

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1932 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879
VOLUME VI, NO. 39 [WHOLE NO. 186] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

Civil War Shakes Cuba; U. S. Ready to Intervene

The political crisis in Cuba appears at last to have reached a definite climax. The pressure of the working class and the petty bourgeois masses aimed at the overthrow of "Butcher" Machado, has thrown a monkey wrench into Ambassador Welles' attempts to solve the impasse by arbitration. Strikes initiated by the revolutionary workers in Havana as a protest against the intervention of Wall Street's viceroy as mediator in the island's politics, spread throughout the island affecting all industries and partaking of the nature of a general political strike. Even the Chamber of Commerce organizations in some places are giving their support to the movement. Mass demonstrations in Havana and other cities have created a situation that at this writing the police and military have been unable as yet to dominate.

Mass Murder
Machine guns are being used indiscriminately against all groups gathering in public places and the list of dead and injured mounts rapidly. While the overwhelming majority of the population is being brought into action, all of the bourgeois opposition groups which are united only in the demand to dethrone the Machado dictatorship, are exerting their chief energies to attempts to canalize the movement and keep it under their control. The Communist party, while not in any sense having the hegemony of even the workers on strike, counts nevertheless with broad sympathies among the masses.

For many months the American imperialists, who have a dominating control of the Cuban sugar industry and of most of the island's minor industries besides, have realized that Machado's regime was in its decay stage and incapable of further serving their interests effectively. Any one of the principal leaders of the opposition (Menocal, Mendieta, Gomez), all of whom have extensive interests in the sugar industry, themselves together with the imperialists, would be equally willing, given the power, to serve Wall Street interests, and would be able to do so in a less crude and more efficient manner.

Behind the "Arbitration"
It was the realization that Machado's overthrow could only lead to a long drawn out struggle among those very elements now collaborating in the opposition, which might give the Communists and other extremist elements an opportunity for struggle and growth, that led the Roosevelt administration to seek a means of compromise through mediation. The revolutionary mass movement is not only the workers' protest against the arbitrary interference of the U. S. State Department, but is also an attempt on the part of the Cuban masses to seek the revolutionary way out of the political impasse and the economic crisis which has been continual in the island ever since the collapse of the sugar industry in 1925.

The colossal failure of American armed intervention in Nicaragua and the scandals attendant on the

occupation of Haiti, have made the State Department reluctant to intervene with armed forces in Latin American countries if other methods can possibly be used. However the situation in Cuba may easily develop to a point where Wall Street will demand armed intervention. Steps are already being taken to facilitate rapid movements of armed forces to Cuba on a moment's notice. Several U. S. marine and navy units are already prepared to embark. Washington dispatches indicate that the 1st Artillery Brigade now in N. Y. State and about 1,000 marines stationed at Quantico, Va. would be the first to be moved.

In this regard the American Communists must raise the slogan "Hands off Cuba".

The Cuban masses require and Street's government in order to overthrow the dictator who until a few scant months ago was able to continue in power, thanks principally to the support of the American imperialists.

Correct Policy Decisive
Our party in Cuba has the opportunity to play a leading role in the struggles now developing in that country. Its influence in the coming period will depend almost entirely on the correctness with which the party reacts to the situation. If the proper slogans are advanced and the correct tactics pursued, the Communist party may well find itself in the direct leadership of the Cuban working class. In order to achieve this however, a definite break must be

U. S. Anti-War Congress Socialists Withdraw from Arrangements Committee

On Labor Day week end, September 1st to 4th, the "United States Congress Against War" will be held in New York City. The official call of the Congress contains the signatures of the Communist party, it controls, pacifist groups, the I. W. W., and the Socialist party. Recently the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party withdrew from the united front because of criticism against it contained in the *Daily Worker*. A few words on how this united front was arranged.

Under the paternal guidance of Henri Barbusse—who will be in the United States for the Congress—Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair, members of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, issued an appeal for the September Congress. Suddenly an arrangements committee composed overwhelmingly of Stalinist controlled organizations was organized. The Mustelites joined in. Under pressure Barbusse of pacifist friends of Barbusse in the S. P., led by Jesse Wallace Hughan of the War Resisters' League, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party joined the united front on the condition that it be given adequate

representation on the arrangements committee. This was soon agreed upon. A number of Socialists, Norman Thomas, Julius Gerber, etc. were added to the Committee; a few more Stalinists were put on.

Double Game of Stalinists
In the preparations for the Congress the Stalinists played a double game. In the press they continued their old attacks on the Socialists, for the consumption of their own members and "others". At meetings of the arrangements committee they spoke very humbly and even apologized for articles appearing in the *Daily Worker* attacking the Socialists. This was the picture several weeks ago when the Socialists took the C. P. representatives to task for an article in the *Daily* and Minor replied by stating that he had not read the article!

Instead of an open appeal to the National Executive Committee of the S. P. by the Communist party for united front against war, the Stalinists employ intermediaries, radical or liberal intellectuals. But this did not help them. The National Executive Committee of the S. P. withdrew from the Congress on the excuse that it was looking for a criticism of it in the *Daily Worker* of the Socialist leaders. The arrangements committee replied by appealing to the N. E. C. to reconsider its decision. On August 3rd it decided: "That this arrangements committee takes the position that in developing the united front no organization which is carrying out the purposes of the anti-war Congress should be attacked by participating organizations on fields of common work. That all participating organizations shall first place before arrangements committee or the sub-committee empowered to act for it, any and all differences of opinion between the participating organizations relative to the U. S. Congress Against War, before making them public. It is understood, however, that every organization shall be perfectly free to urge its own program with respect to the struggle against war. These assurances which the Arrangements Committee will make effective and which was agreed to by all participating groups including representatives of the Communist party should make fruitful cooperation possible. (*Daily Worker*—9-8-1933).

Meaning of Non-Aggression Pact
We quote at some length because of the importance of the section. The non-aggression pact could not be more simply written. No criticism "on the field of common work". Does not this mean no criticism of the pacifism and Socialist action and policies on war? Where differences of opinion arise they should first go to the united front committee. Editors of the *Daily Worker* take note: before writing critical articles of editorials on the anti-war Congress submit it to the arrangements committee! The Stalinists

they receive in our midst, that they also authorize, it appears, to go to Marseilles and Corsica! (July 23).
Listen to Renaissance, the Russian monarchist daily, the organ of the Gorguloffs:
"The present state of things is such that it is likely that he (Trotsky) will have no lack of visitors. And moreover, perhaps there is reason to predict, that besides those who are expected, there will be others, quite unexpected.... (July 25).
The Down with the masks! What is behind this campaign, these incitements to murder issued by the political bureau?
That Litvinov sojourns in Royat in the company of Tardieu, very good! That Lunacharsky is officially received on his disembarkment at Paris, perfect! That Muenzenberg obtains a regular passport and the right to carry on his publications, that Paul Schwenk has the authorization, as a Communist deputy in the Prussian Landtag, to organize public meetings in Paris, all very well! Still better, that Radek, a new defender of the Versailles treaty, out of Poland has been expelled by Pilsudsky, is officially received in Warsaw and entertained by the editor of the biggest Polish bourgeois paper. Yes, all that is very natural; "socialism in one country" needs that.
(Continued on page 4)

Perspectives of the Upturn

By LEON TROTSKY

This analysis by comrade Trotsky was written in August last year as an introduction to a discussion. It retains all its validity today except for the reference to the German trade union question. The demand contained, correct then, has now been obviated by events.—Ed.)

Business cycles in the post-war period have ceased to constitute the normal machinery of capitalist development, insofar as capitalism, in its entirety, is in a period of decay. But this does not mean that economic fluctuations belong to the past. Immediately after the war, it is true, they lost their cyclical and as to the recovery, at least, their universal character. Both these characteristics, however, up to a certain point, at least, are being revived before our eyes.

The present crisis is of world wide character. This means that world economy whose existence was

(Continued on Page 4)

A.F. of L. Leaders Sanction N. R. A. No Strike Policy!

The American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Wm. Green and J. L. Lewis, has entered into a no-strike agreement with the Industrial Recovery Administration. It came as an anti-climax to the numerous strikes in various industries, the most powerful being the one of the Pennsylvania miners which involved at the time of the truce some 70,000 men, threatening to extend to embrace several hundred thousand, even engulfing also the steel industry. That struck the hearts of the capitalists and labor lieutenants alike. They hurried to reach the no-strike agreement. This is a desperate attempt to hamstring the American workers until the industrial codes with their class collaboration and compulsory arbitration machinery is firmly established.

The no-strike truce is to cover all unions and industries and to remain in effect during the period

of recovery. How long that is to be no one can predict. It uprovides for an arbitration board of seven members headed by senator Wagner. On this board are two labor representatives, Green and Lewis—the very ones who lead in selling-out labor's right to strike. This is by no means the first base betrayal performed by these reactionary labor leaders. It is only one more added to the record.

We can still remember the no-strike agreement entered into between the A. F. of L. officials and the Hoover administration at the inception of the crisis. It was stipulated to remain in effect during that period of "national emergency". So there we have it. A no-strike agreement with the bosses and their government during the crisis and a no-strike agreement during the period of recovery. Chain the workers more solidly to the chariot of capitalist exploitation while their aspirations and their endeavors to attain a human standard of living are crushed beneath the wheels of the state machinery of suppression. That is the policy of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. It fits right into the mitt of the Wall St. executives at Washington.

At the very moment when the truce was being signed the Pennsylvania miners lay bleeding, one killed and many wounded by bullets spewed from guns of private police hired by the coal and steel barons; striking Pennsylvania workers were subjected to tear gas attacks by the police; and

striking up-state New York milk farmers were rubbing salt into their limbs, wounded and sore from contact with the state troopers' clubs.

No sooner was the ink on the signatures to the agreement dry than the I. C. Frick Coke Company struck out from its contents all reference to the union which the miners had organized. It meant that the company has no intention whatever to recognize the miners' right to organize. But the government had no punishment to meet out to defiance from that side. The miners, on the other hand, have in this clear indication of how their right to organization will fare in the coming arbitration. No sooner was the ink on the signatures dry than the non-union coal operators at the hearing of their code refused to withdraw their open shop qualification from the code.

It is no wonder that the capitalist representatives in the government were eager to obtain a no-strike truce. They recognize perfectly well a labor offensive when they see it. They have first of all the task to satisfy the powerful open-shop trusts which will insist upon moving heaven and earth to prevent unionism from entering their plants. In this the government was fully at the disposal of the trusts. The Washington merry-go-round was set into motion. Administrator Johnson went by airplane to the Pennsylvania strike and, back to Washington to get the signature of the labor leaders, on to Crum Elbow for the approval of the President from his vacation retreat and back to Washington again. He was followed by the labor adviser to the Recovery Administration, McGrady, who covered almost the same route. The fear of an extension of the labor offensive oiled the machinery. It worked well and under high pressure speed. The labor lieutenants of capitalism can now repeat once again: "We do our part".

At first the miners were reluctant to accept the truce. That should not cause any wonder. They have had many bitter experiences of truces and arbitration, and hardly could there be found one example where this sort of intervention has not always served the interest of the bosses. Their reluctance set added machinery into motion. The federal government has opened an investigation into alleged Communist agitation in the Pennsylvania fields. It is to be led by Assistant Federal Attorney Lloyd W. Bryan. In this manner the powers that be are closing in on the workers to lay the basis for permanency of the no-strike policy.

This no-strike truce, by the time it is carried to its final conclusion, will be sure to prove another serious lesson to the American workers. The A. F. of L. leaders will stand out the more clearly in their true light. The role of the state powers as an instrument of coercion will become the more apparent. Its effect will inevitably be to further sharpen the future conflicts bound to develop on a yet much larger scale.

(Continued on Page 4)

LABOR'S MIGHTY CHALLENGE

Only a few brief weeks since the Industrial Recovery Act went into operation and there is already a husky crop of powerful strikes such as the country has not witnessed for a long time. Are these the harbingers of coming greater, and more intense, struggles? Unquestionably that is the case.

The workers are beginning to assume the offensive, relying essentially upon their own mass power,

to enforce their rights of union organization and to elevate themselves from the extraordinary decline in standard of living imposed upon them during the years of crisis. The spring which is too tightly compressed must ease and give way. A period of widespread struggles such as will shake the country to its very foundation can be expected from which the workers will have much to gain in political consciousness.

Challenge to Capitalism
These strikes already constitutes a mighty challenge hurled into the teeth of American capitalism. A compact for an industrial truce may delay, may to a certain extent throw confusion into these developments, but it cannot stop them. The labor lieutenants of capitalism may perform their service in aiding confusion and disorganization within the workers ranks, but they cannot hold the movement back for long. It will sweep over their heads and gain in scope and effectiveness. These strike movements are a challenge to them and all their policies of the dead past which they stand for. They are a challenge to the trade union movement as a whole, pressing it forward, pressing it into service for the advance of the working class.

Challenge to Official C. P.
But these strikes are also a challenge to the official Communist party leadership to have done with its "third period" antics. To have done with its fatal policy of splitting the trade unions and isolating the party from the mass movement. Now is not the time to play with futile paper unions of your own bureaucratic image, but to direct the revolutionists and left wingers to enter and take up work in the mass unions. Now is not the time to split the working class, but on the contrary, to use every means and opportunity for its unification.

France Friend of USSR--Litvinov
We beg our readers to compare these two quotations First is the declaration made by Litvinov in Paris (*Le Temps*, July 9).
"Neither our political nor our economic interests clash with those of France in any part of the world. That is why we consider that nothing should stand in the way of the continuation of a political as well as an economic rapprochement."
Further down, it is announced that Herriot is going to undertake an official mission in the USSR. Peri, "theoretician" of the French party explains in *L'Humanite*, daily organ of the French Communist Party (July 17th):
"It can be said that the role of leader of the anti-Soviet crusade held for so long by French imperialism, has today passed into other

hands."
What does this signify? We must affirm that this signifies that the USSR, weakened by the defeats of the international proletariat, is resorting to pacts, scraps of paper, particularly, with France the imperialist, the policeman of Europe and the guardian of the Versailles Treaty. Was it not that vicious enemy of the U. S. S. R., W. Churchill, who just said recently at Paris that the French army was the sole guarantee of the security of Europe?
Peri and Co. lie to the proletariat on the USSR in the situation; but the bourgeois press, all praise the Litvinov, does not conceal its opinion of the Soviet situation. *Le Temps*, of July 17th, publishes a

(Continued on Page 4)

N. R. A. and the Trade Unions Question of Policy is Decisive in the Present Stage

We are entering a new stage in working class developments. This is verified not merely in the appearance of the N. R. A. and the new methods of capitalist co-ordination which it attempts to put into life, but primarily in the new relationship of forces created by the new economic conjuncture. These new methods of co-ordination express the efforts to find new ways of chaining the change in relationship of forces and maintain it within the old bounds.

It is a stage of developing economic struggles over a far flung field which is unfolding before us. At the present moment we see only its small beginnings, however, with a sharpness and acuteness fully indicative of the gigantic tremors which will ensue as these struggles enlarge their scope and intensity. The role that trade unions will play in this next chapter, will be recorded by history in this period, will become one of paramount importance. In the same measure, we can say confidently, will the question of trade union policy be the decisive question of the immediate future. Communists least of all can afford to overlook or ignore this.

No promises can be held out for the upward economic conjuncture. It can be expected only to be of a cumbersome, contradictory nature and heralding deeper plunges into prolonged and more turbulent crises. But that is a question of perspective for which the workers need to prepare in this present stage. Meanwhile the sharper the present change the sharper the action of the masses. The fact of the reduction of unemployment will correspondingly increase the self-confidence of the workers. Even a small change of economic conjuncture in one direction or another does not take place without leaving its mark. The change which is expressed in new workers being hired by the factories breeds a spirit entirely different from the one of the continual lay offs.

With all the efforts of capitalist co-ordination of its economic structure, of creating a gigantic monopoly, the competitive warfare does not cease. It only becomes elevated to a higher stage. On the other hand the workers find themselves in increasing measure united by the process of production. Their interests become constantly hampered down to a more unified level. In this sense the relationship of forces is changing in favor of the workers. The intolerable conditions, however, of the extremely low standard of living imposed upon them during the years of the crisis press ever harder for readjustment. But readjustments are not at all contained in the N. R. A. all demagogic palaver of higher nominal wages and shorter working hours to the contrary notwithstanding. Readjustments mean struggle. That is what we see initiated today.

It is characteristic that the great of the strikes, that of the Pennsylvania miners grew from the

demand for the right to union organization. That can be said also to hold true to a more or less degree for other strikes of a smaller scale. In other words under the N. R. A. the workers are taking advantage of the change toward a more favorable relationship brought about by the turn in conjuncture. The elementary instinct of the workers is to translate the fact of their being united by the process of production into unity in organization. Everywhere there is manifested the tendency of workers seeking organization and it is to be assumed that the new conditions created will immensely further and develop this tendency. But in connection therewith the important question arises: Towards which unions will this working class stream gravitate, towards the conservative unions or towards the so-called revolutionary unions, or will it seek new and independent forms?

It should not be difficult to answer this question. The answer depends in the main upon the political maturity of the American working class. And, in this respect we know that we cannot speak of a working class politically mature of having a tradition of socialist consciousness behind it. As a matter of fact we are not here concerned

(Continued on Page 4)

Jackal Press Howls at Trotsky

The announcements that comrade Trotsky, held in Turkey for five years by Stalin's diplomats, is allowed to sojourn in France, has thrown the Stalinist bureaucrats into confusion. For a week, the editors of *L'Humanite*, organ of the French C. P., have filled its columns with a torrent of filth. Darnar, one of the editors of *L'Humanite*, has been instructed by Stalin's agents to sling mud, to concoct detective stories—a stinking literature of provocation worthy of a white guard. The Political Bureau of the French party which was too impotent to organize the slightest action against Fascism, has stirred itself to hysteria to incite the apparatus against Trotsky.

These articles and these bursts of rage will do much to open the workers eyes to the real policy of the bureaucrats!

And where do they look for arguments? They look to the Fascists, to Coty! (the arch-reactionary perfume manufacturer and publisher) Read the articles in *L'Ami du Peuple* (Coty's paper), listen to the cries of hate from the allies of *L'Humanite*:
"The traitor Trotsky is given permission to sojourn in France. 'One has the right to demand why the government has revoked its decision by authorizing the traitor Trotsky to sully French soil by his presence. . . .
"It is this wretched creature, who has shed French blood, that

Roosevelt's National Police

In the Industrial Recovery Act the Roosevelt Administration has set up a united front between the national government and the big capitalists for the purpose of driving wages down to starvation levels. In order to do this with the least possible commotion it is necessary for the government to have its own police, in addition to the army, to use against workers who presume to strike against the attack on their living standards. Such a national police is already being formed.

But it is not the blunt old Hoover Administration that is preparing this new weapon of the bosses. It is Roosevelt who has put through the National Industrial Recovery Act and is directing the capitalist offensive against the workers and now builds up a new machinery of coercion. This shrewd gentleman is now starting a campaign against extortion, kidnapping, racketeering, crime, and over all criminal activity interfering with interstate commerce and over all criminal activities involving operations in two or more states.

A liberal interpretation of such laws, and no doubt they will be interpreted with the greatest liberality, gives the government control over all labor disputes. At the time while these laws are being drawn up, the bureaus of investigation, identification and prohibi-

tion are being combined into a new Division of Investigation. This new Division will soon swallow up many other bureaus. Most important of all, the new Division of Investigation will have special squads of police to suppress all crimes committed under Federal jurisdiction. In short a national police department is being created. In view of Roosevelt's methods in the recent past, there is every reason to suspect that the main purpose of the new police is not that of stopping kidnapping and racketeering.

However guesses are not needed. The head of this Division of Investigation is John Edgar Hoover. This man was one of the most active of Attorney General Palmer's red baiters in the early twenties. He was eminent for the deportations of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Ludwig Martens, the Soviet representative to the U. S., and others. He has also served as head of the Bureau of Immigration which has always been notoriously ready to aid the bosses by deporting militant workers. There are few men as capable as Mr. J. E. Hoover for the job of leading a government attack upon the working class. It is clear that with such a man in charge the national police are intended to serve not against the gangsters but against workers who strike for more than the starvation pay of the N. I. R. A.

—PETER MORTON.

Lessons of the United Front

(Continued from last issue)

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS
United front plans for common action must be conducted in the open.

THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR OFFICE BOYS
The task of overthrowing the capitalist system is a great one.

SITTING AT THE SAME TABLE WITH BETRAYERS
The united front action of the working class is not a moral question.

PARLIAMENTARY AND EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY
When we speak of the united front we refer to activity in the extra-parliamentary field.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES
Many non-Marxist, but sincere workers are for the united front.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES (continued)
What is actually taking place in Pennsylvania is what Roosevelt is doing on a national scale.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES (continued)
The whole of the Pinchot policy fits into the Roosevelt labor policy as a finger fits into a glove.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES (continued)
Federal Labor Unions, chartered directly by the A. F. L., comprising all of the workers within the plant.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES (continued)
Speaking of the workers engaged in mass production Green says: "There is no way by which these workers may engage in collective bargaining."

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES (continued)
What Green says in 1933 was true as well as in 1913 or 1903.

THE QUESTION OF UNITY AND PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES (continued)
We hear from Miss Hughes of the N. Y. Telegram that as a weapon against intervention a Soviet animal trainer...

PINCHOT AND LABOR

New Bourgeois Methods in Pennsylvania Strikes

Both from the point of view of the number of strikes and strikers, on the one hand, and the militancy of the workers on the other, Pennsylvania occupies the center of the stage.

The capitalist class is moving in this area too. From Philadelphia to Fayette County there is the familiar story of police brutality and the viciousness of hired deputies.

There are some unkind people who say that all this is not meant sincerely, that Pinchot is keeping up appearances and furthering personal political ambitions.

We are not in the confidence of the Pinchots and we cannot say. At any rate we are ready to believe that the servants of the capitalist class do not serve their masters out of altruistic motives.

The Daily Worker takes a somewhat different view from that of Pinchot's critics. The Daily holds to the idea that the Pinchot variety of demagoguery is the familiar brand of the capitalists.

A. F. of L. Federal Unions

Federal Labor Unions, chartered directly by the A. F. L., comprising all of the workers within the plant, instead of the organizing of these workers into the several crafts within the plant.

When the Left wing and class conscious workers understand the purpose of the A. F. L., in its attempt to substitute the federal unions for the Industrial Unions, it can use the federal unions as a skeleton structure for the organization of industrial unions.

The labor "leaders" admit that the craft union is not satisfactory and state clearly they intend to continue the same policy of the last century.

he carries out measures "in the interest of the workers"—the NIRA—Pinchot does essentially the same.

At the same time the capitalists are trying to put their house in order to launch their assault on the world market.

—T. STAMM.

SPECIAL SUB OFFER

SUPPORT THE CLUB PLAN FOR TWO DOLLARS

The Militant Club Plan offers the friends and sympathizers of the MILITANT an opportunity to take advantage of a special talking point to obtain new readers and new supporters for the most important Marxian labor weekly in America.

The Friends of the Militant Club of Chicago and several units are active along this line.

SUB PAID CLUB PLAN CARDS FOR EVERY MEMBER OF THE BRANCH OR WORKERS CLUB.

EVERY SUPPORTER OF THE MILITANT SHOULD CARRY A PAID CLUB PLAN CARD.

CORRECTION
Two errors crept into the article by G. Gonrov on the "Left Socialists and Our Tasks".

The sentence that reads "The criterion of the Stalinist faction is characterized by a policy of convulsions and zig-zags or by a standstill and it is the most conservative of all leftist formations that have ever existed in the workers movement" should be changed to read "It is the most stable of all leftist formations that have ever existed in the workers movement".

Wherever the article refers to the Left Opposition within the socialist organizations it concerns the Left wing or Left socialist groupings in the reformist organizations and not the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), affiliated to the International Left Opposition.

Strikes Spreading

in Massachusetts Shoe Industry

Boston, Mass.—The New England shoe industry is so complicated that even those close to it can hardly keep up with the new turns that present themselves from day to day.

Many Unions
The Shoe Workers Protective Union, strong in Haverhill and Lowell, despite its actions in the past, was able to save itself by militant words protesting its desire for amalgamation.

The National Shoe Association, beginning in Lynn, took over practically all of Lynn, Boston and Chelsea (except two large and a few small shops).

In Salem, an independent union exists. This is due to the fact that when they went on strike injunctions kept the National out of Salem.

T. U. L. Union
And finally, we have the Boot, Shoe, and Leather Workers Industrial Union (TUUL), which has a small group in Boston, Chelsea and Lynn.

As the crisis deepened, the shoe workers' conditions reached unheard of depths. Speed-up, yellow dog contracts, ten dollars a week for skilled men, girls on two dollars a week, and forced deposits for the job.

Left Wing Isolates Itself
In Lynn, the National Shoe Cutters Association, under the leadership of reactionary Mahan, began a campaign to organize the Lynn shoe workers.

T. U. L. Outwitted
The TUUL Agricultural Workers Union was completely outwitted by the Mexican Consul.

Prospects of Many Strikes
In the last few days the National has begun an attack on the few open shops left in Lynn and in Boston.

T. U. L. in the meantime has shifted its position and the members have all gone into the National Shoe Workers Association to

FROM THE MILITANTS

Labor Shows Militancy in Los Angeles Conflicts

Los Angeles.—The seventh week of the strike at the Golden Bros. Millinery Shop finds the workers with spirit high and ranks intact.

Eight women have been arrested. The picket line has been subject to most brutal attacks, in which pickets, women as well as men have been slugged and beaten.

At 5 o'clock as the picket line was forming, Pfeifer, lieutenant of the "Red" Squad began donning a pair of gloves.

"Clear the Streets!" commands Pfeifer. The street are "cleared." Fighting every inch of the way the picketers are forced down the street.

The picket line stands its ground. The next day all the picketers are there again, early in the morning, Spanish and English speaking, young and old, in a display of solidarity.

Every militant in the entire needle trades is watching this strike. One thing becomes obvious and that is, that in order to firmly establish union conditions it is necessary to project the idea of a general strike into the millinery industry.

Slowly, but surely, the ideas of the Left Opposition are gaining hearing and response.

Slowly, but surely, the ideas of the Left Opposition are gaining hearing and response. Our activity on the picket line, in the union, in the Unemployed organization has gained us the respect of the workers generally and especially the thinking Communists.

Embarrassing questions to the editors of the Daily Worker: 1. Why hasn't there been a congress of the C. I. for the last five years?

2. Why hasn't there been a convention of the C. P. U. S. A. for the last three years?

3. Why hasn't the DAILY published Litvinov's congratulatory telegram to M. Herriot?

The Archbishop Benjamin Again

About a month ago the Militant printed an account of a meeting held in New York by the local F. S. U. The feature attraction was a eulogy of the Soviet regime by Archbishop Benjamin, a self-confessed, unabashed Wrangelite priest.

Some idea of his faithful devotion to the Soviet cause in the dark days of the Civil War may be gleaned from a brief passage in a recent history of the counter-revolution and intervention.

Against this background the present problems are (1) those of amalgamation, (2) those connected with the agreements which terminate August 1, and (3) those presented by the federal government in its industrial code.

The former status of complete organization has been changed to a condition where there is a semi-company, nationalist union in the field with a large membership of agricultural workers.

In this case the tactics of the T. U. L. must be to function within the class collaborationist union as a Left wing, and from within transform this union into a genuine class struggle union.

Hollywood Film Strike
Hollywood's famed industry, the movies, has been the latest to be drawn into the wave of strikes.

When the studios advertised for scabs to take the place of the men who had struck, a strike was called by four other unions bringing the total strikers up to nearly 5,000.

The Strikes and the Left Wing
Strikes increasing in number involving all sections of the working class from unskilled farm hands to highly educated sound technicians and camera men—the question of aggressive action and leadership of future strikes becomes of paramount importance to the Left wing.

While this highly important and poorly attended meeting was in session the Friends of the Soviet Union were holding a mass meeting for Soviet recognition.

How long will it take the average worker, especially those now on the Roosevelt bandwagon, to realize the awkward position into which he has been cast?

While his hours are decreased, and his pay stabilized at the former figure, or possibly increased, he must be made to realize that all the policies of the present administration are pressing forward to a higher cost of living, resulting in a lower standard of living for the working class.

White Armies of Russia" by George Stewart, the MacMillan Company, 1933. In the spring of 1920 the White Guard forces in the south of Russia were bottled up in the Crimea.

Stewart records: "The Red Army attacked in the Perekop area on March 31 and were repulsed. After bloody fighting, the Crimean passes were taken and fortified by the Whites."

Times have changed. The Soviet is now a power. But the venerable ecclesiastic still believes in the futile magic of his cross. The difference is that he now sells blessings to the Stalinists.

An Example of

the New Deal in Operation

Chicago, Ill.—In Chicago, the New Deal, with the N. R. A. as its principal weapon, is now in full swing, attended by much enthusiasm on the part of gullible workers and prosperity hungry employers.

Where employees have been working more than forty hours, exclusive of certain types of vocations, it will mean shorter hours, with the promise of no reduction in pay and a possible increase in the near future.

Hoax of Employment
For example, for many years, in the large Chicago Department stores, it has been customary to hire the great majority of the salesforce on commission basis.

By working their help on the commission basis, the store paid nothing to such employees unless earned in sales. Even then, the reimbursement has been very small, little more than a bare living, and that gradually reduced by cuts in the commission rates.

Now, the blanket card stipulated by the Roosevelt Recovery Plan is being forced on the workers. This means a minimum wage must be paid to all employees of the store.

What has been the result? One large store, specializing in low-price merchandise, has accepted the code and has turned out approximately 300 salespeople, many of whom have been with the store for many years.

This same scheme is and will be practised by other stores, offices and factories, resulting in the speed-up process, putting more work and increased responsibility on fewer employees.

How long will it take the average worker, especially those now on the Roosevelt bandwagon, to realize the awkward position into which he has been cast?

While his hours are decreased, and his pay stabilized at the former figure, or possibly increased, he must be made to realize that all the policies of the present administration are pressing forward to a higher cost of living, resulting in a lower standard of living for the working class.

White Armies of Russia" by George Stewart, the MacMillan Company, 1933. In the spring of 1920 the White Guard forces in the south of Russia were bottled up in the Crimea.

Stewart records: "The Red Army attacked in the Perekop area on March 31 and were repulsed. After bloody fighting, the Crimean passes were taken and fortified by the Whites."

Times have changed. The Soviet is now a power. But the venerable ecclesiastic still believes in the futile magic of his cross. The difference is that he now sells blessings to the Stalinists.

Letters from Fascist Germany

From the Lower Rhineland.

June 28, 1933.

On June 26 the information department of the S. S. (Schutz Staffel—Fascist Special Corps) succeeded in tracking down the district center and information service of the C. P. G. in the Lower Rhineland. Most of the persons connected with the latter were arrested. At the same time there were arrested in our city a former alderman and a printer. They were charged with the production of Communist leaflets—The Steel-Helmet (nationalist) Workers Camp was dissolved and several of the leading figures imprisoned. The arrests took place under the direction of the S. A. (Storm Troops—Fascist Regulars), who forced their way into the camp with loaded pistols.—The "red air raid over Berlin" is designated in these parts as a provocation of the government.—All workers are disappointed in the utter failure of internationalism. No support anywhere for the German workers! So it happens that sanctimonious protests of foreign social democrats, like that of Jouhaux in Geneva, is looked upon by many as a ray of light. Everyone is asking: Where is the Soviet Union?

Beginning of July 1933

Those who believe that the Fascist terror is declining, are mistaken. Today a big bicycle raid took place in the proletarian quarters here. Everyone suspected of being a Communist had his bicycle or motorcycle confiscated. The inhabitants here feel like prisoners. The police come every day, and under one pretext or another, sneaks from one worker's rooms to another's, makes arrests, set the arrested free and then arrests them again, etc.—In a large concern, stickers considered "hostile to the state" were found on the walls of the women's toilet. 18 girls were arrested, three were held in prison for a long time in an effort to get confessions out of them.—In a suburb, six Communists were arrested by S. S. men right on the street, brought to an army and from there, as heavily wounded, to the local jail.—Political prisoners are no longer allowed to receive visitors or mail, on the grounds of a "certain incident".—In Duesseldorf, several corpses were found near the Griefenberg woods. They were the bodies of persons formerly belonging to the Communist group "North-West Forward". An old comrade, Setin, who was over 60, and had one time been the leader of a workers' concert band, was found dead, with a fractured skull.

FROM SAXONY

...At the time of the raid of the People's House, all red flags, books, safes were confiscated.... Workers arrested were made to say the Lord's Prayer and to shout "Hell, Hitler!"

...The S. A. troops clipped the hair on the workers' heads in the shape of the swastika. The workers were then forced to gather horse-manure over a distance of more than a hundred meters with their bare hands, to smear the walls with it and then to scrub the walls. In the course of this, they were beaten bloody, and forced to beat one another and clip each other's hair. A S. P. G. worker who put on a swastika emblem so as to be able to proceed to work unhindered was found out and sent to the hospital with grave injuries. A worker from a "Proletarian First Aid (Medical)" group has his hands cut up "so that, you jack-ass, you won't be able to bandage anyone any more". Gauze and medicaments were taken away from him....

Days after these raids, scraps of

Threaten Deportation of Penna. Militant

Antonio Bellussi, a militant Italian worker of Luzerne, Pa. is being held for deportation for his activities on behalf of the labor movement by the federal immigration authorities of the New Deal government. Once again it is clearly revealed that despite its liberal phrases the Roosevelt government differs only by a thin veneer from the open deportation policies of the Hoover-Doak administration.

The case of comrade Bellussi shows in bold relief that any capitalist government in the United States, irrespective of its public declarations, follows a policy of victimizing the foreign born worker, sowing seeds of race hatred between him and the native born worker in the factory, mine and workshop, and deporting him when he fights in the interests of his class to the Fascist land of his origin where he is thrown to the tender mercies of the butchers and murderers of militant workers that hold sway in those countries. Only the mass movement of the workers can cement the ties between the native and foreign born workers.

The workers must come to the defense of Bellussi, stay the hand of the deportation agents and keep him from falling into the hands of Mussolini's hangmen.

Do not forget that THE MILITANT needs your support. The very best way to do it is to get a new sub.

No Abatement in Terror, Workers Feel Effect of Party Failure

books torn up, flags and papers destroyed, and bits of skin, strands of hair and large puddles of blood could be seen in the courtyards. A priest from Z., for many years a member of the Nazis, was thought to be a Habbli because of the beard he had grown. The S. A. lugged him down from a street car and cut off his good Teuton beard. Badly mangled proletarians were quartered with the insane. Their dependents were given to understand that they could get their release only upon signing a statement that they had not been maltreated....Workers put under "protective arrest" had to pay 2 Marks per day for "protection"....In the concentration camps—constant torture. Constant inquisitions. For food—mostly potatoes, to be peeled by hand. Any visitors allowed can see and speak to the prisoners only in the presence of Nazi attendants. In the evening the workers are made to stand at attention and to sing patriotic and Fascist songs, all under the threat of blackjacks. When the trade union headquarters and printshops were occupied, the social democratic workers were seized with panic. They had never

believed that Fascism would step right over their trade union headquarters. Among the Communist workers, many said: "Good for them. It won't hurt the swine." But these sentiments of hatred were soon overcome by feelings of being deserted and betrayed. Although the main guilt has to be ascribed to the social democratic leaders, many Communists also accuse their own leadership. Many say that it was necessary to talk less about united front and to do more about it. In a united front, they feel, concessions would have been made from both sides. But the leaders did not want this and now we have misery. Others cuss and say: "Yes, the leaders could talk big; but now when it is becoming dangerous, they take the money and beat it out of the country". Work in the party has in some parts ceased altogether. The comrades avoid one another. Many think that Fascism will rule only for a short time and that then they will find each other again. Others are afraid because of the many who have gone over to the Nazis. As to the slogans ordered to be smeared over the walls like "The Red Front Fighters League Still Lives", and the distribution of leaflets calling for a general strike, many have a great aversion towards them and consider them as provocations, because they always accompanied with new persecutions.

The Importance of the 6 Hour Day Slogan Under the N.I.R.A.

Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization of industry and the great swath which the crisis cut in employment, the organized labor movement in its larger part has turned toward the shorter work day as a means of absorbing into industry some part of the great army of unemployed.

The Socialist party and the A. F. of L. have officially gone on record for the six hour day, five day week. It goes without saying that the economic development of the United States makes possible not only a six hour day but even a shorter one.

The blanket code provides a thirty five and forty maximum hour week. Most of the codes submitted provide for forty hours. Thirty-five and forty hour maximum are stagger systems. They will not absorb the unemployed workers. The spokesmen for the electrical workers union stated that to absorb the unemployed in that trade an 11 hour maximum was necessary! On the other hand a forty hour maximum is an increase in hours in some trades.

The contradiction between the official position of organized labor and the labor provisions of the N. I. R. A. creates the condition for a struggle for a shorter day in the interest of the working class. But there is no struggle for the six hour day. Instead the labor fakery make a pretense of opposing the hours stipulated in the various codes. Sidney Hillman appeared before the National Recovery Administration and attacked the forty hours demanded by the bosses on the ground that the average number of hours in the men's clothing industry in 1932 was a fraction over 37. To put men back to work he proposed 35! Others like John L. Lewis have come forward as the champions of the thirty hour week. They are of two kinds. Those that qualify the demand for the thirty hour week by stipulating a five day week or a six hour day are making demagogic use of the slogan to retain their leadership and their hold over their followers. Those who do not embellish their fakery with these qualifications are trying to put over a stagger system on the workers. For a maximum of thirty hours a week is not at all the six hour day, five day week. It may and most likely will be a three day week of ten hours.

The reasons for the absence of a militant struggle around the slogan of the six hour day, five day week are many. The A. F. of L. and S. P. bureaucracies are not going to conduct struggles if they can avoid them. And they will lead those workers force upon them only to sell them out or steer them into channels as little harmful to the capitalist class as they can manage. The illusions sown by the NIRA also tend to keep the workers in a state of expectant and hopeful passivity.

But, deeper than these reasons lies the failure of the Communist party to give a correct analysis of the situation, to foresee the blows of the capitalist class and arm the workers with a correct policy and the correct slogans. The party's trade union policy isolated it from the organized working class movement. On the other hand from the beginning of the crisis the party staked its cards on the unemployed movement and attempted to build it as a movement separate and apart from the struggles of the class as a whole and the organized trade union movement. In pursuing this orientation it made unemployment insurance its central slogan. Later it added immediate relief. But at all times in this period it rejected the slogan of the six hour day five day week. In our thesis for our second na-

Powerful Anti-Fascist Front in Chile

(Below is an appeal of the National Executive Council of the Anti-Fascist United Front in Chile issued to the workers of that country which can very well serve as a model to be followed by the revolutionary movements of the more advanced countries. This united front was organized at the initiative of the Left Opposition of Chile and the ideas that it advances are primarily those of the Left Opposition.—Ed.)

"The working classes of Italy, Poland and Germany have felt the painful and bloody experience of Fascism. Workers: democrats, socialists, Alexanderists, Communists, anarchists or an other tendency—your elementary duty is to defend your family your wages, your class organizations and above all your right to life. Exploited comrades, against the feudal bourgeois united front of hunger, reaction, terror and war—strengthen the anti-Fascist united front wherever you work, build committees of struggles for your every day demands and against Fascism.

"The organization participating in the united front will hold preparatory meetings leading up to a great demonstration which will take place on July 1st.

"These are the objectives of the struggle of the Anti-Fascist front

1. Dissolution and immediate disarmament of the republican militia.
2. Abrogation of all repressive laws, full freedom of organization, press, to strike and assembly and amnesty for all political prisoners;
3. For the six hour day, against the cutting of wages and for their proportionate increase to meet the needs of the working class.
4. For better treatment and relief of the workers, the employees, the unemployed and their families.
5. Abrogation of all taxes and tariffs on commodities of prime necessity.
6. Put an end to the seizures of land from the peasants and Indians lower by 50 percent the taxes, the ground rents and the mortgages.

"This program is jointly signed by the following organizations:

- General Confederation of Workers,—Workers Federation of Chile,—Communist Left (Chilean Section of the I. L. O.),—Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C. I.),—Socialist party,—Students Federation,—General Association of Chilean Teachers,—I. W. W.—United Building Workers Committee—General Union of Cabinet Makers,—General Union of Bakers,—Employees Federation,—Leather Workers Union,—Tile Workers Union,—Carpenters Defensive Union,—Professional Tailors Union,—Young Communist Federation,—Founders Defensive Union.

ends and in the interests of the capitalists.

Serious struggles of the workers against the slavery which the NIRA will impose on them are ahead. If the party is going to discharge its duty toward the class it must break through its frightful sectarian isolation. At present it is travelling in the opposite direction. One of the first steps to change the course is a serious analysis of the past course and open admission that its policy on the shorter workday was false. Analysis like the bureaucratic whitewash of the Open Letter only make the confusion deeper. The party must adopt the slogan of the six hour day, five day week with increased pay and approach the A. F. of L. and the S. P. with a serious offer of a united front struggle for it. That is the road to defeat the attack which lies hidden in the wooden horse of the NIRA. —T. STAMM.

If the number on your wrapper is 186 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the MILITANT promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly issues.

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

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

VI, No. 39 (Whole No. 136)
SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1933
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

A Delegate Visits the Soviet Union

From the report of a foreign Communist, member of one of the May delegations which visited the U. S. S. R.

Reception at the station—music, the "Comintern" song (it is now being sung no less often than the Internationale), banners, dancing, pioneers, Comsomsols. At the same time, a crowd of more or less unconcerned onlookers, silent, passive, workers for the most part. Although I am joyfully moved by everything that is going on, I cannot overlook the difference between these two groups. One's attention is caught at once by the bad clothing; almost nobody has whole shoes. Those who are better dressed always have a briefcase in their hands. When we march in columns through the streets, with music and accompanied by enthusiastic Comsomsols—the same picture. Indifferent groups of people on the sidewalks, as far as I can see. One comrade tells us with indignation, "Trotzky is shown in a caricature next to Hitler!" Another says, "You simply cannot imagine how great the potential forces of the Opposition are". He says it in a half-regretful tone. Fear!

Pessimism and Tiredness
A competent comrade, who works in the film industry, tells us that there has been no progress of late; the films have had to give up a great deal. The dominating tendency is: away from life, from reality; the public is also tired of "heavy" revolutionary subjects. "It is false to believe that slogans or directives come from above to this end; it is simply that pessimism and tiredness have accumulated among all, particularly the intelligentsia". And, after a brief interruption. "By the way, this reflects the economic situation".

It was very difficult in the winter. Even the privileged foreigners received, for each two persons, eleven pounds of meat a month. The foreign worker is not able to stand the conditions under which the Russian worker has to work. Along with the fact that the Soviet Union had been painted to him as a Socialist paradise, it is not surprising that a number of workers and foremen who returned to Germany have joined the Fascists and are taking an active part in the struggle against Communism.

The difficulties of the newly-arrived foreign worker are especially enormous at the beginning. Only to secure his midday meal, he has to run for days from one office to another, from one organization to another. In general, one of the economic activity.

The London Conference, considered as a battle-ground for conflicting imperialist nations, ended in a draw so far as the United States was concerned. It won no concessions of any importance, was unable to come to any arrangement as to currency, wheat, or silver. On the other hand, it was able to resist the pressure of the gold bloc for early stabilization of foreign exchanges, and fought off successfully the combined efforts of all the European nations to obtain a reduction in the American tariff.

What minor positive results were achieved by the American delegation, such as the reduction in the special French duties directed against American goods, and the trade arrangements with the Soviet Union and with China for a limited amount of exports, were obtained behind the back of or alongside the conference. The major result achieved by America was negative; the disruption of the conference by opposing currency stabilization. This prepares a temporary pause before America renews its attack on Europe.

The failure of the conference itself was due, as had been predicted, to the fact that it needed concessions from the participating nations in order to succeed, and it is precisely in a period of crisis like the present, when pacifist illusions of "international good-will and understanding" are most generally soved, that the material basis for concessions does not exist.

What is distinctive of this conference however, was that so little attempt was made to cover up the failure. It simply disbanded quietly and the delegations went home. The American delegation returned as disunited as it had been throughout the conference; one participant pointing out that Europe was nearer to war than any time in the last twenty years, others on the contrary maintaining the prudent diplomatic fiction that all is well until the minute before the catastrophe.

The London Conference was an objective test for American imperialism of its prospects of expansion, under the present relation of forces, by so-called peaceful means, i. e., by intrigue, coercion, economic pressure and the like. Apparently little has been or can be accomplished. The conclusion is inevitable—American imperialism must expand through force and the threat of force.

Outstanding Impression is Poverty of People and Long Queues

At the Marti shipbuilding plant in Leningrad, thanks to local initiative, a sanitary organization was created. The plant itself built the necessary apparatus, including complicated radiologic machinery. This fact, which shows the extent of local initiative, also shows the disorganization of economy. The production of this apparatus in a factory not designed for it naturally caused tenfold higher costs.

We were brought into a bourgeois hotel with orchestra, waiters in tailcoats, etc. An unpleasant contrast to real life. The hotel is intended for the use of foreigners, but the guests are for the most part Soviet and party officials.

Poverty on Sidewalks
On the streets there is much poverty, many sidewalk vendors of matches and cigarettes many homeless people in rags, some as young as 15 to 18 years old. No one concerns himself with them. Even when they are taken away by the militia, they are released again in a day or two. Many peasants with bundles, and in rags, who have come on foot or by rail from the village, sit around on the steps, blocking the traffic with their bundles. They are waiting—for what?

Although I know the Russian language well, the interpreters and accompanying functionaries do not permit any contact with the "outside world". When one asks the interpreter, "Who are these people in rags?", he invariably answers, "Kulaks". A beggar approached our group! "What did he ask?" "He asked me to show him the way", the interpreter answered. Another poor fellow comes along. A woman interpreter steps up to him, takes his hand, and draws him aside. She is putting on a performance of "Meeting the acquaintance". We, who came along as a front, understood this and were seized by a deep feeling of shame. We did not look at each other.

In Moscow there is more life than in Leningrad, and living is easier. The people are better dressed, and the shops are not so poverty-stricken. But hours before they open there are enormous lines standing before them. I saw such lines a hundred yards in length and more. The biggest lines are in front of the shops that sell bread without cards.

No Admittance
In Leningrad we wanted to visit the Putilov Works. On the excuse that part of the delegation was tired, this was refused us. The real reason for the refusal was as follows: The Putilov Works were for a time the scene of constant visits. A number of incidents took place. The Putilov workers saw many foreign delegates, who came from capitalist countries, well dressed, well fed. Pointing out that they were more poorly dressed and ill-fed, they put corresponding questions to the foreigners.

The show windows are poor and dirty. Many portraits of Lenin and of Stalin, more of Stalin than of Lenin. One of my acquaintances, a German Communist who has been working a long time in Russia, tells me, "Do you know, there are many people here who have no love for Stalin, there are very many for whom it is better not to speak of Stalin at all. But Lenin is holy, he cannot be touched...."

Why They All Climb On N.R.A. Bandwagon

1. The bankers support the NRA by agreeing to loan more money to obtain more interest.
2. The manufacturers agree to support the NRA by producing more commodities to obtain more industrial profits.
3. The wholesalers agree to support the NRA by selling more commodities to obtain more commercial profits.
4. The retailers agree to support the NRA by selling more commodities at higher prices to obtain more profits.
5. The landlords agree to support the NRA by renting more property to obtain increased rents.
6. The government, the state as the executive committee of the capitalist class passed the NRA in an attempt to save a sick and tottering capitalist system, to establish a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the workers, to eliminate the small producers, and to prepare for a greater international struggle.
7. The labor leaders support the NRA, because they are agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the working class.
8. The farmers will support the NRA if they can obtain higher prices for their products—so they can pay the bankers the money they owe them.
9. The workers—? If they don't support the NRA they are unpatriotic, if they strike they will be outlawed. The workers are asked to support the NRA to enable the capitalist to get out of the crisis—by taking the burden on their backs—in order to compete with the other imperialists on the world market.

—B. J. FIELD.

The N. R. A. and Trade Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

merely with the smaller section of skilled trades but with the broadest strata of the working class. It is the politically undeveloped workers, who are yet, at least to an extent, captivated by illusions of the N. R. A. who are just breaking away from their former capitalist ideology; it is these workers who are being set into motion and who are gravitating toward the unions. Their direction will inevitably be toward the conservative unions. That is already indicated in the Pennsylvania strikes. They cannot be expected as yet to take the step all the way to militant unionism, nor as yet to seek new independent forms.

Will this not imply a revival and growth of the American Federation of Labor? Undoubtedly it will. Moreover, to a certain extent it will change its basic character in that it will record an influx of proletarians from the heavy industries. What will emerge will be an A. F. of L. altered in composition and compelled to make certain organizational readjustments in order to measure up to new conditions. To a certain degree it will be compelled to give way to pressure from the ranks. Furthermore, a pressure in a militant direction will inevitably assert itself as the struggles grow and stand as a heavy counter-weight to the capitalist ideology and policy of the leadership. The continued castigation of the A. F. of L. as a company union, and conclusions drawn accordingly, as performed by the official Communist party leadership, in no way solves the problem of attitude to this union. It only adds further confusion and isolation to the militants. It will be said, and well founded upon past experience: The A. F. of L. leadership will continue its policy of betrayal, it will continue its service as labor lieutenants of capitalism. True enough, one cannot hold out any hope for a change of outlook in this respect. But betrayals have been facilitated essentially by being left unchallenged from the militants voluntarily remaining on the outside. Under such conditions the reactionary policies of the leadership remains entirely dominant over the mass movement. And, on a whole, that is just the salient fact, the leadership is still dominant in the movement and determine its ideology. The problem is to effectively challenge this leadership and infuse the mass movement with a new militant ideology and lead it to political consciousness.

This poses the old problem again before the Communist movement, but in a new and more pressing form. The place of the Communists first of all is within the mass movement. It is therefore necessary to say to the leaders of the official party that now an end must be made to the suicidal and fatal T. U. U. L. policy. It is a splitting policy. It must be substituted by a unity policy. Trade union unity is becoming the paramount issue. The opportunities for its being carried into life are at hand. No one would propose an outright liquidation of all T. U. U. L. unions in disregard of the question of relationship of forces. But the general orientation must be for unification, away from the revolutionary paper unions and for the Left wing to function within the mass movement.

The prospects are excellent for the workers struggles to deepen and broaden in the coming period.

The Suicide of N. Skrypnik

A Striking Revelation of the Degeneration of Stalinism

On the 7th of July, N. Skrypnik committed suicide. In 1901, Skrypnik, a student, joined the revolutionary movement and soon after became a professional revolutionary, a Bolshevik. He was exiled several times and escaped several times. He spent five years in Siberia. The official biography of Skrypnik states that he took an internationalist position at the beginning of the war and participated actively in the October Revolution. From 1920 up till his death he was Peoples Commissar in the Ukraine. He was not only a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union, a member of the Political Bureau of the C. P. of the Ukraine, but also a member of the E.C.C.C.I. Only a few months ago his sixteenth anniversary was solemnly celebrated in the U. S. S. R.

Member of Stalin's Private Faction
During the entire period of the internal struggle in the party, Skrypnik together with Kaganovich, Postyshev and others belonged to Stalin's closest and most intimate faction which operated in the Ukraine and set the pace in the struggle and the repressions against the Left Opposition. Consequently this is a matter not only of one of the foremost leaders of the Soviet Union but likewise of a member of Stalin's private faction. Several weeks before Skrypnik committed suicide a campaign was carried on against him in the press. On June 10, the secretary of the Central Committee of the C. P. R., Postyshev, a careerist and one of the most obsequious of Stalin's valets, said at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukraine, addressing himself to Skrypnik: "The work of Ukrainization rests in the hands of all sorts of dogs. These enemies are hiding behind your big back as a member of the Political Bureau." Very little is known today of what Skrypnik said or did.

According to Postyshev, Skrypnik answered that the policy that he had carried out up till that time was correct but that the situation was now changing. To this Postyshev replied: "No, what you have done was as rotten six years ago as it is today." One has only to ask how it is that during these six years (!) none perceived or said that Skrypnik had relations with "bourgeois nationalist and anti-Soviet elements who carry 'party cards in their pocket', that, 'Skrypnik defended these foreign and hostile elements', that he hid all sorts of dogs behind his back. And all that for six whole years!

What Is the Explanation?
The explanation of the Skrypnik case, which ended with his suicide, can only be made on the basis of the processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and the Stalinist apparatus.

It will mean also an opportunity to instill Socialist consciousness into the masses. That is the task of the Communists. Only the Communists can lead in that direction. But it is not sufficient to proclaim the abstract right to this leadership; it is necessary to attain it by deeds. It cannot be accomplished only within the very limited frame of the party controlled independent unions but on the whole field of the class struggle. The essential starting point at this moment, however, lies within the mass unions. —ARNE SWABECK.

ist apparatus. Having lost the last remnants of its authority in the eyes of the masses, the Stalinist leadership is forced still further on the road of repression, of the further strangling of the party which reduces the Leninist vanguard to a soulless and formless mass of mere executors of orders. The growth of discontent and differentiation in the ranks of the party is reflected in the apparatus. The apparatus is no longer sure of itself and therefore cannot fulfill the role which Stalin sets out for it. Stalin is obliged to construct another apparatus in the cadre of this apparatus, that is, a narrow faction of loyalists. By the logic of its development the bureaucratic regime constantly undermines its own basis. For each of his mistakes Stalin sacrifices entire sections of his apparatus. They are branded as culprits, saboteurs or counter-revolutionaries.

Machine Devours Creators
The big as well as the small administrators pay with their head today for Stalin's policy and mistakes of yesterday. It does not suffice for him to make scapegoats of culprits in the middle apparatus, he is obliged to reach out to the members of the Central Committee and the E. C. C. I. Stalin condemned Skrypnik without taking the least trouble to furnish any evidence at all in proof of the charges made against him. They say of a member of the C. C. and the E. C. C. I.—and this is not just anyone—"bourgeois nationalist elements, shielded by their membership in the party, were taken into his confidence." That is all the explanation that is made by the C. C. The more Stalin tightens the vise, the more cracks are disclosed. Skrypnik is one of these cracks. The Stalinist machine devours its own creators. And Skrypnik who has helped not little in the creation of this machine has been caught in its coils.

Within six months two general elections have taken place in Greece. The last one, which was held in March, resulted in a narrow victory for the Populist party headed by Tsaldaris. A coup d'Etat by the Venizelist general Plastiras failed and subsequently Tsaldaris formed a parliamentary government. The Tsaldaris government proved itself capable of even surpassing its predecessor Venizelos in terrorist measures against the working class and the poor farmers. Nevertheless the Greek finance capital, represented by the Venizelists, could not tolerate a Populist party regime based upon the petty bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudal lords. The former have not yet found it necessary to resort to outright Fascism. But this is in the making, initiated by the Populist party. The latter has organized a combination of Greek nationalists which held its convention on June 26 at Athens. At that time the Greek workers, under leadership of the Archio-Marxists (Left Opposition) organized a counter demonstration in which our comrade Panagiotis was fatally wounded.

The Venizelists challenged the government to conduct a re-election in Saloniki. The challenge was accepted, and the re-elections were held on July 2. The Venizelists enlisted the support of the agrarians under the reformist Sofianopoulos, to evictions.

Socialists Back Out of Anti-War Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

nists agreed to, or more accurately inspired—in line with the March 5, Comintern manifesto—the above statement. They have traveled far and through the policy laid down by Lenin for the Communists at the Hague anti-war conference of the Socialists and Socialists in 1922. Through the Barbusse Anti-War Congress held last August and all the subsequent "anti-war united fronts" they have blurred the line of revolutionary struggle against war in the direction of militant pacifism.

They are now appealing to the Socialist party branches to support the U. S. Congress Against War, J. B. Matthews, a member of the Socialist party who trails along with the Stalinists in its united fronts, has remained on the arrangements committee. One or two Socialist groups may support the congress, but little more than that can be expected. The sabotage of the leaders of the Socialist party combined with the false course of the Stalinists and their anti-revolutionary position on the united front against war will result in keeping the Socialist workers for the time being, away from common action with the Communists.

At the U. S. Congress Against War the Left Opposition delegates will present the revolutionary Communist program against war in contrast to the Stalinist confusionism. Lenin's teachings on this important sector of the class struggle, his conception of the united front on war and the need of American working class action against Roosevelt's war program will be raised by the Left Opposition. This will aid in the clarification of both the Communist and Socialist workers and lay the basis for a genuine common action against war and the capitalist offensive. —JOSEPH CARTER.

Perspectives of the Upturn

A Marxian Analysis of Business Cycles by L. Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

interrupted by the war years, has made its way in spite of all tariff walls and has proven its powerful reality in painful form. There is every reason to believe that the coming reversal of the trend, in the direction of a business revival—not simultaneously and not with equal strength—will likewise assume a world wide character. In other words, the cyclical movement of capitalism is resorted by the present crisis.

Naturally, we cannot expect full-blooded cycles in the future. In the last two decades before the war, crises had the character of short and not too profound interruptions, while each new upswing left the peak of the preceding one far below. But now we must expect the reverse; profound, long and painful crises, while the upward movements are weak and short-lived. If the old cycles were the mechanism of the broad upward movement, the new ones can only be the mechanism of capitalist decay.

Only, the influence of cyclic changes on the life of the mass of people remains enormous. In a certain sense, it is now more far reaching than ever before. The whole present status of capitalism represents a completed not merely ripe, but overripe, pre-requisite for the proletarian revolution. What lags behind is the consciousness of the proletariat, its organization, its leadership. Because of the general instability of the social equilibrium, the conjunctural fluctuations lead to enormous shifts of political power, to revolutionary and counter-revolutionary disturbances.

The bourgeois world, and with it, the social democracy awaits the new upturn in commerce and industry as a savior. The theoreticians of the Comintern are afraid of such a perspective and deny the possibility of an upward turn in

the business cycle curve. To us Marxists, it is perfectly clear that a new revival of business activity would not open a broad avenue out of the crisis, but would lead into a new, still sharper and more painful crisis. On the other hand, the inevitability of a more or less near-by change in the business cycle is perfectly evident to us. We must equip ourselves theoretically for the next "post-crisis period" and assume correct points of departure.

The years of crisis have thrown and are throwing the international proletariat back for a whole historical period. Discontent, the wish to escape poverty, hate for the exploiters and their system, all these emotions which are now being suppressed and driven inward by the frightful unemployment and governmental repression, will force their way out with redoubled energy at the first real signs of an industrial revival.

Because of the general situation of present day capital, even in the event of a substantial revival, the employers will not be in a position to make such concessions to the workers as to confine the struggle within the frame-work of the trade unions. We can predict with assurance that the industrial revival will leave no room even for a return to those conditions of labor which prevailed before the present crisis. The economic conflicts will not only take on a wide scope but also inevitably expand into political movements of a revolutionary character.

The Comintern must strip off the last remnants of the theory of the "third period" must begin to investigate concretely, the economic and social terrain of the struggle, and no longer issue commands according to its own good judgment to the proletarian vanguard but through the latter, guide the real development of the class struggle. In the very first place is the work among the trade-unions. Lozovsky's "third period" must be discarded as well as the third period of Manuilsky. Put an end to the policy of self-isolation. With the greatest sharpness must be posed the question of the restoration of the unity of the German trade union movement, through the integration of all R. G. O. members into the mass of the "free trade unions". Every party member who is able to must be obliged to join a trade union.

The development of the economic struggle will put enormous tasks before the reformist bureaucracy. The exploitation of the difficulties of the reformists can best be accomplished by a flexible and enterprising united front policy. That the Left Opposition, in spite of its small numerical strength, can be in a position to occupy an honorable place in the mass struggle is shown by the experience of the Belgian comrades. In any case, it is the task of the Left Opposition to unfold the questions clearly before the Party, to outline the general perspectives, to formulate slogans of struggle. Now, less than ever, can the Left Opposition be permitted to remain a closed propaganda group, standing aside from the real development of the class struggle.

Every Bolshevik-Leninist must be a member of one mass organization or another, above all, of a trade union. Only under this condition will our organization keep their hand on the pulse of the proletariat and fulfill their role as the vanguard of the vanguard. —L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, Aug. 13, 1932.

N. Y. Upholsters Strike Bulletin

THREE small shops have signed up with local 76 of the A. F. of L. This is an entering wedge into the united front of the bosses' association. In spite of daily ads in the papers for scabs, for two weeks, the bosses have failed to get them. The spirit of the men is accordingly high. Plans are under way for organized relief for the strikers.

STRIKE MEDIATOR FROM WASHINGTON IS THE BUNK! Pay no attention to anyone who represents himself as such. He is here ONLY TO SELL YOU OUT like MacGrady, the NIRA representative in the Pennsylvania coal fields. To the shame of John L. Lewis and the United Workers of America, the strike was broken and the men went back at the old conditions. Don't let that happen to you! Only the workers organized into a strong union can enforce your demands.

REGULAR STRIKE MEETINGS of the shops should be held. Not merely the general meeting each day. Men from the shops must be drawn into the strike activity.

Frame-makers in the union shop controlled by 1204 of the Carpenters have refused to come out in support of the general strike of frame-makers called by the Furniture Workers Industrial Union. Elementary solidarity of the workers in a strike which has become general (over thirty shops involved) demands that these workers be condemned for scabbing and that they be called out in sympathy and help win conditions.

To prevent any misunderstandings, a SETTLING COMMITTEE must always accompany the officer of the union who meets with the boss for settlement. The chairman and at least one other member of the shop must be present. This rule must absolutely be adhered to or there is bound to be unsatisfactory results.

The strike needs a DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN posted in a conspicuous place in the strike meeting hall. Here all the news vital to the strike should be published. That will give correct information and pep up the men.

Litvinov and France

(Continued from Page 1)

letter from the USSR which reveals the gravity of the economic situation. How does L'Humanite answer this?
Thus: "In spite of their wishes, Mr. P. Berland and the Temps"—striving peculiarly to oppose the recent declarations of Paul-Boncour with regard to the USSR—will not be able to prove, by these calumnies, the collapse and the weakness of the Soviet regime."

What does this phrase between the dashes signify? Hasn't the right to see here a discreet understanding with the French government concerning information on the USSR? How far will they go on this path?
We must explain to the workers that only one force is capable of helping the USSR surmount its difficulties, the organized proletariat, the Communist party. Treaties signed by the USSR are precarious perfection; they will be ineffectual against imperialism's will to war!

—From La Verite.

The Development of the Los Angeles Jobless Movement and a Perspective

(Continued from last issue)

The Left wing, finding itself hampered by the predominance of especially backward elements from the county area outside of the city, took the initiative in the organization of the more progressive of the city units into their own center, the Council of City Units of the U. C. R. A. At first it was boycotted by the county organization, but in course of time it continued to develop strength, and while never formally affiliated with the County Council, it was later recognized to the extent of sending an advisory delegate to the weekly meetings of the delegates of the Executive Board of the latter. Delegates from the County Council would also visit meetings of the Executive Committee of the Council of City Units. At first only four of the city units were represented on the Left wing council, but this grew to 14 and at one time to 16.

All the progressive steps taken by the U. C. R. A. through the County Council finally agreed to demand \$20,000. Later it compromised with the city and county—the amount to be reduced to \$8,000 a month at first, and a representative of the Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce was permitted to sign all checks and thus administer the funds, although the U. C. R. A. did all the purchasing and supervised the administration of the Chamber of Commerce representative. The county also agreed to furnish gasoline and oil for the transportation of farm products from those areas where the self-help work was to be distributed by the U. C. R. A.

Meeting the Problem of Evictions
Another problem was presented by the rapidly increasing number

of evictions, as well as shut-offs of gas, light and water. At a meeting of the Council of City Units, at which members of the County Council and the chairman of a State-wide unemployed organization (existing practically only on paper) with which the U. C. R. A. was affiliated, attended as visitors. The latter proposed that we try to legislate a bill to make evictions illegal. The Left wing elements counterposed to this the use of mass pressure, proposing to put the evicted workers back into their homes and to turn on again gas, light and water where they had been turned off. This to be done by a general mobilization of all units under the direction of the leading committee of the unit in the district where the action was to take place.

A resolution to this effect was passed, and the response was enthusiastic. At the first following eviction, over 20 units were mobilized, constituting practically all the city units, out of 65 units in the whole county. The police arrested the evicted worker on the charge of "breaking in". At the trial, several hundred members of the organization were mobilized as witnesses, and the case was handled, not as the defense of the evicted worker as an individual, but as a collective defense of the U. C. R. A. All members accepted responsibility for the action. After 150 witnesses had been heard, and costs of over \$4,500 to the county had been incurred, the evicted worker was acquitted, and the jury (composed of small property owners) made a collection of \$50 for him. In only one or two other cases was it again necessary to defend in court our mass resistance

Turning On Gas and Light

Later we changed our tactics, and instead of putting back the furniture, roped off the streets, pitched tents (which we immediately wired for light from the overhead street lines), made fires, and mobilized our forces with bands, street dancing, singing and speech making, thereby attracting the whole neighborhood and giving our action the widest publicity. This resulted in a rush by the welfare organizations to offer housing or cash, with the promise that if our members were evicted, all we had to do was to notify them and they would either pay his rent or place him elsewhere.

We also adopted the policy of turning on gas, light and water, where they had been shut off, by committees. When the city (operating the electrical and water services) or the privately-owned gas company turned them off again, we came back and turned them on again. Where meters had been taken out, we would connect the house directly with the mains, maintaining our own plumbing shop for the purpose. We would put up a label worded as follows, "Do Not Shut Off—By Order of the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association." These cut-offs amounted altogether to tens of thousands of cases, sometimes 50-60 in a single day. The committee consisted of the overwhelming majority of the members, who signed a pledge stating that they would continue to the end, even at the risk of arrest. Thousands of evictions were handled in the same way.

The Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and the State, county and city authorities made frequent efforts, toward the end of 1932, to obtain a detailed registry of our membership. The Left wing consistently refused this, under the slogan of "no paperization—we are self-sufficient", and defeated these efforts.

Jackals Howl at Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

But that Trotsky, true to proletarian internationalism, utilizes the right of asylum in France—that will not do.

Who does not experience a feeling of indignation and disgust at the base provocations of the Political Bureau? Then it is necessary to look at another aspect of the question: The political bureau is organizing demonstrations against Trotsky, but what has it done against Fascism. What has it done against the Italian and German fascist ambassadors, against the hounds of the white guards? Not a thing!

No class conscious worker can or will respond to these provocations. The Left Opposition will continue unswervingly on its path. With new tenacity it will struggle for the banner of Marx and Lenin and against all revisionists and provocators.

former trade unionist, who committed irregularities in handling the warehouse work. We insisted that his case, and its disposition, be handled entirely by the organization, whereas the Right wing elements wanted to take it into court, and the County Council, by a vote of 43 to 3, voted to expel Mays, one of our first victories in the larger organization.

The growth of Communist sympathies during this period as vividly illustrated by the case of Ezra Chase, who was arrested while heading a committee fighting an eviction. He was charged with criminal syndicalism, and the local press began a red-baiting campaign against "Communist leadership in the unemployed movement". After four weeks of propaganda throughout the organization, we brought the question of supporting him before the County Council, and succeeded in getting a resolution passed putting the organization in back of him. The state later dropped the case.

At about this time the Left wing caucus drew up a statement addressed to all labor organizations, pointing out the need of a united front of all progressive elements on a minimum program of substantial state aid to the unemployed, insurance, and support to all workers' struggles and strikes. The Stalinists fought and defeated our proposals for the six-hour day and for long-term credits to the Soviet Union.

Because of the lack of trade union organizations in this area, the response was practically nil. One result was the organization of a broad caucus of the Communist party (which had agreed to colonize members in the U. C. R. A.), the Musketiers, and non-party Left wing elements. This group worked effectively for a period of four months, and succeeded in building up the Council of City Units into a considerable force. More units were added, vigorous mass meetings were held. Out of the new strength grew the renewal of the old demand for \$50,000 in cash a month for relief, and a demand that emergency work be furnished through the U. C. R. A. These demands were introduced to the County Council by 22 units. At a series of mass meetings, these demands were voiced, together with demands for an increase in the supply of gasoline and oil. The policy of fighting evictions and shut-offs was re-affirmed.

In the whole process of development of the Left wing, the Left Opposition elements played the leading role, posing the class issues, proposing concrete programs and conducting systematic propaganda for its class policies, similarly by constant visiting and speaking to the workers in the units, and above all by prolonged, systematic, direct participation in an active and leading capacity in the practical work of the movement. In general the policies adopted were those of the Left Opposition. The increasing influence of the Left wing over the entire U. C. R. A. is shown by a series of actions, in addition to those mentioned above and to the demonstration before the Board of Supervisors on the milk issue. Such were the resolution to support a farm hands' strike the vote of confidence in the women's milk committee, the resolution of thanks to the Communist lawyer who defended the first evictions case, the resolution against participation of bourgeois politicians in discussions. All were taken after resistance by the organized Right wing elements in the County Council.

Very important also was the work among Mexican and Negro workers who have developed a feeling of full class solidarity in the course of their participation in the movement, and the breaking down of barriers among the white workers.

Lessons of the Los Angeles Experience
What general lessons do we draw from this experience in the light of the present perspectives as influenced by the Industrial Recovery Act?

1. We must adjust our strategy in the American labor movement to a short-term perspective, not to the long-term tasks of building a new leadership out of the youth. The State apparatus is being ever more closely intertwined with the class-collaborationist elements in the labor leadership, and first of all with the A. F. of L. The reformists are engaged in an enormous upswing,

and have been able to reach fields which they have not formerly touched for a generation or more. They report enormous organizational gains in steel, coal, textile, auto, metal mining and oil fields.

2. In such a period of upsurge of the elemental labor movement, there is enormous room for Left wing labor elements, which are badly needed for the concrete work of organization. If a cohesive Left wing is built up, and is able to work together in spite of the basic political differences; if such a Left bloc is able to entrench itself into the rising movement, it will not be possible for the Right wing leadership as has been the case before, to kick them out after their organizations are consolidated.

3. If such a policy is not followed, the class-collaborationist elements will consolidate their position and block the road to further development of the progressives, isolating them even more than in the case.

4. The question of relation of forces within the Left wing cannot continue to be posed as it has been in the past. Confronted with the tremendous scope of the tasks to be performed, the necessity of urgent speed in view of the danger of consolidation of the Right wing, and the weak forces of the individual political groupings out of which a Left wing can be built—whether Left Oppositionists, Stalinists, Musketiers, Wobblies or Anarchists, the Left wing elements must form a united cohesive bloc in order to be effective at all. In the course of the struggle itself, the energy, militancy, and correct policies of the individual sections of the Left wing will undergo profound modifications, as will the relation of their forces.

5. The Los Angeles experience has conclusively shown that even a small group of energetic elements, with revolutionary training and basing themselves solidly on a correct policy, can be very effective and gain great influence within a broad mass movement. —M. J. ROSE.