



C.L.A. & A.W.P. HEAD FOR FUSION

Wall Street Conspiracy For Fascist Coup Revealed

General Smedley Butler's revelation of a three million dollar Fascist plot right here in the United States, a home grown Nazi Putsch plan, should serve to silence those profound theoreticians who see something unique in the American nation, some national essence which will enable America to solve her problem "in her own way". While General Butler's discoveries do not reveal the Fascists as a serious menace, they indicate that incipient fascism is here and only waits its opportunity.

General Butler has been approached by no less than 42 organizations, 42 would-be American blackshirts. Most of these probably justify the General's description of "crackpot", but at least one was perfectly serious, had a plan, and claimed the necessary financial backing.

A year or so ago General Butler was approached by Gerald MacGuire, a bond salesman for a New York brokerage firm, the Grayson M. P. Murphy Co. According to General Butler's account MacGuire offered him eighteen thousand dollars to go to Chicago and speak in favor of the Gold Standard. When Butler refused MacGuire said, according to Butler, "Don't be a fool, why don't you do like Harbord (General Harbord, U.S.A.) and Sims (Admiral Sims, U.S.N.) and make some money out of it. The government doesn't care for you, so why don't you act like a business man." Butler refused and MacGuire continued, "Murphy is in Europe, but I'll have Colonel Clark come and see you."

Morgan Lurks In Picture

Colonel Clark did come to see the General and renewed the offer. Colonel Clark, by the way, is Robert Sterling Clark, who inherited a portion of the Singer Sewing Machine fortune, and who is now reputed to be worth some fifty million. In the course of his conversation Colonel Clark revealed, according to Butler, that the speech which he, Butler, was to give in return for the eighteen thousand had been written by John W. Davis. John W. Davis, one time Democratic nominee for President, is, at present, counselor at law for the firm of J. P. Morgan.

"We need a fascist government," MacGuire said, "to save the nation from the communists who would tear down all that has been built up in America. The only men who have the courage to do it are the soldiers, and General Butler is the man to do it."

"All General Butler would have to do to get a million men would be to announce the formation of an organization and tell them it would cost a dollar a year to join."

Offered Three Million

"It wouldn't be any trouble at all to raise \$1,000,000. I could go to any number of people right here in New York and get it. (At one time MacGuire offered General Butler \$3,000,000 "on the line".) MacGuire intimated that the arms necessary for the movement could be obtained from the Remington Arms Co. on credit from the Dupont family, which owns a controlling interest of the company."

"I think the President could be persuaded to name Butler head of the CCC camps and that would give him the basis of an organization. However if that doesn't work I have no doubt the general could enlist 500,000 men in a very short time."

"What we really need is a man on a White Horse to save the capitalist system. We might go along with President Roosevelt and do with him what Mussolini did with the King of Italy."

"Roosevelt hasn't the real solution of the unemployment situation, but we'll put across a plan that will really be effective. All unemployed men will be put in military barracks under forced labor, as Hitler does, that would soon solve the problem. Another thing we would do would be to register all persons in the United States, as they do in Europe. That would stop a lot of Communist agitators wandering around loose."

Army Generals Involved

In the course of his various conversations, both with General Butler and with the reporter for the N. Y. Post who was privy to the conspiracy, MacGuire mentioned General MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army as a possible alternate for Butler, and Hanford MacNider, former commander of the American Legion as a third alternate. He also intimated that Louis Johnson, of West Virginia, another former National Commander of the Legion, and Henry Stephens, of North Carolina, yet another former National Commander were "interested" in the plan.

MacGuire was called before a secret hearing of the Congressional committee investigating un-American activities after General Butler had testified. His testimony was

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Weavers Set Deadline for Walkout

Keller's Pussyfooting Aids Bosses Against Strike

Paterson, Nov. 22.—A motion was overwhelmingly passed at the Broad Silk membership meeting here that a strike of all silk workers be called, setting the deadline at 12 midnight Wednesday.

The only voices against it were raised by the pathetic supporters of Eli Keller, General Manager of the Paterson local of the U.T.W. How his activities play into the hands of the bosses is best illustrated by the manner in which the yellow Paterson press has utilized Keller's stalling tactics in order to sow confusion in the workers' ranks. Thus, the Paterson Sunday Eagle, under the scarehead: **WORKERS IN SILK INDUSTRY SET DAY AND HOUR TO QUIT BUT CHANGE THEIR MINDS**—reports as follows: "The silk workers at yesterday's meeting were not over-anxious to agree to the new strike order, many of them feeling that the time was inopportune for employees to leave the mills and join the dye workers." Who were the "many"? Keller, Keller, and Keller. The same Keller who early this week announced that the workers should "be glad that the bosses agree to discuss with the workers."

Keller's Stalling

By his stalling, wishy-washy tactics Keller is playing directly into the hands of the silk bosses whose aim is to isolate the dyers from the rest of the industry. Instead of militancy he is preaching subservience—this in the face of the tremendous drive of the mass of the silk workers to join hands with the striking dyers.

But the silk workers will not be stalled by Keller, or the maneuvers of the bosses. They instructed their delegates to the national silk convention to fight for a general strike in the silk industry; they formed a special committee last week to appear before the Joint Board and demand decisive action on the strike in Paterson.

Expelled Members Reinstated

Last week the Joint Board of the A.F.S.W. local here reinstated to full membership all those who were expelled some five months ago through Keller's machinations for their participation in the Roy (Albert) Shop strike. The reinstated members participated in the Broad Silk Department meeting of last Saturday. Among them were Felix Giordano, Eddie Sweeney and Bill Hulihan, well known for their militancy. They received an ovation. The action of the Joint Board—(about which incidentally, none of the reinstated was informed except by word of mouth just prior to Saturday's meeting)—can be construed only as a repudiation of Keller's policies in general and in particular his entire course in the Roy situation—which has been so rabidly defended and misrepresented by the Lovestonettes.

At the Broad Silk Department meeting 10 delegates were elected for the coming A.F.S.W. national convention, scheduled to open this Saturday in New York at the Woodstock Hotel, 127 West 123rd Street.

Once again Keller was repudiated—and this time by the entire membership of his local. He appeared at the meeting with a recommendation from the Joint Board that he,

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Youth Greet Convention

The Spartacus Youth League of America warmly greets the delegates to the national conventions of the Communist League and the American Workers Party which will open in New York City November 26. We feel confident that the comrades fresh from different phases of the class struggle, on the basis of varied experiences will help to forge the instrument of revolutionary struggle: the new workers' party.

The accomplishment of this great task rests upon your shoulders. You will be called upon to take the first step in the building of the new party, by merging the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America.

The young militants of the Spartacus Youth League have and will continue to aid in the achievement of this aim. At our national convention to be held in New York City December 3-4-5, our delegates will confront the problem of the next steps in this struggle. They will consider the relation of the Spartacus Youth to the new workers Party, if it is formed, before our convention.

The Spartacus Youth will watch your deliberations with great interest. Accept our comradely greetings as a pledge of unrelenting struggle for working class revolution.

For a revolutionary Marxist party!

For the world workers' party, the Fourth International!

National Committee, Spartacus Youth League of America.

Easley Plots Against Nine Negro Boys

Chronicle of Scottsboro Case Reveals I.L.D. Role

Next week the Supreme Court of the U. S. will be asked to reverse the Alabama verdict which condemns two of the nine Scottsboro boys to die. The world at large is still mystified as to whether the court will consider the cases of both Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, or whether the former is "out of court" for technical reasons.

The world is also mystified as to who will appear as counsel in the Supreme Court hearing. The I.L.D. continues to maintain that its attorneys, O. Frankel and W. Pollak, will make the appeal. Samuel S. Leibowitz has said nothing for a couple of weeks, but anybody who thinks he has shot his last arrow is making a bad guess.

The N. Y. Nation reports that the State of Alabama is out to arrest Ruby Bates for perjury. Ruby Bates is the girl who was bribed and bulldozed by the Sheriff of Scottsboro, three years ago, to swear she was raped by the nine young Scottsboro boys. She later reversed her testimony. Now Alabama wants to get her in a jail cell, pound her plenty, and make

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Last Minute Call

The Convention of the Communist League opens on November 26 and will last through the 29th. This will be followed by the Fusion Conference, November 30 through December 2. The Spartacus Youth League convention will open Dec. 3 and last through the 5th. All the conventions will be held at Stuyvesant Casino.

We expect 50 delegates for the C.L.A. convention and about 30 for the Youth convention. This means that we have to feed these comrades, in addition to the A.W.P. delegates during the three days of the Fusion Conference.

Arrangements have been made to take care of the feeding. Our own comrades will attend to the cooking. We also have to accommodate the delegates with sleeping quarters.

In the last issue of the Militant we called for donations of food stuffs. Two of our sympathizers have responded. Comrade Pauline M. has offered us 10 loaves of bread daily and comrade Harrison of Brooklyn is sending us some bakings. Paul King, member of the downtown branch of New York will give some butter and eggs. Harry Strang of New York, donated \$50 to help.

We still need coffee, sugar, potatoes, etc.

CAN YOU CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING TO HELP FEED THE DELEGATES?

Write to the office of the Militant.

We also need about 10 more sleeping accommodations.

MASS MEETING

To Greet the National Conferences of the American Workers Party and the Communist League

SPEAKERS:

JAMES P. CANNON A.J. MUSTE

MINNEAPOLIS: Leaders of the Famous Strikes of Local 574—

Vincent Dunne

Miles Dunne

Carl Skoglund

TOLEDO: Organizers of Mass Picket Line that Broke the Injunction

Ted Selander

Sam Pollack

MINERS: Outstanding Leaders of the Militant Left Wing—

Gerry Allard

Brant Scott

of Illinois

of West Virginia

UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT: Leaders of the National Unemployed League—

Anthony Ramuglia

Bill Truax

Arnold Johnson

NEGRO STRUGGLES: Outstanding Negro Militants—

James Watson

E. R. McKinney

of Philadelphia

of Pittsburgh

DEEP SOUTH:

Jo Drake Arrington

of Gulfport, Miss.

SPARTACUS YOUTH National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League—

Joseph Carter

CANADA: Leaders of the Workers Party of Canada—

Maurice Spector

Jack MacDonald

CHAIRMEN:

Max Shachtman

Louis F. Budenz

SUNDAY, DEC. 2nd, - 8 p.m.

Germania Hall 16th St. & Third Av.

Admission 25 Cents

Delegates Meet to Decide on New Party at Conventions

Labor history will be made in New York City this coming week. The eyes of every revolutionist and class conscious militant in the United States will be turned to the conventions of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

At these conventions, to open on November 26th and to conclude on November 29th, the momentous step for the organization of a new revolutionary party in the United States will be debated and decided.

On November 30th, given a favorable outcome at the respective conferences of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A.—and every indication points that way—the representatives of both organizations will meet in joint convention and there hitch the wagon of revolution to a new star—the Workers Party of the United States.

Delegates from all parts of the country are pouring into New York. A galaxy of the most distinguished representatives of the working class, from the class war battle fields of the glorious Minneapolis strike, from Toledo, from the scene of the Frisco general strike, from the coal fields of Illinois and West Virginia, from the unemployed movement in the heart of America, from every major industrial and political center from coast to coast, from Canada to the Gulf, are gathering to make a decision that will mark a turning point in the course of the American proletarian.

Unemployed Demonstrate Today

National Delegation to Present Demands in Washington

More than 750,000 organized unemployed, backed by almost a million additional jobless workers and trade union members, will take to the streets at 10 A.M. today, in the leading cities of 22 states, to voice their protest against unemployment and unsatisfactory relief conditions, and to demand the adoption of an eight-point platform which alone can relieve them from present starvation standards.

In New York City the marchers will assemble at Union Square at 10 A.M. They will go north on Fourth Avenue to 33rd Street; west to Madison Ave.; thence south past the TERA offices at 79 Madison; down to 23rd St.; west to Broadway, and south to Union Square where a mass meeting will be held. A committee will present the demands of the unemployed to the State Relief Administration at 11:30 A.M. Representatives of all organizations officially part of the parade will be included in the committee.

Among the organizations participating in New York are the Workers Unemployed Union, the New York Assn. of Unemployed Teachers, the Emergency Workers Union, four I.L.G.W.U. locals, Military Workers Locals 24 and 42, International Pocketbook Workers Union, Suitcase and Bagmakers Union, N. Y. locals of the United Textile Workers, Capmakers, Printing Pressmen Local 51; Joint Council of Furriers, Radio Workers, and Painters Local 261. The Communist League of America, American Workers Party, C.P.O. and Socialist Party are also backing the demonstration.

Next Tuesday fifteen representatives of leading unemployed organizations will meet with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins in Washington to present the same relief demands.

The 8-point platform includes the following: 1. Federal public works to provide work for the unemployed at trade union rates on the basis of \$30 for a 30-hour week; 2. Passage of the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill now before Congress; 3. Pending these, immediate direct cash relief of \$10 weekly for single persons, \$15 weekly for families of two, and \$4 weekly for each additional dependent; 4. Guarantee of the rights of organization and collective bargaining to all workers on public projects; 5. Recognition of representatives of organized unemployed by relief administrations; 6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public works and to and from the job; 7. Diversion of all war funds to unemployment relief; 8. Passage of a universal 30 hour work week law without pay cuts.

The demonstration means the beginning of a concerted and determined drive of the organized unemployed throughout the nation to secure for themselves the program which they have adopted. The 12 million unemployed will not continue to remain jobless or to exist on home relief or work relief which pays only \$8 to \$12 weekly. Once the unemployed have set their faces toward our 8-point program which is their goal they will not turn back until they have achieved it.

The formation of a new party in America means the dawn of a new era in the history of the world proletariat. Forward!

Not sleek, self-satisfied bureaucrats such as are seen at A. F. of L. conventions but fighting militants fresh from the picket lines—these are the delegates that will be seen at the conventions of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P.

They are coming not in Pullmans with luxurious sleepers, not in limousines. Far from it. On freight trains, on the highways, "thumbing" a ride, in ramshackle automobiles, the delegates are beating their way to New York.

All of them will be present and the best of them represented on the platform at the mass meeting to greet the conferences of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. which will be held on December 2, 8 P.M. at Germania Hall, 160 Third Ave., N. Y. C.

The list of speakers is a first class treat for the New York working class: Vincent Dunne, Miles Dunne and Carl Skoglund—leaders of the Minneapolis strikers' strike; Ted Selander and Sam Pollack who led the picket line that broke the injunction in Toledo, Arnold Johnson, Bill Truax and Anthony Ramuglia, leading militants in the unemployed movement; Gerry Allard from the Illinois miners movement; Brant Scott from the West Virginia coal fields, Negro militants from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; Joseph Carter, National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League; Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald, spokesmen for the Workers Party of Canada.

The convention of the American Workers Party opens on November 28 and ends November 30. For details see the current issue of **Labor Action** which is on the press at this writing.

The convention of the Communist League, marking the third in its history and the consummation of six years of struggle, will open at the Stuyvesant Casino, Ninth Street and Second Ave. at 10 A.M. Monday, November 26. More than 50 delegates from approximately 20 cities will be represented.

The convention will hear reports from members of the National Committee on the Situation and Perspectives of American Imperialism, on the Negro question, the international situation and the work of our international organization, on the proposed programmatic statement for the new party which it will discuss, amend and revise as it sees fit. It will draw a balance of years of factional activity which saved the banner of Marxism from the disgrace of Stalinism. It will center its attention on moving out into the class struggle and on forging the best instrument for this purpose. Here the question of fusion with the American Workers Party will be democratically discussed and a decision arrived at.

The conference of the Communist League will be open to delegates and members of the organization only.

The Fusion Convention, beginning on Nov. 30 at the Stuyvesant Casino and ending December 2 will be open to all members, friends and sympathizers.

Revolutionary workers all over the world will watch the proceedings with keen attention and await the results. The successful culmination of the fusion will be a milestone on the road to the Fourth International.

The formation of a new party in America means the dawn of a new era in the history of the world proletariat. Forward!

What the Inner Regime of the Communist Party Looks Like

The Communist party of the U.S. A. is beyond doubt the worst example, in any capitalist country, of the devastating effects of Stalinism in the working class movement. One question has persistently perplexed the average militant: How is it possible for the leadership to go from one blunder to another, to chalk up defeat after defeat for the Communist party and the working class, to commit the greatest enormities and crimes, without generating a rank and file rebellion that would fling the leadership on to the scrap-heap? An intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the Stalinist machine, as exemplified by its American section, will supply the answer to this question. The documents and facts which we have at hand will shed a revealing light.

In considering a normal working class organization, it is customary to start at the bottom and follow the superstructure which is built up on it. That's exactly what would be a fatally wrong and misleading approach to the Communist party. The reason? It is not a normal working class organization, but one of the most unique in modern times. Every last vestige of workers' democracy has been destroyed in it, root and branch. It can be analyzed and understood only by starting from the top and moving downward, just as you would do if you had to set about digging a ditch. It is with the intensely bureaucratized leadership that the beginning must be made.

Inventing Miniature Stalins

The Stalinist theory and practice of leadership and organization has prevailed in the Third International for quite some time. It has now reached its highest point, or rather, its lowest depth. The first principle of the central Stalinist machine, in whose hands are all the controlling threads, is to find, manufacture, groom or invent a thoroughly reliable "national leader". He becomes a miniature Stalin, on a national scale. Just as Stalin has established the significant practice of never having the party leadership referred to any way except as "the Central Committee with comrade Stalin at its head", he likewise arranges matters for those whom he appoints in each country to serve him with what the Germans call "Kadavergehorsamkeit"—the obedience of a corpse. Thus the German Stalinist must repeat every day, like a pious Mohammedan, "the Bolshevik Central Committee with comrade Thaelmann at its head". The Frenchman must make his ritualistic obeisance to "the Bolshevik Central Committee with comrade Thorez at its head". In the United States, the "head" is Earl Browder, General Secretary and almighty poobah of the party.

After the expulsion of the Lovestone clique in 1929, a secretariat was established in which those Lovestonites who jumped over the fence in time had the majority. No general-secretary was appointed in Moscow for the simple reason that Stalin was taking no chances with unknown quantities; he wanted to be sure of his man first. Little by little, the wedding-out process was gone through. Recalcitrant Lovestonites, particularly the not entirely house-broken "Leftists", were relentlessly eliminated, or to put it

more simply and bluntly, they were exiled. Bittelman, for example, was sent to cool his heels in the desolate parts of Russia, and to this day he has not been reinstated to an important position. At the Cleveland party convention early this year, Browder merely laid down the law, and Bittelman—once a terror in the party but now a broken reed—was not even elected to the Central Committee. Johnstone, another Leftist suspect who was for "cleaning out" all the Lovestonites, was sent packing to India. Zack was spirited away to the warm climes of Latin America. Krumbein was sent to England and Bell to Ireland. After a period of testing and re-testing, Stalin finally hit upon the least talented, and consequently the most desirable, of the former Lovestonites, Browder. Redacht, a post-1929 convention period member of the secretariat, was pensioned off into the I.W.O. Minor, another secretariat member, was brutally driven out of any political work of directorial importance and sent to make speeches. The secretariat became a thing of the past. The time was ripe for a General-Secretary, and the proper candidate was at hand. Browder got the job.

The Rubber Stamp Pol-Bureau

Browder is responsible to absolutely nobody but Stalin, who, like the Lord himself, giveth and taketh away and must be praised—constantly. The Political Bureau of the party, once an important, responsible and representative body, is today a hand-picked institution which has no actual control over the General-Secretary. Its only possible function is a potential one. That is, should the time come when Browder (god forbid!) gets too presumptuous, or if he must be made the scapegoat for some catastrophe which cannot easily be explained away, the Political Bureau, upon order from the Stalin machine, will automatically remove him into oblivion. The fate of his predecessors proves that no simpler problem exists in the world than to "eliminate" over night the artificially manufactured "leaders" of the Stalinist parties.

Just as Browder is personally picked by Stalin, so he in turn personally picks the Political Bureau, whose composition and activities are unknown to nine-tenths of the party membership! Here too is to be found a unique aspect of the Stalin internal regime. The Political Bureau must not be made up of the leading, most experienced and most qualified party members. That might be necessary if there were any policies to discuss, or political problems and disputes to thrash out collectively. But under Stalinism, the "line" is simply handed down from the Moscow secretariat to its agent in New York. He is directly responsible. He sits in the center of the Political Bureau and, like a Delphic oracle, interprets the transmitted "line". There is no discussion, and above all, no dispute. How can there be? To deviate to the Right or Left of a decision is just about the most dangerous thing a party bureaucrat can do, as so many have learned. The surest way of being right, and staying where you are, is to nod your head solemnly and wisely,

The New Party—The Answer to Stalinist Corruption

Following is the second of the series on what is going on behind the scenes of the Communist Party of the United States. The startling facts revealed in the article are sufficiently explained and consequently require no introductory comment. Every argument made is substantiated by authentic facts, reliable information and official documents. No revolutionary worker can read this amazing revelation and not be revolted at the combination system, including the worst features of the Roman Catholic Church and the ugliest sides of Tammany Hall, which prevails in a party that calls itself "Communist".

Without fear of contradiction we can say that least of all are the members of the Communist party familiar with the inside information we are herewith disclosing. Without ever discovering the truth about the inner regime thousands of workers join it only subsequently to get out as fast as they can, many

being forever lost to the revolutionary movement.

This regime has blinded the eyes of hundreds of otherwise sterling militants to the real crimes of Stalinism. Plunged into hectic but very futile activity, made the scapegoats for the false policies of the leadership, blamed for failures which were the natural result of the political line, the membership has been led from defeat to defeat like driven cattle. The revision of the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin, the disastrous policies leaving a trail of catastrophes over ten years and throughout the world—the party membership was oblivious to all this. The Stalinist system of "education" has two results: either the workers leave the party or they are inculcated with a blind faith and unquestioning discipline, more worthy of church disciples than of revolutionaries.

If the inner regime of the C.P. closed the eyes and the ears of the workers in it to our theoretic

criticisms this revelation of the real situation in the ranks of American Stalinism ought to be an eye-opener. The disgraceful picture of what is going on in their own back yard should have a rousing effect on even the most rabid member of the C. P. It should clearly point to him that a party of this kind, corrupt to the very marrow, cannot lead the American revolution. It can only put the brakes on it and then lead the working class to defeat.

Instead of walking out of the party and then the movement the militant should turn his feet in the direction of the new revolutionary party. Entangled either with the crimes of Stalinism or its Jesuitical system, the new party will lead not to defeat but to victory. Every policy will be weighed and discussed by every member, every leader will be democratically chosen and controlled by the ranks. With such an internal regime based on the foundations of Marx and Lenin victory is assured.—Ed.

and keep your mouth shut. That is why the present Browderian Political Bureau is the strangest one the party has had since its inception. It is composed of Browder, Stachel, Ford, Hudson and Foster. The latter being ill and unable to attend meetings without seriously aggravating his malady, his place is taken by Haywood. Astonishingly enough, neither Hathaway, Weinstein, Minor, nor Redacht, Bittelman, Zack, Amter nor Krumbein, are Political Bureau members. None of them is needed, however much they all would like to occupy the coveted place.

Political Bureau meetings are positively weird affairs. The four neophytes are called into the Royal Presence, and summoned to give their reports. They do. Browder takes notes. Then he takes the floor and hands down the decisions. The meeting adjourns. And that is all. No questioning, no discussing, above all no disputing. That has been tried before, openly and covertly, and every venturesome soul came to a bad end.

Rife with Intrigues

For example: Stachel knows that, for this reason and that, he can never hope to take Browder's place as The Leader. But he has a cordial dislike of Browder's instincts and would give a pretty penny to see him thrown to the lions. On at least two occasions he has intrigued with Hathaway and Weinstein, especially with the latter, to put the boots to Browder. But the system remained intact, and with it, its secretarial incarnation. In effect, the ambitious Hathaway was kicked down the steps and given a post which is of no political importance at all in the party nowadays, the Daily Worker editorship. As punishment, he is not even a member of the Political Bureau. Weinstein, whose first attempt to realize his ambition earned him an enforced and prolonged stay in Moscow, was simply kicked out of New York, the center,

when he tried it a second time; he was sent off as district organizer in Detroit. Browder got the necessary pretext for this exile by ukase when Weinstein allowed himself to state that the Washington bonus demonstration was an "adventure" and that the veterans were nothing but "marching bums". Stalinism's internal regime, which inevitably produces such intrigues, suppresses them with a mailed fist so as not to undermine its autocratic system of leadership and the theory of papal infallibility which is inseparable from it.

Stacked with Ple-Card Artists

Control of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat automatically guarantees control of the various districts and all the important conventions which are, in passing, held rarely enough. Browder has surrounded himself with a sturdy and highly subservient central staff—the core of the bureaucracy. Its overhead is a bit breathtaking. The confidential financial report of the Central Committee to the Cleveland convention showed, according to "Exhibit B" that in 1932, the C.C. alone paid out in wages exactly \$25,584.45 or over one-sixth of its annual expenditures, whereas in 1933, it paid out in wages the sum of \$24,374.15, or almost exactly one-fourth of its annual expenditures, with more than an additional \$30,000 going in the form of subsidies to the district organizations and other bodies.

To this Central Committee bureaucracy is attached a faithful group of lesser functionaries who owe their political existence to appointment from above. In spite of the fact that time and again, for the past few years, official resolutions have vowed that the next task of the party is the reduction of the number of full time paid functionaries, the number continues to rise. Thus, the well-known "Open Letter" in the middle of 1933 called for a cut in the apparatus. Eight months later, things were worse

than before. Thus, "Chart D" on the "Organizational Status of the Party" handed out for the Cleveland convention shows that "BOL" (Before the Open Letter) there were 82 full time district functionaries, and 86 "now" (i.e., February 1934). "BOL" there were 66 full time section organizers, and "now" 67. "BOL" there were 12 "other full time section functionaries", whereas "now" reports 38! In addition, the chart shows 231 "mass full time functionaries".

With this as a compact machine (and these figures are only a part of the whole apparatus), the inner regime is guaranteed the perfect unanimity, monolithism and homogeneity of the graveyard.

We have seen how the General Secretary and the Political Bureau are handpicked. Let us trace the system further.

The Political Bureau (read: the "Gen-Sec") appoints all the district organizers. If Browder is a paper-backed pamphlet edition of Stalin, the district organizers are leaflet editions of Browder. They select their District Bureaus. In turn, these actually appoint each section organizer, who picks himself a section bureau subject to the critical eye of the higher body. Thus it runs down to the last rung in the ladder.

Hand-Picking Convention Delegates

But the party conventions—hasn't the membership a chance then? Does it not elect the delegates? It does, and it doesn't; essentially, it doesn't. In the first place, conventions are increasingly rare. Whereas in the old days—the period of the Lenin International—conventions were held every year and sometimes more often, even when the American Communist party was underground and illegal, the intervals are far greater now. The Third International has held only one congress in the last ten years, whereas in the three first years of its existence (the Lenin period) it held four of them. So in the Am-

erican party: four years went by before a national convention was held. In the second place, party democracy has been so thoroughly eradicated, that the conventions are fixed and settled well in advance by the bureaucracy, and every little detail is so carefully arranged beforehand that every single aspect of the outcome can easily be foretold by Browder. Here is how the conventions are manufactured:

The section or local conference elects a "nominating committee" which has been prepared for it in advance. After looking over the field, this committee recommends a slate for approval by the convention, which, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, automatically "elects" the slate. It almost looks democratic. The delegates, for the most part, are not aware of the fact that both the "nominating committee" and the slate for the District Committee have been arranged in fine detail by the officialdom. It is true, of course, that additional nominations are allowed by that unusual phenomenon, the "independent" or the uninitiated delegate. But such nominations very, very rarely alter the slate, which is pushed through with all the pressure of the united bureaucratic apparatus. What happens at the district conventions is repeated faithfully at the national conventions. Before the Cleveland convention met, and before even the district convention met which elected the delegates to the national gathering, Browder was in a position to know the name of every delegate who would attend—practically to a man. He knew with even greater exactitude and certainty just who would be "elected" to the incoming Central Committee. The "nominating committee" and the slate were arranged in advance. And just as is the case with a Democratic party candidate in Mississippi or Alabama—nomination is equivalent to election. In the deepest and truest sense of the word, the central party bureaucracy appoints the delegates to the extremely rare party conventions!

But why do the members tolerate such a despotic regime? The answer is that most of them do not tolerate it.

Baracks Discipline

Workers are attracted to the party because of its militancy and its activity, although its activity is about as effective as churning up a lot of tepid water in a bowl. The first, and usually the only principle they are taught in the party is obedience, disguised under the name of "discipline". Lenin's axiom that revolutionary discipline is based upon understanding, upon freely and democratically organized discussion, is considered a petty bourgeois prejudice in the party today. In his unit, the new party member is loaded with a number of tasks, the reasons for which are not clearly explained to him, if at all. Problems and policies are not democratically discussed in the units under any circumstances. The "line" has already been settled up above. Just as it was transmitted to the "up above" by a still higher officialdom, so it is transmitted further down, where a barracks discipline and not a revolutionary proletarian discipline is enforced. The initiative, the resourcefulness,

the intellectual and political development of the ranks are thus choked off from the very outset. "Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to sell Daily Workers or go to demonstrations or shout 'social-Fascist' today and the opposite tomorrow."

This is the horrible situation which the official plenum and convention resolutions of the C.P. refer to when they speak of the "poor inner life" of the party. You can't pick up a resolution without finding that phrase in it. All sorts of remedies are proposed, but not one of them touches the heart of the problem, the basic cause. Nor can the Stalinist bureaucracy propose a fundamental remedy, for the simple reason that bureaucracy, the abolition of party democracy, is the direct and immediate cause of the "poor inner life".

Leaps In—Bounds Out

"Chart B" in the statistical material given the Cleveland party convention delegates deals with "Party Growth—Fluctuation". It gives the membership of the party, month by month, from January 1931 to February 1934, along with the figures of what the membership would have been "if recruits would have remained in Party". Thus, at the beginning of 1931, the C. P. had 8,519 members. In February 1934, it records 22,344 members. The chart further records the fact that "if recruits would have remained in Party", the membership in that month (Feb. 1934) would have been 56,595. In other words, from the beginning of 1931 to the beginning of 1934, the C. P. took in 48,076 new members, a steady average of more than 1,300 new members every month for three years. Of these 48,076, there remained in the party only 13,825; the rest, 34,251, quit the party. Which means that out of every four workers who joined the C. P. in the last three years, three left the party and only one stayed in it! In 1918, Lenin said about the peasants who were quitting the trenches and refusing to fight any longer, that they were voting against a continuation of the war with their feet. For the most part, it can be repeated today, the workers who quit the party in such a hurry are voting against the bureaucracy and its regime with their feet. Those who stream into the C. P. are living testimony that the American workers can be won to Communism by the thousands. The mass exodus from the party of those workers who get a small sample of the regime and its policies, is tragic witness to the ravages caused by the pestilence called Stalinism.

The curse of bureaucracy has doomed its victim to irremediable disintegration. The putrescent obstacle of the C.P. must make way for the lusty new movement which will grow all the more healthily and strongly because of the lessons it learns from the decay of bureaucratic Stalinism.

The next article in this series will deal with the phenomenon of corruption in the Stalinist party, again on the basis of documents, concrete facts and examples, and reveal how this festering sore is inseparably connected with the suppression of party democracy under Stalinism.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

So You Can't Take It, Mr. Young!

Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, counseled the students of an Arkansas college against the fast tempo of modern times. "Recent events," he articulated with a benign ahem, "have gone so fast as to get out of hand. Today we do not see great masses of people orderly and intelligently moving upward (bless me Hannah, but what does the dear old gent mean?), but millions of people in every land hanging on in panic to this treadmill of terrific speed, which no one seems able to control."

Oke by us Mr. Young. Why not start this slowness campaign right now. And what a marvellous opportunity for you to revive that good old custom of example setting. Why not slow down the tempo of the General Electric works? Give your men shorter hours, increase their wages and thus insure for them more leisure. What? You say you didn't mean that at all? Well, well, well.

Is There Any Possible Connection Department?

On Tuesday of last week the papers carried headlines to the effect that the war between Bolivia and Paraguay had taken on a new ferocity. On Wednesday of the same week, tucked away in a corner of one of the most respectable of the morning papers appeared the following item: "The announcement of the international tin committee in London of an increase of 40,000 tons in Bolivia's quota means more than \$15,000,000 in Bolivian revenue. Before the increase Bolivia was exporting 14,000 tons, the rev-

enue permitting her to finance the Chaco war without any extra taxation." . . . Get the connection.

Friend or Foe—We Want to Know

The Stalinists have squeezed a new curl in their peripheral wig. This time it is an organization known as "The Friends of the United Front". Now this column is a stickler for accuracy. We want to know, are they friends of any kind of a united front? Are they 'the friends of the united front from below' or are they 'the friends of the united front from above?' There should be no secret among "friends".

For a Nickel on the Drum You Get a Strikebreaking Bum

(Just a parenthetic remark to the readers—Forgive the poetic headings. . . It's the Spring that's in the air these days). Now to the story.

In this week's A. F. of L. Bulletin we find Mr. William Green exchanging felicitations with the Salvation Army. Had Mr. Green taken a few minutes off from felicitating exchanging and spoken to a rank and file member of the A. F. of L. he might have found out that the Sall is one of the most distinguished recruiting agencies for strike-breakers in this country. Needless to say Mr. Green did no such thing. So we find the notorious Baptist writing to Evangeline Booth, Commander of the Salvation Army: "The well wishes, sympathy and support of the A. F. of L. are extended to you. . . We will follow your work with unusual interest and I assure you that we will endeavor to give the Salvation Army our continued cooperation and support."

Leaving Mr. Green for a moment in the act of "cooperating" with the S.A. we turn to the notorious and self-advertised strike-breaker par excellence, Mr. P. L. Bergoff. Turning to strike-breaker Bergoff we find that in his articles for the

New York Post he tells how on being stuck for scabs on one occasion he trotted down to the Salvation Army and there after a few words with the captain in charge Mr. Bergoff was given the run of the shelter. So splendid was the "cooperation" of the S.A. that he was able to enlist over 200 scabs in no time at all. Looks like the good old double cross or is it double play? . . . From Bergoff to Booth to Green.

Meet the Gang!

Would you like to meet the lead-

ers of the Minneapolis truck drivers strike? Would you like to meet the delegates to the League convention coming from all parts of this country and Canada and probably Mexico? Would you like to dance with us and eat with us and drink with us at this festive occasion? Of course you would. Well—don't tell nobody but your best friend and your best friend's friend that we are throwing a little shindig at our headquarters this Saturday night. Come as guests of the column.

—GLEE.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Upturn Hangs Fire

The oft-heralded upturn in American business continues to hang fire with the depression and stagnation taking on a prolonged character. It was the consensus of opinion of economists that the summer slump which dragged the business indices down to record lows would continue on into the fall. Now there are again predictions that the upturn will have to wait till next spring despite the holiday season at the year's end. The heavy industries, the durable goods industries, have failed to show improvement. All the efforts to get housing construction going for the purpose of creating heavy demands on the basic forces of production have not as yet proved effective. Through the building trades the bourgeoisie is preparing a new offensive against the standards of living of the working class—under the pretext that high labor costs are the obstacle in the way of a real construction boom.

Under these circumstances the American bourgeoisie, far from confident of the future, have reached a stage where they begin to make up their minds that in order to save the capitalist system it will be necessary to resort to extreme measures. With utter dismay they read in a recent bulletin of the League of Nations that since last May the United States is eleventh on the list of countries in rate of recovery as measured by indices of industrial activity. Only four nations—Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Austria and Poland—made a poorer showing. Not the least factor in pushing the finance capitalists toward the road of violent reaction is the growing evidence of working

class militancy. The second of the two strike waves that have swept the entire country recently, showed far greater readiness to battle on the part of the proletariat than did the first, although the strikes were for the most part failures so far as achieving actual gains for the workers was concerned. Already there are evidences of a third strike wave ahead, possibly to be heralded in by the building trades workers.

Danger of Fascism

What is going on in the minds of the moneyed interests is strikingly revealed by General Smedley Butler. There can be not the slightest reason for doubting his story, whatever his motives for making public the truth. Butler was approached with offers of tremendous financial support by Wall Street financiers in order to have him build up a national fascist force for the purpose of establishing a fascist dictatorship. MacGuire acted as the go-between for his employer Colonel Murphy, and for Clark, inheritor of the Singer Sewing Machine millions. Murphy, who served with Butler in the army, is an ideal figure to bring together the actual drill-sergeants of the forces of bloody reaction and the financial backers, belonging himself to both camps. He is connected with an imposing list of corporations, among them the Foreign Credit Corporation, United States Distributing Co., Guarantee Trust Co., Aviation Corporation, Liberty National Bank, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., Interborough Rapid Transit Co., New York Transportation Co., Bethlehem Steel Co., Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., Cuba Cane Sugar Co., etc. Names to be conjured with in the fields of banking and business, companies reeking of reaction and imperialism. It is not difficult to discern, as is barely hinted in the press, the ominous figure of Morgan just back of Colonel Murphy. Butler reveals that

the same interests were to approach General MacArthur, head of the United States Army, and MacNider, former head of the American Legion. Undoubtedly the fascists will seek close connection with the staff of the army, through whom they will be able to secure arms and drill masters all the more readily (witness Italy and Germany). It need not be thought that these public disclosures will deter the bankers and big capitalists from their chosen task. The negotiations with the possible timber for the "man on horseback" will now become all the more secret and hidden from view—that is all.

Our Task

No worker can fail to realize the significance of the few facts that have thus become known, more or less by chance. The situation in America is ripe for the attempt on the part of the capitalists to wipe out all working class organizations, political parties and trade unions. The vast army of unemployed, continually on the verge of starvation, can no longer be fed illusions in place of bread. The impoverished middle class cannot be satisfied any longer with promises. We may look forward to the repetition of the damagogy of European fascism in the attempt of finance capital to ensnare the strata of desperate workers and petty bourgeoisie in the net of reaction. Hence it becomes the duty of the vanguard of the proletariat to meet the challenge of fascism, to intensify its effort to establish a working class United Front of Action against fascism. It becomes the duty of every class conscious worker to help build a new revolutionary party, the only force that can defeat fascism. The new Workers Party shortly to be launched will dedicate itself to this task and deserves the support of all workers.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

H. D. BRONX—

Question: The draft programmatic thesis of the C.L.A. presents as a perspective the possibility that the working class movement in the United States may skip, or very rapidly pass through, the reformist stage. What is the basis for this? In this connection, would you explain the reason for the differences between the working class movement here and in Europe?

Answer: In Europe, at the time of the advent of capitalism as the dominating mode of production and the transformation of the state power to this mode, practically all the land was private property, to which, primarily, is due the sharpness to which class lines were drawn. Only exceptional proletarians could climb out of their class inside the State boundaries. The "surplus" proletariat or the landless sons of farmers who sought a way out could find it only by migrating to the colonies of America, Africa, or Australia, where, by opening new land, mines, etc., the class relationships were renewed. In the "mother" countries, however, the class consciousness brought forth by the relative rigidity of class lines resulted in comparatively large organizations of the proletariat.

In the United States all this "colonization", because of free land, took place within the state boundaries so that class relationships were in a constant flux, blurring the class lines and resulting in small working class organizations.

This entire development occurred while capitalism was in its progressive stage, and at a time when it had the possibilities, with super profits extracted from the colonies, to bribe certain sections of the proletariat, to create an "aristocracy" of labor, upon which reformism bases itself and by means of whom reformism seized both the large European (we exclude Russian) and the small American labor movements.

However, times have changed. The material basis for the blurring of class lines, free land, in the United States no longer exists. (The number of farms in this country which increased from 1,449,073 in 1850 to 6,448,343 in 1920 declined to 6,288,648 by 1930. In 1910, 12,385,309 people, 32.5% of the total, were employed in agriculture. By 1930, these had declined to 10,471,998 or 21.4% of the total.) The ending of this material basis for the political backwardness of the American worker, corresponds in point of time with the decline of capitalism internationally, and, with this decline, the end of the conditions which make reformism possible, as European experience so eloquently testifies.

This is the "combined" development to which we refer and which makes possible not only a rapid tempo of working class development in the country but a "skipping" over of the stage through which the European workers have gone.

To a great extent, of course, this will depend upon the ability of the new party to influence events in a revolutionary direction.

S. B., NEW YORK—

Question: Certain Socialists, with whom I discuss, claim that the Austrian experience is proof that armed insurrection against the capitalist state is futile. How would you answer this?

Answer: One thing the Austrian experience does prove: To attempt almost any struggle, not to speak of armed insurrection, against capitalism, under the paralyzing leadership of the Social Democracy, is futile.

Actually, the relationship of forces favored the Austrian workers according to both Deutsch and Otto Bauer. Even if the reaction could count as reliable all the troops, police, Heimwehr, etc., it could muster no more than 60,000 men as against 80,000 Schutz-bundists. Two thirds of Vienna, 90% of the workers (i.e. the control of production, transport and communication), and 40% of the total Austrian population were Social Democratic, to which must be added the organs of local government of which the party disposed. Had the Austrian Marxist leadership wanted it, the procuring of arms would have been a comparatively simple matter under the circumstances.

Why was this immeasurably superior force defeated? It was betrayed. The enemy was systematically presented with the best political and material positions by the leadership of the Social Democracy, who placed their faith not in the masses but in Dollfuss and Miklas.

One could go into great detail to prove our point but let the following statement of Otto Bauer himself suffice: "We could have answered that (the dispersion of the Parliament in 1933—Ed.) on March 15 with the general strike. Never were the conditions for a successful strike so favorable as on that day."

The working masses awaited the signal to fight. The military organization of the government was far weaker than in February 1934. At that time we might have triumphed." (See the Review of Otto Bauer's and Deutsch's pamphlets in the New Internationalist of July 1934 for further facts.)

The Austrian experience also proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is impossible for the proletariat to come to power by parliamentary means. Fascism will strangle the proletariat before it receives 51% of the votes. Armed insurrection is not only necessary but inevitable, if the working class is not to go down in defeat. The Austrian events showed that not the armed insurrection—without which there can be no hope of the workers taking power—but the mealy-mouthed, treacherous leadership of Austro-Marxism was futile and disastrous for the proletariat.

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November New International Out

The November issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material, etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; \$1 for seven issues.

Who Are the Defenders of the U.S.S.R.?

The International Secretariat Replies to the Calumnies of the French Stalinists

the ranks obeys only the commands from above and pretends to infallibility.

The Marxist method of the united front presupposes the right of every party to give its critical opinion on the attitude of its ally. It is only thus, in action, that the masses can be educated. The Stalinists, in rejecting the most elementary lessons of Marx and Lenin, have connected the realization of the united front with the abandonment of reciprocal criticism. This is the only method at their disposal to preserve the myth of their infallibility and one must look here for the explanation of the hatred and their fear of the "insignificant quantity" of "Trotskyists" whom they are very far from neglecting.

For eleven years we followed step by step the entire policy of the Comintern. Whether it concerned the pretended "workers and peasants" parties for the Orient, the Chinese revolution with the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeois party of the Kuo Min Tang, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the attitude of the Polish Communist party which supported Pilsudsky's coup d'etat in 1926, the policy of the third period with its adventurist ravages, the theory and practice of social fascism which led to the catastrophe in Germany, the same policy in Austria and Spain where it condemned to impotence the sections of the Comintern, finally the present policy of the French Communist Party which opposes the creation of the workers' militia—in all these decisive questions and in many other important cases we have always counterposed the Marxist policy to the Stalinist policy and predicted the fatal consequences of the latter. Let every conscious worker compare our proposals and our prognoses with the

march of events and he will know on whose side the truth rests. It is this situation that makes it unacceptable and impossible for the Stalinist sections to face us before an international proletarian forum. From the moment when the walls of infallibility begin to crack the entire Comintern bureaucracy will fall to pieces. That is why the Stalinists carefully avoid contact with an organization which is deeply familiar with their history, their mistakes and even their crimes.

But whatever the psychological explanation for their attitude, it is politically impermissible. The very meaning of the united front consists in that one does not demand from his allies a preliminary recognition of ideas and opinions which they do not hold. If the "Trotskyists" are the open enemies of the U.S.S.R., this should inevitably appear in common action and we will thus discredit ourselves in the eyes of the proletarian vanguard. If the Stalinists truly believe in what they advance they should welcome our appearance beside them in an international working class forum. But no, they are far from taking this road, and they are right, not as a revolutionary organization but as a conservative bureaucracy: open and candid discussion will leave not a trace of the prestige of infallibility.

The international proletarian vanguard has the greatest interest in hearing a clear opinion on this question, on which the development of the world revolution depends in great part. Abusing the prestige of the workers' state, which we are the first to recognize and to support, and wasting its practically inexhaustible material, the apparatus of the Comintern blocks the road to all revolutionary

education, which can only be inculcated by free criticism in an atmosphere of loyalty.

We would seek in vain this loyalty in the attitude of the Stalinists, even after their last turn. Only yesterday they declared that the French Socialist party was the twin brother of fascism and the I.L.P. left social fascist. Today they denounce our French friends who joined the S.F.I.O. in order there to work loyally on the basis of their principles and their methods as the wreckers of the socialist party. They "fraternally" warn Leon Blum and Paul Faure that our "sham maneuvers" threaten the unity of the S.P. and at the same time in the official publications of the Comintern they denounce us as lackeys of Leon Blum and by that fact of Doumergue, and so on.

We believe that even the organizations which are quite hostile to the Bolshevik-Leninist conceptions have the supreme duty of refuting with every ounce of energy the pretension of the Stalinists of putting the workers' world under the revolver of an ultimatum and poisoning the atmosphere of the united front by slanders and dishonest intrigues instead of assisting it by frank criticism and loyal collaboration.

The proletarian vanguard always and especially now after the terrible defeats needs revolutionary clarity. We are far from contesting the right of the Stalinists, even the bureaucrats, to participate in common actions, but they should stop considering themselves as a special caste above the plebeian proletarians and above all they should use arguments and not insults. In the name of all our sections, which grow in influence and in number in nearly all the countries of the world, we declare ourselves ready to face the Stalinists and their accusations before any national or international forum.

—The International Secretariat of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists)

Spiking a Canard in the Daily Worker

A STATEMENT BY JOSEPH FOX ON HIS RESIGNATION FROM THE C.P.U.S.A.

To the Comrades in the C. P. and Workers in the Food Industry:

The stool-pigeon tactics to which the leaders of the Communist (Stalinist) Party resort against workers who disagree with their rotten policies and tactics of splitting the working-class is best illustrated in the "Workers Enemies Exposed" columns in the Daily Worker.

There was not one single iota of truth in the slanderous accusations against me, and I would have never bothered answering it were it not for the fact that that statement plays into the hands of our worst enemies, the Department of Justice. Furthermore, it gives the officials of the A. F. of L. justification for my expulsion, gives them ample reasons to refuse my reinstatement into the local, and helps the bosses to spread the blacklist against me, thus depriving me of the possibility of earning my bread and butter.

I resigned from the Communist Party because I am in total disagreement with its trade union policies and tactics, particularly with the policies the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union. They advised and ordered me to carry out a line in Local 302 of the A. F. of L. which resulted in imprisonment of myself and five others for three and a half months in jail, expulsion of myself and 12 other oppositionists from the A. F. of L., the loss of our jobs and means of livelihood and the strengthening of the racketeering officials in the local to a position of absolute dictatorial power.

Today the leadership of the "Industrial Union" are in league with the worst strike-breakers and racketeering officials in Local 302 and work hand in glove with them. I have demanded to know on many occasions from the leaders of the Industrial Union, why they did not even in a single instance raise the question of our reinstatement into Local 302, and their replies were tantamount to a direct refusal.

I have in my possession a letter dated June 11, 1934 and signed by the Secretary of the Food Workers Industrial Union addressed to "Dear Comrade Fox" wherein, amongst other things, he states that "I would therefore like to talk matters over with you as to what we could do in order to rectify some of our previous mistakes made!" This flings the ugly word "liar" into the faces of the stool-pigeons in the C.P. who are responsible for issuing the "expose" against me in the Daily Worker.

I have issued a signed statement to my unit on the night of my resignation (four months ago) in which I explained my disagreements with the political line followed by the C. P. and C. I. and which Section No. 5, according to all indications, has suppressed to this very day.

The comrades in my unit have had only the highest regard and esteem for me, and up to date are still on the most friendly terms

Out of C. P. - For New Party

The influence of the new party movement, taking form in the approaching fusion of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A., is being felt in all sections and tendencies of the labor movement. Even the case-hardened, bureaucratic cell that is the Communist party is beginning to stir. Several weeks ago a leading Negro militant of the Philadelphia district of the C. P. joined our ranks. Last week we published the statements of two outstanding New York trade unionists placing the cross on their connections with Stalinism. Below is a declaration of two rank and file C. P. members declaring for the Fourth International and calling on other Communist party members to follow their example. We are certain, that as the new party gains in force their example will be followed not by individuals but by tens and hundreds of workers disgusted with the rotten inner regime and the fatal policies of Stalinism.—Ed.

Nov. 20, 1934

Dear Comrades:

We the undersigned members of the Communist Party realize now that the mistakes of the Communist Parties of the world, arising out of Stalin's theory of building socialism in one country, have brought only defeat to the working class and have converted the Third International into a reactionary force in the working class movement. Stalin's theory of the four class party in China resulted in a direct betrayal of the Chinese proletariat; Warski, the official leader of the Polish Communist Party, called upon the Polish workers to support Pilsudski and played into the hands of the reactionary forces

of Polish Fascism; the miserable theory of the united front below and social fascism were responsible in great measure in defeating the working class of Germany and facilitating Hitler's rise to power.

We find from our experience that the Communist Party is controlled by a bureaucratic clique who expel all members who dare question its policies. The minute we raised our voice, protesting against some of the policies of the party, we were promptly labeled "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" and isolated from the party membership.

Because the party members are stifled by this bureaucratic apparatus and the party is therefore unable to learn from its past mistakes and to correct these mistakes, we came to the conclusion that the downfall of the German Communist Party without a struggle spelled the death of the Third International as a revolutionary force, just as August 4th, 1914, revealed the bankruptcy of the Second International and the necessity of building new revolutionary parties and a new International.

As honest revolutionists, our duty dictates that we place loyalty to the world revolution above party loyalty and join the ranks of those who are fighting for new revolutionary parties and a new, a Fourth International. Such a party is now being launched by the fusion of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We feel that it is our revolutionary duty to join the ranks of this party and urge all our fellow Communists to follow our example.

—S. GREENBERG
I. GREENBERG
Unit 2015.

N.Y. Organization Notes

Our young Spartacan group in Newark has shown this week that it is an organization composed of real, two-fisted fighting young workers, who don't take no gaff from nobody; neither the Stalinists, the Socialists, the police, nor anybody else.

After our Spartacans initiated a united front against fascism, they were quickly ducked by the Young People's Socialist League who shamefully capitulated to the ultimatum of the Young Stalinists: "United either with them or with

me. They realize that the failures in the unit are due to the stupid policies that they are forced to carry out.

I have spoken to many workers in the A. F. of L. with whom I worked as a class conscious oppositionist in Local 302 and they are ever ready to attest their signatures to a statement about my revolutionary character and loyalty to the interests of the working class.

It is high time that the honest Communist workers put a stop to such open stool-pigeon tactics of the leadership of the C.P.

—JOSEPH FOX.

WORLD OF LABOR

THE L.S.I.-C.I. NEGOTIATIONS

The Events in Spain and the Fourth International.

We are constrained to note that the L.S.I. (Second International) and the C. I. continue to view the question of the united front on an international scale not as a matter of revolutionary action but as a game of hide-and-seek and political alibis.

This time the C. I. has the edge, having addressed a letter to the Bureau of the L.S.I. it succeeded in obtaining a refusal.

Previously the Comintern was opposed to every international proposition of the L.S.I. and favored common action of national sections only.

Today the L.S.I. prefers the national united front. It has been taken by the Stalinist maneuver. This has to be said not for the purpose of excusing the miserable answer of Vandervelde and Adler but to understand the full significance of these negotiations. They have nothing in common with revolutionary internationalism.

Insofar as the real existence of the Second International is concerned there are few illusions remaining in the left wing of French socialism. The comrades of Bataille (Battelle, organ of left wing in French S. P.) recognize the necessity of a new international, but label us as sectarians or superstitions people because we cling to the number four. The number is of little importance, says la Bataille.

We fear that it is not merely an arithmetical difference. When we say Fourth International we mean by an international whose platform will assimilate the positive and negative experience of the Second and Third Internationals. Not a balance sheet of mistakes but a guide to action on solid foundations.

For this we have no faith in the L.S.I. Their "internationalism" is always limited to a warm exchange of telegrams.

An international consisting of elements evolving in directly opposite directions can only exist on paper. While the Dutch social democrats rally to reactionary positions the old ministers of the Spanish bourgeois republic lead the armed insurrection.

But this very fact, that wherever there has been an armed uprising against the bonapartist or fascist reaction, we find the left socialists, with its progressive side and also its defects in a predominant role, leads us to pose the question: What has happened to the international appointed to lead the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, the Third International?

We have heard it said that the C. I. played a "leading role" in the Spanish events. However, every militant must avoid taking as revolutionary internationalism, theatrical proclamations after the battle, or the fearful hypocrisies of a Cachin on the dilatory response of the L.S.I.

What must be taken into account is the policy of the C.I. for preparation and support of the Spanish revolution.

In the September issue of the Communist International we are given a very clear answer on this question.

It really appears that the C. I. understood that the struggle of the Spanish proletariat would lead it to the brink of insurrection. The International speaks abstractly of these eventualities and declares that the small communist party is better prepared for them than the big socialist party.

What were the directives of the C. I. in preparation for the insurrection? They try to pick a quarrel with Largo Caballero. They reproach this ex-reformist with neglecting the struggle for "partial" demands. To abandon them, they say, means "to retreat before the enemy."

"The continual capitulation of the Austrians before fascism consisted precisely in that", in other words, in a revolutionary period one must be careful to be more reformist than the reformists.

On the other hand they abstractly pose the slogan of soviets, while they ignore the workers alliance as the organ of struggle, as the possible embryo of the organs of power. The Stalinists must baptize every mass committee as soviet, and no matter what happens they continue to shout "Soviets Everywhere!"

In this connection let us recall the appreciation of L.Humanire for July 3rd, 1934 on this workers alliance, printed in bold face: it concerns itself with the tasks of the Catalanian C. P.

"It is also necessary for it," said Peri, "to denounce the pretentious Workers Alliance of Catalonia, a bloc of renegades from the party, of Trotskyists, anarchists, social fascists who fraudulently cloak themselves in the mantle of unity, but in reality support the policy of the Generalidad."

Besides this there is nothing in the article of the Communist International which allows us to believe that the "revolutionary leadership" prepared the masses for the general strike and the armed insurrection. Nothing specific on the necessity of building the fighting organizations, the militia. Not a slogan on the arming of the workers. All that is left to the tender mercies of Largo Caballero and Prieto.

The lessons of October are transformed into abstract and pedantic propaganda. It is no longer part of the life of the Third International.

In these conditions, the necessity for a new revolutionary International, the Fourth International, becomes obvious. By its evolution towards revolutionary positions the left wing socialists are passing over the abstract ballyhoo of the Stalinists. It is our duty to accelerate this evolution by a firm and intransigent struggle for the principles of Leninism. Then the "Road of October" will no longer be a mere phrase for reviews of the epigones.

—La Verite, Nov. 2, 1934.

"REPUBLICAN MILITIA" MARCHES IN CHILE

The rising wave of Fascism, that sweeps through Europe, reaches South America also. A Fascist movement is developing in Chile under the protecting wing of the "liberal" Alessandri regime. The recent march in Santiago de Chile of several thousand members of the "Republican Militia" was a demonstration of force by the blackest reactionary elements of that country and a direct threat to the Chilean proletariat.

The Chilean Communist Left, conscious of its role as the workers' vanguard, took the initiative in building up a serious united front movement that included the Socialist party and numerous trade unions, for the carrying on of an active struggle against the Fascist menace. A general strike and counter demonstration were called by our comrades. A number of the factories in and about the city were tied up as was also a large part of the construction industry. The local Stalinists contributed their share by impeding the spread of the general strike to the more basic industries.

Impromptu Dance

To Greet Delegates Coming for League Convention

At Our Headquarters 144 2nd Ave.

Sat. Nov. 24th 8 p.m.

WANTED
The Convention Arrangements Committee wants the services of eight League or Spartacus Youth members throughout the conventions, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karnser at the National Office.

Newark Anti-Nazi Protest Split by Stalinists, YPSL

On Sunday night, Nov. 18, Lawrence Dennis, fascist, came to the Universalist Church in Newark to speak on the "Coming Fascism." About 150 were in the mass picket line to protest his speaking, a demonstration called by a united front between the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. However, the organization that set on foot the united front in Newark and played a militant part in the picket line was excluded from the united front negotiations. Following is a factual account of the united front negotiations and of the demonstration Sunday night, and of the part the excluded Spartacus Youth League played throughout.

Sept. 15.—Spartacus Youth League (S.Y.L.) delegates in a discussion with two E.C. members of the Y.P.S.L. on the united front, proposed a joint letter of Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. to the Y.C.L. asking the latter to participate in a united front on specific issues. They were invited to discuss the matter before the next E.C. meeting of the Y.P.S.L.

Oct. 2.—At Y.P.S.L. E.C. meeting our delegates repeated the proposal, stressing the necessity of a broad united front of all working class organizations, especially as in Newark there was a strong fascist youth movement. The E.C. voted to send a letter to their N.C. to ask authority to send the joint letter with the S.Y.L. to the Y.C.L. for the purpose of effecting the united front in Newark. The N.C. gave them this authority. (They voted to send a joint letter with the S.Y.L.)

Nov. 8.—The S.Y.L. received a communication stating "We realize that the S.Y.L. is anxious to bring about a united front, and we extend to you the hand of comradeship," inviting us to send delegates to a united front conference at their headquarters (Y.P.S.L. on Nov. 11). The Y.C.L. was invited through a similar letter.

Nov. 11.—The Y.C.L. sent no official delegate to the conference because the "Trotskyites" were invited. Karlson, Y.C.L. organizer, appeared however, to present their viewpoint to the Yipsels. His main arguments were that we were insignificant and we should prove our revolutionary sincerity by not opposing something so important as a united front. Our speaker pointed out that something insignificant could not prevent something as important as the united front. Further, that in the last two years they had entered five united fronts with us in New York alone, and that as sincere revolutionaries it was our duty to determinedly fight for a broad united front including all working class organizations, as against the sectarian united front policy of the Y.C.L. More, that the national policy as stated by the Y.P.S.L. N.C. is: "All subdivisions are instructed to refuse to agree to any arrangements which barred any group from the united front that is willing to cooperate in support of the joint program." Obviously, the national policies of the Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. are directly opposed to the national policy of excluding certain organizations from the united front, the latter being the program of the Y.C.L. Karlson stated that the Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. both had their national policies and that there would be no united front if we were included, at least with the Y.C.L. participating. A Y.P.S.L. delegate stated that they were considering a state-wide united front and that the S.Y.L. would automatically be excluded from the first negotiations, as they are not a state organization, but that the Y.P.S.L. would insist on their inclusion in the united front. This latter would apply locally, that is, to Newark. The meeting broke up here, and the S.Y.L. delegates left.

After we left a united front was formed on the same day on a local scale between Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. against the speaking of the Fascist Dennis. We knew nothing about this until Thursday night. On Thursday a joint leaflet appeared on the streets (of Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L.) calling for a demonstration to stop the Fascist Dennis from speaking. Thursday night an S.Y.L. delegate approached two members of the joint committee for the demonstration asking to be included in it. The Y.C.L. refused, saying we would have to march under their banners as individuals; the old "United Front from Below" again! Friday night a special meeting of the S.Y.L. decided to participate in the demonstration under their own banners. On the night of the demonstration a picket line of about 150 marched, about forty of whom were under our banners. Our slogan

gans "For the United Front of all Working Class Organizations" and "No Platforms for Fascists" echoed up and down the picket line. When a Spartacist was mugged by a cop, Y.C.L.ers and Yipsels shouted "Hold your ground, Leo". After the mass picketing an anti-fascist rally was held in a nearby hall. Our delegate asked the chairman for one of our speakers to be allowed the floor. He spoke about expenses. We agreed to share it. We were refused a speaker, and our banners were removed from the front of the room. The Wobblies, incensed at the exclusion of what they termed the "militant pickets", wanted to start a demand for an S.Y.L. speaker from the floor. However, we did not want a recurrence of the Madison Square riot. The Wobblies went outside and in a street meeting condemned strongly the splitting tactics of the C.P. The I.W.W., A.W.P., Lovestonites and the C.L.A. publicly condemned the sectarian exclusion of the S.Y.L. from the demonstration.

The Fascists are strong in Newark and drill often. They are armed. New broad united fronts must be created. A "United Workers Guard" is on the order of the day, which must be representative of all labor organizations. We call upon all workers everywhere: Against sectarianism! For the united front of all working class organizations!

—ARNE COLTS.

Spartacus Youth Convention

Frisco and Los Angeles delegates to the first national convention of the Spartacus Youth League, to be held in New York City beginning December 3, are already on their way. In addition, delegates are expected from Minneapolis, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Newark, Philadelphia, New Haven, Toronto, Canada, Chicago and New York. Fraternal delegates are expected from such cities as Detroit and Columbus, Ohio.

The first national convention will coincide with the third anniversary of the publication of *Young Spartacus* and the beginning of our youth movement. On the basis of the experience accumulated and the forces assembled in this period the Spartacus Youth are now ready to go forward to greater deeds.

Provisions are being made for sleeping quarters and feeding of delegates. All friends able to house a delegate, contribute food or money should write to: Rose Karsner, 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

The convention agenda will include reports on all the draft resolutions—covering every important phase of youth work, the planned fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. and election of a new national committee.

Most of the branches of the S.Y.L. have had intensive discussions of the draft resolutions. In fact discussion on the basic problems of the revolutionary youth movement has been taking place for over a year in the ranks of Spartacus Youth on the basis of the draft resolutions on youth work sent out by the national committee at that time.

Weavers Set Strike Deadline

(Continued from Page 1)

Keller, elected delegate to the convention. A motion was made and overwhelmingly carried to reject this recommendation. Subsequently when Keller ran for delegate he received only a handful of votes.

In the face of the determined resistance and unbroken ranks of the striking dye workers, the bosses decided to open their trump card, the resort to open force—was just a device. NOT A DYE PLANT IS NOW OPERATING IN THE AREA COVERED BY THE STRIKE. And not a plant will continue to operate until the bosses meet the workers' demands. So now the bosses are again resorting to "talking with the workers". And the yellow press is again vowing that the strike will end "this week". Not on your terms, gentlemen.

A monster parade was held last week in Passaic. This week another will be held in Paterson, despite all the obstacles the bosses are trying to put up. The ranks of the silk workers are not to be confused or disorganized this time. Whether the bosses like it or no, whether Keller is sad or glad, this time the issues are going to be faced and fought squarely—Paterson and the entire silk industry demand a UNION SHOP—and not a piece of paper and an arbitration board to maintain unbearable working conditions. The silk workers demand the 30-HOUR WEEK—and not production on the stagger plan with discrimination against all militant and active union men. They demand wages on which men who work can at least maintain a decent standard and not starve.

TWO ANNIVERSARIES

One aspect of the recent celebration of October in Moscow has been insufficiently dwelt upon by the revolutionary press in the United States. It remained for the bourgeois press, particularly the New York Times, to feature the quiescent, non-international, non-revolutionary character of the 17th anniversary.

It will be remembered that it was not long before November 7 that Karl Radek's interview with the Post correspondent, in which he spoke like a labor faker about the hopelessness of the revolutionary movement in bourgeois America, gave the cue of Soviet pacifism to the bourgeois correspondents in Moscow.

Neither Radek's statements to the Post, nor the Denny dispatches on the celebration, have elicited a counter statement from Stalinist quarters.

Lest it be thought that the bourgeois press is slandering Soviet politics, turn to the New Masses of November 13, 1934, and find buried in the editorial paragraphs their only comments on the anniversary of the Revolution:

Consolation in Figures

"The most gratifying way we know of celebrating a Soviet anniversary is a careful perusal of Soviet graphs and figures. No oratory, no rhetoric, no poetry can convey the grandeur of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction as can the simple matter of fact statements of Soviet arithmetic."

After citing many really heartening figures the Stalinist sag continues: "Add to this the tremendous gains in the realm of culture; and to this again, the triumphs in international relations during the past twelve months, and you have a record of achievements unparalleled even in the unparalleled history of the Soviets."

The Daily Worker simply prints its own description, which ignores the political angle, while singing a lyric to "Socialism". Such doping of the American proletariat calls for the belladonna of sharp criticism.

Revisionism with a Vengeance

No one is surprised at these things any longer. Each year as the Soviet Union grows in mechanical strength, the more graceful is the Stalinist courtesy to the ruling bourgeoisies of the world, the less thought of, and the less beckoned to, is the world proletariat. Arithmetic proletarian revolution along with faith in "the triumphs in international relations" (the League of Nations!) express revisionism with a vengeance.

Several early anniversaries could be cited to show the contrast between Leninist and Stalinist birthdays. But, to compare the fairest historical example, let us go back to the fifth anniversary.

Twelve years ago the Soviet Union was just raising itself out of

the ashes of civil war. Cities lay in ruins, the population was poor and exhausted, necessitating the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the sharpest right turn ever made in Soviet internal policy.

On November 1, 1922, Mussolini was received by the King in Rome as a hundred thousand blackshirts were given the key to the capital. The American C. P. was underground. In Germany the revolutionary tide was ebbing.

Celebrating October Under NEP

And in Moscow preparations were made to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Revolution. . . . by the assembling of the 4th World Congress of the Communist International. That is the significant difference between the two anniversaries—1922 and 1934.

Charles Ashleigh, writing in the Communist Review (England) of January, 1923, describes the opening celebration of the Communist International in Petrograd. Two special trains carried the delegates to the Communist Congress, the Congress of the Red International Labor Union and the Congress of the Young Communist International, party workers and labor journalists, from Moscow to Petrograd.

There "in the gigantic Uralsky Square a stand had been erected for the delegates. We took our places, and the march past began. They came in at one end of the square, marched past the stand, and left at the other end. We stood there, our hats in our hands, receiving the greetings of the Petrograd proletariat who had come out, for their national revolutionary anniversary, to salute their comrades of the Communist International."

"They passed on and on for hours. And their faces were raised towards us as they passed and ever they cheered. And we cheered back."

Then the Communist International received the salute of the Red Army.

C. I. and Soviets in Joint Session

On the evening of the celebration, the Communist International and the Petrograd Soviet sat in joint session. Thus, "in the midst of unexampled enthusiasm on the part of the masses of Petrograd and Moscow, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International began its work on the Fifth Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia." (Communist Review, March, 1923.)

Many revolutionary leaders came to greet the Fourth Congress—and to aid in its deliberations. Lenin explained the New Economic Policy. Trotsky warned of the right danger of social pacifism in the Communist International.

Today what a difference!

Would anyone have dared in 1922 to predict the conditions of the 17th anniversary? Not Stalin himself could then have faced the logic which flowed inexorably from the position he has always held.

Last week a million men went through Red Square while the world proletariat writhed in defeats. No Congress of the Communist International was assembled to cheer, or to be heartened for further revolutionary struggle. No messages were sent to the bereaved martyrs of Germany, Austria and Spain. Instead Franklin D. Roosevelt was sending his greetings to Kalinin. In New York "in the comfortable patrician atmosphere of the east Sixties, Leonid N. Tolstoy, Consul General of the Union of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republic, celebrated "with canapes and cakes".

That is diplomacy. But what was happening in Moscow?

Under the Cloud of Reaction

"Gone was most of the truculence of other years. The old appeals to the proletariat of other lands to hurl down capitalism were almost entirely lacking from the banners and the proclamations and speeches of the leaders. The lampooning of individual capitalist countries in the effigies carried by workers' delegations was reduced to mild take-offs on German fascism and Japanese imperialism, as if, since the Soviet Union has been recognized by the United States, admitted into the League of Nations and has formed close diplomatic ties with other countries, a ban had been placed against overly exuberant attacks on capitalism."

Emphasis on Soviet Defense

"The emphasis today was on the internal upbuilding of the country and on defense against attacks from without. On the front of the old traders row, across the square from the Kremlin, enormous red flags were inscribed simply, 'Workers of the World, Unite', in a half dozen languages, including English."

"Today provided a visible demonstration of the new attitude toward the capitalist world that has recently been becoming more and more apparent in Moscow. This is that world revolution will come but not in the way that was foreseen when bolshevism first entrenched itself here."

"The new conception is that if war should break out between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries it would be on the initiative of the latter and that war for which the capitalist world seems to be feverishly preparing will result in the downfall of capitalist regimes and in the victory of the proletariat that had been expected to follow the World War. And so the role of communism would be not that of capitalism's executioner—for capitalism would commit suicide—but of its grave-digger."

"This was the theme of today's celebration as evidenced in articles by leading Communist party spokesmen in the Soviet press and in the anniversary declaration by the executive committee of the Communist International. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 8.)

Capitalism would commit suicide! Did not the bourgeois correspondent guess well?

Is that not the kernel of Stalinist fatalism: the wish fulfillment of Socialism in one country?

HELP!

Is Needed at Once

Thanks to the Minneapolis and Plentwood, Montana branches, this issue of the Militant was able to come out without any emergency appeal to the New York comrades. Comrade Boulds of Plentwood, who is making a special effort to secure subscriptions on the new drive, sent us \$8 and says that this is only the beginning. "I am leaving today for another county on a Militant sub drive," he writes, and adds: "As soon as I can raise a little gasoline money, I am going to the home of every farmer in the section."

Chester K. Johnson of the Minneapolis branch says: "The Minneapolis branch has launched a sub drive for the Militant and is now going full steam ahead." He enclosed \$10 on their bundle account and \$5 for new subs.

Jefferson Hall, of Bryan, Ohio, comes back with another dollar on his Pledge to help the Militant in its present crisis, \$1 on his bundle and 25c donation from a local reader of the paper.

Doughty of the Los Angeles branch sends by air mail \$3 to help us.

From an S. P. member of Bryan we received a \$1 donation.

R. of Akron says: "Enclosed find \$5.00 to be applied as follows: \$3 for Militant fund, \$1 for a sub and \$1.50 for the Minneapolis Organizer file. Will see what can be done here towards getting subs for the Militant and increasing the fund."

"Enclosed please find \$5 as my contribution to your appeal in the Militant," signed Max H., sympathizer of Chicago.

Fred B. of Balston Spa sends \$1 "to support the Militant".

We thank the above mentioned comrades and branches for their special efforts, and hope that next week the list will be twice as big. THE MILITANT IS NOT OUT OF DANGER YET.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

Easley Plots Against Boys; I. L. D. Role Revealed

(Continued from Page 1)

her go back to the false yarn she was induced to tell at the first trial. This is only one of a dozen miserable schemes now being concocted behind the scenes, while the I.L.D. and Samuel S. Leibowitz contest each other's right to represent the boys in court. The worst of all is a rotten deal between Leibowitz and the State of Alabama!

The Militant is in a position to state authoritatively while the details of Mr. Leibowitz's arrangements are still secret, they have the aid and blessing of none other than Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation, perhaps the most vicious, bloodthirsty and unscrupulous red-hunter and reactionary in the entire United States! The sort of campaign which Leibowitz is soon going to loose upon the world is clearly indicated by his association with such elements.

We understand that Leibowitz has endeavored to cover his intentions by drawing into his vest-pocket "American Scottsboro Committee" leading members of the Socialist Party. We are told that one Socialist flatly refused to go in because he got a sniff of Easley in the offing. This does honor to him. . . . But Easley is far from being the only thing wrong with the Leibowitz set-up.

Some weeks ago, the Militant printed a general characterization of how the I.L.D. brought Sam Leibowitz into the case, how he behaved in it, how the I.L.D. behaved to him, and what the prospects were. The Militant is now in a position to give more concrete data on the secret history of the relations of the I.L.D. to Sam Leibowitz. The following chronological account stands on its own feet:

Jan. 1933.—Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party and W. L. Patterson, Secretary of the I.L.D., propose to retain Samuel S. Leibowitz, noted defender of gangsters, for new trials of Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, National Executive of I.L.D., against opposition of the I.L.D. National Bureau, instructs Patterson to retain Leibowitz, only if the latter agrees to limit himself to discussion of legal and factual questions, to make no attacks on the view that the case has general social significance, to make no concessions to Southern Bourbon anti-Negro attitudes, and to offer no opposition to efforts to win militant mass support for the boys.

Jan. 7.—On orders from Browder, Patterson and the I.L.D. National Bureau flout the N.E.C. instructions and retain Leibowitz unconditionally, giving him a free hand to express opposition to the views and activities of all militant enemies of Southern white chauvinism.

Jan. 9.—Leibowitz writes I.L.D. that he accepts in order "to help keep sacred" such "ancient shrines of our civilization and our national life" as "our Caucasian sense of even-handed justice". Demands that the I.L.D. "match" the following views:

"I do not believe it has ever been the desire of the people of the South to deal unfairly with the Negro. . . . Parsons of substance in the Southern states have recognized for many generations a moral obligation toward the simple and generous folk whom slavery first brought them as chattels. . . . I cannot believe that the people of Alabama will be false to their great heritage of honor and to those brave and chivalrous generations of the past in whose blood the history of their State is written."

I.L.D. suppresses this letter and its reply. Tacitly "matches" Leibowitz's views. National Bureau ceases to call N.E.C. meetings to discuss Leibowitz' question because it fears to report its violation of the N.E.C. resolution.

March 25.—First criticism of Leibowitz's activities on behalf of the "ancient shrines" appears in The Militant. (The Militant alone warned in advance of the dangers involved in the I.L.D.'s deal with Leibowitz.)

Jan. 14.—Leibowitz attacks "Reds", radicals and mass defense, and declares confidence in "the sincere desire of the good people of the great South to give every living thing on God's green earth a square deal".

March-April.—Retrial of Heywood Patterson in Decatur, Ala. In open court Leibowitz continues praise of Bourbonism. While affirming defendants' innocence, he endorses principle of lynching for "guilty". Patterson convicted, Leibowitz publicly denounces poor white jurors in the following terms:

They are "lantern-jawed morons . . . whose mouths are slits in their faces, whose eyes pop out at you like a frog's, whose chins droop tobacco juice, bewhiskered and filthy."

Simultaneously, he praises the entire system of Bourbon justice in the person of the trial judge.

April 7.—Executive of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (ally of the I.L.D.) adopts unanimous resolution criticizing Leibowitz for his reactionary expressions and manœuvres, and calling on the I.L.D. "to reply concretely and uncompromisingly to the harmful state-

ments Stalinist faction begins campaign of abuse and slander of those who proposed criticizing Leibowitz. I.L.D. refuses to ask capitalist press to print criticisms of Leibowitz, vigorously defends Leibowitz in article in the Daily Worker, and denounces the Militant for criticizing Leibowitz and the I.L.D.'s deal with him.

April 28.—Wm. L. Patterson induces packed meeting of the N.C.D. P.P. to refuse vote of confidence to Executive which unanimously asked criticism of Leibowitz. C.P. factionists denounce critics of Leibowitz as saboteurs, white chauvinists, aids to lynchers, counter-revolutionaries and Trotskyites. Frank Spector, I.L.D. national organizer, who endorsed the April 7 resolution joins in denouncing those who wrote it.

May 8.—Ten members of the N.C. D.P.P. (including half a dozen members of its Executive and three of the N.E.C. of the I.L.D.) resign on the ground that their work has been made impossible by the Stalinists' attacks. "Fearing to harm defense movement", they suppress their letter of resignation. Communist League of America alone continues to expose Leibowitz's rotten opportunism.

Oct. 1933.—Leibowitz uses Scottsboro prestige to aid Mayor McKee's campaign in Harlem; I.L.D., backing Communist Party ticket, makes first genuine attack on Leibowitz—not for his Scottsboro policy, but because he is still a Democrat!

Oct. 1934.—I.L.D. attorneys arrested in Tennessee, charged with attempted bribery of Scottsboro case witness. Leibowitz seizes this occasion to break with I.L.D., repeating his customary attacks on mass movements and radicals, and his customary praise of white chauvinism and Bourbonism. "Surprised" and "disappointed", the I.L.D. denounces Leibowitz as a traitor, and sharply attacks him for expression of views it long ago gave him full permission to express. Leibowitz orders I.L.D. out of case, affirming he is retained by all boys.

Nov. 1934.—I.L.D. and Leibowitz dispute right to represent boys in next trials. Boys, in desperation, shift allegiance from one worthless "ally" to another several times. Mass defense movement almost dead. Leibowitz continues fulminations against "Reds", and eulogies of patriotism and Southern white justice. Wins support of our reactionary Negro parsons and one Harlem Department Store publicity agent who makes money out of Scottsboro Sales, and makes deal with Alabama prosecutor to eliminate death sentences in return for a smashing court-room attack by prosecution and "defense" on all "radicals" and a hymn to patriotism and "the ancient shrines"

Dec. 1934.—A WILL A NEW MOVEMENT BE LAUNCHED TO RETRIEVE THE HORRIBLE MESS PERPETRATED BY THE I.L.D. AND SAMUEL S. LEIBOWITZ? IT IS UP TO THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

Wall Street Conspiracy

(Continued from Page 1)

called "unconvincing" by Congressman Dickstein, the chairman of the Committee, who promises further and more interesting revelations.

Trying to Laugh It Off

The various figures implicated in the plot rushed into print the day after the interview broke in a suspiciously universal attempt to laugh it off. J. P. Morgan said the scheme was a preposterous fabrication. John W. Davis denied that he had written the speech. General MacArthur called the story the "best laugh of the year". And little MacGuire, following the general trend, had the aplomb to claim that the whole business was a "publicity stunt". (A publicity stunt for whom? J. P. Morgan and Co.?)

"The whole idea of a coup d'etat is, of course, preposterous. Fascism must have mass support. It receives this support from the middle class which sees no hope for its salvation from the revolutionary movement. The plot is interesting as a forecast of what will occur in America when the working class really awakens, when working class revolution becomes a real threat. Unless the working class, when it starts to move, moves steadily and forcefully along toward revolution, the revolutionary party is able to carry through a definite and unequivocal revolutionary policy, the petty bourgeoisie will be distracted, as they were in Germany to the wily toils of fascism."

General Butler will bear watching. The Fascist conspirators made no mistake when they picked him as the ideal leader of a fascist movement in America. Whether General Butler exposed them for political reasons, hoping to strengthen his own reputation for honesty, or whether his reputation was the result of a sincere distaste for Fascism must remain a moot question for the present. General Butler's revelation was, in any case, hardly voluntary, for there were several disinterested persons aware of the conspiracy.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail Post Office at New York, N.Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Vol. 7, No. 47, (Whole No. 251) SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1934

EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per copy, 50c per half year — Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for

N. Y. Student Strike Slams Robinson

Tuesday's demonstration at City College was one of the greatest demonstrations that ever shook an American college campus. Over two thousand students participated in a two-hour protest strike which culminated in the burning of an effigy of Dr. Robinson, President of the College.

The strike was called to demand the reinstatement of 21 expelled students, to demand the reinstatement of the suppressed Student Council, and above all to demand the immediate and unconditional removal of Dr. Robinson, sometimes known as "Fascist Freddy" Robinson.

The 21 students were expelled for protesting the reception of a delegation of Italian Fascist students by Dr. Robinson several weeks ago. At that time the students of C.C.N.Y. turned out en masse, packed the reception hall, and turned the reception into a heated protest against the Fascist toadies of bloody Mussolini.

An Honor to Be a "Gutter-Snipe"

At that meeting Dr. "Umbrella" Robinson censured the protesting students for their "discourtesy" (Come, come, boys, let's all be gracious: to that dear, sweet man, B. Mussolini!) and labeled the protesters "gutter-snipes". Since that day the "gutter-snipes" faction has grown by leaps and bounds as the students rally to the anti-fascist banner, until Dr. Robinson bids fair to be the only non-gutter-snipe left.

The administration, headed by the aforesaid "True Story" Robinson was deeply insulted by the "discourteous" behavior of the militant anti-fascists, and proceeded to discipline them in a manner highly reminiscent of the great Mussolini himself. The student council, elected by popular vote, was dissolved; suspensions became commonplace; and the mildest parol plinks were cross-examined by an administration "red squad".

Students Expelled

A movement to oust Dr. Robinson was initiated, and met with wide approval. While the squelch-Dr. Robinson movement was getting under way the faculty met to discuss final disciplinary action. By a 50-40 vote it was decided to expel the 21 students, and to suspend certain others.

Dr. Robinson, the inimitable scholar of Spinoza, hastened to the press. Unable to find sympathy in the more "respectable" metropolitan papers he embraced the yellow sheet Hearst press, and published a scholarly fulmination under the title "Punish Student Reds." His lapse into yellow journalism only intensified his unpopularity among the student body and contributed to the success of Tuesday's strike.

The strike itself was dramatic, reaching a climax in the burning of a two-headed effigy of the Doctor. On one face Dr. Jekyll Robinson, garbed in his professorial robes, clutched a True Story magazine, on the other his alter ego, Dr. Hyde Robinson proved to have a suspicious resemblance to Signor Mussolini. The two faced monster was burned with the approval of all and to the appropriate strains of the Funeral March.

Class Struggle Reaches Campus

This campus struggle, which finds a counterpart in other campus movements all over the country, is an encouraging sign. The campus has long been considered a stronghold of reaction, where no economic issues could disturb the benign repose of the scholars. But under the pressure of continued depression, of growing unemployment, of Fascist advance, and of imminent war, the struggle is penetrating even into the halls of "learning".

With Fascism sweeping Europe, with threat of war growing daily the need for a united front of all groups, including trade unions, workers' organizations and students becomes acute. Students can no longer stand passively on the sidelines; they must take their stand: either with the working class, or with the fascists. The students of C.C.N.Y. have shown the way.

The class in "State and Revolution" with Jack Weber as instructor meets every Monday night. The class in ABC of Marxism every Friday night.