

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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A Capitalist Budget of 10 Billion Dollars

Debt to Exceed World War Figures; America Pays High Price for World Dominion

President Roosevelt's message to the Seventy-Third Congress calls for a budget of ten billion dollars for the coming fiscal year. Four billion dollars are to meet maturing government obligations; six billion for the current expenditures. This means that the bankers of the country will be able to invest over one and a half billion dollars each month for the next six months in as sound a proposition as can be found under capitalism in its period of decline.

It is estimated that the public debt will rise to thirty billion again, if the President's budget is not chopped to pieces in the house and Senate. Those who support the President's financial program are inviting a comparison of the "recovery" deficit with the World War deficit. The "recovery" deficit is estimated to reach 16 1/2 billion dollars. The expenditures connected with the war, not considering war debts reached the total of 41 billion dollars.

The Price of World Hegemony

The above is just the vulgar economists' way of saying that the price America must pay for world hegemony is very high. It cost over 41 billion to obtain the dominating position in world economy. And now, as the first expenditure, which is by no means the last, it has cost over 16 billion, in the struggle against the other imperialists and the working class of America, to maintain the world position.

In addition to the public debt there are the private debts. The National Industrial Conference Board estimated that private debts for the first crisis year of 1929 reach the figures of a 124 1/2 billion dollars, with interest over 7 billion. The corporations alone had a principal indebtedness of 75 billion. This indebtedness is no problem in periods of prosperity. But when a crisis continues into the fifth year it becomes a major consideration of the whole capitalist class and calls for government "subsidies" through various forms to uphold the tottering economic structure. The vast expenditures through the R. F. C., and other agencies are designed to accomplish this end.

The 1934-1935 budget calls for a half billion for national defense. Two billion so far remain undesignated, which means that a worthwhile share will be spent by the war mongers. The budget also calls for about a billion dollars to be expended in the form of interest.

A Class Budget

The budget that calls for an outlay of ten billion this year and six billion next year is a class budget through and through. It is a form of capitalist subsidies, with crumbs for the working class, depending upon the pressure the working class can exert in demanding relief from low wages and unemployment. Instead of social and unemployment insurance, the capitalist government plans an extension of its present methods of handling the working class.

Sixteen billion dollars dumped into the internal market is a worthwhile stimulant for a capitalist breathing spell. At the same time it is an attempt to find a market for capital investment. The question of capital investment is the key problem of American imperialism.

OPEN FORUM

EUROPE AFTER ONE YEAR OF HITLER

Recently returned from an extensive visit to Europe and Germany

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK

International Workers School
126 East 16th Street

SUNDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1934

8 P. M.

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON
JOSEPH CARTER
Editor of "Young Spartacus"

Fascism in America! PELLEY'S SILVER SHIRTS

(Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of articles devoted to a study and exposure of the budding fascist movement known as the Silver Shirts of America.)

There is a Fascist movement in America. It is small. It is inconspicuous. It lacks popular protagonists. It has no spokesmen in the accredited capitalist press. It is unknown to most American workers. It does not possess state power and is not represented in any governmental office. BUT IT IS GROWING AND IT DISPOSES OF FINANCES, FREELY GIVEN FROM SOME UNDIVULGED SOURCE.

Fascism in the U. S.

To our knowledge, the outstanding Fascist organization in the United States is the Silver Shirts of America with headquarters at Asheville, North Carolina. The literature and form of organization of this outfit, the men in the leadership and the people in back of it, give us the impression that the Silver Shirts are no fly-by-night gathering like the late but unlamented Khaki Shirts of Philadelphia. If not handled in time, and handled properly, they may become a gruesome menace to the labor and revolutionary movement, to the working class fortresses yet to come.

American Fascism, in the guise of the Silver Shirts, has borrowed its stock-in-trade of propaganda, vituperation, sulphur-and-brimstone denunciations from the Fascism that goes goose-stepping on German streets in Brown Shirts. Its creed is not a new one; rabidly anti-semitic, arch-reactionary Communist baiters, violently nationalistic, they have been aptly termed "hill-billy Hitlerites."

The Silver Shirts claim to be a national organization. In *Liberation*, their weekly organ they publish an organization chart which divides the country into "nine incorporated units" and claim, pretend or boast to have tens of thousands of members. *Liberation* is a twelve page magazine printed on expensive paper. Beneath the masthead of the magazine is the ostentatious statement, printed in large type, "Edited by William Dudley Pelley."

"The Chief"

Hitler is known as *der Fuehrer*, Mussolini as *Il Duce* and our own William Dudley Pelley... the "Chief" The chief, who is the organizer, inspirer and leader, who is endowed, according to his own admission, with magical, psychical powers to communicate with the dead and the "beyond" by means of "clairvoyance" and "clairaudience", came to his present pre-eminence by a peculiar yet quite logical road. Up till May 1928, Pelley tells us, he was a "newspaperman", which is only a more euphemistic name for the paid agents of the kept

press. In that year and month in the state of California—take note of the state—he made two discoveries which he makes known to us in the December 1930-March 1931 number of his magazine the *New Liberator*, the forerunner of *Liberation* and incidentally published by the same institution.

Truly "Miraculous"

Under the headline, "The Dead are Alive and Organized", he recounts his "miraculous" discoveries:

"First, I have become convinced by my own investigations and experiences that there is no such thing as death—that life once created cannot die to extinction, that there is one continuous stream of consciousness using many lives for expression, of which physical bodies in a mortal world are the lowest and clumsiest.

"Second, I have become convinced through the training of my psychical faculties, confirmed by messages received by other psychical persons and steadfastly proven by current events, that the outstanding master-brains of the ages—the leaders in religion, statecraft, science and art who have ennobled human society by living in it—have not ceased contact with this earthly sphere... More than this, they have banded themselves together in a vast sublime Lodge of Supernatural Wisdom for a concrete and benevolent earthly purpose. Under the dynamic generalship of Christ, they are contributing their massed intelligence toward the early establishment of an entirely new social order, that shall permanently abolish Ignorance, Depression, Poverty and War." (Pelley's emphasis).

A New Pope

As can be seen from this superstitious clap-trap, refurbished from the childish idiosyncrasy of the dark ages, Mr. Pelley was no ordinary sky-pilot. At one blow Pelley became a pope in his own rights, the direct agent of God and the intermediary

(Continued on page 4)

California Board Denies Parole to Warren Billings

The California State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles has denied the appeal of Warren K. Billings, railroaded with Tom Mooney in 1916 for the Preparedness Day Parade bomb explosion and co-prisoner with him for 17 years, for parole.

The Parole Board did not render its verdict primarily on the grounds of Billings' guilt or innocence in the supposed crime of 17 years ago but rather on such a basis that once again reveals the underlying cause for the continued imprisonment of these famous class martyrs in the San Quentin and Folsom dungeons.

"Anti-Social Activities"

"Billings", says the Parole Board, "is a second-term prisoner and was active in anti-social activities." Previous statements, emanating from leading spokesmen of the boss class, point to the fact that "anti-social" activities refer to the militant organizational work carried on by Mooney and Billings in the California labor movement prior to America's entry into the war. This Parole Board statement is strikingly similar to remarks of capitalist sycophants to the effect that if Mooney and Billings "couldn't be convicted on the dynamite charges some other charges for indictment would have been found."

Tom Mooney, rejecting an offer for parole, has long ago placed his reliance on mass movement and mass pressure to force a new trial or an exonerating pardon. Billings, on the contrary, recently put his faith in legal action. This decision of the Parole Board has made it quite clear that legal scruples do not concern the American ruling class. He will not even receive a parole on the basis of juridical points.

A Deadly Parallel! Mooney and Billings rot away in the San Quentin and Folsom Bastille while "Sunny Jim" promises to pardon all lynchings.

Senator Davis Makes a Speech for 6 Hour Day

"We have heard recently a lot of intolerant talk about shortening the hours of labor. I believe that the hours of human labor should be shortened as much as possible. Eight hours is too long to work in a blast furnace, a tin plate mill, a glass factory, or a coal mine, if six hours is enough.

"Thirty hours a week is too long to work to fill warehouses with goods which we do not sell; too long to work to raise corn to burn; too long to work to raise wheat to feed pigs only to convert them into soap and fertilizer; too long to work to plow under every third furrow of cotton."

This is the statement none other than Senator James J. Davis of Pennsylvania, reactionary and cog in the Coolidge, Harding and Hoover administration. A good statement for the six-hour day but the same man as Secretary of Labor was deporting foreign born militant workers and breaking strikes for the shortening of hours.

The Mystery of Van der Lubbe

"DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES"

Few people believed there was any chance of Goering permitting Marinus Van der Lubbe to escape the guillotine for any length of time. But many were surprised by the sudden and stealthy manner in which he was done away with. The official Nazi statement that he was sane when executed, the official Nazi autopsy, add nothing to our understanding of Lubbe's strange behavior before, during and after the trial. The sudden execution, however, begins to be quite comprehensible when one recalls that on two occasions in the courtroom, Van der Lubbe underwent sudden transformation.

He generally sat slumped in his chair, his head between his knees in a position which the *New York Times* correspondent described as almost impossible for a normal human being to maintain for more than a few minutes, and he generally answered questions with a mumble, if at all. On two occasions, however, he stood erect, his eyes alight and in a clear voice announced that he alone was responsible for the crime. Was there not the possibility that if he had remained alive for any length of time after the trial, he might, in another moment of clarity, have made some disclosures which Goering would rather not have heard even by a Nazi jailer?

A Suspicious Incident

This question calls to mind an incident which occurred during the Leipzig trial and which, as far as I know, has never been reported in America. On September 27, the official ("coordinated") Wolff Telegraphic Bureau reported that on the previous day one "Professor" Sodermann of Stockholm had examined Van der Lubbe in his cell. This, the first visit of an outsider to the prisoner, was regarded as important because of widespread suspicions that the latter's stupor was artificially induced. Reliable doctors, for

example, had stated that his behavior seemed to resemble that of a person subjected to steady doses of scopolamin. This drug is little known except to specialists in curing morphine addicts, and to their patients, of whom only one, Goering, is a member of Hitler's Cabinet. According to Wolff's, the "Professor's" examination revealed no sign of mistreatment or poison; he added that Van der Lubbe's behavior must be simulated.

Learning from Stockholm that the "Professor" was unknown to medical or university authorities there, interested parties outside Germany reached him by telephone at Leipzig. (Continued on page 4)

Clear the Decks!

Clear the decks for the biggest subscription campaign we have ever conducted!

The circulation of the *Militant* has nearly doubled in recent months. Now we are going after new records with a special price inducement.

Here is the proposition:

25 cents for a six-month's sub in clubs of four! Four prepaid sub-cards, each good for a six-month's sub, can be secured for one dollar. Send in your dollar today and sell the cards later to your friend and fellow-workers. Or, if you lack the dollar to advance, collect the four 25-cent subs and send them in all together with the dollar.

This is a special campaign to increase circulation quickly at the bare cost of producing the extra copies. We are counting on the enthusiastic cooperation of all the old *Militant* Builders and a host of new ones to make a success of the campaign. Before starting out, please note the following points:

1. No bookkeeping, no credit. Cash must accompany all orders.
2. Prepaid sub cards. The special 25c prepaid subs are printed on postcards ready for mailing. All that is needed is to fill in the name of the subscriber and drop it in the mail box.
3. The special rate can be obtained only in clubs of four or more. The regular rate of \$1 per year and 50c for six months remains on all other subscriptions.

4. Every week the *Militant* will print the record of results. This campaign is especially designed to stir individual comrades into action. We want to establish direct contact with all who participate and hope to see the names of many new *Militant* Builders in the weekly report.

5. We want the active Builders to help in the promotion of the campaign by explaining how they work so that we can pass the experience on to others. The Builders Column during this campaign is to be collectively edited by the comrades in the field. There are no prizes offered in this special campaign and no goal is set at present. The special offer will hold good for only a limited time and we do not want to guess what the result will be. We intend to set a goal, however, and to reach it. The mark we set will be determined in the next week or two on the basis of the response to this appeal and the votes of the active builders. With your first batch of subs at the special rate send in your proposal for the goal of the campaign.

Various methods can be used in piling up the subs. The one that seems most feasible to us, however, is for individual comrades to put a dollar or more into a revolving fund during the drive. Invest the money in prepaid sub cards, sell them at 25c each and buy another bunch. Keep the dollar working till we bring the new campaign to a successful conclusion.

War Sparks Fly in Far East; Powers Arm

Wall Street Plays Its Own Game in Recognition and Prepares for Coming War in Pacific

Speaking before the Soviet Congress on December 29th, Litvinoff said: "Inasmuch as she herself is deeply interested in the preservation of peace, America has become by contact with our union one of the most powerful factors for peace and is cooperating with us to

that end". Further on in his report he added: "It must not be thought that all capitalist governments are aiming at war. For many of them, that is far from being the case, which is why we who earnestly desire peace are eager and ready to cooperate with genuinely pacifist countries—and sections of public opinion in any country, where we find them." (*New York Times*, December 30th). Among Litvinoff's "genuinely pacifist countries" the United States is apparently to be counted.

Kerensky Minister Reveals Jap War Aims

That the Japanese militarists are making large-scale, feverish preparations for an attack on the Workers Fatherland, the Soviet Union, and are awaiting the proper moment to strike the blow which will start war, is predicted by Major-General A. Yakhontoff, chief of operations, during the World War of the Tenth Imperial Russian Army and Secretary of War in the Kerensky cabinet, now in Tucson, Arizona.

He characterizes the huge military budget of the Japanese Cabinet as the "laying of the gallows trap that will catapult the nations eventually into another world conflagration."

"This is Japan's answer to American Recognition of Russia. All that the Far East needs now is another Serbian assassination to fan the smoldering tinder into a roaring cauldron.

"Japan's munition factories are operating at full speed. Plans are being rushed for the building of several new warships. The size of the army will be increased. The militarists are doing everything in their power to arm the country and to train it for war.

"Russia is doing the same. Even the United States will finally be forced to enter into this race for more armaments. And then it will be only a matter of time."

Pacifism to Screen War Aims

Both statements, if taken at face value, are of the kind which can serve only to deceive the working masses. But they should not be taken at face value because neither statement is true.

For President Roosevelt the purpose of his declaration is clear. It is meant to shield the actual preparations now being made for the coming furious imperialist conflicts in which the United States will set out for definite conquests on a large scale.

Coming from Litvinoff the declarations quoted carry a devastating disorientation to the revolutionists who have not yet learned to distinguish between the politics of the Stalin regime and those of Lenin's leadership. We need recall only one paragraph of the resolution adopted at the Bolshevik party Congress on May 9, 1917: "Our party will explain to the people with patience and preciseness the truth that war is always bound up indissolubly with the policies of certain definite classes, that this war may only be terminated by a democratic peace if the government powers of at least some of the belligerent countries are handed over to the class of the proletariat and semi-proletariat who are really capable of putting an end to the bondage of capitalism."

U. S. Imperialist Designs
Notwithstanding Litvinoff's de-

(Continued on page 4)

Teachers of Green Urges N.Y. in Protest Nazi Boycott

About a thousand teachers responded to the call of the Teachers Union of New York City to demonstrate at City Hall against La Guardia's one-month furlough plan for all city employees which means an 8 and 1/2 per cent wage cut. The demonstration took place on Monday, January 15. It marks a new step in the leftward trend of the policy of the conservative union administration which hitherto frowned on such action.

A delegation of three went inside to see the "little Napoleon". After some time they came out and re-

(Continued on Page 4)

Tracing the steps of the German Nazis in taking over the trade unions, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a recent statement called for an intensification of the boycott of German goods and services. While condemning the suppression of the free trade unions, the social democracy and the persecution of the German Jews, Green had not a word to say about the reign of terror against the Communists or the recent Reichstag fire frame-up. Even the exposure by the capitalist press of this infamous trial finds no reflection in Green's statement.

The actual role of the German trade union leaders is well illustrated by a quotation from the May 29th Reports of the International Labour Office (Page 272.):

"The Leiparts and the Grassmanns may hypocritically declare their devotion to Hitler as much as they like, but it is better that they should be in prison.

"Those are the actual works of Dr. Ley" (the head of Hitler's trade union organization).

Green quotes these words without comment.

Green's statement should be utilized as a starting point of a movement in the trade unions against Hitlerism. Not a boycott of German goods—which has little effect on Fascism—but a complete economic and industrial boycott of Nazis Germany, should be the slogan of the militants.

The demand for free, non-Fascist, non-government trade unions should be supplemented by the demand for the freedom of all workers organizations, social democratic as well as revolutionary. Above all at the present time it is urgent to raise the demand for the immediate release of Torgler, Dimitroff, Tanev and Popoff and their safe conduct across the German border.

Big Meetings in Hotel Union Drive

New York.—Weekly mass meetings of record breaking proportions are packing the vast auditorium of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union to hear speakers reaffirm the necessity for a general strike as the most effective means of struggle to improve their conditions. In addition to officials and shop delegates of the union the meetings are regularly addressed by Ben Gitlow, J. P. Cannon, Louis Budenz and other prominent militants.

While an overwhelming proportion of workers in other branches of the industry still remain unorganized, a successful organizational drive is going on in the big hotels where the kitchen and dining room departments report 70 to 95 percent unionization. With thousands of workers already enrolled a steady stream of new members pours into the union.

In some of the larger restaurants the workers were forced to join Local 16 of the A. F. of L. at the threat of losing their jobs. At the Casino de Paree, an exclusive Broadway night club, 60 waiters were locked out when they defied the bosses by joining the Amalgamated. The officials of Local 16 attempted to send waiters from the other Broadway Clubs to the Casino de Paree. The waiters, aroused by the treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, refused to scab as many left Local 16 to join the Amalgamated. The locked out waiters are picketing the Casino de Paree.

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBERG MEMORIAL MEETING

Friday, January 26, 1934, 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place and 15th Street

ADMISSION 15c

Lovestone Discovers Esthonia

The articles in the *Militant* commenting on the pledges made to Roosevelt by Litvinov in return for the recognition of the Soviet Union, struck the Stalinists a stiff and telling blow. By his promise to wipe out the Comintern as a factor in American political life, Litvinov—we asserted—had pledged the Soviet republic to something it had never before yielded to the imperialist bourgeoisie. By this, a flourishing Comintern had not, it is true, been suddenly dissolved. Litvinov had merely—we quote from our comments—"given formal and, so to speak, organizational acknowledgment to a process of political liquidation of the Communist International which has been going on under Stalinist rule for ten years and which is not initiated but only crowned by the latest act of perfidy at Washington."

At that time we challenged the Stalinists to prove their contention that "every single one of these articles in some form or other, has been part of the numerous recognition pacts that the Soviet government has signed during the last ten years with the leading powers of Europe." Had their collective mouths been filled with hot water and a bone stuck in their throat, they could not have been less vocal. They supplemented their silence by sending bands of hooligans to break up our mass meetings on the subject of Russian recognition.

Attorney for Stalinism

Yet it would be misguided sentiment to pity the Stalinists in their embarrassment. They neither deserve nor require it, for they have a professional champion. Not unlike the ambulance chaser who inflicts his legal services on the victims of misfortune, the head of the Lovestone group is always on the scene with a ready-drawn brief in defense of his unfortunate, unwilling but not entirely ungrateful client, Stalinism.

The *Daily Worker*, writes one of the unretained members of the firm in the current issue of the *Workers Age*, "has as yet made no attempt to answer the hysterical charges of the anti-Soviet demagogues, with Trotsky himself in the lead. It is incapable of making any serious reply because it is so sterile and ideologically servile, that it cannot even defend its own position." Having thus recorded the mental incompetency and irresponsibility of the defendant, he establishes his own role in the case: "As usual, it is left to the Communist Opposition to explain the policies of the Soviet Union and champion them against its enemies and its doubtful friends."

How do the Lovestoneites proceed to explain, or rather to explain away, the Stalinist policy with regard to American recognition, and particularly the notorious Paragraph 4 of Litvinov's November 16th letter? Very simply. They offer you a choice. They present two different alibis. And each explanation is diametrically opposed to the other! Who knows? they figure. One of the two ought to work.

"Explaining" Paragraph 4.

The first explanation for Paragraph 4 is given in the form of a learned disquisition by Herberg on "The Foundation of Soviet Diplomacy," in the issue of December 15, 1933. "In 1933," he writes, "the situation is surely quite otherwise" than in 1917-1918. "To talk and act in 1933 as in 1918, would not be Marxism, would not be Communism, but would be the crudest sort of petty bourgeois romantic sentimentalism."

"The essence of the problem can be placed as follows. By 1921 (let us remember the date! Not 1918 but 1921—s.) it had become clear to all who had eyes to see that world capitalism had regained its stability and that its immediate collapse was out of the question. It became clear also that there would ensue a period, longer or shorter, in which the Soviet Union would have to live side by side with the capitalist world, economically and politically."

Propaganda Pledge Is Defended by Stalinist Attorneys

It became incumbent upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to revise its foreign as well as domestic course to conform to the new situation."

Explanation No. One, therefore, is that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is not and cannot be the same today as it was in 1918 (or 1921) because of the change in the objective situation. We withhold comment for the moment on the astounding choice which Herberg makes of the date at which world capitalism regained its stability, and merely record the fact that he explains the Litvinov policy at Washington by a now twelve-year old revision of Soviet foreign policy.

Now comes explanation No. Two, for we are dealing with resourceful attorneys who are not, moreover, tyros at acrobatics and jugglery either. Without a ball being dropped, Herberg retires and his place is taken in the very next issue of the *Age* by Hackman, whom we quote above. Two weeks have elapsed between issues and another one is hailed out which directly contradicts the first one. "We have given sufficient proof," Hackman concludes his explanation, "that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin in 1920 and 1921, signed agreements precisely like that which Litvinov has just made with Roosevelt. The 'new situation', the revision of the foreign policy which Herberg establishes for 1921, is not just ignored by Hackman, it is denied and refuted by him!"

What is Hackman's "sufficient proof"? The Lovestoneites have dug deep. To save the tarnished reputation of Stalinism, they must needs and some precedent for Paragraph Four.

And in the quest, the Lovestoneites discovered....Esthonia!

The Soviet Treaty with Esthonia

On February 2, 1920 (that is, a year before Herberg's "world capitalism had regained its stability"), the treaty of peace was signed between Esthonia and Russia. In Article 7, Section 5 of the treaty is to be found a paragraph similar to Litvinov's Paragraph Four. On August 11, 1920, the peace treaty between Latvia and Russia was signed, containing an identical paragraph. The Russo-Polish peace treaty of March 18, 1921 even declares that "each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to create or protect organizations which are formed with the object of encouraging armed conflict against the other Contracting Party or of undermining its territorial integrity, or of subverting by force its political or social institutions."

The attorneys have won the case to their own complete satisfaction. They have presented, they assert, "sufficient proof" and are ready to rest their case. "The Communist International," Hackman concludes, "did not thereby receive a death-blow. The world proletariat was

* Soviet foreign (and domestic) policy did indeed undergo an objectively enforced change in the Lenin period—more than one change, in fact. We do not deal with them here only because they do not affect, one way or the other, the fundamental problem of the relationships between the Soviet government, its diplomacy, the Comintern and the world revolution, on one side, and the bourgeois world on the other. Herberg's references to changes introduced in Soviet foreign policy under "Lenin, with the help of Trotsky" are a Jesuitical attempt to foist upon the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution the responsibility for the truly fundamental change in Soviet policy introduced by Stalinism—the change towards nationalist degeneration.—S.

Pioneer Publishers

In the last two issues of the *Militant* you certainly read the appeal to all comrades and sympathizers to help build up the Pioneers into a great Marxian publishing house. We explained that one of the best ways of doing this is by buying our \$5 certificates. The sum you spend on a certificate is not very large. The benefits you receive in exchange are really great. A Pioneer Publishers certificate entitles you to a 40% discount on all books and pamphlets published by us in the past and to be published in the future. This is something of real value to the student of the revolutionary movement.

This is not all. In addition we will supply you with books of other publishers at a 20% reduction. In a couple of days a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky is going to be off the press. The name of this pamphlet is THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. It will sell for no more than ten cents.

This pamphlet will be followed by two more: Maria Reese's open letter to C. I. and comrade Shachtman's pamphlet on Soviet Diplomacy.

Question: why did Russia refuse to concede those few "conventional phrases" (Herberg) to the great powers, which could have given it in return greatly needed material aid and political prestige, which were far stronger and in an infinitely better position to press for concessions than a country like Esthonia?

Policy of Tenth Soviet Congress

2. At the Tenth All-Russian Soviet Congress, Kamenev declared publicly and officially: "Today, when more than a year and a half have elapsed since Genoa and the Hague, we can say: 'Not only can we not go a single step farther in concessions, but we will henceforth not even make the concessions we offered. I believe that not only our friends but also our foes know quite well that we are realpolitiker, and when we assert this here, then only because time is working for us, because our position is being consolidated more and more, and the decomposition in the camp of our foes reaches deeper and deeper.'"

Question: If Chicherin refused to concede the suppression of the Comintern at Genoa; and if Kamenev solemnly announced a year and a half later that not even the Genoa concessions would be offered any longer; and if his thesis is correct that as Russia grows stronger she will make a still smaller and less important number of concessions—why do Litvinov-Stalin in 1933 (when Russia is declared to be on the very threshold of a classless society!) make precisely that concession which she stubbornly refused to yield in 1922?

—MAX SHACHTMAN.
Continued in the next issue

Discussion Article on the NRA

(Continued from last issue)

The contradictions within capitalism which create unemployment—production for profit, and the rugged—individualism grown out of it—works against any attempted planned economy under this system, this includes the NRA. President Roosevelt however will not so readily admit the failure of the NRA to stop the vast unemployment. The American people up to now have reacted to conditions by "changing their government" (By voting from Republican to Democrat and Democrat and then back to Republican) the NRA has a political significance to the present administration in Washington.

Conditions, together with the contradictions in capitalism have forced the ruling class to include some measures in the NRA which can serve in the favor of the workers—such as the right to collective bargaining, less hours of work, and the scale of wages where it is satisfactory. The workers must fight to maintain these and see to it that the employers do not use those measures for their own benefit by creating company unions, by finding ways of dodging the shorter work hours, and by making the minimum wage for the maximum. At the same time the masses should be made to understand in a clear and simplified manner that the NRA can not overcome the contradictions which exist in capitalism, or check the crisis—If slogans in reference to the NRA are to be raised, they should come out from this direction after interpreting it correctly, as a measure of bourgeois democracy and not as that of Fascism or the beginning of state capitalism.

JACK LONDON CLUB
Labor Lyceum Bld'g.
Chelsea, Mass.

Editor *Militant*,
Comrade:
Please insert notice in *Militant* that the J. L. C. is in need of radical literature of all kinds, advising your readers to send this literature to the Jack London Club at the above address.

Executive Committee,
—JACK LONDON CLUB.

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JUST OFF THE PRESS! IN JEWISH

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE SOVIET UNION (The Class Nature of the Soviet State)

by LEON TROTSKY

In this pamphlet comrade Trotsky discusses the problem that has been uppermost in the minds of all revolutionary workers, since the Left Opposition proclaimed the need of the Fourth International: The problem of the Soviet Union. Are we to build a new party in the Soviet Union? Do we proclaim that there is no longer a proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.? Are we for a new revolution to depose the rule of Stalinism? Also other questions having a bearing on the subject.

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WORKING IN MACY'S MODEL RESTAURANT

In the summer of 1931, R. H. Macy opened their new restaurant on the sixth floor. I was one of the applicants for a position as waitress. We were all given "intelligence tests," and thorough physical examinations. Macy's, unlike other organizations of its kind, does give a thorough physical examination. Every girl hired was strong and physically fit. In spite of this, the work proved too hard and grueling for most of us. Approximately 125 waitresses were hired when the restaurant opened. Six months later there were about 25 girls remaining, who were employed at the same time as I.

"Improvements" Under the NRA

But now R. H. Macy is operating under the NRA and conditions are not the same as in 1931—not at all; they are worse. Wages are less, more work is required from each girl, and the list of restrictions grows longer and longer.

Each waitress is hired to work a certain shift at rates which vary with the number of hours of work, that is, a girl working from 11:30 until 2 P. M. five days a week receives a salary of \$2.50 for the entire week, and an average commission of \$3—a total of \$5.50 for an entire week's work. Girls working from 8:30 to 4:10 get \$10—the highest scale. The working hours are short, but they are the busiest hours of the day. As a matter of fact, in those two and a half hours each waitress works as hard and uses as much energy as some workers do in a whole day.

Under Macy's system of "no tipping" but of charging a service fee of 10 per cent of the amount of the check, the girls in Macy's are "tipped" on the average of six cents per customer, whereas the general average in other restaurants of this type is 10 cents per customer.

The stated hours of work may be from 11:30 to 2:30, but if a customer comes in at 1:59 the waitress must stay until the customer leaves. All the girls are thus forced to do actual extra waitress duty for about a half hour or more each day.

Discipline and Penalties

The girls are held to the most rigid sort of personal discipline. Every morning they are inspected. They stand at stiff attention in line while several trained disciplinarians look them over. They are required to have well cared for nails, with the proper shade of nail polish, they must wear a certain type of shoe, their hair must be finger-waved, no less, and their uniforms must be immaculate, all at their own cost, of course.

The Macy restaurant clientele being of the "refined" type that does not approve of a great deal of make-up, the restaurant management forbids the use of lipstick. The girls are urged, however, to use rouge to hide an inevitable pallor. The uniforms and the white aprons, collars, and cuffs, which are part of it must be washed, starched and ironed every day. This means an extra hour of work each night, which is somehow overlooked when the pay envelopes are filled.

The tiniest speck on a uniform is sufficient excuse to levy punishment. The terrible offenders may be punished by being sent to work in the kitchen, for which they receive 53 cents for the entire day, or else they may be sent home altogether and lose their salary and commission for the entire day. By a strange coincidence the greatest number of specks appears on the slowest days, and many a girl is "reluctantly" sent home to learn to keep her uniform clean in the future.

The restaurant has a seating capacity of seven hundred. A waitress must make an average of four trips, out and from the kitchen for each customer or group of customers, and if there are any special requests, or mistakes, another trip or so. The front tables are about a block from the kitchen. Waitresses "take turns" on the different tables. On the weeks when a girl has the front tables, her commissions are negligible, because it takes so much longer to wait on each customer at these tables. It is not possible to serve more than a few.

The "Steady Extra" Racket
Recently there has been installed a vicious system which places an added pressure on waitresses. Girls are hired as "steady extras." They receive no salary, but get the service charge for each customer waitress. They cover no regular tables, but may wait on any customer, and this is where the regular waitress must work fast so that her customers won't be grabbed by the extras.

These extras are absolutely heartless in taking orders from the waitresses. "Orders from above," they say. The bitterness existing among

the waitresses as a result of this system is not against the organization which imposes it upon them, but against the extras, workers like themselves. Meanwhile, there is a constant rivalry between them to beat each other to the orders which leaves them physically and mentally exhausted at the end of the two-hour rush period.

In the summer months the restaurant is stifling hot, and the kitchen, of course, far worse. I have seen more than one girl waiting in the kitchen for her orders fall over in a dead faint.

No Bus Boys

There are no bus boys. Waitresses must clear and set their tables. They may not enter the kitchen with an empty or half-filled tray. "If your own tables are cleared, another table that isn't can always be found," says Rule II. This rule is more important at Macy's than the Ten Commandments, and is rigidly enforced. Girls are often forced to walk across the entire restaurant to find enough dirty dishes to allow them to enter the kitchen.

The waitresses are not the only ones who suffer in this restaurant. Part of the tray girl's job is to bring silver and water pitchers to the tables. These trays weigh from 25 to 40 pounds. The tray girls are supposed to be 17 years old. My guess is that some of these kids are even younger. The average stay at Macy's of a tray girl is between two and three weeks.

Fainting spells and illness among this group of youngsters are more frequent even than among the waitresses.

This wage scale is subject to no additions such as commissions. This is all they can earn. Carrying water and silver used to be their only job, but now, under the NRA they are forced to show their patriotism by cleaning tables, setting them up, and taking orders, just as any waitress, but without any commissions. (These particular commissions go

to the "house").

Macy's "Mutual" Benefit.

All salaries are subject to compulsory deductions. A certain percentage is taken off each month to pay M. M. A. dues (Macy Mutual Aid). This "mutual" benefit works in a mysterious manner. M. M. A. dues are deducted very soon after employment, but in order to receive the benefits you must have been with R. H. Macy & Company for six consecutive months.

Sick employees under the M. M. A. may receive two-thirds of their salary each week during their illness, starting from the fifth day of their illness, or part payment of their hospital and doctor fees. No payments continue longer than six months, no matter how sick the employee is.

Sick Workers Not Rehired.

If an employee is sick for four days or less, she receives nothing from the M. M. A. If and when she recovers from a long illness she cannot be rehired at Macy's. Nobody is ever rehired after a 155g illness—just one of the great store's "unadvertised specials."

The intense rivalry among the employees of the restaurant because of the conditions under which they work makes difficult any expression of solidarity among these workers. They are played off against one another in the selfish interests of their employer. The elaborate spy system, about which another article might be written, is ever present in the entire store. These workers need the message of unionism badly. Outside help and advice are sorely needed.

—MACY WORKER.

The Railroad Brotherhoods The "Obligation" as a Gaglaw

V. All of the railroad unions who use the ritualistic and secret work—and nearly all of them do—also use what is commonly known as the "obligation" which is administered to the newly admitted member when he joins the union. And when there are several new members initiated, practically the entire time of the meeting is taken up in administering the obligation to each member and rehearsing the rest of the "secret" work.

There was some excuse for the early pioneers in railroad unionism believing that the obligation served the organization as an added measure of protection. The same was true about the secret work. Both were still, they change continually and present conditions call for a far obligations and performing secret ceremonies.

Destructing Role of Secret Work

The fact of the matter is that obligations, as well as the rest of the secret work in use in the railroad unions, have outlived their usefulness, and they now play a most destructive role. These obligations now serve the Brotherhood Officials very effectively in gagging the members. The obligation is but part of the gagrule system in the Brotherhoods behind which their official bureaucrats entrench themselves against the rank and file. For instance, to illustrate in a practical way how the obligation is used by the labor officials to cover up their misdeeds we will cite a concrete example!

A member was expelled from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers because he protested the flotation and levy, by the B. of L. E. officials, of a Ten Million dollar "Loyalty Loan" plus a Five Dollar monthly assessment for 120 months on all those members who declined to subscribe for the loyalty loan. The member in question took the position, that before such enormous tribute was levied on the B. of L. E. membership by its officials the members were entitled to an itemized statement which would definitely show the nature and kind of bills the members were called upon to pay. The fact of the matter was that the members were assessed all those millions for the personal benefit of the officials and their B. of L. E. officials themselves.

The member who fought against this wholesale looting of a labor union by its officials was found guilty of violation of the obligation and expelled for the following reasons: 1st, he had taken a "solenn" obligation not to injure the B. of L. E.; 2nd, the B. of L. E. of-

None of the girls is allowed meals as part of her salary. But if a girl comes in early enough she is allowed one roll and one cup of coffee. Those who have this munificent breakfast have nothing else until they go off duty. Those who come in a few minutes later, unless they have had breakfast out, also have nothing until they go off duty.

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THE SOVIET UNION & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from the last issue)

"State Capitalism"

During the last period, Urbahns, incidentally, has created a new theory: the Soviet economic structure, it appears, is a variety of "state capitalism". The "progress" lies in that Urbahns has descended from his terminological exercises in the sphere of the political superstructure down to the economic foundation. But this descent—alas!—did him no good.

According to Urbahns, the newest form of self-defense of the bourgeois regime is state capitalism: one need only take a look at the corporate "planned" state in Italy, Germany, and the United States. Accustomed to broad gestures, Urbahns also throws in here the U. S. S. R. We shall speak of this later. Insofar as the matter touches the capitalist states, Urbahns concerns himself with a very important phenomenon of our epoch. Monopoly capital has long since outgrown both the private ownership of the means of production and the boundaries of the national state. Paralyzed, however, by its own organizations, the working class was unable to free in time the productive forces of society from their capitalist fetters. Hence arises the protracted epoch of economic and political convulsions. The productive forces pound against the barriers of private property and of national boundaries. The bourgeois governments are obliged to pacify the mutiny of their own productive forces with a police club. This is what constitutes the so-called "planned economy". Insofar as the state attempts to harness and discipline capitalist anarchy, it may be called conditionally "state capitalism".

But we should remember that originally Marxists understood by state capitalism only the independent economic enterprises of the state itself. When the reformists dreamed of overcoming capitalism by means of the municipalization or governmentalization of ever greater numbers of transport and industrial enterprises, the Marxists used to reply in refutation: this is not socialism but state capitalism. Subsequently, however, this concept acquired a broader meaning, and begun to apply to all the varieties of state intervention into economy; the French use the word "etatisme" (statification) in this sense.

But Urbahns not only expounds the travails of "state capitalism"—he appraises them after his own manner. Insofar as it is generally possible to understand him, he pronounces the regime of "state capitalism" to be a necessary and, moreover, a progressive stage in the development of society, in the same sense as trusts are progressive compared with the disparate enterprises. So fundamental an error in appraising capitalist planning is enough to bury any approach whatsoever.

While, during the epoch of the capitalist upswing to which the war put an end, it was possible to view—under certain political pre-conditions—the various forms of statification as progressive manifestations, that is, consider that state capitalism acts to lead society forward and facilitates the future economic labor of the proletarian dictatorship; the present "planned economy" must be viewed as a stage that is reactionary through and through: state capitalism strives to tear economy away from the world wide division of labor, to adapt the productive forces to the Procrustean bed of the national state; to constrict production artificially in some branches and to create just as artificially other branches by means of enormous unprofitable expenditures. The economic policies of the present state—beginning with tariff walls upon the ancient Chinese pattern and ending with the episodes of forbidding the use of machinery under Hitler's "planned economy"—attain an unstable regulation at the cost of causing the national economy to decline, bringing chaos into world relations, and completely disrupting the monetary system which will be very much needed for socialist planning. The present state capitalism neither prepares nor lightens the future work of the socialist state, but, on the contrary, creates for it colossal additional difficulties. The proletariat let slip a series of opportune periods for the seizure of power. Through this it has created the conditions for Fascist barbarism—in politics; and for the destructive work of "state capitalism"—in economy. After the conquest of power, the proletariat will have to pay economically for its political lapses.

The Economy of the U.S.S.R.

However, what interests us most within the limits of this analysis is the circumstance that Urbahns attempts to include also the economy of the U. S. S. R. under the term "state capitalism." And while so doing he refers—it is hardly believable!—to Lenin. There is only one possible way of explaining this reference: as the eternal inventor who creates a new theory a month, Urbahns has no time to read the books he refers to. Lenin did actually apply the term "state capitalism" but not to the Soviet economy as a whole, only to a certain section of it: the foreign concessions, the mixed industrial and commercial companies, and, in part, to the peasant, and largely kulak co-operatives under state control. All these are indubitable elements of capitalism; but since they are controlled by the state, and even function as mixed companies through its direct participation, Lenin conditionally, or, according to his own expression "in quotes", called these economic forms, "state capitalism". The conditioning of this term depended upon the fact that a proletarian, and not a bourgeois state was involved; the quotation marks were intended to stress just this difference of no little importance. However, insofar as the proletarian state allowed private capital and permitted it within definite restrictions to exploit the workers, it shielded bourgeois relations under one of its wings. In this strictly limited sense, one could speak of "state capitalism."

Lenin came out with this very term at the time of the transition to the NEP, when he presupposed that the concessions and the "mixed companies", that is, enterprises based upon the correlation of state and private capital, would occupy a major position in Soviet economy alongside of the pure state trusts and syndicates. In contradistinction to the state capitalist enterprises,—concessions, etc., that is—Lenin defined the Soviet trusts and syndicates as "enterprises of a consistently socialist type." Lenin envisioned

The Class Nature of the Soviet State - by Leon Trotsky

the subsequent development of Soviet economy, of industry in particular, as a competition between the state capitalist and the pure state enterprises.

We trust that is clear now within what limits Lenin used this term which has led Urbahns into temptation. In order to round out the theoretical catastrophe of the leader of the "Lenin (!) Bund", we must recall that contrary to Lenin's original expectations neither the concessions nor the mixed companies played any appreciable role whatsoever in the development of Soviet economy. Nothing has now remained generally of these "state capitalist" enterprises. On the other hand, the Soviet trusts whose fate appeared so very murky at the dawn of the NEP underwent a gigantic development in the years after Lenin's death. Thus, if one were to use Lenin's terminology conscientiously and with some comprehension of the matter, one would have to say that the Soviet economic development passed by completely the stage of "state capitalism", and unfolded along the channel of the enterprises of the "consistently socialist type".

Here, however, we must also forestall any possible misunderstandings, and this time of just the opposite character. Lenin chose his terms with precision. He called the trusts not socialist enterprises, as the Stalinists now label them, but enterprises of the "socialist type". Under Lenin's pen, this subtle terminological distinction implied that the trusts will have the right to be called socialist not by type, not by tendency, that is; but by their genuine content, after the rural economy will have been revolutionized; after the contradiction between the city and the village will have been destroyed; after men will have learned to fully satisfy all human wants; in other words, only in proportion as a real socialist society would arise on the bases of nationalized industry and collectivized rural economy. Lenin conceived that the attainment of this goal would require the successive labors of two or three generations, and moreover, in indissoluble connection with the development of the international revolution.

To summarize. Under state capitalism, in the strict sense of the word, we must understand the management of industrial and other enterprises by the bourgeois state on its own account, or the "regulating" intervention of the bourgeois state into the workings of private capitalist enterprises. By state capitalism "in quotes" Lenin meant the control of the proletarian state over private capitalist enterprises and relations. Not one of these definitions applies from any side to the present Soviet economy. It remains a deep secret what concrete economic content Urbahns himself puts into his understanding of the Soviet "state capitalism". To put it plainly, his newest theory is entirely built around a badly read quotation.

Bureaucracy and the Ruling Class

There is, however, also another theory concerning the "non-proletarian" character of the Soviet state, much more ingenious, much more cautious, but not any more serious. The French social democrat Lucien Laurat, Blum's colleague and Souvarine's teacher, has written a booklet defending the view that the Soviet society, being neither proletarian nor bourgeois, represents an absolutely new type of a class organization, because the bureaucracy not only rules over the proletariat politically but also exploits it economically, devouring that surplus value which hitherto fell to the lot of the bourgeoisie. Laurat invests his revelations with the weighty formulae of *Das Kapital*, and, in this manner gives an appearance of profundity to his superficial and purely descriptive "sociology". The compiler is obviously unaware that his entire theory had been formulated, only with much more fire and splendor, over thirty years ago by the Russo-Polish revolutionist Makhaisky, who was superior to his French vulgarizer in that he awaited neither the October revolution nor the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to define "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a scaffold for the commanding posts of an exploiting bureaucracy. But even Makhaisky did not suck his theory out of his thumb: he only "deepened" sociologically and economically the anarchistic prejudices against state socialism. Makhaisky, by the way, also utilized Marx's formulae but in a manner much more consistent than Laurat's: according to Makhaisky, the author of *Das Kapital* covered up, with malice aforethought, in his formulae of reproduction (volume II), that portion of surplus value which would be devoured by the socialist intelligentsia (the bureaucracy).

In our own time, a "theory" of this kind, but without an exposure of Marx, the exploiter, was defended by Myasnikov who proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union had been supplanted by the hegemony of a new class: the social bureaucracy. In all probability, Laurat borrowed his theory, directly or indirectly, precisely from Myasnikov, investing it only with a pedantic "learned" air. For completeness sake it should also be added that Laurat has assimilated all the mistakes (and only the mistakes) of Rosa Luxemburg, among them even those that she herself had renounced.

Let us, however, examine more closely the "theory" itself. The class has an exceptionally important and moreover a scientifically restricted meaning to a Marxist. A class is defined not by its participation in the distribution of the national income alone, but by its independent role in the general structure of economy and by its independent roots in the economic foundation of society. Each class (the feudal nobility, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the proletariat) works out its own special forms of property. The bureaucracy lacks all these social traits. It has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political technique of class rule. The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes every class regime. Its power is of a reflected character. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with ruling economic class, feeding itself upon

the social roots of the latter, maintaining itself and falling together with it.

Class Exploitation and Social Parasitism

Laurat will say that he "does not object" to the bureaucracy being paid for its labor insofar as it fulfills the necessary political, economic, and cultural functions; but what is involved is its uncontrolled appropriation of an absolutely disproportionate part of the national income: precisely in this sense does it appear as the "exploiting class". This argument, based on undoubted facts, does not, however, change the social physiognomy of the bureaucracy.

Always and in every regime, the bureaucracy devours no small portion of surplus value. It might not be uninteresting, for example, to compute what portion of the national income is devoured by the Fascist locusts in Italy or Germany! But this fact, of no small importance by itself, is entirely insufficient to transform the Fascist bureaucracy into an independent ruling class. It is the hiring of the bourgeoisie. True, this hiring straddles the boss's neck, tears from his mouth at times the juiciest pieces, and spits on his bald spot besides. Say what you will, a most inconvenient hiring! But, nevertheless, only a hiring. The bourgeoisie abides with him because without him, it and its regime would absolutely go to the dogs.

Mutatis Mutandis (changing what should be changed), what has been said above can be applied to the Stalinist bureaucracy as well. It devours, wastes, and embezzles a considerable portion of the national income. Its management costs the proletariat very dearly. In the Soviet society, it occupies an extremely privileged position not only in the sense of having political and administrative prerogatives but also in the sense of possessing enormous material advantages. Still, the biggest apartments, the juiciest steaks, and even Rolls Royces are not enough to transform the bureaucracy into an independent ruling class.

Inequality, moreover, such crying inequality, would, of course, be absolutely impossible in a socialist society. But contrary to official and semi-official lies the present Soviet regime is not socialist but transitional. It still bears within it the monstrous heritage of capitalism, social inequality in particular, not only between the bureaucracy and the proletariat, but also within the bureaucracy itself and within the proletariat. At the given stage, inequality still remains, within certain limits, the bourgeois instrument of socialist progress: differential wages, bonuses, etc., as stimuli for emulation.

While it explains the inequality, the transitional character of the present system now justifies those monstrous, open, and secret privileges that have been arrogated to themselves by the uncontrolled tops of the bureaucracy. The Left Opposition did not await the revelations of Urbahns, Laurat, Souvarine and Simone Weil*, etc., before announcing that the bureaucracy in all its manifestations is pulling apart the moral tie-rods of the Soviet society; engendering an acute and a lawful dissatisfaction among the masses; and preparing the ground for great dangers. Nevertheless, the privileges of the bureaucracy by themselves do not change the bases of the Soviet society, because the bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations, peculiar to it as a "class", but from those property relations which have been created by the October revolution, and which are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To put it plainly, insofar as the bureaucracy robs the people (and this is done in various ways by every bureaucracy), we have to deal not with class exploitation, in the scientific sense of the word, but with social parasitism, although on a very large scale. During the middle ages the clergy constituted a class or an estate, insofar as its rule depended upon a specific system of land property and forced labor. The present day church constitutes not an exploiting class but a parasitic corporation. It would be silly to actually speak of the American clergy as a special ruling class; yet, it is indubitable that the priests of the different colors and denominations devour in the United States a big portion of the surplus value. In its traits of parasitism, the bureaucracy, as well as the clergy, approximates to the lumpen-proletariat, which likewise does not represent, as is well known, an independent "class".

* Having fallen into despair over the "unsuccessful" experiments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Simone Weil has found solace in a new vocation: the defense of her personality against society. The hoary formula of liberalism, vivified with cheap anarchistic exaltation! And think of it—Simone Weil speaks loftily about our "illusions". She and those like her require many years of stubborn perseverance in order to free themselves from the most reactionary lower middle class prejudices. Appropriately enough her new views have found a haven in an organ that bears the obviously ironic name, "The Proletarian Revolution". This Louzon publication is ideally suited for revolutionary melancholics, and political rentiers living on the dividends from their capital of recollections, and pretentious philosophers who will perhaps adhere to the revolution... after it will have been achieved.

(To be continued)

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NOTES OF A JOURNALIST

By Alpha

KOLTZOV IN PARIS

By means of telegraphic dispatches from Paris, Koltzov, the correspondent of the *Pravda*, keeps the Russian workers informed about the course of the Leipzig Trial. Here is what he writes:

"The former Trotskyite, the present Nazi deputy to Reichstag, Karwahne takes the witness stand. His present role befits his past most properly... What is most remarkable about Karwahne's deposition is that it is entirely devoted to the defense of the position of the Trotskyite Katz group who fought, if you please, against the impossible internal regime of the German Communist Party, a Fascist deputy championing Trotskyite theses during a Fascist trial and in the presence of Communist fighters who are being condemned to death—there you have the proper and befitting harvest that has sprung from the seeds of Trotskyite teachings!"

Stalinists by tens of thousands have deserted and are deserting to National-Socialism. Many of them passed in review during the Leipzig trial as witnesses. Among the renegades, of course, there could have been a former Left Oppositionist. But neither the group of Ivan Katz nor Karwahne ever had the slightest connection with "Trotskyism" Karwahne renounced not only the ideas of the Communist party of which he was one time a member but also the semi-anarchist ideas of Ivan Katz's group. Koltzov, however, refuses to forgive Karwahne his past. Koltzov is adamant as regards the past. Is it, perhaps, because his own past is not entirely unblemished?

No; that is not the reason why. Koltzov is the consummation of the type of appointed careerists. During the period of the October revolution he was the most rabid foe of the Bolsheviks; during the years of the Civil War he prowled in the Ukraine working for Petlura's and other white-guardist papers. After the Red Army had cleared the Whites out of the Ukraine, he arrived in Moscow. Knowing full well that he had no choice, Koltzov offered his sprightly pen to the services of the proletarian dictatorship (naturally with the proviso that he receive rooming quarters and a privileged payok — rations-card). The then editor of the *Pravda* Bucharin was in a considerable quandry, "His pen is sprightly enough—said he—but his personality is awfully dirty."

After the inception of the Left Opposition, Koltzov did not know for a long time which way to turn, and he tried to secure himself with both camps. Moreover, because of his congenital make-up, he had become very much accustomed to wag his tail before Sosnovsky, the outstanding and most influential of Soviet journalists. The moment the leaders of the Left Opposition were sent into exile (December 1927), Koltzov began spreading gossip about Sosnovsky in order to purify himself completely in the eyes of the rulers.

He did not get off scot-free. Sosnovsky's wife slapped his face in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. Not only the Left Oppositionists but even the most hide-bound bureaucrats welcomed warmly the "gesture" of the energetic revolutionist; everybody without exception concurred that never had a slap in the face reached its destination so expeditiously and so appropriately.

After this bit of biographical information, we trust that Koltzov's Parisian communique regarding the "Trotskyism" of Karwahne will not require any further commentaries.

A PUMPKIN IN THE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

The *Pravda* falls into raptures describing how a director in charge of a plant producing precision instruments is busy at the same time with a garden, a dairy, and a rabbit farm and so forth. "This summer—writes the newspaper during the drought, the workers at the close of the working day came to the gardens of the Sovkhoz with their pails and watered... the plants, in order to save them from withering away." We are here told about a factory garden. But what happens in this event, to the 7-hour working day? The *Pravda*, still enraptured, reports the results of the double labor: "the factory kitchens will be completely supplied with vegetables... no small portion of the crop will be allotted to the workers for individual use." What a fearful tenseness in the foodstuffs situation peeps out at us from this pathetic article!

BRONX OPEN FORUM WHAT IS CONGRESS DOING FOR THE WORKERS?

Speaker:

WILLIAM MATHESON
Thursday, January 25, 1934, 8 P.M.
WILKINS AVE. HALL,
1330 Wilkins Ave., nr Freeman Ave.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

EDITORIAL

The Great American Skin-Game

WHEN Roosevelt said in a speech on the radio that all the steps taken under his administration fit consistently into a general program, he was right in one respect. Even if some of the shots miss fire, there is no doubt of their aim and purpose—that is, to lift American capitalism out of the crisis at the expense of its imperialist rivals abroad and the workers at home. Every item of the program is designed to work in one or both of these directions, usually both.

The monetary policy is the latest illustration. Despite conflicting interests in the camp of the exploiters, the general interest of the dominant section is served at the present moment by lowering the gold content of the dollar. The 60-cent dollar is calculated to give American capitalists a weapon in their assault on the world market—the cheaper dollar reduces the price of American goods in terms of foreign currencies and cuts under the foreign competitors. At the same time the new monetary policy reduces the real wages of the workers and lowers the cost of production—a necessary measure to strengthen the competing power of American capital in the world market.

The Roosevelt technique combines a ruthless aggression in the service of the imperialist masters with the most elaborate deception of the masses. The NRA, a trap for the workers and a death blow to a large section of little business people, is put through as a Magna Charta of the "people". Huge naval appropriations and deliberate preparations for war are accompanied by a sudden flood of tear-jerking pacifist oratory. Sermons on the "forgotten man" precede—and follow—the attacks on real wage standards, as denunciations of the "money-changers" go along with new concessions to the big sharks of finance.

Roosevelt has helpers in this game. The official labor leaders testify to his friendship for labor and hail him as the heaven-sent champion. Liberals swear by his fairness.—And, to our shame, the representatives of the Soviet Union certify to his pacifist intentions.

There is no use denying the effectiveness of Roosevelt's methods of fooling the people. His skill in this respect is no small part of his value to the ruling class of America. Barnum, who made a lifetime business of fooling suckers, was a clumsy amateur beside the presidential expert in the great American skin-game.

The Expulsions in Local 9

RECENT events in Local 9 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union bring a burning question of trade union policy to the fore. The entire executive board of the local has been removed from office after a trial by the General Executive Board of the International and the individual members of the local board are barred from holding office for two years.

Such violent infringements by reactionary officials on the autonomy of Left wing locals are an old story in the labor movement and have to be expected. The labor agents of the bosses would not be true to their mission if they did not resort to such measures against the militants. What is new and instructive in the Local 9 affair is the ground given for the removal. The members of the local executive board were charged with allegiance to the Needle Trades Industrial Union. They were accused of working in the International under the instructions of the Stalinist union. On this ground, with the help of such "evidence" as the Stalinist leaders supplied, by their concrete acts as well as by their known policy, the local board members were found guilty and removed from office.

The violation of the democratic rights of local organizations to choose their own officials is an issue which ought to rouse the rank and file against the reactionary usurpers. Under normal conditions such an issue can be one of the most effective means of struggle against them. This has been so in the past

history of the needle trades, and not only there. A Left wing which stands on firm ground and follows a correct policy can make the labor fakers pay dearly for trespassing on the rights of the rank and file.

Why is it no so in this case? What enables Dubinsky to override the local with impunity without fearing a revolt in the other locals? The answer is clear. The Left wing does not stand on firm ground. Their connection, directly or indirectly with the Industrial Union, lays them wide open to the accusation that they are working in the International only for the purpose of splitting off little sections. This is the known policy of the Stalinists. For this purpose they maintain their paper organization.

Such a course is fatal for the Left wing militants in the International. It is impossible to work effectively in one union in the interest of a rival, especially a discredited rival that has no real basis to exist. This, to the workers, means more splits, and they have had enough of that for the present. Such a course only compromises the militants and provides the reactionaries with all the pretexts they need to break up the Left wing crystallization and remove its representatives in the union apparatus.

The hopeless position of the Left wing in this case, which robs it of the possibility to organize a real fight against the arbitrary actions of the bureaucrats, is another horrible example of Stalinist bankruptcy in the trade union movement. Also—it is another warning of the necessity to make a clean break with it before the Left wing can begin serious work inside the International.

The loss of the executive board in Local 9 by a mere order of the bureaucrats is a serious blow. But if it leads the Left wing workers to examine closely into the reasons for this defeat and to discard the tactics which made it so easily possible the lesson will be worth all it cost and more. Every new experience leads to the same conclusion: The condition for the revival of a genuine Left wing in the needle trades unions is a complete break with the suicidal policy of Stalinism.

The Sixty-Cent Dollar

AMONG the blessings which the "New Deal" has showered down upon the American workers, the 60-cent dollar takes no place. It is not enough for the dollars in the pay envelope to be fewer; they are now also to be smaller—almost by half.

On top of the direct wage cuts which have so fearfully reduced the income of the employed workers, there is now to be added an indirect wage cut of devastating proportions. The unemployed, half subsisting on the relief lists must suffer a drastic cut in the purchasing power of paltry relief allowances. However Roosevelt's manipulations with the monetary system may work out in other respects, the devaluation of the dollar cannot fail to have the immediate effect of depressing the real wages of the workers.

Every form of inflation works this way. But Roosevelt's move to cheapen the dollar strikes at the workers with exceptional force because it does not stand alone as a single measure; it follows and is tied up with other measures in the "New Deal" program which will obstruct the instinctive movement to raise the money wages proportionally. Under the NRA codes wages have been fixed at a low level on the basis of the old dollar values. These codes provide the employers in advance with a form of legal sanction and governmental authority to resist any demand for wage increases to compensate for the depreciation of the dollar.

The working masses who have taken Roosevelt at his word and trusted him as their friend are due for a double disappointment. When they draw their wages in 60-cent dollars the fine speeches, which raised such hopes, will begin to sound like a mockery. And then, when the workers begin the unavoidable fight for a readjustment of the money wages, they will find that the NRA, with all its codes and complicated machinery, stands in the way. The masses thought the NRA was designed for their benefit and protection. This was an unfounded idea. In the next period there will be even less ground for any illusion in this respect.

LABOR LEADERS AND NRA

The A. F. of L. has issued its annual business review which claims three gains for the workers under the NRA. At the same time the statement criticizes the NRA for not giving the labor leaders greater representation in the bodies set up by the code apparatus. The A. F. of L. report says that the gains have been: greater employment, shorter hours and increase in pay. The statement adds that the workers are "better organized to handle their problems and share in industrial control than they were last year."

The three gains are qualified with a few ifs and buts which do not add clarity. No conclusions have been drawn by the statement regarding the relation of the working class to the NRA. In fact many bank reports have presented labor's problems with greater clarity.

Basic Problem Untouched
The report says that 1,800,000 laborers have been put back to work. But they do not state at what weekly wage. We know that the great majority of those who returned to work have been placed on the minimum wage rate. Others are on piece work with weekly earnings far below the blanket code minimum. Four and a half million have been given temporary work under the Civil and Public works programs. The report fails to explain that this is just another form of work-relief. These millions were taken off the relief list and were compelled to work for the equivalent of relief in order to carry them through the winter. The basic problem of unemployment under the capitalist system, the return of the workers to industry, has not been solved. The basic problem is not even touched.

Reduction in Real Wages
The hourly wage increase is reported to be 5 1/2 cents, and is qual-

ified by the fact that this has not compensated for the shorter hours nor the rise in prices. The report also informs us that wage gains have been made by low-paid workers but that workers with a higher wage rate have been forced to a lower living standard. What the report fails to say is the following: That the rise in money wages coincided with a reduction in real wages due to the increase of prices of the essentials. Further, the number of high paid workers forced to a lower standard of living outweigh the number of low paid workers who obtained a slight increase.

The main point, however, is entirely missed or covered up in the A. F. of L. report. Granting for the moment that some of the workers can register a small gain in hours, wages and employment, even though the rest of the class has sunk lower, the fact remains that this "gain" is a cheap price for the capitalists to pay to keep the workers in check while they distribute billions for their own class at the same time. The NRA and all of the internal measures for recovery, as well as the proposed eleven billion dollar budget, are for the benefit of capitalist class. Naturally, they can afford to pay the price of a few crumbs to the working class in order to be left in peace to find a way out of the crisis. The A. F. of L. leaders help the capitalists in this game.

Green Appeals to Capitalists
The A. F. of L. report devotes a couple of paragraphs to the wage slave; the rest is a warning to the capitalist class. Not a warning that the A. F. of L. will lead the workers in struggle against the capitalists, but a warning that the capitalists had better be careful lest the workers get out of control. And the best way to keep the workers

in control is to give us, the labor leaders, more of a hand in the affairs of the NRA and "industrial control". Such is Green's basic argument.

The report warns the capitalists that they had better get busy and not let the government take the whole initiative. Roosevelt knows how to use Green and Company—so why not you, the capitalists? The report warns against currency inflation but has praise for the other forms of inflation being carried out. The report ends by begging the capitalists and their government to give labor representation on the mechanism established with each code adopted. The A. F. of L. leaders desire to extend the present methods of class collaboration used by the NRA.

Role of Labor Leaders in N. R. A.
They were allowed in the first committees which were established to muffle and beat down the first strike wave. They did their job well and are reserved a place to prevent strikes and to break them. The capitalists needed them for this job and allow them to continue in this position. The A. F. of L. report is a plea for the extension of these "privileges" in the government machinery. The capitalists will grant such an extension when the need for it is clear to them, that is when the class storms break out more turbulently.

To the A. F. of L. leaders' policy of class collaboration should be counterposed the workers' struggle for the organization and recognition of shop committees in every establishment. Shop committees, in conjunction with trade unions, fighting on the basis of the class struggle, constitute the apparatus which should be counterposed to the class-collaboration apparatus defended by Green & Co.

—HUGO OEHLER.

War Sparks Fly in the Far East

(Continued from page 1)

clarations to the contrary, the time has come particularly to emphasize that in the actual and now much more open maneuvers and preparations for military conquests of new markets, for the redivision of the world, American imperialism plays the dominant part. It is already laying the basis to become the greatest aggressor. At breathtaking speed it is moving forward to the point where the ordinary imperialist pillage and thievery coupled with increasing political intervention becomes transformed into conquest by other means—by means of the most ingenious war implements modern industry can devise.

That is the only correct explanation to the Roosevelt naval construction program for an American Navy "second to none". By September 1 last year a total of 39 war ships, to cost \$238,000,000 had been contracted for; construction began immediately under the aegis of the "New Deal". That is also the explanation of the discovery by General McArthur, chief-of-staff, that the strength of the American army is far below the ordinary margin of safety.

The Game of American Imperialism

Those who control affairs in the United States pursue their own aims toward the Soviet Union and in relation to the Far East. No one should be deceived by the alleged peaceful intentions of Soviet recognition. It was calculated on gaining access to the huge Soviet market. But as far as the American government is concerned it was also hastened by the unbridled advance of the Japanese in Manchuria. Japanese imperialism puts its claws into a juicy morsel covering some 500,000 square miles, a land rich in natural resources and having a population of 40,000,000. Recent reports from the Far East reveal that in the North China market American trade is now below 15% of the total at Tientsin as compared to 42.2% in 1929 while the Japanese trade accounts for more than 40% of the total.

In which direction is Japan headed? It is pilfering sniping, intimidating and terrorizing at the Soviet border. Its military forces are pointed toward the maritime province of Vladivostok. But in any event it will also pursue the objective of further intrenchment in China. There it will encounter in the main the opposition of the United States.

The U. S. Versus Japan

China is today the most coveted booty. The fewer countries that are left in the world today into which the imperialist powers can export capital profitably, that is, colonies and dependent nations, the more bitter is the fight for the subjugation and partition of such nations. It is a life and death matter for American imperialism to find these fields for greater subjugation and partition. Hence its attention is now turning more directly to the Far East.

The Japanese imperialist diplomats and military leaders understand this perfectly well. They never fail to mention the role of the United States in the same breath when they hurl insults against the Soviet Union. Their statements abound in belligerency. General Araki, the fire eating supreme leader of present day Japanese affairs, declared recently before the Japanese Supreme War Council that China is being supported in its anti-Japanese policies by the United States. He points to the fifty million dollar wheat and cotton loan as proof. "There is no telling what America will do," declared Araki, "when her navy is definitely superior to Japan's after 1935." In the same speech the general conjured up the spectre of concentration of the red army in the East. The Japanese foreign minister, Koki Hirota, two days after he assumed office, on September 14, declared: "The United States should keep her hands off eastern affairs."

Japan Moving against Soviet Union
In this furiously developing tension in the Far East the part played by the American government should not escape our attention. It has very special objects in the Soviet recognition in relation to this situation. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union on its side has much to gain from American recognition. But that is not what concerns the American government. The Red Army stands at the far eastern Soviet ready to defend it. The Soviet Union seeks no conquests in China. But American imperialism does, and it will contend with the Japanese for mastery as it will, contend with the other powers there to strengthen its own sphere of influence and lay hold on the vast Chinese territory.

The Japanese diplomats and military leaders, as is known, are preparing for an assault on the Soviet border. They envision the Soviet Union becoming strengthened by American credits and are undoubtedly anxious to strike before this takes place. But does the United States extend recognition and credits in

order to strengthen the Soviet Union? Is this a sign of a friendlier attitude? Not at all. The imperialist government at Washington understand the Japanese intentions at the Soviet border as well as the Japanese imperialists understand the intended American invasion of China.

Far East Tension Increases

Both aim at the further partitioning of dismembered China and the further subjugation and exploitation of the Chinese masses already bled white by the imperialist robber bands. The Japanese war lords show their growing inclination to strike northward against the Soviet Union at the earliest possible date and before the latter can strengthen its industrial structure by means of closer trade relations with the United States.

Unquestionably this fits right in with the Roosevelt policies. It holds the prospects of speeding up American exports to the Soviet market and, above all, the prospects that the Japanese war lords may break their teeth at the Soviet border. After that the possibilities of American mastery in China would increase. In this sense the Amer-

ican recognition of the Soviet Union undoubtedly tends to accelerate the Japanese war plans.

But this will also show the more clearly why we should not be deceived about the peaceful intentions of the American government in granting recognition. It is plainly a matter of ruthlessly advancing the most direct interests of American imperialism. It brings the danger of imperialist war as well as the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union much nearer.

When President Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union the capitalist press of the country drew a clear line of demarcation between the present Stalin leadership and the former leadership of Lenin.

American imperialism remains the chief enemy of October.
—ARNE SWABECK.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Several important articles are held over till next week on account of space limitations

NOTE

The discussion article on the NRA which is concluded on Page Two of this issue is by Harry Brand.

THE SILVER SHIRTS

(Continued from page 1)

between the world of the "light" and the "shade". He lectured to nice gullible Christian ladies and gentlemen on the results of the clairvoyant and clairaudient communications, undoubtedly thrilling them to their toe nails, hoodwinking them out of all rationality and providing them with a convenient escape from the harsh realities of life. Possibly Pelley also received returns which were... not so spiritual.

We have every reason to believe that the Chief-to-be was likewise the master of ceremonies in the great sucker game known as seances. Dozens of mimeographed bulletins, called "readings", packed with this psychical hocus-pocus, were manufactured by Pelley and his associates and retailed at twenty-five cents a throw. The New Liberator is jammed from cover to cover with this metaphysical buncome.

It seems that somewhere in the year 1932 Mr. Pelley had a new "revelation" in one of his not uncommon trances—to change his field of operations to the social world. Whether this was caused by a falling off of receipts in the old racket, a lust for power at any price, or possibly a sincere belief, after the manner of General Goering, who spent about one year in the Stockholm insane asylum as a dope addict, is not easy to say....

It is not illogical that an American Fascist movement should be started by a religious freak, a spiritualist crank. Pelley says he heard the "word" in California, a state which is known for its Aimee McPhersons, Holy-Rollers, Yogi men and a hundred other kinds and descriptions of religious nuts who are patronized by degenerated middle class elements, retired farmers of Kansas and Iowa, etc., etc. Not only California. Billy Sunday claims to have made 65,492 converts and collected (ahem!) \$120,000 in cosmopolitan New York alone in 1917. Just think of the fortune he made in the provinces, the backwoods and the hinterland.

But the Silver Shirts were started in the post-depression year, 1932, and a social platform was needed, so the Fascist jargon was taken lock, stock and barrel from the German Minister of Enlightenment, The Jews, Jewish bankers, Jewish Communists, Jewish journalists, etc., ad nauseam are responsible for all the ailments of society from the time of Adam, and especially at the present time. Unless this pest is wiped out root and branch the world will go to the dogs. We will deal with this "philosophy" in all its ramifications in the next article. For the present let us see what happened to Mr. Pelley's spiritualism.

The Psychic Transformed

The transformation was: Mr. Pelley, the Psychic became Mr. Pelley, the Fascist... "Chief". Psychism became the underlying philosophy, just as Aryanism and Teuton Gods are for Hitler and his Hitlerites. It serves a very useful purpose for... the Chief. One page or more of every issue of Liberator is devoted to this psychic-seance-medium buncome. We wish we had space to reprint some of these revelations, for they are indeed, revelations of the depths to which man's ignorance can sink, in this late day and age, to say nothing of their unconscious humor. Above each of these "revelations" appears this gem which should give some indication of its content:

"Out of the vastness of Cosmos the Psychic Antenna tune in on a Voice. If the Word was made flesh and spoke once to men, how much stronger may be its pronouncements when the handicaps of the flesh are perished? If we cannot believe

this to Whom or What shall we look for authority of commitments like the following?..."

Omnipotent, Infallible

The Fascist movement needs the myth of the impeccability of its leader, the unassailability of his ideas, the unquestioning of his instructions (leaving aside terror for the moment). Pelley has or is trying to attain this end through his psychism, which gives him the power to prophecy, through his communion with the dead, and therefore to give the right instructions at the right time. Thus, for instance, in an editorial called "A Caution to the Restless..." (Liberation, Vol. V, No. 20) which is a warning to the impatient Silver Shirts who want to go into action against Jews, bankers and Communists immediately, he makes the solemn statement:

"But no matter how this declaration is interpreted, from either foe or supporter, there is a Higher Import, a Deeper Voice that has faithfully in the past instructed the Chief just when, and where, and how to move. He has learned to trust that Voice and act upon it, and when he has so acted in the past he has committed few blunders. But when he has allowed himself to be swept out of step with the Infinite, so to speak, he has had to retrace his steps at great cost and sacrifice to the whole great Silver movement."

The Higher Import

"The Chief" admits, for the present, that others may learn to feel this "Higher Import" and hear this "Deeper Voice". But he reserves to himself the right to judge whether the new prophet has heard correctly or has been advised by a false spirit. That's as far as the game has gone up till now—it needs a little "democracy". If and when this movement of ignorance and superstition attains some power and influence, then heaven help any Silver Shirt that dares challenge the inspired orders of the Chief.

Who backs the Silver Shirts, where do they get finances? The inscription on the back side of Liberator says that the Silver Shirts of America are the active civic organization of the League for Liberation and that both Liberator and the Galahad Press, Incorporated, which publishes the magazine, are subsidiaries of the Foundation for Christian Economics, Incorporated. It should be quite obvious that these are only dummy corporations shielding some big financier or industrialist. In more than one issue of the modern alchemists' Silver sheet "The Chief" talks of prominent men in the business and lay world who consort with him and tell him state secrets but who dare not reveal their names for fear of retaliation intimidation and blackmail from the "Jewish Press" and the "Jewish bankers".

Pelley Praises Ford

The March 1931 issue of The New Liberator has high praise for Henry Ford who, according to Pelley, "is doing, without maudlin sentiment, ... the highest type of constructive spirituality deploying throughout society by way of mass production industry". And further, "if every employer in America, England and Germany adopted the Ford principles this afternoon, and remained there, the world's economic depression would be ended tomorrow morning to stay ended."

It is well known that Henry Ford is a vicious anti-Semite and a no less vicious hater of organized labor.... Time, events will bring the real backers of this mystical, incipient but barbarian Fascist movement to the fore. Yes, and possibly more...
—GEORGE CLARKE.

Furlough Protest by New York Teachers

(Continued from page 1)

ported. Lefkowitz, legislature agent of the union and leading knight in the crusade against the Left wing in the union made the report. He apologized for La Guardia; La Guardia received the delegation cordially; he had inherited a bad situation; he didn't want to cut teachers' pay; he would do it only as a last resort; if he did, it wouldn't be much, only a week or two; etc. And Lefkowitz went off to Albany to lobby in Lehman's stronghold!

The teachers were stunned by Lefkowitz's speech and his action. It was clear to them after the experience of 1932, when similar methods were employed by the union leadership in the fight against the pay cut of that year, that another sell-out was being prepared. Under the urging of the Left wing they refused to leave and shouted for La Guardia who refused to speak to them.

The Stalinist inspired Class Room Teachers Groups, a rival organization of the Teachers Union, also came down to the demonstration. Although they came in the name of a united fight against paycuts they played a disruptive role. They demanded equal right with the Teachers Union, which had organized the demonstration, to send in a delegation to see La Guardia, in the name of their organization. And their delegation attempted to force its way in to La Guardia, presenting the enemy with the spectacle of a division in the ranks of the protesting teachers.

Outside the leaders of the Stalinist led Left wing group in the union urged the teachers not to have any faith in their delegation and to go in to see for themselves.

Two things emerged clearly from the demonstration. As we foretold, the problems posed by a militant fight would help to expose the policy of the union administration, and make it possible to discredit its conservative and even treacherous leadership. On the other hand when the teachers were confronting the class enemy and needed the unity the Stalinist directed Left wing group in the union and its counterpart outside the union appeared in the role of disrupters. Of both these facts the teachers should take note.
—S.

Mystery Shrouds Fascist Killing of Van der Lubbe

(Continued from page 1)

zig on September 28. Soedermann denied having claimed to be a Professor or even a medical doctor, affirmed he did not and could not make a medical examination, and told this story:

A Dutch journalist was allowed to visit Van der Lubbe on behalf of his family. The authorities invited Soedermann to go along. He accepted because of his life-long interest in criminal psychology. On emerging, he remarked that Van der Lubbe "looked all right." The prison officials and Wolff—or both—translated this vague statement of a layman into a clean bill of health from a qualified medical expert and "Professor".

There is no way of telling whether Soedermann speaks the truth when he disclaims responsibility for this bit of Nazi swindling. But in any case it is clear that the Nazis wanted to cover something up about Van der Lubbe's condition. And a dead man tells no tales.

But the four men tied with Van der Lubbe are still alive. Despite their acquittal they remain in the clutches of the Nazis. The world proletariat must continue the fight to save them from the fate of Van der Lubbe.
—HENRY STRANG.

GROCERY CODE

Affecting over one million workers, the retail food and grocery code recently signed by President Roosevelt, provides for starvation conditions. A maximum 48-hour and 6-day week, with many employers exempt, and basic weekly minimum wages from \$10 in cities of less than 2,500 population to \$15 in those of more than 500,000, are offered the food workers in the latest code under the NRA. Here is a real case for union organization.

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