalism: Real and Fictitious.
MAXIMILIAN OLAY, Noted Anarchist writer and leader.
Dec. 24.—Religion and Social Progress.
GEORGE KATSIOLIS, Communist orator of note.
Dec. 31.—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises.
(An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internationalists.)
JOSEPH GIGANTI, of Chicago Left Opposition

BROOKLYN OPEN FORUM
JACK WEBER
on
THE N. R. A. AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS
Friday, December 8, 1933, 8 P. M.
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THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Vol. VI, No. 54 (Whole No. 201)
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1933
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50

Statement of Goldman on Joining Communist League

In joining the Left Opposition I am doing that which every thinking revolutionary Marxist should not fail to do. That the Stalinist bureaucracy has forsaken the idea of the world revolution and uses the phrase only in the ritual on holiday celebrations should by this time be clear to everyone who keeps fairly well informed with ideas and events.

What it is incumbent upon every revolutionary Marxist to assert and emphasize is that the abandonment of the world revolution represents the greatest danger to the Soviet Union. To the middle class intellectuals Stalin gives evidence of his great "statemanship" by concentrating on "building socialism in one country". To them, comrade Trotsky is the wild revolutionary without a sense of "realism". To the working class revolutionist

Stalin's path means inevitable disaster and betrayal of the international working class, including the Russian. This explains why so many of the New Republic and Nation enthusiasts are flocking to the banner of Stalinism at the time when revolutionary Marxists are expelled from the Communist parties.

When in the early part of 1933 I became acquainted with Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program" I immediately knew who represented the truth of revolutionary Marxism. I hoped, however, that the Communist International would be compelled by the force of events to change its policies. I was not convinced that it was necessary to follow comrade Trotsky in making an open and intransigent struggle against the destructive ideas and tactics of the Comintern. Only my very closest friends knew where my sympathies lay. The party functionaries knew that I followed Trotsky's writings very closely and expressed some displeasure but attributed my interest to the fact that I was not a worker but an intellectual.

My five months in the Soviet Union in 1931 left me more disturbed than ever. On the one hand I saw the successful building of huge factories, while on the other hand I saw evident signs of degeneration in the party, and working class and peasant dissatisfaction. Fortunately in the last month of my stay I came in contact with an American-Jewish worker in Kharkov, and my first enthusiasm engendered by the appearance of huge factories was tempered by a more intimate knowledge of the life of the Soviet worker revealed to me by the New York machinists who left the United States because he heard (Olgin, in a lecture, describe the Soviet Union as a veritable paradise.

Testimony of Russian Party Members
The economic hardships for the workers and peasants, however, were not in themselves sufficient to cause one to change his views on basic principles. Difficulties and hardships are to be expected. In 1931, the effect of the adventurous policies of the "liquidation of the kulak as a class" and "the five year plan in four" was not yet fully apparent. There was a great deal of hope that the end of the five year plan would witness a marked improvement.

What was most disturbing was the intellectually stifling atmosphere in the party. Several times party members, when with me alone, asked me in a whisper concerning the whereabouts of Trotsky. They did not even know that he was in Turkey. The party members had a grotesque picture of conditions in capitalist countries. Discussion in the party units revolved around how best to carry out the party line. It was no longer a Communist party—that is, a living, thinking, functioning group of class-conscious workers but a huge machine unthinkingly carrying out the behests of "the leader". Upon my return to the United States I was determined to give the Chicago workers who were interested a more realistic picture of the Soviet Union. Though more convinced than ever that Trotsky was right in his criticism of Stalin's economic policies in the Soviet Union, I was not yet prepared to begin a struggle in the open. I therefore omitted many things in my lectures on the Soviet Union. I simply warned my listeners not to go to the Soviet Union for the purpose of remaining there.

The German Lesson
It was the German situation and the insane policies followed by the C. I. bureaucrats that convinced me of the necessity of an open fight against these policies. It became obvious that not to struggle against the Comintern "line" amounted to an actual betrayal. Comrade Trotsky was absolutely correct in his open and uncompromising struggle against the revisionism of Stalin and his fellow-bureaucrats. No longer quiet, but speaking openly against the C. I. line, I was immediately expelled.

I knew, of course, that I belonged to the Left Opposition. Nevertheless I would not join without getting in touch with the "Lovestones" and reading their literature over again. The more I read of their position, the more I talked with their representatives, the more disgusted I became. The two-Stalin idea—one the correct Stalin for the Soviet Union and the other the incorrect one for the capitalist countries—was sickening. Herberg's article in the *Modern Monthly* explaining the position of the Lovestones was the last straw. It is pitiful for anyone to attempt to make such a sharp distinction between Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries. It is a denial of Marxism for anyone to say: the principles are correct, only the tactics are wrong.

The Principles of Marx and Lenin
I have joined the Left Opposition because it represents the interests of the international revolutionary working class. It is clear to me that the principles upon which it stands are based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin and free from the fifth and revisionism of Stalin and his obedient satellites in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries.

He who understands the principles of revolutionary Marxism and who is not afraid to struggle for those principles has only one road to follow—to build a new party and a new international under the leadership of the Left Opposition.

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

MASQUERADE BALL

ON
New Years Eve
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December 31st 1933

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Aspirants: New York Local, Communist League of America (Opposition)

THE LANGUAGE OF BOLSHIEVİK DIPLOMACY

(Note of Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin to President Woodrow Wilson, transmitted through the Norwegian Attaché in Moscow, October 24, 1918).

Mr. President,

In your message of January 8th to the Congress of the United States of North America, in the sixth point, you spoke of your profound sympathy for Russia, which was then conducting, single-handed, negotiations with the mighty German Imperialism. Your program, you declared, demands the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and national policy, and assure her a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. And you added that "the treatment accorded to Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

The desperate struggle which we were waging at Brest-Litovsk against German Imperialism apparently only intensified your sympathy

«Ours Is a People's Government Yours Is Not» - Chicherin to Wilson

for Soviet Russia, for you send greetings to the Congress of the Soviets, which under the threat of a German offensive ratified the Brest peace of violence—greetings and assurance that Soviet Russia might count upon American help.

Test of American Capitalism's "Good Will"

Six months have passed since then, and the Russian people have had sufficient time to get actual test of your Government's and your Allies' good will, of their comprehension of the needs of the Russian people, of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy. This attitude of your Government and of your Allies was shown first of all in the conspiracy which was organized on Russian territory with the financial assistance of your French Allies and with the diplomatic co-operation of your Government as well as the conspiracy of the Czech-Slovaks to whom your Government is furnishing every kind of assistance. For some time attempts had been made to create a pretext for a war between Russia and the United States by spreading false stories to the effect that German war prisoners had seized the Siberian railway, but your own officers, and after them Colonel Robins, the head

of your Red Cross Mission, had been convinced that these allegations were absolutely false. The Czech-Slovak conspiracy was organized under the slogan that unless these misled unfortunate people be protected, they would be surrendered to Germany and Austria; but you may find out, among other sources, from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, of the French Military Mission, how unfounded this charge is.

The Czech-Slovaks would have left Russia in the beginning of the year had the French Government provided ships for them. For several months we have waited in vain for your Allies to provide the opportunity for the Czech-Slovaks to leave. Evidently these Governments have very much preferred the presence of the Czech-Slovaks in Russia—the results show for what object—to their departure for France and their participation in the fighting on the French front. The best proof of the real object of the Czech-Slovak rebellion is the fact that although in control of the Siberian railway, the Czech-Slovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by the order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, have remained in Russia to become the

mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution.

Promises and Performances

Their counter-revolutionary mutiny, which made impossible the transportation of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which cut off the Russian workers and peasants from the Siberian stores of grain and other materials and condemned them to starvation—this was the first experience of the workers and peasants of Russia with your Government and with your Allies after your promises of the beginning of the year. And then came another experience; an attack on North Russia by Allied troops, including American troops, their invasion of Russian territory without any cause and without a declaration of war, the occupation of Russian cities and villages, executions of Soviet officials and other acts of violence against the peaceful population of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czech-Slovak troops, and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in November, 1917. The revival of the Russian counter-revolution which has already become a corpse, attempts to restore by force its bloody domination over the Russian people—such was the experience of the Russian people, instead of co-operation of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

Wilson's "Assistance" to Russia

You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for independence. Actually this is what has occurred: While the Russian people were fighting on the South front against the counter-revolution, which has betrayed them to German Imperialism and was threatening their independence, while they were using all their energy to organize the defense of their territory against Germany at their Western frontiers, they were forced to move their troops to the East to oppose the Czech-Slovaks who were bringing them slavery and oppression, and to the North—against your Allies and your troops, which had invaded their territory, and against the counter-revolutionary organized by these troops.

Mr. President, the acid test of the relations between the United States and Russia gave quite different results from those that might have been expected from your message to the Congress. But we have reason not to be altogether dissatisfied with even these results, since the outrages of the counter-revolution in the East and North have shown the workers and peasants of Russia the aims of the Russian counter-revolution, and of its foreign supporters, thereby creating among the Russian people an iron will to defend their liberty and the conquests of the revolution, to defend the land that it has given to the peasants and the factories that it has given to the workers. The fall of Kazan, Symbrysk, Syzran and Samara should make clear to you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for you of the actions which followed your promises of January 8. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disciplined Red Army, which is daily growing stronger and more powerful and which is learning to defend the revolution.

The attitude toward us which was actually displayed by your Government and by your Allies could not destroy us; on the contrary, we are now stronger than we were a few months ago, and your present proposal of international negotiations for a general peace finds us alive and strong and in a position to give in the name of Russia our consent to join the negotiations. In your note to Germany you demand the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition which must precede the armistice during which peace negotiations shall begin. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions, and we ask you to notify us when you, Mr. President, and your Allies intend to remove your troops from Murmansk, Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice unless Germany will stop the outrages, pillaging, etc., during the evacuation of occupied territory. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your Allies will order the Czech-Slovaks to return the part of our gold reserve fund which they seized in Kazan, that you will forbid them to continue as heretofore their acts of pillaging and outrages against the workers and peasants during their forced departure (for we will encourage their speedy departure, without waiting for your order).

«Ours is a People's Government, Yours is Not».

With regard to your other peace terms, namely, that the Government would conclude peace must express the will of their people, you are aware that our Government fully satisfies this condition. Our government expresses the will of

«Your Post Is Not Yet Taken by Debs» Said Soviet Commissar to U.S. President

the Councils of Workmen's Peasants', and Red Army Deputies, representing at least eighty per cent of the Russian people. This cannot, Mr. President, be said about your Government. But for the sake of humanity and peace we do not demand as a prerequisite for general peace negotiations that all nations participating in the negotiations shall be represented by Councils of Peoples' Commissars elected at a Congress of Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. We know that this form of Government will soon be the general form, and that a general peace, when nations will no more be threatened with defeat, will leave them free to put an end to the system and the cliques that forced upon mankind this universal slaughter, and which will, in spite of themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments that give exact expression to their will.

Agreeing to participate at present in negotiation with even such governments as do not yet express the will of the people, we would like on our part to find out from you, Mr. President, in detail what is your conception of the League of Nations, which you propose as the crowning work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Siberia, Belgium, and freedom for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean by this that the masses of the people must everywhere first become the masters of their own fate in order to unite afterward in a league of free nations. But strangely enough, we do not find among your demands the liberation of Ireland, Egypt or India, nor even the liberation of the Philippines, and we would be very sorry if these peoples should be denied the opportunity to participate together with us, through their freely elected representatives, in the organization of the League of Nations.

For the Cancellation of War Debts

We would also, Mr. President, very much like to know, before the negotiations, with regard to the formation of a League of Nations, have begun, what is your conception of the solution of many economic questions which are essential for the cause of future peace. You do not mention the war expenditures—this unbearable burden which the masses would have to carry, unless the League of Nations should renounce payments on the loans to the capitalists of all countries. You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the outcome of the policies of all capitalist nations, that the governments of all countries were continually piling up armaments, that the ruling groups of all civilized nations pursued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore, be extremely unjust if the masses, having paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic ruin, should yet pay to those who are really responsible for the war a tribute for their policies which resulted in all these countless miseries. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, the annulment of the war loans as the basis of the League of Nations. As to the restoration of the countries that were laid waste by the war, we believe it is only just that all nations should in this respect aid the unfortunate Belgium, Poland and Sib-

eria; and however poor and ruined Russia seems to be, she is ready on her part to do everything she can to help these victims of the war, and she expects that American capital, which has not at all suffered from this war and has even made many millions in profits out of it, will do its part to help these peoples.

Aims of the League of Nations

But the League of Nations should not only liquidate the present war, but also make impossible any wars in the future. You must be aware, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country are planning to apply in the future the same policies of enroachment and of super-profits in China and in Siberia; and that, fearing competition from Japanese capitalists, they are preparing a military force to overcome the resistance which they meet from Japan. You are no doubt aware of similar plans of the capitalists and ruling circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other peoples. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that the factories, mines and banks must not be left in the hands of private persons, who have always made use of the vast means of production created by the masses of the people to export products and capital to foreign countries in order to reap super-profits in return for the benefits forced on them, their struggle for spoils, resulting in imperialistic wars.

"Expropriate the Capitalists"

We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. In your country, Mr. President, the banks and the industries are in the hands of such a small group of capitalists that, as your personal friend, Colonel Robins assured us, the arrest of twenty heads of capitalist cliques and the transfer of the control, which by characteristic capitalist methods they have come to possess, into the hands of the masses of the world is all that would be required to destroy the principal source of new wars.

If you will agree to this, Mr. President—if the sources of future wars will thus be destroyed, then there can be no doubt that it would be easy to remove all economic barriers and that all peoples, controlling the means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging the things they need. It will then be a question of an exchange of products between nations, each of which produces what it can best produce, and the League of Nations will be a league of mutual aid of the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal safety.

Appeal to American Workers

We know very well that the selfish capitalist class will attempt to create this internal menace, just as the Russian landlords and capitalists are now attempting, with the aid of American, English and French armed forces, to take the factories from the workers and the land from the peasants. But, if the American workers, inspired by your idea of a League of Nations, will crush the resistance of the American capitalists as we have crushed the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a serious menace to the victorious working class, and it will then suffice, if every member

of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two hours daily for several months in learning the use of arms, so that the whole people will know how to overcome the internal menace.

And so, Mr. President, though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless accept as a basis your proposals about peace and about a League of Nations. We have tried to formulate with precision your proposals on the League of Nations in order that the League of Nations should not turn out to be a league of capitalists against the nations. Should you not agree with us, we have no objection to an "open discussion of your peace terms", as the first point of your peace program demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will easily agree on the details.

"Which Is the Real President?"

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the president of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion and we have also had dealings with the president of the League of Nations' Peace Program. Is not the first of these—the real president—actually directing the policies of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government rather a government of the American corporations, of the American industrial, commercial and railroad trusts, of the American banks—in short, a government of the American capitalists? And is it not possible that the proposals of this government about the creation of a League of Nations will result in new chains for the peoples, in the organization of an international trust for the exploitation of the workers and the suppression of weak nations? In this latter case, Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply to our questions, and we will say to the workers of all countries: Beware! Millions of your brothers, thrown at each other's throats by the bourgeoisie of all countries, are still perishing on the battlefields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understanding for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive, when they call to account the criminals who caused the war!

"Your Post Is Not Yet Taken by Debs."

However, Mr. President, since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, even though your government has not yet been replaced by a Council of Peoples' Commissars and your post is not yet taken by Eugene Debs, whom you have imprisoned; since we do not at all desire to wage war against England, even though the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George has not yet been replaced by a Council of Peoples' Commissars with Mac-Lennan at its head; since we have no desire to wage war against France, even though the capitalist government of Clemenceau has not yet been replaced by a workers' government of Merheim; just as we have concluded peace with the imperialist government of Germany, with Emperor William at its head, from whom you, Mr. President, feel as alien as we, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, from you—we finally propose to you, Mr. President, that you take up with your Allies the following questions and give us precise and definite replies: Do the governments of the United States, England and France consent to cease demanding the blood of the Russian people until they agree to pay them a ransom such as a man who has been suddenly attacked pays to the one who attacked him? If so, just what tribute do the governments of the United States, England and France demand from the Russian people? Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Caucasus, or perhaps the Murmansk Coast?

"State Your Demands Clearly"

The Russian people, through the people's Red Army, are guarding their territory and are bravely fighting against your invasion and against the attacks of your Allies. But your government and the governments of the other Powers of the Entente, undoubtedly, have well prepared plans, for the sake of which you are shedding the blood of your soldiers. We will expect that you will state your demands clearly and definitely. Should we, however, be disappointed should you fail to reply to our quite definite and precise questions we will draw the only possible conclusion—that we are justified in the assumption that your government and the governments of your Allies desire to get from the Russian people a tribute both in money and in natural resources of Russia, and territorial concessions as well. We will tell this to the Russian people as well as to the toiling masses of other countries, and the absence of a reply from you will serve for us a silent reply. The Russian people will then understand that the demands of your government and of the governments of your Allies are so severe and vast that you do not even communicate them to the Russian Government.

gram of the Left Opposition—George Ray.

History of the Russian Revolution—Sam Gordon.

Wednesday Evenings: Fundamentals of Marxism—Joe Carter. Principles of Communism—Max Geltman.

LEON TROTSKY

Our Present Tasks

The victory of national-socialism in Germany brought about in other countries not the strengthening of Communist but of democratic tendencies. In an especially clear form we see this in the examples of England and Norway. But the same process is undoubtedly taking place in a series of other countries as well. It is very possible that the social-democracy of Belgium, in particular, will in the nearest future go through a period of a new political ascent. That reformism is the worst break on historic development and that the social-democracy is doomed to failure—this is ABC to us. But the ABC alone does not suffice. In the general historic decline of reformism just as in the decline of capitalism, periods of temporary rise are inevitable. The candle burns most brightly before it goes out. The formula: either Fascism or Communism is absolutely correct, but only in the final historic analysis. The destructive policy of the Comintern supported by the authority of the workers' state has not only compromised revolutionary methods but has also given to the social-democracy, defiled by crimes and treacheries, the opportunity of raising up again over the working class the banner of democracy as the banner of salvation.

The Workers Dread Fascism

Tens of millions of workers are alarmed to the very depths of their hearts by the danger of Fascism. Hitler showed them again what the destruction of working class organizations and of elementary democratic rights means. The Stalinists kept on asserting for the last couple of years that there is no difference between Fascism and democracy, that Fascism and social-democracy are twins. On the tragic experience of Germany the workers of the whole world convinced themselves of the criminal absurdity of such assertions. Therefore the further decline of the Stalinist parties under conditions exceptionally favorable for the revolutionary wing. Therefore also the desire of the workers to hold on to their mass organizations and to their democratic rights. Thanks to the ten-year criminal policy of the Stalinized Comintern the political problem presents itself to the consciousness of the many-millioned working class masses not in the form of a decisive alternative: the dictatorship of Fascism or the dictatorship of the proletariat, but in a form of a more primitive and vague alternative: Fascism or democracy.

Take the Situations As It Is

We must take the resultant political situation as it is without creating any illusions. Of course, we remain always true to ourselves and to our banner; always and under all conditions we say openly who we are, what we want and where we are going. But we cannot force our program on the masses mechanically. The experience of the Stalinists on this score is sufficiently eloquent. Instead of coupling their locomotive to the train of the working class and accelerating its movement forward, the Stalinists attached their locomotive with a loud whistle towards the train of the proletariat and sometimes even collide with it so that only scrap is left of the small locomotive. The consequences of such policy are evident: in some countries the proletariat has fallen a defenseless victim of Fascism, in others it has been thrown back to the positions of reformism.

The Struggle for Democratic "Rights"

There can be no thought of course of a serious and protracted regeneration of reformism. It is really

not a question of reformism in the wide sense of the word but of the instinctive desire of the workers to safeguard their organizations and their "rights". From this purely defensive and purely conservative position the working class can and must in the process of struggle go over to a revolutionary offensive along the whole line. The offensive, in its turn, must make the masses more susceptible to great revolutionary tasks and consequently to our program. But to achieve this we must go through the period opening up before us, first ranks, without dissolving in them but also without detaching from them.

The Stalinists (and their miserable imitators, the Brandelists) declared democratic slogans under prohibition for all the countries of the world: for India which did not as yet accomplish its liberating national revolution; for Spain where the proletarian vanguard must yet find the ways for transforming the creeping bourgeois revolution into a socialist one; for Germany, where the crushed and atomized proletariat is deprived of all that is achieved during the last century; for Belgium the proletariat, which does not take its eyes off its Eastern borders and, supports the party of democratic "pacifism" (Vandervelde & Co.). The Stalinists declare the bare renunciation of democratic slogans in a purely abstract way from the general characteristic of our epoch as an epoch of imperialism and of socialist revolution.

Deepen the Channels of Struggle

Thus presented, the question contains not even a grain of dialectics! Democratic slogans and illusions cannot be abolished by decree. It is necessary that the masses go through them and outlive them in the experience of battles. The task of the proletariat consists in coupling its locomotive to the train at the masses. It is necessary to find the dynamic elements in the present defensive position of the working class; we must make the masses draw conclusions from their own democratic logic, we must widen and deepen the channels of the struggle. And on this road quantity passes over into quality.

The Bolsheviks In 1917

Let us recall once more that in 1917 when the Bolsheviks were immeasurably stronger than any one of the present sections of the Comintern they continued to demand the earliest convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the lowering of the voting age, the right of suffrage for soldiers, the election of officials, etc., etc. The main slogan of the Bolsheviks "all power to the Soviets" meant from the beginning of April up to September 1917 all power to the social-democracy (Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries). When the reformists entered into a governmental coalition with the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks put forth the slogan "down with the capitalist ministers". This slogan again: workers, force the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries to take the whole power into their hands! The political experience of the only successful proletarian revolution is perverted and falsified by the Stalinists beyond recognition. Our task here also consists in re-establishing the facts and drawing from them the necessary conclusions for the present.

Our Tasks Today

We, Bolsheviks, consider that the real salvation from Fascism and war lies in the revolutionary conquest of power and the establishing of the proletarian dictatorship.

ship. You, socialist workers, do not agree to this road. You hope not only to save what has been gained but also to move forward along the road of democracy. Good! As long as we have not convinced you and attracted you to our side we are ready to follow this road with you to the end. But we demand that you carry on the struggle for democracy not in words but in deeds. Everybody admits—each in his own way—that in the present conditions a "strong government" is necessary. Well then, make your party open up a real struggle for a strong democratic government. For this it is necessary first of all to sweep away all the remnants of the feudal state. It is necessary to give the suffrage to all men and women who reached their 18th birthday, also to the soldiers in the army. Full concentration of legislative and executive power in the hands of one chamber! Let your party open up a serious campaign under these slogans, let it arouse millions of workers, let it conquer power through the drive of the masses. This at any rate would be a serious attempt of struggle against Fascism and war. We, Bolsheviks, would retain the right to explain to the workers the insufficiency of democratic slogans; we could not take upon ourselves the political responsibility for the social-democratic government; but we would honestly help you in the struggle for such a government; together with you we would repel all attacks of bourgeois reaction. More than that, we would bind ourselves before you not to undertake any revolutionary actions which go beyond the limits of democracy (real democracy) so long as the majority of the workers has not consciously placed itself on the side of revolutionary dictatorship.

Attitude Toward Socialist Workers

For the coming period this should be our attitude towards socialist and non-party workers. Having taken together with them the initial positions of democratic defense, we must impart to this defense immediately a serious proletarian character. We must firmly say to ourselves, we shall not allow that which occurred in Germany! It is necessary that every class-conscious worker permeate himself through and through with the thought of not allowing Fascism to raise its head. It is necessary systematically and persistently to surround workers homes, publishing houses and clubs with a circle of proletarian guards. It is necessary just as persistently to encircle the hearths of Fascism (newspapers, clubs, Fascist barracks) with a proletarian blockade. We must make fighting agreements with political, trade-union, cultural, sport, cooperative and other working class organizations for common actions for the defense of the institutions of proletarian democracy. The more serious and thoughtful, the less loud and boastful character the work will have, the sooner we will gain the confidence of the proletariat, beginning with the youth, and the surer it will lead to victory.

That is the way I picture the basic characteristics of a truly Marxian policy for the coming period. In different countries of Europe this policy will, of course, assume a different form depending on national circumstances. To follow attentively all the changes in the situation and all the shifts in the consciousness of the masses and to put forth at every new stage slogans flowing from the whole situation—in this consists the task of revolutionary leadership.

—L. TROTSKY.

Nov. 7, 1933

News from Germany

... Little by little something

word about the E. C. C. I. or Stalin.

We also hear that Platinitsky has been gathering material zealously, cross-examining all people coming from Germany in preparation for an attack against Heckert.

(In the meantime Platinitsky has given birth to his scheme in the form of a pamphlet "The present situation in Germany" in which he admits several mistakes of the party to be sure, but only so as to emphasize the absolute correctness of its political line and tactics. Thus the crusade against Heckert has come as a sort of a second addition of a Heckert resolution.—Ed.)

That seems to be the hitch. You will be able to judge much better what it means. In general we say, aside from the fundamental polemics, that the whole hope placed in the new leadership is a deceptive illusion, because Joseph cannot admit the mistakes in Germany especially if we are to judge from the capitulation of Zinoviev. In any case it is only a transitory stage for most of them.

Among those members half inclined to think there is a good deal of sympathy for us but a great thirst for material, especially with regard to questions of building further. (Trade Unions). We have won over several very important people from the middle and higher party apparatus.

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CLASSES OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

The classes of the Brooklyn branch of the International Workers School will begin Monday, Dec. 4th. Classes will begin at 8:00 P. M. and end at 10. Monday Evenings: History and Pro-

EDITORIAL

The Lynching Wave

IN THE outbreak of lynchings that swept the country, striking at three widely separated sections with the fury of a hurricane, an old American custom was repeated with some new and distinctive features which are of exceptional significance. In the present situation such orgies of mob violence as those in California, Maryland and Missouri do not fit into the old pattern.

Mob murder in itself is no novelty in the United States. In the South, as everybody knows, it is an established institution for the repression of the Negroes, operating all the time as an extra-legal supplement to the regular court procedure. In the North, also, lynching has been known before, but it is not "recognized" here as it is in the South and, except in isolated instances, has appeared only in connection with social disturbance.

The frenzied lynching bees of the recent days, however, had their scene in the northern part of the country, or on its border; white men as well as Negroes were victims; there was not one single lynching but three, and those in rapid succession; and the happenings precipitated a hysterical public controversy over the issue, with Governor Rolph, of California, and other prominent people, including—God save the mark!—a New York preacher (who later recanted), openly condoning the bestial actions of the mob. It is clear that last week's lynchings had special features of their own; they represent a new and somewhat different phenomenon, and they arose from a special combination of causes.

The three lynchings did not occur merely because of popular revulsion at some crime of a particularly shocking nature. The California kidnapping was the match that set off the explosions of unrestrained morose hysteria and violence, but the explosive material itself for some kind of an eruption was already there. It consists of the unrest, and dissatisfaction of the people, primarily the ruined petty-bourgeois elements, their uncertainty and their sense of frustration which charge the social atmosphere like a leyden jar.

All of this has been accumulating during the crisis years. It presses for outlet and may readily find it in strange, irrational and violent ways. The lynching hysteria which has swept the country derives from the same source as the fanatical million-headed following of Father Coughlin, the demagogue priest. The real author is the social devastation wrought by the crisis.

The material out of which Fascist gangs, anti-Semitism, religious frenzies and morose lynching mobs all may be set in motion is at hand in the social tension which produced three lynchings within a week. The material for the rapid development of a revolutionary labor movement is there also in the bitter discontent of the workers but a leading force capable of organizing it is so far lacking. The disintegration of the Communist movement aids the one-sided expression of the general mass of social discontent in a Fascist direction.

The popular support received by Governor Rolph, in his stand as the champion of the mob, is a significant indication of the extent to which public imagination was stirred by the San Jose lynching, and even of the widespread vicarious participation in it. Rolph, a demagogue of the first water, appears in this instance more as the reflector of petty-bourgeois mass prejudice and hysteria than as the authentic spokesman of the decisive sections of the ruling class. There is no foundation for the contention (*Daily Worker*, Nov. 30.) that the mob violence was deliberately unleashed at command of the big capitalists and that Rolph speaks in their name. They will come to such a policy in time, of this there is no room for doubt, but it is no part of their design at the present moment. Just the contrary, as an examination of the facts will show.

The inflammatory utterances of Governor Rolph aroused a storm of controversy and revealed a division of opinion. This division, and its nature, must be perceived and understood, not ignored. The lynching governor was "showered with telegrams of approval". But, on the other hand, the capitalist press, led by the big New York dailies, and an imposing committee of "citizens", headed by ex-president Hoover, condemned him. The real present sentiment of the big capitalists was indubitably expressed by them. And for good reasons.

Unrestrained mob action is a dangerous fire to play with under the present conditions. The leading exploiters will not lightly instigate it. They do not feel the need of it yet. Mob hysteria might easily express itself in a different direction under the slightest incitement. As long as the rulers feel themselves secured by the legal processes of repression they will not deliberately encourage extra-legal mob actions. That is why the most authoritative representatives of capital frowned on Rolph's condonement of them.

The psychological factors for a rapid transformation of the social conflict out of the realm of legality and parliamentarism into that of open mass violence, and for the lightning-like emergence of a revolutionary movement on the one side and a fascist movement on the other, have an exceptional strength in America; they are rooted in the tradition of the country as well as in the conditions of the present. The American people of all classes, by and large, have very little regard for "law and order" when it stands in the way of something they really want to do. (The almost universal disregard of the prohibitory law is an interesting illustration of this attitude on a wide scale.)

American labor history has been written in struggle violent and bloody. Many a strike took the form of armed conflict; few pass without violent clashes. On the other hand, the American capitalists never hesitated to go outside the bounds of their own legality when the exigencies of the class struggle required it. Frank Little was killed by lynchers. So also was Wesley Everest and many other labor militants. The radical workers were dragged into support of the war or bludgeoned into silence by official lynching mobs which supplemented the legal compulsion of the state authority. A good half or more of the brutal violence against the workers in strikes is the work of unofficial thugs and gunmen. When the two main classes in this country get ready to settle accounts, and long before they come to the final account, the "legal" framework of the struggle will have been shattered to bits.

The reservoir of mass violence in America is a huge one, and the events of the past week have demonstrated how easily it can be tapped, and with what unbridled fury it can rage. The mob of humans turned into wild beasts who mutilated and killed the two helpless prisoners at San Jose, and that far bigger mob of vicarious participants who applauded them from afar, have presented a spectacle of menacing implications to the labor movement.

The same mobs can be directed against the workers. They are the material out of which the murderous bands of Fascism can be organized when the big exploiters feel the need of them. The working class had every reason to take alarm at the spread of lynching and to raise a mighty protest against every official condonement of it. But the bare appeal from mob violence to ordered legal processes—the sum and substance of liberal and socialist agitation—does not touch the heart of the issue. The problem is rooted in the social conditions of the class society just as the whole oppressive system of class justice is. The same class forces which administer the "law" need only to sense a danger to their rule in order to organize and bribe the dregs of society and hurl them against the workers with unrestrained violence. To rely solely on capitalist legal procedure in the struggle against lynching and other forms of illegal mass violence is to clear the way for the latter. Under different circumstances the force behind each is the same.

The movement of Fascism does not come into existence at the command of the capitalists. It arises out of the conditions created by capitalism at a certain stage of its disintegration as a social and economic system. Its troops, for the greater part, are the petty bourgeois elements, ruined and driven to frenzy by the crisis. The movement is aimed, at its inception, against big capital as well as against the labor movement. The former take over the movement and hurl it against the workers if the latter do not show sufficient strength to crush the movement of Fascism and gain the support of the petty-bourgeois masses for their revolutionary program.

These fundamental considerations should be kept in mind in connection with the various manifestations of incipient Fascism in America. The revolutionary labor movement and the movement of Fascism both grow out of the same social conditions. The devastating crisis of American capitalism has prepared the soil for both. What is most alarming in the present developments is the increasing number of signs that the restless and dissatisfied petty bourgeois elements are finding expression in various ways which, taken together, lead in the direction of a Fascist movement. The lynching orgy of the past week was undoubtedly such a sign—one of many. Of the revolutionary counter-movement among the masses there is hardly a trace.

For this one-sided development, which is fraught with so much danger to the working class, the conditions themselves are not to blame. All the objective requisites for the speedy development of a revolutionary movement in the working class have been maturing under the enormous pressure of the crisis. What is lacking to organize it and set it on its feet is a revolutionary Communist party. The disintegration brought into the movement by Stalinism has taken a fearful toll. Stalinism has destroyed the Communist Party. We must build a new one without delay. This is the imperative warning sounded again in the events of the past week.

Mass Fight Needed in Scottsboro Case

(Continued from page 1)

the way they have been kept alive thus far. That is the only way they can be snatched free from the blood lust of the bourgeois tiger. There is no other way.

That is where the defense made a major strategic mistake. The mass movement which has kept the boys alive for almost three years has been allowed to die down. Here and there they get up a demonstration, but the militancy and the numbers of the early days of the movement are gone.

Playing Down Class Issue
The policy of playing down the class nature of the case was carried out in the courtroom. There was no talk of the misery of the southern workers which drove the nine boys to roam the country on freight trains looking for work to supplement the pittance their mothers drudged eked out. No word was said of the frightful oppression of the negro masses. It was all a strictly legal question with the defense. At least that is how they fought it.

On the legal plane it is all in favor of the capitalists. It is their court, their law, their judge. WE are there on sufferance because of the hard fight we put up for two years on three continents to save these innocent boys from death or

life imprisonment. When we fail to bring that fight right into the courtroom we give the judge a chance to put on a show of a fair trial, we thereby say in effect that the capitalists are right, that justice is above the classes equal and impartial.

Change of Strategy Needed
Without losing any more time we have got to change this strategy. If the boys are to be saved the workers must be mobilized. How? There are four million organized in the A. F. of L. There are a million in the railroad brotherhoods, several thousands more in the T. U. U. L. I. W. W., independent unions, Socialist Party, Communist Party, etc. There are a number of defense organizations. We think that all of these organizations should be asked to come together in one united front movement to fight for the immediate, unconditional and safe release of the Scottsboro boys.

When the united front conferences are organized we will be there to participate in the work. And we are going to insist on one thing; the first duty of the movement is the mobilization of the workers in mass meetings, demonstrations, parades, in every form of protest that is known to the working class.

The banner of the working class

is stained with the blood of Sacco and Vanzetti, with the blood of hundreds and thousands of its sons and daughters, done to death under the wheels of the capitalist juggernaut. It is woven of the sufferings of thousands more, of Mooney and the historic though, so far, unsuccessful struggle to set him free.

If the working class will inscribe on its banner the immediate, unconditional and safe release of the Scottsboro boys, and organize to fight for their freedom they can be set free.

S. W. P. Workers Get Long Term Sentences

(Continued from Page 1)

brought in together and had to witness their comrades' torture, even being compelled to beat each other. "By these methods, in most cases, the desired 'confessions' were achieved. There was no difference in the treatment of the accused, whether they were young or old, men or women....

"This inhuman treatment was increased in some cases.... A 23 year old toolsmith—Gerhard Schwenke—was arrested with others. After an unsuccessful attempt to escape he was beaten up until he broke down, streaming with blood. Then he was thrown into the cellar of the bar-

L. A. Needle Trades Strike

(Continued from page 1)

adoption in order to "make it easier for our union members to do their work in the shops. Los Angeles has been so long unorganized we dressmakers must be content with whatever we can get." Which proposal the strike committee indignantly and unanimously voted against and demanded a strike immediately for the closed shop.

The season was almost over. Only a consistently militant strike would win. The leadership was forced to call a strike, and did so on October 12, after wasting three precious weeks, and laying plans in the meanwhile for the further carrying out of their class-collaboration policies.

Turn-Out of Strikers

From the first the turn-out of the workers was remarkable. Thousands of workers, unorganized, uneducated, 60% Mexican and 90% with no understanding of unionism whatsoever, responded to the strike call, with enthusiasm and militancy. The courage of the women strikers, for they composed the bulk of the strikers, is a story that marks a turn in the history of labor unionism in Los Angeles. Scabs in other industries will do well to remember the experiences of the scabs in this strike.

In the midst of such militancy and after about two weeks of striking, an invitation to arbitrate was sent to the union and the bosses by the NKA official.

At this first call, the bosses refused—but not so the leadership of the strikers. In such haste were they to collaborate, they called together a hitherto non-existent executive committee of the strike and with only one dissenting vote, that of the Left wing leader of the cloak-makers, I. Lutsky, voted for arbitration. Of all the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union leadership, Lutsky is the only one who has consistently fought for a

militant policy with militant action and because of which was forced by the leadership to stay out of the dressmakers' strike and take care solely of the cloakmakers.

Workers Against Arbitration

At the strike committee meeting that night, it was clearly seen that the sentiment of the members of the strike committee was overwhelmingly against arbitration. It was pointed out by them that the only question to be arbitrated was the question of union recognition, inasmuch as the bosses conceded our other demands, and union recognition was the one point which should not have been arbitrated. On the basis of our militant struggle, our successful turn-out and our financial resources, as yet, we were in a position to demand union recognition and the closed shop. Add to that also, public opinion and the admission of the NKA Board that they were powerless to act on the hundreds of coded violations we had said in. We resented placing our fate in their hands.

In the face of these arguments by the strike committee, Feinberg was forced to expose his hand. First, he explained that the acceptance was only a maneuver and that the question would never come to arbitration because the bosses would never agree. He explained that this was only a tactic to win over public opinion and sympathy. But the strike committee was not so easily hood-winked. Feinberg had to admit that no matter what the decision of the strike-committee was, he had orders from New York to submit to arbitration and that is what was going to be done. He attempted to calm the workers somewhat by urging them to be content to take a little at a time instead of stubbornly insisting for all their demands.

The Reactionaries' "Maneuver"

The stupidity of the bosses, fortunately for the leadership, saved

them that night. In the midst of the uproar which greeted Feinberg's announcement, the morning papers were brought in with the declaration of the bosses refusing to arbitrate, and Feinberg, and Pesotia and Berg were able to crow, "I told you so, our maneuvers were correct!", forgetting that the workers still remembered that it was no mere maneuver but a direct order from New York which sent them to the arbitration board.

Taking full advantage of the situation, realizing it was a matter of hours before the bosses accepted the arbitration, the leadership called a mass meeting of the strikers for the next afternoon. Allowing no one on the floor, they triumphantly came to the membership to prove the correctness of their "maneuvers" and to ask for a vote of confidence. All but 10 of these present voted confidence in the leadership. The strike committee was powerless to act on the question of arbitration when finally the bosses accepted and a group of "fair-minded citizens" were chosen to settle the burning question of union recognition.

Arbitration Dampens Militancy

From the day the Arbitration Board met, can be marked the decline of the militancy and the lowering of the morale of the strikers. They were ordered by the leadership not to yell "Scab!" and to be "peaceful". When you see scabs walking into your shops, escorted by police and taking your jobs and you are instructed to peacefully and meekly allow them to do so, your spirit is broken and with it came a breaking down of the picket-line and the vigilance of the strikers.

When after a week of arbitration, the strikers were again ordered to be militant, few strikers responded to the call for no one felt like going to jail when the strike was already out of their hands. What few were militant were sent to jail and the strikers became cowed.

After two weeks of arbitration, the dress code was received and on the basis of the code, a "truce" between bosses, represented by the Manufacturers' Association that participated on the Arbitration Board, and the Union was made. Approximately 60% of the strikers were affected. These 60% were to go back to the shops on the basis of the status quo existing 4 days before the strike and were to receive wages and conditions stipulated in the dress code. The rest of the independent shops continued on strike and the Arbitration Board was to continue meeting on the question of union recognition.

Disorganization of Union

When the workers came back, they were met with closed doors. The bosses pleading the slow season, refused to take the militant workers back into the shops. Workers were being discriminated against even more now than before the strike. They have lost time and wages and are rewarded with a disorganized union.

All during the strike the Industrial Union played their usual sectarian role. Instead of participating in the International as class conscious workers, they came in blustering of their membership in the Industrial Union, contributed little militancy on the picket line, and antagonized the workers by their dualism.

The class-collaboration policies of the leaders, the hypocrisy and opportunism of the Lovestonettes, the sexist sectarianism of the Stalinists makes the problem of crystallizing a Left wing in the union with the object the restoring of the morale of the members a difficult one. Yet the class conscious members of the union must courageously set their compass in that direction.

—F. W.

The Railroad Brotherhoods

Craft Divisions of R. R. Workers

As is quite generally known, the railroad workers are divided into 21 separate and independent organizations, in other words, one organization for each craft employed in the industry. The Englishes were first to organize at Detroit, Michigan in 1863, the Conductors followed suit in 1868, the Firemen came next in 1873, and the Brakemen launched their union in 1883. As the other seventeen crafts employed on the railroads matured for organization the fell in line one after the other until the railroad workers found themselves with one union on their hands for each craft in the industry.

New Methods of Transportation

This form of organization was naturally a progressive force as long as it was able to function in the interest of its members, when the railroad corporations were small and each one putting up an independent struggle for its own existence. But things have changed considerably since 1863, when the first railroad union was organized. Locomotives have increased in size regularly about every ten years. Trains have been lengthened in about the same manner. Repair and maintenance work have been improved and modernized by a constant installation of labor saving machinery. The small railroads have been merged into gigantic systems. Their ownership and direct ownership interlocked. Other modes of transportation, such as Motor and Air transport, came upon the scene, to say nothing about Pipe Lines and the Panama Canal.

However, amongst all this change and development in the field of

Transportation we find one notable exception to this general rule, and this is in the Railroad Unions themselves. Their leadership have so far been able to successfully resist every impulse on the part of the membership towards needed changes both as to program and structure of railroad unionism. Seventy years of constant change and development in the mode of transportation means nothing to a craft union official who is able to draw a salary of \$15,000 a year by keeping the railroad worker tied to the craft system.

First of Series of Articles

The above is but a prelude to a series of short articles, which we hope to contribute to the *Militant*, between our working hours, on the Railroad Brotherhoods. In future articles on this topic we will try to point out the several progressive minority movements which are taking on organized form inside of the railroad unions and contribute what we can towards coordinating the efforts of these minorities in the right direction on a proper program.

In concluding this introductory article "On the Railroad Brotherhoods" we urge other railroad workers to contribute articles through the columns of the *Militant* on the problems of the railroad workers and their solution. Our own *Journals* and *Labor* are closed to the ideas of the progressive minority. To print and distribute your own ideas is forbidden by gag laws. Brother "Rails", we need a Minority Movement with a minority press in the Railroad Brotherhoods. Use the *Militant* to promote these ends.

—A. E.

Statement on Montreal Anti-Fascist Conference

To All Organizations Affiliated to the Anti-Fascist and Free Speech Conference in Montreal, To All Working Class Organizations.

At the 3rd session of the Anti-Fascist and Free Speech Conference the delegates of the Left Opposition and Spartacus Youth Club were expelled. This was brought about by the Stalinists who are in control of the conference and who from its beginning made every effort to hush the voice of the Left Opposition delegates going even to the extent of trying to throw them out bodily before the first session opened. This is the conduct of people whose policies have been proclaimed bankrupt by living experience itself, who having no argu-

ments at their disposal, are compelled to resort to such miserable measures to suppress a criticism they cannot bear.

It was these same Stalinists who in Germany before Hitler came to power proclaimed that there was no distinction at all between a capitalist democratic regime and Fascism, that it was impossible to form a united front with the Social Democrats against Hitler, that the socialists were Fascists and he who questioned such wisdom was a Fascist himself. It was these same Stalinists whose senseless policies rendered Hitler the greatest service who served him as a lever without the aid of which it would have been impossible for him to raise himself to power.

At present the conference is reduced to a Stalinist family gathering thanks to their strangulating hold on it. The three sessions held up to now have shown a sharp and progressive decline in attendance. The theories spun by the Stalinists to the effect that one must become a Communist before being able to fight Fascism are a rehashing of the Red United Front—that notorious united fronting with ourselves that led to the German catastrophe. If this is what the Stalinists want then they have succeeded. The conference is, at present, a bulk void of anything but Stalinist faithfulness.

However, there exists an urgent need for an anti-Fascist and free speech conference in Montreal. Although the Fascist attacks on workers organizations have subsided for

the time being, nevertheless, the Fascist threat remains. The internal consolidation of their ranks is taking place. Efforts are being made to organize a closely-knit party.

Against this many-sided attack upon the workers a genuine united front of the working class is needed with a program of united struggle for freedom of speech and organization and against Fascism, while guaranteeing the right of each organization to express its criticism in a constructive manner. We will fight for the formation of such a united front whether along the lines of reforming the present conference or if it should prove necessary by calling a second one.

The puny bureaucrats of Stalinism are far from all-powerful. Before an influx of working class bodies into the conference their strangulating grip should be definitely broken. We call upon the Verduan Workers' Association to take alarm at the abuse of the conference called by them, on the part of the Stalinists. We call upon workers organizations of every description to enter the conference and fight.

Against Fascism!

For Free Speech!

For a Genuine United Front!

For the Reinstatement of the Expelled Left Opposition Delegates

International Left Opposition (Montreal Branch)
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
OF MONTREAL

Notes of the Week

LYNCHING IS once again occupying the center of public attention. The mob murder of the Clarke kidnapers at San Jose and its public condemnation by California's Governor Rolph brought on its trail a wave of repercussions in a mass sentiment. The spectacle of a "law and order" representative endorsing this highest expression of social lawlessness could not help bringing a new courage and new verve to the dregs of American society engaged in the barbarian pastime. Aside from the repetition in St. Joseph, Missouri and the liberation of the Maryland mobsters, there were just as serious reactions of a more general, wide-spread character.

The Atlanta, Georgia correspondent of the *New York Times* has the following to report on the subject: "When Rolph's praise of Lynching was printed, sentiments in line with the following utterances indicate the reaction of certain groups: 'California's my new address now, Let's send all the niggers to California,' 'That California man oughter be President, etc.'"

The tragic heroes of most of the Lynching bees in American history have been Negroes for the greater part. ("From 1889, when records of lynching began to be kept," says the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* of last Sunday, "to 1932, 3,745 persons have been killed by mass violence... 2,954 were Negroes.") The mob act has ever been a weapon of the white rulers of the South to strike terror into the doubly exploited masses of dark-skinned toilers. By his conduct of the "legal" trial of Heywood Patterson, ruling class judge Callahan assured all his fellow barbarians that it will not be necessary for them to "Send all the Niggers to California" to be lynched.

THE TRIAL of Patterson and the rest of the Scottsboro boys dramatizes vividly and with striking clarity the social roots of the Lynch madness. The original frame-up, as is well-known, took place at a time when the black share-croppers of Alabama were stirring in revolt. The Boss class and its liberal agencies are well aware of the social basis of the mob-murder phenomenon. The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching has made some interesting observations on the causes.

In its reports, the Commission investigates the circumstances that lead a crowd of people into the killer frenzy against the Negroes. Some hair-brained professors, it seems, explained "it all" as a sort of mid-summer madness. Lynchings do, to be sure, occur more often in the Summer than in the other seasons, the commission explains, but

"Working and living out of doors in warm weather, mid-summer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in summer, and other factors greatly modify any all-weather explanation... During the summer months, after cultivating is done and harvesting begins, there is little to occupy the time of Negro and white workers on Southern farms... Manhunt and lynchings—afford an avenue of emotional escape from a life so drab and unilluminated that any alternative is welcomed."

The honorable Commission has, willy-nilly, hit the nail on the head: "landlord-tenant relations"—that is what makes the Negro share-cropper the butt of the Lynch organizers. "A life so drab that any alternative is welcomed"—that is what makes the poor whites, declassed proletarians, the instrument in the hands of the landlord Lynch organizers. Can the basis of this species of human rabies be abolished without abolishing the system of boss class dominance which nurtures it? Can the disgrace of Lynching be wiped out in this country without a working class movement to do away with a "life so drab that any alternative is welcomed"?

That is what every sincere fighter against Lynching must ask himself. The workers for their part must make the organized mass protest against Lynch-exponent Rolph and Legal-Lynchier Callahan a forefront task of their class battle.

—G... n.

TERZANI TRIAL POSTPONED WHEN 'GENERAL' SMITH FAILS TO APPEAR

Trial of Athos Terzani, accused of killing his anti-Fascist comrade, Anthony Fierro, was postponed until Dec. 11 when the prosecution declared it was unable to produce its chief witness, Commander Art J. Smith of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America. The court was told that a subpoena had been served on Smith in Baltimore but that he had refused to testify.

Dist. Judge Charles S. Coiden asked Attorney Thomas C. Kadien for time in which to get Smith to appear "by whatever means possible". Opposing this motion, Arthur Garfield Hays, chief of defense counsel, declared there was every reason to believe that Smith would never come to testify against Terzani. He asked Coiden to agree to call for dismissal of the indictment if Smith is still missing when the case comes up again, but Coiden refused to do this.