

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

PRICE 5 CENTS

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

VOLUME VI, NO. 31, WHOLE NO. 178

NEW YORK, SATURDAY JUNE 17, 1933

The 'New Deal' in Practice Industrial Recovery Bill Hits at Workers' Standards

The National Industrial Recovery Act has at last become the law of the land. After several weeks of wrangling and, at one time even threatening to completely run wild, Congress has at last been whipped into line, and finally passed the bill in substantially the same manner in which it was originally advanced by the president. The precise manner in which Roosevelt intends to use the powers delegated to him remains yet to be seen, but a brief scanning of the three months of new deal program makes one suspect very much that the national industrial recovery deal will be nothing more than a continuation and an extension to the entire country of the Roosevelt dollar-a-day plan.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was originally conceived of by the president as a means of stemming a rising movement for a series of measures that were being advocated by various labor groups. The first and most potent of the measures which had begun to loom large on the economic horizon was that for a six-hour day five-day week. Unexpectedly passed by the Senate, with support being given the bill by the liberals, the A. F. of L. and the railway unions, it began to appear that the Black Bill might suddenly pass from the realms of bills before Congress, to a measure waiting for the President's signature. There was even talk of incorporating into the bill a national minimum wage law. Of course the amendments advanced by the Communists against a reduction in pay, were not even considered. Despite this however, all the manufacturers associations and local and national chambers of commerce rushed into the fray to defeat the bill. They found a capable ally in Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, running counter even to the proposals of his own Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, requested that the thirty-hour week bill be dropped, and advocated in its stead, the present work.

What the Act Consists of?
The bill as it was finally passed consists of two sections. The first, devoted to the increase of public works, is most probably but another one of the many promises to increase public works that the American people became so familiar with under the Hoover regime. Over three billion dollars are to be expended for public works. What this means one cannot as yet say. Does this huge item include within itself the sums to be expended at Boulder Dam for the next five years? Does it include the four year expenditure contemplated in the Tennessee Valley? Does it include the three year naval building program? And does it include the ordinary yearly public works expenditures? Too often now, we have been treated to grandiose figures by the Hoover regime only to find at the end of the year that the total public works expenditure had been less than the year previously. True, the fact that the exact same thing occurred in the New York State regime of our former governor Franklin D. Roosevelt (promises of public works increases coupled with actual decreases observed at the end of the year) should not prejudice one against the three billion dollar outlay; but if nothing more, we remain at least skeptical of the bill and by far the more important one is the industrial control section. This section has been hailed as a boon not merely to the industrialists but also to labor. This is the bill to increase profits, decrease unemployment, introduce a shorter work week, produce higher wages and put our entire industry on an organized basis. In short, this measure, like Lydia E. Pinkham's pills, is good for whatever ails you be it falling hair, fallen arches, dandruff and falling teeth. What are the actual provisions of this section, and what is its history and the history of those empowered to enforce it? Only in this manner can we obtain an inkling as to what this huge all inclusive measure will actually mean.

The Origin of the Bill
A brief history of the origin of the bill has already been given. It was the administration's way of side-tracking the agitation for the thirty-hour week, for the minimum wage, for no-reduction in pay. As for the man to enforce the provisions of the bill? It is the same Roosevelt who originated the dollar-a-day scheme for the Reforestation Army; it is the same Roosevelt who gave the veterans sugary words and words—a dollar a day; it is the same Roosevelt who forced through a federal wage cut to the lowest brackets; it is the same Roosevelt who has as his intimate counselors and companions the Woodins and Davises of J. P. Morgan fame.

Let us consider the measure itself. It consists of a series of items, all of which have in their opening sentences the word "may." Nothing is stated in a positive manner; all

is left to the discretion of the President. The same Franklin Delano Roosevelt whose three months' record has already branded him as the sugar coated starvation President. The most important items of the bill may be condensed as follows:

- Provisions**
1. Any trade or industrial group may adopt a code of "fair competition," which code the president may approve, reject, modify or change. Where no code is agreed to by industry the President may draw one up for the trade.
 2. After a code is approved it is enforceable by law. The President may institute a licensing system to make the code effective; in that case nobody can engage in that business without a license.
 3. Any action under the bill is exempt from the anti-trust laws.
 4. In the industries affected by the bill, the workers are to have the right to collective bargaining; yellow dog contracts and the closed union shops are both outlawed, and the employers must apply the minimum wages, maximum hours and labor conditions, "approved or prescribed by the president." These standards are to be worked out by collective agreement between labor and employers if possible. But where no agreement is approved by him, the president may prescribe a labor code of his own making.
 5. The duration of the law is one year.

Such are the provisions of the bill. In brief, industry is told to organize under government supervision and warned that, should a

(Continued on Page 4)

C.C.N.Y. Students Expelled for Fight Against War

New York, N. Y.—Twenty City college students were expelled for participating in the anti-war demonstration on May 29. Eleven more were suspended. The charters of the Social Problems Club, the Student Forum, and the evening Session Liberal Club were revoked.

This action followed a special investigation which involved about a hundred students. Of course the school authorities found a technical excuse for the expulsions. According to Dr. Gottschall, acting dean, "the issue is, whether students shall be allowed to interfere with a stated college function, to conduct them in a grossly discourteous manner and to defy with impunity college regulations in regard to the holding of meetings on college property."

The Board of Higher Education, at a special meeting, ratified the action of the faculty. The anti-war demonstration was held outside the Leveisohn Stadium while the annual review of the college ROTC unit was taking place. There were about five hundred students present. When president Robinson appeared escorting a group to the exercises, among whom were, the officer in charge of the event and a woman representative from the D.A.R., the students gathered in front of the entrance to the stadium, began to "boo" and "hiss" the group. The boos and hisses were primarily intended for the officer in uniform. The president, however, got hot under the collar and waved an umbrella; not to cool himself but to

(Continued on Page 4)

Chilean Opposition Organized

Santiago, Chile — Our Chilean comrades, who until their recent national congress of March 19, 1933, bore the name of Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C.I.), have decided to carry forward their revolutionary struggle as the Communist Left Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition. Their Congress has had an enormous influence on the political situation in Chile. Future numbers of the Militant will include important reports from that section of the battlefield. At present we limit ourselves to the following official bulletin taken from the Political Bulletin of the Chilean Section:

Comrades: The 19th of March marks a new period in the revolutionary movement of Chile. This was the day set for the convocation of the 9th National Congress of the Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C.I.). This congress was to meet as a Congress for Communist Unification. The attempt towards unity failed as the result of the refusal of the Laffertist (local Stalinist) bureaucracy to take part in such a meeting. Therefore, the 19th of March marks the initiation of the revolutionary banner of our Party under the efforts of our

The Anti-Fascist Congress to Meet in Paris Soon

The European Anti-Fascist Congress will at last take place on Whitsuntide in Paris. The International Left Opposition has already many weeks ago published its principle declaration for this congress. Since that time the candid warnings in the declaration of the Left Opposition have been confirmed to the highest degree: "It must be said openly: the present congress, especially because it has the composition of an accidental, international meeting, has been called together to create the impression of activity precisely where there is no activity." In the meanwhile all of the busy preparations of the "Organization Bureau for the convocation of the Workers Anti-Fascist Congress" speak in unmistakable tones: the intention is to make this Congress an empty parade. We ask: What political preparations were carried on for this congress? As much as we look there remains only the answer: none! Besides the declaration of the I.L.O. we know of no other political document that has emerged from the work of the Congress. The organ of the Congress, the Anti-Fascist Front contains, besides news from Fascist Germany and reports of elected delegations, nothing but superficial political articles and petty, meaningless remarks of the recruited "free lancers." Nevertheless many numerous and strong delegations from workers' organization will attend. But—what will they tell these delegations, what road will be pointed out to them, what lessons will the Congress draw from the fresh, disastrous events? Not a trace is left of all the preparatory work which will give a clear and concrete answer to present questions. It is just as tragic as it is true: the sponsors and the initiators of this congress, themselves, cannot answer the problems which history has posed before us today.

The congress meets under the sign of the German catastrophe. The policy of the social democracy prepared Hitler's road to power. The policy of the Stalin faction made it possible for the social democracy to lead its ranks to the end on the road of treachery. The German lessons speak in clear tones. Are the guilty ready to admit their errors and to weed them out? No, they are not ready

(Continued on Page 4)

A Bit of Sleight-of-Hand
McFarlane, secretary of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee, who is the leading force in front of the scenes to organize a "new federation" was, incidentally, also compelled "because of lack of finances" to mimeograph only a portion of the policies adopted at the last PTUEC conference. The portions omitted, were the most important points, with which he personally disagreed. (1) That a sufficient basis for the creation of a new federation of labor is lacking at the present time. (2) That at the present time we cannot form a permanent organization due to the limited and sectional representation at the conference. (3) To continue as a committee to keep in touch with sympathetic trade union bodies and be ready to act jointly with them in the preparation of a broader conference on a national scale.

(Continued on Page 4)

Opportunists in Bloc vs. Lefts at 4th. Gillespie Conference

Gillespie, Ill.—The fourth session of the conference of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee held at Gillespie, Ill., on Sunday, June 11, rubber-stamped, by an overwhelming majority, the policies adopted at the previous conference. For the third consecutive time, the "new federationists" were defeated.

The incomplete credentials report listed 158 delegates from 43 organizations. Only 30 unions were represented (partial report); a dozen from the Progressive Miners of America, half a dozen from the Trade Union Unity League, and the balance—small A. F. of L. locals from nearby mining towns. Altogether the representation was as small, if not smaller, than the previous conferences. This weakness was undoubtedly due to the wording of the call which stated that the purpose of the conference was "to further our policy of organizing... into a new labor center," thus implying the conference was held for the purpose of organizing a new federation, and possibly also, in minor degree, due to some of the former represented organizations not receiving copies of the call from the secretary.

McFarlane, secretary of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee, who is the leading force in front of the scenes to organize a "new federation" was, incidentally, also compelled "because of lack of finances" to mimeograph only a portion of the policies adopted at the last PTUEC conference. The portions omitted, were the most important points, with which he personally disagreed. (1) That a sufficient basis for the creation of a new federation of labor is lacking at the present time. (2) That at the present time we cannot form a permanent organization due to the limited and sectional representation at the conference. (3) To continue as a committee to keep in touch with sympathetic trade union bodies and be ready to act jointly with them in the preparation of a broader conference on a national scale.

(Continued on Page 4)

Class War Rages In Mine Area of Illinois

Battling heroically against strike breakers aided by deputy sheriffs, pickets of the Progressive Miners of America gave a splendid account of themselves at the Peerless Mine of the notorious Peabody Coal Co. in Springfield last Wednesday.

The battle started as 2,000 miners-pickets asked the scabs at No. 59 mine not to go to work. Immediately, firing by machine guns and rifles broke out from the mine tipples. Taking advantage of cover the pickets advanced and succeeded in disarming many of the gunmen. Fighting continued in various parts of the city as groups of pickets supported by the heroic Women's Auxiliary fought against efforts to disperse them.

Seven members of the PMA were shot, one seriously but 42 strike-breakers and thugs were sent to the hospital. Tom Urban, Progressive Miner, was shot in the stomach and his life is in danger. Many miners were bruised and cut in the fight. The National Guard was rushed from Taylorville and played its usual role. One member of the Women's Auxiliary, insulted by the Guardsmen, knocked out two of them. Picketing will be continued shortly.

Militant mass picketing prevented the attempt to open up a Peabody mine in Saline County, Ill., with scab labor. As 200 rats with Lewis "union" cards, escorted by armed guards and deputy sheriffs tried to enter Saline County they were met by thousands of pickets. During the night the pickets had been stationed at strategic points along the approach to the mine in first, second and third lines of defense with strong reserves stationed near the mine. The New York Times reports the sheriffs as stating that he had never seen so many armed miners and under the circumstances he thought it wise to advise the scabs to retire.

The miners of both Saline and Williamson counties have splendid traditions of mass struggle. The thoughts of the fate of the scabs at the strip mine in Herrin some years ago lent wings to the Lewis-Company scabs as they fled back to their paymasters.

The left wing of the miners are giving the lead in mass picketing and in the fight to spread the struggle into other fields by cooperation with other Left wing forces.

Trotsky Proposes U.S.- Soviet Trade Accord As London Meet Lags

Interview Stresses Inevitable Failure of World Economic Conference and Calls for A Realistic Plan of Business Collaboration Between the Two Countries

The New York World Telegram reports an exclusive interview with comrade Trotsky on the subject of the World Economic Conference.

The short statement of our comrade outlines a plan for the establishment of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States based on the relations of the world economic and political situation. Its revolutionary, working class content sharply, distinguished the position of the Left Opposition from the opportunist position of the Stalinist regime as given by Litvinoff at London:

"The Soviet delegate declared the attitude of the capitalistic world toward a state of one hundred and seventy million inhabitants which had adopted the Soviet system and was attempting to bring about Socialism was a contributing factor to the political uncertainty in the world. He urged recognition of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems—capitalism and Socialism." (New York Times, June 15, 1933.)

We give below the reply of comrade Trotsky to the questions asked him as quoted by the World Telegram:

Nazi - Austrian Tension Brings Sharp Clashes

The tension between Nazi Germany and the Bonapartist Dollfus regime in Austria has again caused sharp outbreaks, due to high-pressure Nazi propaganda, involving a bombing terror in the country on the Danube. The Hitler plans to force, if not the long yearned "Anschluss," then at least a friendly Nazi coalition government at Vienna, have brought the relations between the two countries at the breaking point.

Dollfus and his supporters, especially the "Heimwehr" which tends toward a Hapsburg restoration, have the backing of Italy, France and all the powers that do not care to see the Hitler state strengthened. The fight between the Heimwehr Fascists and the Hitler Fascists in Austria proper is therefore part of a larger scheme of imperialist struggle and that is why it assumes the long and drawn out character that it does.

The Austrian authorities reacted to the increased Nazi agitation and terror by the expulsion from their territory of the Reichstag Deputy Hubicht, who had been smuggled into the country as director of the Hitler campaign under the guise of press attache to the Reich legation. The Hitler government retaliated by the expulsion of the Austrian press attache, who is said to have been closely in touch with the High Councils of the Centre Party in Germany proper.

If we take into consideration the attacks of the Fascists on the Cath-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE SENATE INQUIRY EXPOSED

The Banking Investigation Itself is the Biggest Scandal

The greatest scandal exposed by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee investigation has been the investigation itself. Here is a governmental body equipped with unlimited authority and adequate resources, supposed to be investigating the conduct of the banking business in the United States. This investigation takes place in the fourth year of the greatest crisis in the history of world capitalism.

If there were a spark of sincerity in the demagogic pretensions of the "new deal," the obvious elementary task of the committee would be to investigate the manner in which the private control of banking results in the private control by banking of the capitalist industry, how this control is used to concentrate the ownership and control of capital in fewer and fewer hands, and how this concentrated control for private profit has led not only to crisis in general but to the devastating enormity of this

particular crisis. Instead of this, the committee proposes to see if it can find anything abnormal or irregular in the banking system, deliberately closing its eyes to what is normal and regular in capitalism, which is exactly the only thing that is important. It is like a policeman catching a murderer in the act of stabbing his victim, and "investigating" the knife to see if it is free of germs.

The consequences of the investigation are automatic—either nothing abnormal will be reported, everything being in good legal order according to the highest-priced legal advice; or some little violations even of the capitalists' own law will be triumphantly exhibited, to which the bankers will reply serenely, "What do these little spots matter in comparison with the enormous volume of transactions in which we have acted as bankers should act?"

(Continued on Page 4)

a surgical operation.

What Can the Senate Comm. Do?

The greatest possible measure of audacity on the part of the Senate committee might conceivably be a recommendation that private banks be prohibited from accepting deposits; that would mean that a bank, in order to function, would have to assume the form of a corporation. This "revolutionary" act would mean that J. P. Morgan & Co. would have to change their firm name to J. P. Morgan & Co., Inc., or possibly even to J. P. Morgan Corporation. "Reforms" in the income tax law, in the corporation laws, in the banking laws, might result in a little more work for Morgan's lawyers and accountants in figuring out ways of getting around the new laws. The whole would be presented with a great flood of propaganda to the masses as an evidence of the government's

(Continued on Page 4)

What Did Morgan Reveal?

What has been brought out in the Morgan testimony? That the gentlemen did favors to their friends, which any business man has a right to do; that they did not pay taxes when they did not have to; that they conducted several different operations out of which they made a profit. What conclusions can the Senators draw from these facts, or what action can they take?

It is true that the liberal press took the opportunity to publish charts showing the Morgan control over great sections of industry, railroads and public utilities, and drew their liberal conclusions from them. The Daily Worker for that matter also published a chart, and pointed out editorially how rotten bankers are.

The real point, however, is that the Senate investigation is being conducted with no other aim or possible outcome than to "expose" for the sake of whitewashing, to continue the delusion that the government apparatus is really interested in defending the interests of the masses against the bankers, and thus to suppress the capitalist system by promoting great activity in removing "bad banking" is a means of reinforcing the reactionary idea that banking would be all right if its bankers were removed, like freckles, when what is needed is

Leon Goodman Arrested in Phila.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Comrade Leon Goodman, member of the Philadelphia branch of the Left Opposition, was arrested on Tuesday, June 13, at 9 p. m., at Hope and Jefferson Streets, Philadelphia.

While comrade Roberts was speaking about Roosevelt's "raw deal," cop Gallagher tried to smash the speakers' stand. When comrade Goodman told the cop that he had a permit and protested against this interference the blue coated thug immediately arrested our comrade. The cop did not appear at the hearing.

To magistrate Zweig all Communists are criminals. When the magistrate asked whether comrade Goodman was a Communist he replied that he was a member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). This was enough evidence against Goodman, without permitting him to say anything in his defense and the judge immediately railroaded him for ten days. We continued the meeting, the attendance of which kept increasing, despite the arrest. The meeting lasted until 10:30 p. m., with comrades Cary Morgenstern and Roberts as the speakers. We called upon the workers to be

present at the hearing. A group of about 10 besides members of the branch were present.

We have drawn up petitions against comrade Goodman's arrest. We have also issued leaflets.

We will hold a mass protest open air meeting at the same corner June 15 at 8:30 p. m. We have invited the I.L.D. to send a speaker. — ROBERTS

SUBS!

Since the close of the sub drive on June 1st which comrade Caplan of Kansas City won hands down subs have been roll in. The following list gives a partial picture of the good work that is being done by our comrades and friends. Altogether 43 more subs have come in.

H. Oehler, Illinois Coal Fields 13
A. Caplan, Kansas City 6
L. Goodman, Philadelphia ... 5
All the others, one apiece.
Now this is what we call something. But there is no satisfying us. Like Oliver Twist we want more. And it can be done. The above record and the record of the sub drive proves that conclusively. Every sub puts the Militant up a notch. Every sub puts a firmer base under the Militant.

FROM THE MILITANTS

On The Workers Front

AMONG THE YOUTH

I. L. D. Expells Left Oppositionist

New Haven, Conn.—Again New Haven is on the map for expulsions by Stalinists of members of the Left Opposition from revolutionary organizations supposed to be free from all partisanship and based upon broad class issues. These are comrades M. Gandelman and A. ...

At the time of joining the I.L.D., Comrade Duell was known as an Oppositionist expelled from the official party and removed from her posts as secretary of the Workers International Relief and the International Working Women's Council. ...

How Trouble Started The trouble started when Comrade Duell asked a few pertinent questions at a discussion period of an educational program held on March 2 last, by our I.L.D. Branch. ...

In the question period Comrade Duell raised the problem of the united front and the catastrophic results consequent on the criminal policy of the Stalinists. She also brought up the matter of the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. ...

On May 14, a district Conference of Functionaries of the I.L.D. was held in New Haven. After a long report from the District Organizer of the I.L.D. and an address by the organizer of the C.P., the meeting was thrown open for discussion. ...

The following Saturday he gave his lecture, "America's Road to Revolution" before 175 workers, in the Mayor's Reception Hall at the City Hall. The meeting was well sprinkled with party members and sympathizers, and socialist workers. ...

On May 25 at a meeting of the E.C. of the branch a letter was read from J. Milton of the Workers School of New Haven by the chairman in which charges were presented against Comrade Duell for so-called counter-revolutionary activities. ...

The committee, now enlarged to nine by the addition of three witnesses who had attended the Schachtman meeting and two party members met with Comrade Duell before the I.L.D. membership meeting on June 1st. The charges were again read and she was given the opportunity to defend herself. ...

The committee then retired to consult and bring in their recommendations to the members of the branch which held its meeting on the same night. There were sixteen comrades at the meeting, ten of whom were new members—some of merely a few weeks' standing. ...

Comrade Duell stated before the members that if such a status meant the repudiation of her views on the principles of the I.L.D. she could not consider it. At this she was expelled. — G. DUELL

Cannon Meetings in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn.—The situation in the Communist and labor movement is such today in Minneapolis that Comrade Cannon, the National Secretary of the Left Opposition, can speak to "everybody." His last meetings here four years ago were marked by a violent physical attack by the Stalinists, a free speech meeting, and the arming of our members, etc. ...

The first meeting where Cannon spoke was the rally arranged at Labor Headquarters by the Minneapolis Free Tom Mooney Conference. A united front meeting, each organization in the Conference, together with the A. F. of L., socialist party, and the Farmer-Labor Party had a speaker on the program. ...

The following Saturday he gave his lecture, "America's Road to Revolution" before 175 workers, in the Mayor's Reception Hall at the City Hall. The meeting was well sprinkled with party members and sympathizers, and socialist workers. ...

Comrade Cannon also spoke before the Student Forum on the Campuses of the Minnesota University on the Mooney Case and the movement for his freedom. He correctly tied this case with the general struggle for workers' rights. ...

Sandwiched between these public meetings, Cannon met with the League branch where the Miners' campaign and Militant drive was discussed at length, together with local activity. The last of these meetings was an open meeting of the Branch where three workers joined the League, and we summed up the results of the first week of our financial drive for two hundred dollars. ...

Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to Unser Wort, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague. ...

Comrades who subscribe must take into account the time element involved. They must allow time for their subscriptions to reach here, and ten days for the subscription to reach Prague and on top of that ten days to two weeks additional for the paper to reach them. ...

Burning Problems Facing the New York Dressmakers

Throughout the entire dress trade in New York and out of town, the workers are talking strike. The question of the strike has become the central question for the dressmakers. Several years of abject misery, involving retreat from half-way colorable conditions gained by years of struggle, have brought this question to the front with piercing sharpness. ...

For the past 2 or 3 years, dressmakers in N. Y. have been working for as little as \$2 a day and with a top wage of no more than \$18 a week for the great bulk of the industry. Union hours are a thing of the distant past too. There are no union hours. The boss dictates and the workers have to acquiesce. ...

The Division in the Ranks For nearly five years, two unions have been fighting each other fiercely, making the united action of the dressmakers in their own behalf an utter impossibility. Every serious and class conscious worker knows, to be sure, that it is the expulsion policy carried out so ruthlessly against the militant Left wing in the once united International Ladies Garment Workers Union by the reactionary, class collaborationist Sigman-Hochman-Dubinsky clique which started the split among the dressmakers and which forced the Left wing to organize itself on the outside in the Industrial Union. ...

Disunity Plays into the Hand of the Bosses This division in the camp of the dressworkers, initiated by the reformist clique and objectively abetted by the Stalinists, is what is responsible for the prostrate condition in the whole trade. The bulk of workers, grown apathetic because of the disunity, remains unorganized. ...

Another insufferable effect of the split is the division it has brought among the various sections of the trade. A section like the pressers, due to the chaotic conditions caused by the split, has become open prey for outright racketeers. ...

Problems That Need a Solution It is all these obstacles that have to be overcome, if the dressmakers and the other needle workers are to help themselves out of the rut. They cannot carry an such an action successfully against the boss unless there is a single, united struggle, unless the Left wing becomes the leaven of militancy in such a united struggle. ...

A strike in the dress trade can be effective only if it comes at the height of the spring season which is the busy season in the trade. To consider the possibility of a strike before next February is out of the question, if the strike is meant seriously. ...

Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to Unser Wort, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague. ...

Comrades who subscribe must take into account the time element involved. They must allow time for their subscriptions to reach here, and ten days for the subscription to reach Prague and on top of that ten days to two weeks additional for the paper to reach them. ...

Comrades who subscribe must take into account the time element involved. They must allow time for their subscriptions to reach here, and ten days for the subscription to reach Prague and on top of that ten days to two weeks additional for the paper to reach them. ...

A Single Strike Without a Single Organization?

To talk of a single, united strike without a single, united organization drive is ridiculous. The unorganized are too apathetic to be recruited into two unions at the same time. The two organization drives will end only in confusion and wreck the preparations. ...

The task of cementing the dressmakers' unity is a hard task and requires grit and endurance. Only the Left wing, armed with a correct policy, is capable of making this necessary an actual reality. It can do this only by patient and persistent efforts to force the Right wing saboteurs to show their cards, and by gaining the confidence of the great majority of the workers in the I.L.G.W.U. in the course of these efforts. ...

What Policies are Required to Fight the Bosses? By what policies can this be accomplished? That is the burning question for the Left wing workers. The Stalinists in the leadership of the Industrial Union, do, to be sure, speak of one strike. How do they propose to accomplish one strike? ...

It must be said outright: with such a policy, with the repetition of the stupid "Third Period" tactic of "Independent Strike Committees" and "Rank and File Leadership," no headway will be made. Whatever the motivation—let us say, the hope of the Left wing that in the course of the strike, the majority of the workers will endorse the militant policies and rally to the banner of the Industrial Union—such a policy defeats its own purpose. ...

A Policy to Fill the Need of the Moment The Communist Left Opposition (Trotskyites) long ago proposed to the Left wing Industrial Union "to make an open proposal to the I.L.G.W.U. for the readmission of its membership in a body in the field of its jurisdiction. This proposal must demand the unity of the two organizations on the basis of no discrimination, no special conditions or restrictions imposed on the members of the Industrial Union, full rights for every member, union democracy and the rights of minority political expression." ...

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

Left Wing Fights For the Teachers Expelled by B. of E.

The following analysis of the situation in the Teachers Union, of New York City, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers in the A. F. of L., embodies the ideas of a number of Progressive Group and Rank and File teachers, the two Left wing groups in the union. ...

The Ryan-O'Shea regime of the New York City Board of Education has initiated a campaign of expulsions from the school system of the outstanding militants in the teachers' fight against salary reductions and the worsening of their teaching and living conditions. ...

The charges, of course, are technical and pertain to administrative matters. But they are only a convenient pretext. The B. of E. objective is revealed by its undercover campaign against all protest which it brands "red," "Communist," "radicalism," the familiar reactionary incitement of prejudice against progressive opponents. ...

The Ryan-O'Shea regime very shrewdly timed its expulsion campaign to begin shortly before the close of the school term, calculating that the summer vacation would nip in the bud whatever protest movement the teachers would build. At the present writing the defense movement has reached considerable proportions and is still growing. ...

The Union and Expulsions Blumberg was not a member of the union. But Begun and Burroughs and the others slated for expulsion are members of the union and of its Left wing. It is to the credit of the Left wing that it was quick to react to these expulsions. ...

The position taken by the union constitutes a defeat for the Left wing which correctly stands for the unqualified support of all the victims of the B. of E. reign of terrorism. The importance of this issue should be made clear by the Left wing to the entire union membership and the teachers in the system. ...

Such a policy says to the B. of E. that it can count in advance upon the "neutrality" of the union while it "punishes" all protest against its faithful service in behalf of Wall Street-Albany economy and retrenchment schemes. Such a policy places the union on the wrong side of the fence. ...

Such a policy will succeed only in discrediting the union in the eyes of the thinking teachers and of the labor movement generally. On the other hand, the policy of the Left Wing is a progressive one in the interests of the union and the teachers. ...

This difference between the union administration and the Left wing is not the only one. The others also involve the fundamental questions of union policy. To understand the workers' old struggle between the administration and the Left wing it is necessary, first, to understand what sections of the teachers support them. ...

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

First Hand Account of Young Nutpickers in Reforestation Swindle

Before coming to Camp Dix, I entertained no illusions about conditions here. Like so many other fellows, I "freely" chose this manner of life—the three meals and one dollar a day being the center of attraction—in preference to a more or less uncertain city life. My apprehension was amply justified. ...

I reported to the Army Building from which all fellows were sent to the camps. After a hasty examination, the batch of which I was a member, received a pep talk from the officer in charge. He drew a parasitical version of camp life, describing it as a model place for moral and physical discipline. ...

This speech ended, we marched to the terry building to eat before leaving for camp. Filthy mess kits were handed to us as we passed by the big garbage cans that contained the food. Hot beans, cold canned tomatoes and raw onion were our bill of fare. ...

Upon arriving at camp we were assigned to companies. The fellows I spoke to were pretty well disgusted. They probably expressed the mood of most of the camp—there are about fourteen thousand men here. It seems that inferior food, no female comradeship and low wages make for the main source of discontent. ...

Of course newspapers that play up the wonders of the Civilian Conservation Corps, religiously suppress news of any revolt or race riots. Some weeks back, the capitalist press reported that forty-five so-called agitators were expelled for revolting against the food. ...

They—non-communists—vehemently denied that any of the expelled (with the palest vermillion. After working all day in rainy fields, digging trenches and pitching tents, they were fed moldy beans and half cooked potatoes. ...

Many fellows express their discontent by deserting. Others knowing what they are in for, penitence in the city, prefer to remain. True, the government does not force them to stay, but starvation does. They console themselves by reflecting that six months of forest work will develop their physiques. ...

Such a proposal is more timely now than ever. In fact it is indispensable for the preparation of a successful strike and for a genuine preparation of it—a united, single

Militant St. Louis Strikers

St. Louis, Mo.—"Another week another dollar, a million weeks a million dollars," was the rather gloomy prospect for the St. Louis nut pickers under Capitalism and wage slavery. None of them had ever read the new book at the public library, "How to Live on Nothing a Year," and Roosevelt's inflation program had swept over them like a hailstorm over a fourth of July balloon parade, leaving them flat. ...

But enough is plenty and too much is hog's bait. It was either work or starve or no work and starve. They resorted to the only other alternative. They struck. Out into the streets they came, young and old, male and female, Negro and white. ...

Continuously the boss felt them out by offering them an increase which amounted to about 50 percent. They spurned it. And no wonder! The average weekly wage for the Negro girls was about \$1.80, while the white girls (due to greater skill) it was \$2.55. The boss was willing to use scabs but none applied in spite of the fact that the capitalist press maintained a cowardly silence about the true conditions as long as it could. ...

During the strike, several girl strikers were arrested, the excuse being given by the police that they were too young for the picket line. Not too young to be brutally exploited, but too young to defend their rights against the capitalist baby starvers. ...

Equal to the occasion, with their usual stupidity, the Stalinists of the F.W.U. immediately proposed a committee to put the case before Mayor Dickmann, hoping, doubtless, to "expose" him as the agent of the bosses. But the prophet of the New Deal was not found napping. Here was the chance of a lifetime brought on a silver platter by none other than the Communists, the very ones he was racking his brain for a plan to discredit. ...

Fortunately, the wage gains were enough to give the workers courage in their mass power. The former price of 30 cents a box was increased to 90 cents, an increase of 200 percent. — G. ROBERTS

ERRATUM

A very bad printer's error crept into the article "A Postscript on Anter" in the last issue of the Militant. A whole section following the beginning of the paragraph which reads: "But a word on the action of the Left Opposition caucus . . ." was deleted, and others bungled on the linotype. This section should read as follows: "But a word on the action of the Left Opposition caucus at the conference. We objected to the amendment not so much because the wording ran counter to our principles. If the worthy gentleman from the Stalinist camp would take the trouble to refresh his memory, he would know that from the first—in articles, resolutions, speeches over a period of more than three years—we have linked up the question of long term credits to the Soviet Union with the agitation and propaganda of the superiority of planned, socialist construction in the U.S.S.R."

"What was objected to is the fact, that instead of coming out with the complete truth; instead of telling the American workers outright that the Soviet Union is today gripped by a terrific economic crisis—which is by the way due to the adventurist bungling of bureaucratic centralism in Russia itself; instead of telling the American workers, that because of this and because of the rise of Fascism in Germany—for which Stalinism likewise bears its share of responsibility—the world imperialists, Wall Street in the lead, are more ready for bloody, open intervention against the workers' fatherland than for the extension of credits to it; instead of telling the American workers that, due to these dangers, the land of the Soviets is more in need of their active help than ever, in their every day struggles, in the struggle against unemployment—that instead of all this; the epigones of Stalinism in America merely cover up the dangers and resort to a meaningless phrase—"where they are building socialism and have already abolished unemployment"—which only serves to cover up their own 'infallibility,' or rather, their own bankruptcy."

The words which were deleted are given in blackface type above. — R. JUST RECEIVED! THE BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION Articles by LEON TROTSKY Letters from the SOVIET UNION 36 pages 25c. copy — Limited number — Get your copy now!

Workers' Pocket Series By Leon Trotsky In Defense of the Russian Revolution 48 pages 5c Soviet Economy in Danger 72 pages 10c by Arne Swaback Unemployment and the American Working Class 24 pages 5c Postage: 1c extra per copy Pioneer Publishers 84 East 10th St. New York

The Platform of the Brandler Group

Number 5 of "Gegen den Strom," the organ of the Brandler-Thaiheimer group, now appearing in Strassburg, contains theses on the struggle against Fascism and other programmatic declarations. This number is very important in the determination of the physiognomy of the group. What have the Brandlerites learned from the catastrophe? Have they moved forward? Let it be said right at the outset: the theses contain a number of quite indubitable fundamentals, principally in the domain of criticism of the party regime, of the policy of the "united front only from below," and the theory of social Fascism. But apart from these critical ideas (which, despite their elementary character, must be insistently repeated), "Gegen den Strom" remains a document of opportunism, as much by what this publication says, as by what it fails to say.

1. The theses justly accuse the Stalinist bureaucracy of deliberately minimizing the importance of the defeat. But from their own evaluation of the catastrophe, the Brandlerites do not draw the necessary conclusions with regard to the party. As in the past, they express the desire to return to the party, that is, they act as if no catastrophe had taken place. In this manner, the Brandlerites help the Stalinists politically to cover up the significance and the dimensions of the defeat.

2. "It is not Communism that has been beaten," they write, "it is the ultra-Leftist tactic that has been beaten, the bureaucratic regime that has been beaten, the method of leadership pursued up to now that has been beaten." The question is not put politically, but in doctrinaire fashion, as if the struggle was not between living political forces. Communism as a doctrine has, of course, not been beaten; what has however been beaten is that party in Germany which had a false tactic, a bureaucratic regime and which pushed the proletariat to the catastrophe.

3. The "ultra-Leftist course" has been shipwrecked. "Whence does it come? What is its social content? Who is its bearer? On this score, just as in the past, we do not hear a single word. Yet the Brandlerites acknowledge that the false policy of the Communist International, which led to its ruin, has lasted for ten years. Whence comes this unprecedented perseverance in a discredited "ultra-Leftist course?"

4. Is it true, however, that the course of the epigone Comintern has always been "ultra-Leftist"? Was the five-year long subjection of the Chinese Communist Party to the Kuo Min Tang ultra-Leftist? How shall we characterize the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which ruined the very promising Minority Movement in the British Trade unions? Was the policy of the Comintern ultra-Leftist in India? In Japan? ("Workers and Peasants' Parties"). Isn't it obvious that the program of "national emancipation" was and remains a gross opportunistic adaptation to the chauvinist psychology of the German petty bourgeoisie? Can one regard as ultra-Leftist the present-day policy of blocs with bourgeois pacifists, with individual democrats, etc.: the Anti-War Congress, the Anti-Fascist Congress, the Anti-Imperialist League, and in general all the work directed by Muenzenberg's department for masquerades and charlatanism? Can one tax with "ultra-Leftism" the declaration of the Comintern on March 5th, which proclaims its readiness to refrain from criticism of the social democracy all during the period of the united front?

5. The theses declare that the ultra-Leftist policy of all the foreign sections is executed at the command of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Union. And what about the policy in the USSR itself? Doesn't the ultra-Leftist course have its orgies there as well? Are not the one hundred percent collectivization and the exaggerated industrialization expressions of an ultra-Leftist course? And on the other hand: Can it be denied that the period of economic adventurism in the USSR was preceded by years of economic opportunism?

6. The Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U., according to the theses, is not in a position to give direct leadership to the policy of several dozen countries. In and by itself, this is incontestable, but it does not explain at all the character of the disease which is ravaging the Comintern. Were it simply a question of the remoteness of the Political Bureau, of the lack of time, of the lack of information, of the lack of knowledge of the situation in the various countries, then the mistakes would be of the most diversified character. But it is not a question of isolated empirical mistakes, but a radically false tendency. What is the essence of it? What determines its persistency and its comparative constancy?

7. What is the meaning of the system itself of commanding several dozen parties by the secretariat of the Political Bureau? Is this accidental, or an aberration of the mind? The Brandlerites talk a great deal about bureaucratism; but they do not clearly understand the meaning of the term. Bureaucratism, to the extent that it is a question not of isolated accidental aberrations but of a mighty system, is the manner of thinking and of acting of a bureaucracy, that is, of a special social stratum which may and does come into conflict with the proletarian vanguard. Who is the principal bearer of bureaucratism in the Comintern if not the Soviet bureaucracy?

A Few Steps Forward - But No Conclusions

8. The Brandlerites are compelled to evade this central question because, by their whole character and spirit, they are only a proscribed, insulted little detachment of this same bureaucracy. They fight against "ultra-Leftism," but they say nothing about the opportunism of the bureaucracy, for they themselves shared, and still share, in all its Rightist mistakes.

9. The theses declare that the beginning of the false policy of the Comintern coincides roughly with the withdrawal of Lenin from work. But don't the Brandlerites know that the shifting of the general line - to the Right and to the Left of Marxism - was accomplished with the aid of one single ideological lever: the struggle against "Trotskyism"? If one pushes aside the personal details, the falsifications, the baiting campaign, etc., and grasps the essence of the matter, the revision of the methodology of Marx and Lenin took place under the aegis of the struggle against Trotskyism. The Brandlerites have not understood this to the present day. They think that the struggle against Trotskyism was "in and by itself" correct, but that under cover of this struggle which constituted the principal content of the party's ideology for many years past, some miracle or other caused a bucksliding from the line of Leninism to the line of the "ultra-Leftist" course (in actuality, to the line of bureaucratic Centrism).

10. Were the Brandlerites Marxists, internationalists, they would be unable to declare the policy of the Comintern bureaucracy in the USSR inviolable and demand the same inviolability for themselves in Germany. It is not at all a question here of the autonomy of the national sections (we fully acknowledge the necessity of such an au-

tonomy), but of a false evaluation of the international groupings within the ranks of Communism.

11. The theses declare that outside of the Brandler organization, no forces exist that are able to reconstruct the German party and the Comintern. Even if one were to recognize this inordinate claim with regard to Germany (we are, as everything we have said shows, far from such a recognition), then what about the Communist International? The Brandlerites are right in saying that for the last ten years the Comintern has been systematically decomposing. But why has the International of the Brandlerites themselves decomposed in the last two or three years? In 1929 they represented an appreciable force, but today all that is left of them is fragments. The reason for it is that in the epoch of imperialism, an opportunistic current is not capable of creating any sort of virile international organization and consequently is equally incapable of regenerating the Communist International.

The theses contain a number of erroneous or ambiguous tactical considerations to which we may still have the occasion to refer. For the moment, we wished only to demonstrate that the German catastrophe has unfortunately taught the Brandlerites nothing. In the domain of tactical questions they are right insofar as it is a question of the fight against ultra-Leftist zigzags; but they share all or almost all the mistakes of the right wing zigzags of Stalinism and, what is much worse, they are incapable of raising themselves from the questions of tactics to the questions of strategy. The policy of the International is to them a series of national policies. Even now they are incapable of understanding the fundamental currents in the world labor movement and to take their place among them. That's why the current of the Brandlerites has no future. — L. TROTSKY

News From German C. P.

Reject E.C.C.I. Resolution

Six Berlin districts of the C.P.G. have rejected the E.C.C.I. resolution on the German question as politically false. One district demanded the return of Heinz Neumann (probably from the Soviet Union). The E.C.C.I., however, denied this request. These are working districts. The rest have no connections.

Expulsion at the Top

The majority of the members of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. in Moscow. Their reports are of the same character as the Heckert speech. The "Leitmotif": There has been no defeat in Germany. The E.C.C.I., together with the Germans, has decided to expel everybody from the party; who speak of a defeat and express critical sentiments generally. Thus, for instance, comrades Wollenberg and Felix Wolf have already been expelled because of criticism against the German policy. The expulsions at the top, where only few uncorrupted comrades still attempt to draw the lessons of the catastrophe, speak mountains for possible mass expulsions in the lower ranks.

Remmele Disagrees with Heckert

In a letter to Moscow, Hermann

Remmele expressed a critical opinion on the theses of Heckert. Thereupon he got a rebuff from the E.C.C.I. and is at present completely isolated. He has not even any connections with the Central Committee any more.

The work of the party in the Reich is very bad. Only in the Ruhr region heroic sacrifices are still being made in the carrying on of work.

Stalinists Furnish False Information

The information in the Stalinist press regarding the circulation and regularity of appearance of the *Rote Fahne* is simply fabricated. It appears irregularly and rarely. "Unser Wort" strikes fear into Bureaucratic Hearts.

The E.C.C.I. has criticized the representation of the C.P.G. abroad as well as Muenzenberg's organization for lagging behind *Unser Wort*, which was the first Communist organ published abroad. The E.C.C.I. warns against the great "danger" of Trotskyism. The representatives of the official apparatus abroad, above all in Czechoslovakia, have reported to Moscow that *Unser Wort* makes a big impression everywhere and leads to "demoralization" in the party.

Teachers Fight Expulsions by BofE

(Continued from Page 2)

ward to their pensions and retirement. They prefer a salary cut, or some "small sacrifice" which they can afford to a struggle to maintain salary schedules and teaching conditions which may involve retaliation by the Board of Education thru the loss of position in the school, petty persecution or even outright victimization with the consequent loss of their pensions.

To be sure they fail to understand entirely that their failure to resist the present attacks will encourage the bankers and politicians to make still further and more drastic attacks with the possible result, that, in the end, as in Chicago, they will get no salary at all and will lose their pensions as well. Apparently they have learned nothing from the experience and struggle of the Chicago teachers.

That is why the union administration policies are confined to lobbying in Albany, paper resolutions and the usual hollow squawks of outraged but impotent dignity.

But the great majority of the 45,000 teachers in the system do not fall into the stratum from which the union administration draws its support. These teachers are younger and receive lower salaries. They can less easily afford to make "sacrifices." They have less to lose in a struggle in defense of their interests.

The 15,000 unemployed and substitute teachers are in an even worse state. Under the "economy" lash of the bankers and politicians the Ryans, the O'Briens and the Lehmanns have demonstrated the high esteem which state and municipal bureaucracies place on the educational system. School construction has been stopped. This puts an immediate quietus on the hopes of the unemployed, substitute teachers and the hundreds more the training schools and colleges are turning out. These teachers, must look to an expanding educational system for an opportunity to make a living and to become so-

cially useful men and women. Last December the teachers won a fight to force the B. of E. to retain on the list from which appointments are made the teachers who had qualified for jobs in 1928 and were still unappointed to regular teaching positions.

But the system is not only not expanding, it is contracting. The B. of E. has set about "economy" in earnest. There is a growing tendency to avoid the employment of additional teachers by increasing the size of classes, forcing the teachers to put in extra time in summer schools, "voluntarily," etc. Worst of all is the employment of substitutes at a fraction of the regular salary schedule to avoid making regular appointments at a higher scale. 20 percent of the high school teachers are substitutes employed on this basis.

The Left wing, of course, must stand for the interests of the teachers as a whole. But it must lay special emphasis on the cause of the "lowest" stratum. Its appeal must be made, not to the "aristocracy" of the teachers which has special interests in contradiction of the teachers as a whole. Its appeal must be made to the interests of the working class, to the large mass of the lower-salaried, unemployed and substitute teachers.

It must make this appeal through the union by pursuing a course in the union which aims to make the union the defender of the interests of all the teachers and particularly of the worst off. On this basis it must conduct its struggle against the union administration.

The defense of the interests of the mass of the teachers cannot be successful on the basis of the methods and tactics of the conservative union administration. These have demonstratively failed. Something more is required.

Against the philosophy which motivates the policies of the union administration the Left wing has raised the principle of the mass activity of the teachers in defense of their interests. The Left wing correctly claims that the lobbying delegations in Albany can have effect only if they are supported by the mass pressure of the teachers in mass meetings, demonstrations,

China Receives New U. S. Loan

The new deal government at Washington, so solicitous for the welfare of the poor speculators on the Chicago wheat market and the New Orleans cotton exchange, is about to come to their aid again. The present step, like most of the new deal kind, is completely surrounded with the usual trappings of "aid to the impoverished farmers." But like most of the farm aid bills, seventy-five percent of the benefit will go to the financiers whose nearest approach to a farm is the wheat room of the Chicago Board of Trade.

This week's newspapers carried the headline announcements of a fifty million dollar sale of wheat and cotton to the Chinese National government. The money, to pay for the purchases by the Chinese government of the wheat in this country, is to be advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as a loan payable after several years. Although no mention of the subject appears in the dispatches relating to the subject, the cotton will most probably be used in the contemplated Nanking campaign against the peasant armies. The Chiang Kai-Shek government which has been spending millions in his unsuccessful campaign against the peasant armies of inner China, has now succeeded in securing the advance of this fifty million dollars from the American government.

For the American unemployed, however, the Roosevelt administration, like that of Hoover, is providing merely fine phrases. In the same day there appeared the announcement that despite the grain crop failures in many parts of the country, and despite the campaign of the government to cut down the wheat acreage, the total amount of wheat being stored in the granaries of this country at the present totals almost four hundred million bushels. This huge supply of wheat is being let to spoil in the huge warehouses of the country, and attempts made to secure any of it for the unemployed have been frustrated (with the exception of a few million bushels of Farm Board wheat turned over to the Red Cross last year.) A conservative estimate would show that if the four hundred million bushels stored in the country today were advanced to the unemployed, it would last for almost five years.

Instead of taking any measures to relieve the suffering, exactly contrary steps are being taken by the government and the various relief agencies. The New York City Home Relief Bureau has cut off all payments of rent. In addition, the Gibson Committee which through the Red Cross has been distributing food have announced their intentions of discontinuing this work after the summer.

This is the indictment of the present system; amidst plenty, there are many starving. Only a powerful working class movement will force from the capitalists a portion of the huge supplies of all types of food and clothing stored throughout the country.

— H. S.

New Falsifications of the Stalinists

In the past year a new bit of gossip emanating from Moscow was put into circulation: Lenin declared Trotsky to be a "Judas." When? Where? Why? At first, the European Stalinists were a little disturbed about telling this filthy rot to the face of the advanced workers. But when the defeat of the German proletariat entered another crime, the most terrible of all, into the inventory of the exploits of the Stalinist bureaucracy, they had to take recourse in very stiff measures. They now began to circulate the gossip about a "Judas" with increasing frequency.

What is it based upon? Two years before the war, in one of the moments of the accentuation of the emigrant struggle, Lenin angrily called Trotsky a "Yudushka" in a note which he wrote. Whoever is even slightly acquainted with Russian literature knows that "Yudushka" (Golovlev) is a literary type, the hero of the Russian satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin. In the emigrant struggle of those days one could find in almost every polemical article "digs" borrowed from Saltykov. In the case before us, it was not even an article, but a note written in a moment of anger. At all events, Yudushka Golovlev has no relation at all to the Judas of the Evangelists.

In connection with the unavoidable exaggerations in the polemical letters of Lenin, Stalin taking up the defense of the attitudes of Zinoviev-Kamenev in October 1917, wrote in 1924: "Lenin sometimes deliberately runs ahead in his letters, pushes into the foreground such possible mistakes as may be made, and criticizes them in advance with the aim of warning the party and insuring it against mistakes, or else he sometimes mixes up trifles and makes 'an elephant out of a gnat' towards the same pedagogical aim. . . . To draw from such letters of Lenin (and there are not a few of such letters by him) a conclusion about 'tragic' differences of opinion, and to make a big to-do about it, means not to understand Lenin's letters, not to know Lenin." ("Trotskyism or Leninism?"—1924.) These deductions of Stalin, which stand up very badly as a justification for the conduct of Zinoviev-Kamenev in October 1917—it was not a question of a "trifle" at that time, nor a "gnat"—can nevertheless be completely applied to that third-rate episode which produced Lenin's note from exile on Yudushka Golovlev.

That Lenin had violent encounters with Trotsky in the years of emigration, is known to everyone. But all that was a number of years before the October revolution, the civil war, the upbuilding of the Soviet state and the founding of the Communist International. The true relations between Lenin and Trotsky are, it would appear, set down in later and more authoritative documents than that of a note resulting from a conflict in the emigration. What do the professional calculators want to say when they throw the comparison with "Judas" into the debate: that Lenin did not trust Trotsky politically? Or that he did not trust him morally? Out of hundreds of utterances of Lenin, we cite two or three.

On November 1, 1917, Lenin said at a session of the Petrograd party committee: "I cannot even speak seriously about it. Trotsky has long

The Slander of Trotsky's "Judas" Role

said that the unification (with the Mensheviks) is impossible. Trotsky has grasped this and since then there has not been a better Bolshevik."

In the days of the civil war, when Trotsky by himself had to make decisions of extraordinary scope, Lenin, on his own initiative, handed him a blank sheet of paper with the following inscription at the bottom: "Comrades! I know the rigorous character of the orders of comrade Trotsky, but I am so convinced, convinced to such an absolute degree of the correctness, the expediency and the necessity of the order issued by comrade Trotsky in the interest of the cause, that I completely support the order—V. Ulanov-Lenin"

If the first of the two declarations cited above gives a clear enough political evaluation, the second one reveals the degree of moral confidence. It is hardly necessary to quote the dozens of citations from the articles and speeches of Lenin where he expresses his attitude toward Trotsky, or to reproduce here once more the correspondence of Lenin-Trotsky on the national question or on the question of the foreign trade monopoly. We will confine ourselves only to recalling that letter which N. K. Krupskaya, Lenin's companion for so many years, addressed to Trotsky a few days after Lenin's death: "Dear Lev Davidovich: I am writing to tell you how Vladimir Illich, about a month before his death, stopped, in reading through your book, at the passage where you gave a characterization of Marx and Lenin, and he asked me to read the passage to him, how attentively he listened and then how he himself read it over again. And there is another thing I want to tell you: the feelings which Lenin conceived for you

when you came to us in London from Siberia, did not change to his dying day. I wish you, Lev Davidovich, strength and health, and I embrace you warmly.—N. Krupskaya."

The overzealous agents of Stalin would have acted more prudently had they not raised the question of moral confidence. Already in Lenin's Testament, Lenin urged the removal of Stalin from his post as general secretary, giving as his motivation the *disloyalty* of Stalin. Finally, the last document dictated by Lenin the day before his second attack, was his letter to Stalin in which he broke off "all personal and comradely relations" with him.

Will this perhaps suffice, Messrs. Calculators?

— ALFA

ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT? A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

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) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback Vol. 6 No. 31 Whole No. 178 Saturday, June 17, 1933 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

Chilean Left is Organized

(Conti on Page 1)

fundamentally necessary and correct.

Delegations Represented

The Congress, begun on the 19th, adjourned on the 22nd after thirty hours of significant council and debate. It has made a serious theoretic and political contribution to the proletarian movement in Chile and represents a considerable organizational effort. There came to the Congress delegations from Talcahuano, Talca, Temuco, Talagante, Molina, Barrancas, San Antonio, Santiago, Valparaiso, Vina del Mar, Quillota, Llo Llico and Puente Alto. The following localities could send no delegation by reason of distance and economic difficulties, but dispatched their expression of support and unqualified adhesion: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, the entire province of Coquimbo, Valparaiso, Copiapo, San Rosendo, Chol-Chol, the Isle of Maipo, Ocoa, etc.

There came to the Congress many Laffertist comrades (members of the Stalinist faction), who fruitlessly attempted to justify the political line of the national official section and of the C.I. In the international field, they were shown the absurdity of the theory of "socialism in one

country," now threatening to stifle proletarian internationalism; they were shown the responsibility of Stalinism for the various revolutionary defeats, especially for the German defeat, the revolutionary process of which was carefully analyzed; the zigzag policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy was carefully explained.

In the national field, these comrades found themselves obliged to recognize, first, the growing influence of our Party even in the Laffertist ranks; secondly, they recognized the errors and the internal discussion fostered by the bureaucracy of the official national organization as well as that of the South American Bureau.

We demonstrated by means of testimony provided by the Laffertists themselves that our party was growing and developing in scope and influence at an accelerated rate in contrast to Laffertism, whose ranks were rapidly diminishing and in some localities, disbanding. We did this without the least desire of underestimating the surviving importance of the bureaucratic forces.

Appeal for Unification

That the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition) could hold such a Congress, whose great political influence is undeniable and at which the workers' positions were consolidated through weighty debates and discussions, was due to the fact that the Communist Left represents a movement that is historically in the process of development. In the C.I., as well as in the official national sections, such meetings are sterile, because everything is fixed beforehand, all dangers of criticism by the rank and file against the top being carefully avoided.

The Laffertist bureaucracy does not only fear a common congress of both factions. It also stands in terror of a democratic congress of its own faction, where uncovered as well as latent discontent exists. The Laffertist (Stalinist) bureaucracy, backed by the international bureaucracy, will only call a national congress when everything has been gotten ready to silence the expression of discontent by the base.

The Left Opposition, here as everywhere, is ready to take part in a Congress for Communist Unification because it sincerely desires Communist unification.

Comrades, it is up to us, after this Congress, to redouble our efforts and our Bolshevik tenacity. We are the standard bearers of the revolutionary movement of the world. The tens of thousands of Oppositionists whom Stalin holds exiled in Siberia, the deportation of Trotsky to Prinkipo, the example of Oppositionists all over the globe—all this shows us the way.

We have united in an international organization in the triumph of which are rooted the accelerating factors of the proletarian revolution. We must fight on. We must attack Laffertism in the entire country, taking it by storm in the city as well as in the rural districts. This is the basic slogan peeled forth to you by the Central Committee of the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition), elected by acclamation by the delegates of the First National Congress of the International Communist Left in Chile.

The Central Committee of the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opp.)

—N. B.

Problems of New York Dressmakers

(Continued from Page 2)

organization drive. This is the kind of measure by which the Left wing can make the Right wing bureaucracy show their true faces and prove to the workers their (the Left wing's) absolute sincerity in the question of united dressmakers' action.

At the time the Left Opposition made this proposal, we were hounded down by the Stalinists as "agents of Dubinsky" with whom it was unthinkable to sit down at one table. . . . But much water has passed under the bridge since. Not only are the Stalinist leaders sitting down with Dubinsky now, but they do so without any previous preparation of the membership and without an expectation of the change in face. It is necessary that they make their proposals openly. The leadership of the Industrial Union must go the whole way with the policy outlined above if it is really to make an impression on the rank and file workers, if it is really to give the necessary push to united action and a revival mass militancy in the trade.

The Question of a Progressive-Left Wing Bloc

The Lovestonites, at that time, proposed individual reentry into the I.L.G.W.U.—in other words, shameful capitulation and liquidation of the Industrial Union. Under the pressure of militancy within the ranks of the International itself, they have been forced to change their tune. Together with the Progressives, they now also demand the readmission of the Left wing in a body. It is necessary to put them, too, to the test. The elaboration of a bloc with the Progressives and Lovestonites inside of the International has thereby become an actual possibility. The bloc for the establishment of a single union should be concluded with them forthwith, a common minimum program should be worked out together with them immediately.

If the number on your wrapper is 178 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.

C.C.N.Y. Students Expelled for Fight Against War

(Continued from Page 1)

gain an entrance through the students.

Not a student laid a hand on the president or any member of his group. Several self-styled "vigilants" who claimed affiliation with the athletic committee began to assert themselves among the demonstrators, and so, the capitalist press reporters got their story of a "students' anti-war riot." The athletic committee of City College denied any association whatsoever with these "vigilants."

The American Civil Liberties Union is taking the case to court on the ground that the students have the right to parade on the campus, therefore the expelled students should be reinstated.

This is clearly a question which resolves itself around the students' militant demonstration against militarism. As such there is nothing about it which can be settled in court. It can only find its solution in the struggle between the workers and the boss classes.

The N.S.L. in an executive meeting decided recently on its change of platform, in true Stalinist manner, without any discussion on the floor by its rank and file membership. From a Communist organization basing itself on adherence to Marxist policies (more or less) they have become a sort of "students' union" basing itself on student issues. "It is hoped that in this way we will attract the student by his own problem so that we may develop our principles from practical work with the students," says the statement on the change of policy.

The expulsions at City College deprive the student movement of its most active fighters. Through the introduction of a few arbitrary decrees the authorities have succeeded in isolating the Left wing leadership from the mass of the student body.

The success of the faculty in their expulsion campaign, and the failure of the organization of a real protest movement in behalf of the expelled, can in no small degree be placed at the doors of the National Student League in failing to build up an anti-war movement of fighting dimensions. In confining its anti-war movement to the student plane and in supporting the Stalinist "Amsterdam" fraud, the dimensions of the present fight were to a great extent laid down beforehand. At the Chicago anti-war conference the proposals of the Left Opposition delegates, proposals to organize the anti-war fight on the only plane on which it would be effective—that of the Communist movement taking a leading role in the organization of a genuine worker-student united front against war—were rejected by the N.S.L.

The whole opportunistic tactic of the Stalinists in the recent period in the anti-war movement has isolated the students from the working class at large without whom the struggle against imperialist war, heroic though it may be, will be of little or no consequence. Instead of calling for a genuine united front from the bunglers of Stalinism called into being the criminal masquerade of Amsterdam which based its strength not upon the proletariat and its organizations but on isolated intellectuals of the Barbusse-Rolland variety. The results of this frightful division perpetrated by the Stalinists between the students and the workers now becomes apparent even here at home, in the College of the City of New York where the students fighting heroically are left to shift for themselves with no genuine labor support. The responsibility for this rests on the shoulders of the Stalinists whose whole zig-zagging policy has caused this frightful isolation, this absence of any real sentiment in the working class for assistance and support to the expelled students.

But the task still remains to organize a genuine movement against imperialist war. Only in this way will the best service be rendered to the expelled students. The struggle for their re-instatement can only be effective if it becomes the spur for the building of an anti-war united front which will bind the students to the main body of the militant working class.

More Flowers . . . "Naturally, Germany will not become Fascist. The victories of Communists vouch for this, victories beginning with the mass defense against Fascism and all the way to the struggle of the Berlin Transport Workers. This is vouched for by the hundreds of thousands of German workers who are striking under the leadership of the C.P.G. This is vouched for by the new hundreds of thousands of workers' votes which have been cast for Communism, this is vouched for by the irresistible advance of Communism . . ." (Kommunistische Internationale, No. 17, December 15, 1932, Page 1215.)

"In spite of the pompous declarations of the government, the 5th of March is not a victory for Fascism; . . ." (Manifesto of the Central Committee of the C.P.G., March 15, 1933.)

ARTICLE DELAYED Due to technical difficulties, the article on the movement among the Upholsterers, announced last week for this issue, has had to be held over to the next number of the Militant.

Opportunists in Bloc vs. Lefts at Gillespie

(Continued from Page 1)

When the matter of these omissions of the policy of the PTUEC was brought up by the delegates, McFarlane answered that they "didn't have enough money to have all the points mimeographed" as he was forced to send out a mimeographed sheet with only the minor points—16 of them. Most of the delegates chuckled up their sleeves. They understood.

The Stalinists were down in full force—Minerich, Shaw, Kling, Weber, and a baker's dozen of lesser functionaries from Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, etc. Due to their ceaseless activities in the past several months (and more important, their change of policy in regard to the P.M.A.) the Stalinists are winning back some of their former adherents who parted company with them at the time of their "third period" strike strategy. The Stalinists proved to be the major force at the conference. However, the only politically advanced group in the conference was the Left Opposition which ideologically whipped the Left wing forward.

Course of Action Adopted

The conference re-affirmed the position of the other three conferences and again disposed of the "new federation tendency"; went on record urging the Progressive Miners of America, the National Miners' Union, West Virginia Miners, IWW of Colorado, rank and file of the U.M.W., the Miners Union of Nova Scotia, etc., to unite nationally in order to prepare a national organization campaign and a strike against the prevailing scale; recommending the organization of Committees of Action in the various localities to carry on united front activities against forced labor, yellow dog contracts, inflationary process, and other local grievances; urged unity of the employed and unemployed and called upon all unemployed organizations to attach themselves with the National Federation of Unemployed Leagues; and passed resolutions against forced labor in Carlinville; against Governor Horner's reign of terror; for the immediate liberation of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys, etc.

Only one resolution met with Stalinist opposition. This was a resolution giving a political analysis of the Industrial Control Bill which was submitted by an outstanding Left Oppositionist, Hugo Oehler. Tony Minerich, spokesman for the policy and resolutions committee, led the fight stating that it was unnecessary to read the resolution—which would have taken but a few minutes—and proposed in its place to go on record "against the Industrial Control Bill and its class collaboration provisions."

Oehler Gets the Floor Despite Stalinists

Despite Stalinist opposition, comrade Oehler succeeded in getting the floor and introducing his resolution as an amendment to the report offered by the policy committee. The resolution gave a political analysis of the international situation and the perspectives for the future of the American labor movement in regards to the newly passed Industrial Control Bill. In particular, it explained the defeat of the German working class which marks the beginning of a world-wide capitalist reaction to further beat down

the workers' standard of living. It stressed the necessity of immediately setting in motion, on a national scale, the workers' resistance against the "new deal", which erects a gigantic class-collaboration paraphernalia, makes strikes illegal and a crime against the government.

The Stalinists united with the Right wing to defeat the L.O. proposal. The Stalinists interpreted the document as a "counter revolutionary" resolution. They objected with hypocritical indignation that the "German working class did not suffer defeat." They wasted a lot of hot air with their usual tripe, resolutions and conferences" and ended up, not uncharacteristically, with a call to vote down the resolution and to send a protest (!) to Washington. The Right wing, construing the resolution as an attack upon them, frantically hurried around trying to muster votes to defeat it. They were at one with the Stalinists. Politics makes strange bed-fellows.

All sorts of attempts were made to gag comrade Oehler and prevent him from summing up on his amendment. The Stalinists went full-blown parliamentarians with the complete support of the Right wing. But comrade Oehler managed to get the floor.

Summing Up the Discussion

He pointed out that the resolution on the Industrial Control Bill resulted in the most important discussion of the day. Comrade Oehler stated that since this was the first conference since this Bill had gotten under way it was the proper place to take action on it. He exposed the straw man set up by the Stalinists, pointing out that although none of his opponents gave a substantial argument against the political analysis, yet they will vote it down. For the benefit of the Right wing, comrade Oehler stated that the resolution was not a slander against the P.M.A., but on the contrary, it gave the officials even more credit than they gave themselves, by showing their progressive character in relation to the entire American labor movement. In conclusion he brought out the historical perspective for the American working class proving that the attack upon the Industrial Control Bill was a direct result of the defeat of the German proletariat. He finished his speech with the axiom that action is meaningless unless it is based on a correct policy.

Minerich succeeded in squeezing in a last word with arguments that posed the question from a local angle—and not an international one (which is beyond the horizon of these national socialists). He professed not to see the connection with Germany and asked why Oehler didn't mention China to the extreme hilarity of the myopic Stalinists present.

The voting, of course, was a foregone conclusion. The amendment lost by a vote of 73 to 17 with about a dozen abstentions. The amendment was defeated but the Left Opposition again demonstrated its political superiority over the Stalinists who cannot see the necessity of preparing to fight against anything until it is too late—Fascism in Germany and now the Industrial Control Bill.

— MARTIN PAYER

Nazi - Austrian Tension Brings Sharp Clash

(Continued from Page 1)

ollic Journeymen's Congress in Munich, the whole amplitude of the situation becomes exceedingly clear. Austria is predominantly a Catholic country. In case of union with Germany or of an alliance with it, the strength of the Catholic Centre would be of a quantity far more formidable than it is in the Reich at present and would constitute a serious obstacle in the path of Hitler's progress. The attacks on the Catholics in Germany itself and the high-pitched campaign of the National-Socialists in Austria would therefore indicate that the time for a forceful solution of the question of power between Dollfuss and Hitler is drawing near.

In this internecine struggle between the Fascist factions, which offers such tremendous possibilities for a working class movement, it is impossible to overlook the ignominious role of the Austrian social democracy, the most powerful single political party in the country and the all-time pride of the Second International. Seitz, Bauer and Co. lift, literally, not a finger to gain a proletarian solution to the crisis, but sit back with their puny hearts beating and their reformist hopes fluttering for some miracle to save them. The indolent excuse of "Communist splitters" is here completely lacking, the social democrats, caught like rats in a hole, have no one to cast the blame on. They present the most pitiful spectacle, a veritable epitome of reformist impotence.

Only a new movement rising out of the ranks of the workers themselves can save the Austrian working class from the sorry fate of its German brothers. The Left Opposition is hard at work, exerting every bit of energy in final efforts, to constitute such a government.

— S. GORDON

FLOWERS OF STALINIST PROGNOSIS

(From the German Pamphlet "Leninism against Stalinism")

"Nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist overestimation of Hitlerist Fascism. If we permitted ourselves to lose our correct class gauge because of the swelling up of the Hitler movement . . . and allowed ourselves to be pushed into a panic frenzy . . . then we would of necessity be led to a false manner of posing the question in our practical work against the Nazis as well as and above all with regard to the S.P.G." (Thaelmann, Speech at the Plenum of the C.P.G. on February 19, 1932. Page 24.)

"It would be false to believe that the most important process that is taking place in Germany at present is the growth of Fascism." P. 1198) is the growth of Fascism." (Page 1198.)

"Also, the 22nd of January (the Fascist mobilization in front of the Karl Liebknecht House) stood under the sign of the turn in class forces favoring the proletarian revolution (!)." (Thaelmann: "The Nazi Provocation in Front of the Karl Liebknecht House and Several Lessons," quoted from Muenzenberg's *Unser Zeit*, February 5, 1933. Page 134.)

Plot Pogrom on L. O. at Anti-Fascist Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

to do that. On the contrary, they have the sorry courage to defend their policy as correct and vindicated. Look at the social democracy. It is now, literally, a rotting corpse. But the Stalinist faction, which, at present, still stands at the leadership of the Comintern, which is responsible for the policy of the C.P.G., which, in the final analysis, led in such a way that it helped Hitler in his road to power or what position do they take? They cover themselves partly with silence and partly they speak in such a manner as if nothing had happened.

Didn't Hitler Triumph?

"The German proletariat has not suffered a defeat." Then has Hitler not triumphed, too? Or is there a victor without a vanquished? Has nothing changed in Germany? But in the same breath they count on a quick collapse of Hitler; that the economic crisis alone will accomplish that which the powerful organizations of the German working class were unable to achieve: that is to break the neck of Fascism. Question upon question—the answers, however, are awaited in vain. Let us not deceive ourselves—a "congress" which has nothing to say but the old empty phrases and formulas, will, despite the numerous workers' delegations, only sow further confusion, disappointment and discouragement in the working class. Courage is needed to speak out what is. Empty rationalization serves only to hide the cowardice of a bureaucracy which can no longer justify its own policy.

The I.L.O. speaks a clear language. It has nothing to hide. For years it has struggled for its principles of Marxism-Leninism. The correctness of the principles of the Left Opposition has been demonstrated.

The I.L.O. has something to say to the working class and it speaks clearly and openly. Our declaration is laid on the table of the Anti-Fascist Congress. It must be given serious consideration. Ever wider circles of the working class turn their attention to us. The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot silently watch this growth of the Left Opposition. But, it is too weak, too impotent and too cowardly to discuss with us politically, openly and honestly before the entire proletariat. Its weapons are:

Campaign of Slander and Provocation Against the International Left Opposition.

Provocations and slander—are the answers which the Stalinist bureaucracy gives to the principle declaration of the I.L.O. to the Anti-Fascist Congress. It does not shrink from the most flagrant accusations against us. Let us take one instance: the I.L.O. and comrade Trotsky are blamed because the Anti-Fascist Congress could not be held in Prague as scheduled. So writes A. Karolski in the *Basler Rundschau*.

"This time it was not only Weis, Stampfer and Hitler who prevented us from holding the congress in Prague . . . these are all harmless in comparison with the provocations of Mr. Trotsky against the Anti-Fascist Congress. He denounced the Congress to the world bourgeoisie, told them that it had been arranged by paper organizations, made fun of the factories participating in it and electing delegates to it, mocked at the invitations to the intellectuals who wanted to fight for the cause of the working class . . . etc." Together with this and in the same breath comes the unheard-of slander that Trotsky demands of the Fascist murder bands in Berlin that they bring the arrested Bulgarian Communists "to the gallows!"

These are the arguments of the Stalin bureaucracy against the principle declaration of the I.L.O. Instead of thorough, principled discussion—a pogrom incitement. How hopeless the cause of such people must be who have to resort to this sort of "arguments!"

The idea that the International Left Opposition denounced the congress to the bourgeoisie and told them that it had been arranged by paper organizations" is simply absurd. Does not the R.G.O. (Red Trade Union Center) belong to the initiators of the congress? And does not the world bourgeoisie know what the R.G.O. is? Just so much trash and slander.

What About Copenhagen?

And what about Copenhagen, where the congress also was supposed to be held and couldn't be? Was that Trotskyist "denunciation" too? We would not at all be surprised to read this in the Stalinist press tomorrow.

Apropos Copenhagen: Who was it, during the journey of comrade Trotsky to Denmark, that denounced to the world bourgeoisie a "secret Trotskyist conference in Copenhagen?" It was the official Stalinist T.A.S.S. (Press Agency of the Soviet Government). We shall leave things rest with this small reminder. The method of the Stalinist slanderers is simple: they attribute to others their own actions. Such a method is quite transparent.

The question of the Comintern is of interest in this connection. In Germany, a catastrophe has taken place; the strongest Communist party in the capitalist world lies prostrate, with a broken backbone; a strong Fascist wave is rising in Europe; the Communist Party of Austria is proscribed; the S.P.G. swept aside; the Second International writes in the throes of rigor mortis—but the Third, the Commu-

nist International, remains silent and actually hides behind paper organizations and behind "free lancers". Why? For years there has been no congress of the Comintern. Isn't it high time to step forward and to raise the voice of Bolshevism before the world proletariat? The Comintern is duty-bound to speak up! A Leninist Comintern would have held in the course of the last few years, not only its regular congresses, but even extraordinary congresses. Unfortunately the Leninist Comintern has become a Stalinist Comintern. And Stalinism of necessity fears to give an account before the international proletariat! That is why the Stalinist Comintern is hiding behind pacifist organizations and behind "free lancers". Thus it was with the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam and thus it is planned for the Anti-Fascist Congress. To beat the alarm against this—that is our duty as Bolsheviki-Leninists!

"Trotsky makes fun of the factories that participate and elect delegates to the congress"—writes the conscienceless slanderer in the *Rundschau*. There is not a single word in our Declaration that could be "interpreted" in this sense. The International Left Opposition considers itself responsible before the proletariat and it is this sense of responsibility that guards us against "making fun" of the working class. Before the working class we consider ourselves responsible, but not before the soul-less, bureaucratic apparatus; not because of little posts and stipends; not before "superiors." They "make fun" of the working class who today still have the tragic audacity to offer to the misshandled and persecuted working class—"Gala" Congresses. They "make fun" of factories and delegates who went to deliver the proletariat to a state of defenselessness, of dependency and already suffered bankruptcy and which leads to perdition. To fight against this with all means is the task which stands before us, the International Left Opposition, at present. No one will prevent us from doing this, in spite of vilification and pogrom incitement. And in order to carry out this task, we go to the Anti-Fascist Congress.

Role of L.O. at the Congress

"We Bolsheviki-Leninists come to this congress, not in order to bolster up any illusions or reputations. Our aim is—to clear the road for the future . . .

"Only under one condition can the present congress play a progressive, even though modest role: if it shakes off the hypnosis of the bureaucratic, behind-the-scenes improvisations and puts on the order of business—the free exchange of opinions as to the causes of the victory of German Fascism, as to the responsibility of the leading proletarian organizations; and proposes a genuine program of revolutionary struggle. In this way and only in this way will the congress become a factor of revolutionary rebirth. The platform of the International Left Opposition gives the only correct directives for the struggle against Fascism . . .

"We Bolsheviki-Leninists propose, to make the experience of the collapse of German Communism the point of departure for the rebirth of all the remaining sections. We are prepared to contribute toward this end with all our forces. In the name of this task we will stretch out our hands to our bitterest enemies of yesterday. Needless to say, in the struggle against Fas-

Workers Interests Hit by Industrial Recovery Bill

(Continued from Page 1)

branch of industry fail to come to any agreement suitable to the government, a "fair code" will be forced upon it, and any protesting will be refused the "license" necessary to continue to operate under the new law.

The past five years has seen this complete about-face on the part of the relationships of government and business. Under the Coolidge administration we had—non-governmental interference in industry, both in words and in action. Under Hoover this had changed to government proclamations of non-interference, together with the reality of increased government participation in private industry (Farm Board, Railroad Credit Corp., Reconstruction Finance Corp. aid to the banks and railroads, etc.) Today, we see the Roosevelt regime proposing to supervise and direct American economy, and in addition, admitting so openly. Such has been the change brought on by the past few years.

How Is the Working Class Affected

It is only in an indirect manner, however, that we are concerned with the inner organization of the capitalist system,—only in the reflections of this organization upon the working class. And the reflection of the above measure can be seen to portray the real image of reorganization and consolidation, terms means: less workers, increased lay-offs and wage cuts; for, it is only in this manner that the bill is to be interpreted by the working class. The railroad workers are to be the first to receive the gentle medicine of coordination, and they have already begun to feel the full meaning of the government's labor program, so that even the railroad unions have—true, in their mild manner—begun to raise a voice in protest against this American bearing Greek gifts.

As for those combinations of words seeming to indicate that Roosevelt will introduce the minimum wage, and maximum hours, one cannot but be reminded of the record of the man empowered to enforce the measures. Hidden beneath the sugar coating will be revealed the cruel harshness of the starvation program. The "right of collective bargaining" will be transferred into a company union program. The "minimum wages, maximum hours" will, when translated into reality, become, most likely nothing more than the extension of the "stagger system" to every large factory in the country. It is not the bourgeoisie that will voluntarily surrender part of its profits to better the condition of the working class. The workers will have to organize, to fight many a difficult battle to win these elementary labor demands, the thirty hour week with no reduction in pay.

— H. STONE

ism, in the defense against attack, the Bolsheviki-Leninists will take their fighting places in the common ranks, just as they have done up to now, everywhere and at all times."

This is the position of our Declaration to the Anti-Fascist Congress. And in this sense we shall do our work at the congress. Slander and pogrom incitement can hamper us, to be sure, but our voice will be heard by the working class in Fascist Germany and by the whole world proletariat.

(From *Unser Wort*)

The Real Meaning of the Morgan Inquiry

(Continued from page 1)

intention to "drive the money-changers out of the temple."

The Van Sweringen testimony ran along similar lines. It was brought out that the Van Sweringen brothers had cooked up a series of corporations, with the aid of Morgan, the result of which was that with an initial investment of a million dollars they were able to obtain control of railroad properties worth several hundred millions, with a further mortgage on the future of these properties through the exercise of warrants giving them the right to buy stock at a fixed price, and all this while inducing the public to put up all the money required. At the same time, each turnover of funds enabled them to squeeze out profits in cash, out of which they were able to avoid paying income taxes through the formation of specially-created corporations.

All this is undoubtedly interesting as showing the exact mechanism by which capitalism concentrates the ownership of capital and parasitically sucks out enormous profits while so doing. But the basic assumptions were never questioned during the whole investigation: What right have a banker and a pair of speculative real estate promoters to juggle for their personal profit with a group of transportation systems involving the jobs and the working conditions of thousands of workers, the prosperity or decay of hundreds of communities, the cost of living of the broad masses?

The Van Sweringen Deals

The Van Sweringen proposed only to continue the most essential traditions of the railroads which they were to merge. The Erie was wrecked before it started operations, and started life as a congenital cripple, its route being deliberately laid out in a roundabout manner, avoiding the big traffic centers in order to raise

the value of lands owned by the promoters. The Nickel Plate, the "fifth rail of the New York Central," was conceived and built as a blackmailing project serving no economic purpose, in the hope, subsequently justified, that the Central would buy out the promoters at a fat profit.

The whole Van Sweringen dream of a railroad empire started with their real estate speculations in a Cleveland suburb, based on a development around a railroad terminal; from this they branched out into buying the Nickel Plate, then a group of Eastern roads with which to construct a fourth trunk line system to compete with the New York Central, Pennsylvania and Baltimore & Ohio; from this, into the speculative purchase of Missouri Pacific from the control of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., to carry out Jay Gould's old gamble of a transcontinental line from Atlantic to Pacific. Morgan, having wrecked nearly every railroad he touched (Illinois Central, New Haven, the old Southern Railway), was willing enough to gamble someone else's money on the new jockey, on the basis of "heads I win, tails you lose."

The Reals Abuses Are Left Untouched

All this criminally light-minded gambling with the basic transportation interests of American economy, with railroad systems built upon the sweat of the workers and paid for over and over again by the broad consuming masses, was based solely on the greed for power and profit of a handful of individuals. The "public interest" was represented by the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, clucking agitatedly like a mother hen about the voting rights of the preferred stock of the Nickel Plate, and the price at which new stock of the Chesapeake & Ohio should be offered to stockholders.

And now the Senate committee is worrying about whether there were enough or too many or not enough holding companies involved in the process of the acquisition of these railroads, and whether they paid all the taxes that they should have, and whether the investors' interests were properly considered. Not a word about the frightful abuse of the real wealth of the nation, about the utter disregard of the interests of the workers who were speeded up and those who were fired by the thousands in the Van Sweringens' efforts to show Morgan how cheaply they could run a railroad, about the waste of resources involved in the building of new links to join roads in a field whose traffic was insufficient to support existing lines, or about the permanent burden on the masses represented by the issue of over-capitalized securities whose hunger for interest and dividends will be met by increased fares and freights, as was done last year, and by further cutting wages, firing workers, and speeding up the rest, with a 20 percent wage cut to be proposed to the railroad workers shortly. Not a word about the part all these manipulations played in raising the fictitious prosperity of 1929 to a new high level by piling one house of cards on top of another until the whole flimsy structure collapsed and buried the existence of millions in its ruins.

No—all this is taken for granted, shoved aside, regarded as "legitimate private business." That is the real scandal of the investigation. And an indispensable step on the workers' road to power will be to arrive at a clear understanding of the fact that the scandal of scandals is the existence of capitalism itself, of its normal life and methods as well as of the diseased and parasitic by-products which it inevitably breeds.

— B. J. FIELD

WORKS by TROTSKY

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ON GERMANY | |
| The ONLY ROAD | WHAT NEXT? |
| 100 pages .25 | 192 pages paper cover .35 |
| Postage—.06 extra per copy | cloth over .65 |
| | Postage—.06 extra per copy |
| ON RUSSIA | |
| PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.S.R. | |
| Price .15 | Postage—.01 extra per copy |
| ON SPAIN | |
| THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER | |
| Price .15 | Postage—.01 extra per copy |
| ON THE TRADE UNION QUESTION | |
| COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM | |
| Price .15 | Postage—.01 extra per copy |
| ON THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION | |
| THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION | THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION |
| .25 | 180 pages paper cover .50 |
| Postage—.06 extra per copy | cloth cover 1.00 |
| | Postage—.06 extra per copy |
| ON CHINA | |
| PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION | |
| 450 pages paper cover 1.00 | cloth cover 1.50 |
| | Postage—.06 extra per copy |

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
84 EAST 10th STREET, N. Y. C.