

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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The Trade Union Question

The Left Wing Needs a New Policy and a New Leadership

The American workers, stirring again on the trade union field after a long passivity and confronting a formidable and well organized class enemy, need their own plan of battle. The class enemy has organization and a plan. That, in essence, is what the NRA really is. In the united and comprehensive program of American imperialism against the world the NRA is that section of the program aimed against the enemy at home, the American working class. The strike movement of the workers, on the other hand, has been elemental and spontaneous, lacking a conscious direction.

Who will assist the workers to formulate their own battle plan in their own interests? Certainly not the present leaders of the A. F. of L. and kindred labor organizations. These in reality belong to the capitalist board of strategy. In the machinery of the NRA they are filling of perfection their long established role of labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. A plan and program for the workers in the trade unions, by means of which their struggle could be organized and directed on a national scale, can come only from the Left wing, that is, from the class conscious section of the movement.

But in the present situation which has witnessed the beginning of a colossal wave of strike struggles, the Left wing failed completely in its function. The new events which should have been foreseen and anticipated found it unprepared and impotent. The domination of Stalinism deprived the Left wing of the possibility of influencing the new movement of the masses and of drawing new life and strength from it. The dogmatic program which had been imposed upon it was refuted in life. The leadership of bureaucratic usurpers showed itself to be bankrupt and helpless. The necessary conclusions from these happenings must be drawn without delay. The problem of re-establishing the Left wing, correcting its program and renovating its leadership is the most immediate and burning problem of the labor movement.

There is a new situation in the labor movement which the Left wing must take as the point of departure. The wave of strike struggles did not fall from the skies, nor were Roosevelt and the labor fakers the creators of it. The fearful sufferings inflicted on the masses during three and one-half crisis years; the starvation rations of the unemployed, the multiplied wage cuts and unprecedented speedup which goaded the employed workers to desperation—these were the real authors of the present strike movement. The workers' resentment and dissatisfaction was due for an explosion and it was reasonable to assume that it would coincide with the first signs of an economic upturn.

This was foreseen by the most perspicacious representatives of capitalism. The NRA was devised as a means of coordinating the efforts of the employers and their labor lieutenants with the Government in a single scheme to arrest this movement in its first stages and to keep it within safe bounds. It is possible that the inauguration of the NRA precipitated the strike movement. But at bottom it was caused by the discontent of the workers with their unbearable conditions and their aspirations to improve them at the first opportunity.

These causes will remain and will evoke increasing powerful movements of the masses after the battle of the Roosevelt program has spent itself, leaving conditions substantially unchanged except insofar as they are improved by organized struggle. Bitter experience will work rapidly and mightily to free the workers from their present illusions about the purposes of the NRA. The capitalists will not voluntarily improve the lot of the slaves under the beneficent influence of the Blue Eagle. The workers will gain nothing they do not fight for. The labor agents of imperialism will not become leaders and organizers of militant struggles, but on the contrary will do all they can, now and in the future as in the past, to sabotage and defeat them.

The Left wing cannot depart for a moment from these self-evident A. B. C. propositions. What has been happening in the way of working class activity in the recent months is only an anticipation of things to come. It is possible of course, and even probable, that the NRA swindle will succeed in harnessing the new movement for a time. The illusions of the masses are very great. But the higher the hopes the more certain the disappointment and the expression of this disappointment in more resolute and determined class action. The first magnificent upsurge of the workers is, after all, only a tentative beginning, a preliminary testing of their collective strength

Program and Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

The revolutionary events in Cuba have reached a decisive stage. The activity of the masses of workers, industrial and agricultural, has forced its way to the forefront of the struggle. The organization of their forces to fight for their demands and to mobilize the masses to resist U. S. intervention now requires the setting up of their own organs of struggle. The formation of Soviets for the defense of Cuba's freedom is the imperative need of the day.

American intervention already exists, even though no shots have as yet been fired from the thirty warships concentrated in Cuban waters. By its economic might, supplemented by its fleet, the American imperialism is exerting a powerful pressure. In face of these conditions it is inconceivable that the cowardly San Martin government can exist very long on its present makeshift basis. It represents the petty bourgeois interests and is incapable of realizing the aims of the people who hate foreign imperialism, to say nothing of the aims of the proletariat. It is oscillating under pressure from two directions—from the masses surging forward, and from the United States. Its alternatives are complete collapse or capitulation to Wall Street. It cannot be conceived of as the leader of the fight to the end against imperialist intervention.

Cuba is now the most vulnerable point in the struggle of the United States for complete hegemony of the Latin American market. Only the fear of serious repercussions in the South, which would also give the United States intervention has not yet taken the open form of troop landings and armed attack. But let no one be deceived by the diplomatic maneuvers. The Wall Street magnate will readily stake the life of every American marine to maintain their more than a billion dollars worth of property in Cuba and continue their trifling exploitation of the Cuban toilers.

Is there any possibility for the Cuban masses to make an end to this present makeshift government? Obviously not. The Cuban workers themselves, in fraternization with the soldiers, have already indicated the road to be pursued. They have formed Joint Committees, (Comites Conjuntos) which are nothing less than a spontaneous striving to build up their Soviets. The present

make-shift government, far more afraid of the Cuban masses than of American imperialism is even trying to sidetrack the calling of the Constituent Assembly. The workers must demand its convocation and raise their demands there. The abrogation of the Platt amendment and the unconditional independence of Cuba and the nationalization of the industrial enterprises and plantations with workers' control stand in forefront of the demands. Most of these enterprises are owned by American imperialists and the advancing of these demands will serve to make clearer the distinction of their interests from those of the Cuban people and to develop the irreconcilability of the

Left Opposition. Three important European revolutionary groups adhered to our views contained in a declaration submitted to the conference of Left Socialist parties recently held in Paris.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, led by the well known militant, Sneevliet, whose record dates back many years in the Communist and revolutionary movement and who recently served time in connection with the mutinies in the Dutch navy, has already definitely

entered the ranks of the Left Opposition. This party counts 950 members and constitutes the guiding influence within a powerful trade union in Holland.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany (S. A. P.) led by Walcher and Froelich, foundation members of the old Spartacus Bund in Germany, added its signature to our declaration at Paris. It would be difficult to estimate the S. A. P. membership at this time suffice to say that when the Fascists seized power in Germany it counted 15,000 members.

The third group adhering to our declaration at Paris is the Independent Socialist Party of Holland with a membership of 7,000.

The progress of these groups toward support of our position has naturally become enormously accelerated since the disastrous defeat of the German working class and the openly demonstrated bankruptcy of both Internationals. But even prior to these events they had chosen the path leading in the direction of the international Communist position. In that they learned to distinguish between the principled views of the Left Opposition and those of Stalinism. The leadership of the S. A. P. entered its present course passing from Stalinism through the Brandler group, rejecting its Right opportunistic ideas of national parties, and finally accepting the international position of the Left.

New Forces for Left Opposition

New forces are coming forward to the support of the International Left Opposition. Three important European revolutionary groups adhered to our views contained in a declaration submitted to the conference of Left Socialist parties recently held in Paris.

N. Y. Embroidery Workers Gain

New York, N. Y.—Following immediately on the heels of the great dress strike, 3,000 workers of the Bonnaz Embroidery stitchers and Pleasers Union of the ILGWU, Local 66 walked out on general strike in responding one hundred percent to the call of the union.

This tremendous response to the strike call, coupled with all the power and militancy displayed by the strikers, from the very first moment brought the bosses astounded to its knees almost immediately, and make possible a settlement of the strike in only a few days.

Rising Militancy Shown in Growing Strike Wave

Powerful strikes are again shaking the very foundation of the country. Following right upon the heels of the big walk out of Pennsylvania mines some weeks ago and that of the New York dress industry new strikes are popping daily setting workers into motion everywhere and enormously sharpening the class relationship which the NRA attempts to regulate. Yet what we witness today is unquestionably only a prelude to the much bigger battles coming tomorrow.

The rapidity with which workers now decide to strike and their walk out in splendid response makes an estimate of how many are involved at any given time almost impossible. But it can easily be said without any fear of contradiction that during the last few weeks there has been a continuous wave of strikes embracing several hundred thousand workers. We will attempt to list some of them as examples of the general movement.

Most furious is the battle now being waged in the textile industry, silk section, where police clubbings and tear gas has been employed in full force but without in the least shaking the solid ranks of the strikers. It started in Paterson, but has now spread to involve a total of approximately 60,000 workers taking in also the silk dying industry and extending to Lodi and Fairlawn, N. J. to New York City, to Phillipsburg, Port Jervis, Stroudsburg and Allentown Pa., as well as the New England textile region. Throughout New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania the silk textile and dyeing mills are practically completely shut down. In general the strike is in protest against the terms of the cotton code now in operation also for silk textile, but in particular it is for union organization and for shorter working hours and higher wages. The Associated silk workers in cooperation with the parent organization, the United Textile Workers conducts the strike as far as the overwhelming majority of the work-

Paterson Strike Ties Up Silk and Dye Industries

The Militant Workers Recognize Fallacy of the Stalinist Paper Unions

PATERSON, N. J. The strongest sector of the nation-wide strike of silk workers, its Paterson division of more than 25,000 men holds firm. The tie-up in this city has closed every shop, the looms are idle and the workers have responded 100 percent solid to the strike call.

Striking against the intolerable conditions forced upon them by the vicious wage-slashing of the four years of the crisis the producers of silk are determined to take no promises from the NRA and by struggle

to jack up their wages from the miserable \$13 average to a \$36 minimum, to bring down the hours from the slave working day of 11 and 12 hours prior to the strike to a 30 hour week.

Paterson is in the grip of the strike. Men and women, of all nationalities, young and old, those who have never known the meaning of union organizations and veterans of class struggle, are banding side by side on the picket lines, in huge, enthusiastic strike meetings displaying a spirit of militancy equalled

only by the heroic battle of 1913.

The great virility of this struggle is vividly demonstrated by the pouring out of the mills of more than 15,000 dye workers who for their first time in 20 years have taken their stand on the picket line ready to see the fight to the end. Bursting the shackles of long oppression and exploitation they are braving the police clubs, and tear gas, flocking into the union halls—a testimony to the great power that lies latent in the unorganized mass of workers in this country.

Swaback to Start National Tour

The long awaited tour of comrade Swaback will begin on September 29th. With the rich experience of the five months which he recently spent in Europe, which included attendance at the pre-conference of the Left Opposition and a protracted visit with comrade Trotsky in Leningrad, comrade Swaback will have a message of exceptional interest. Branches will have the option of a lecture on: "The Future of International Communism"; or the "Roosevelt Program: What It Means for the Workers".

Left Socialists Meet -- Two Steps Forward, One Step Backward

The international conference of Left Socialist parties and independent Communist organizations, held in Paris, August 27-28, adjourned without being able to define a future common course. That was to be expected. The reason for it is the wide divergence of views represented, ranging from an international Communist position to that of outright reformism. Hence the main resolution adopted speaks vaguely of retrieving the international unity of the working class movement on a revolutionary Socialist basis. Nevertheless distinct progress can be recorded from this conference by the fact that the beginnings of a firm international revolutionary kernel emerged. Three important groups, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland definitely committed themselves to the position taken by the International Left Opposition.

Paterson Strike Ties Up Silk and Dye Industries

Meanwhile in Washington, negotiations are in progress between the union officials, the manufacturers, and the false friends of labor of the Roosevelt administration. A code for the silk workers is also under consideration. But the workers are watchful. They will not be tricked into any fake agreement, they will not be content with any conditions merely because it bears the insignia of the NRA. Already they have turned down a code that perpetuated the wretched conditions that have plagued the silk trade for years.

The real leader of the strike in Paterson is the Associated Silk Workers, an autonomous local of the United Textile Workers which is affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The decisive success of the industry, the 10,000 broad silk workers, are striking under the aegis of the Associated. It is marvelous to see the spirit of these workers. They are not newcomers to the picket line. This is by no means the first strike they have participated in. On the contrary, they have written a tradition in letters of red in the history of American labor. The workers in this union are wary of the betrayers of the American Federation of Labor. Years of sell-outs have brought this lesson home to them. The name of MacMahon, the president of the U. T. W. is anathema to the members of the Associated Silk Workers.

The rank and file of the Associated have thrown new leaders to the fore. The strike committee is controlled by genuine progressives—Left wingers who have been repelled by the horrible mismanagement, the crimes and the fearful bureaucracy of the Stalinists.

But for the dye workers, the ranks of the strikers are united. Here the forces are divided between the Associated and the Stalinist-controlled National Textile Workers Union.

The dye workers are green to the struggle. They came by accident to the paper union of the Stalinists. They were ready to accept any union that reached them first. But it is the universal opinion in Paterson among the more mature workers in the industry that the N. T. W. will be unable to hold the dyers permanently. There is more than one fact that can be produced in proof of this.

The criminal (after listening to the stories of good, reliable fighters one is tempted to say, insane) policy of the Stalinists and their paper N. T. W. has driven many of the best militants into the Associated, made them bitter against the N. T. W. Prior to the strike, the N. T. W. had practically no influence among the weavers, and the weavers, the more conscious group in the silk industry, passed them by when the strike started and made common cause with the Associated. So discredited, impotent and uninfluential was the N. T. W. at the outbreak of the strike that this is common knowledge in Paterson—the N. T. W. tried frantically to postpone the date of the strike in order to make "preparations". Further, so great was the stigma of rotten internal life in the N. T. W. and its adventurist tactics, that Stalinists themselves were instrumental in forming a craft union of the warpers, independent of their paper union! One more fact. A member of the N. T. W. organized 3,000 workers—throwsters—hitherto unorganized and brought them not in to the N. T. W., but into the Associated. Can there be any doubt now whether the Stalinist outfit will hold the dyers?

Paterson Strike Ties Up Silk and Dye Industries

The advanced, experienced workers in Paterson will have nothing to do with the N. T. W. The inexperienced dyers will not be long in finding out the justice of their decision.

In Paterson as elsewhere the workers are streaming into the real unions. They are paying no attention to the paper outfits run by the Stalinists. There is no place for the Left wingers in Paterson but in the Associated which they can transform into a powerful weapon for the militants nationally—a starting wedge in the struggle against the bosses and the reactionaries.

MINE PICKETS SHOT IN PENN.

Fifteen miners picketing the Gates mine in Uniontown, Pa., were severely wounded when armed deputies opened fire on them. A deputy who got into the way of one of the deputy bullets was also wounded. The conditions of the miners in this bituminous region are scandalous. Not even the "blessings" of the NRA, with which the miners are being hopped up by the UMWA officials, has been granted them. The gilded illy of Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot, has of course promised the usual investigation. A more detailed article will appear in next week's

The Following is the schedule of cities:

- Fri., Sept. 29th...Newark, N. J.
- Sat., Oct. 1st...Bethlehem, Pa.
- Tues., Oct. 3rd...New Haven
- Wed., Oct. 4th...Boston, Mass.
- Thurs., Oct. 5th...Boston, Mass.
- Fri., Oct. 6th...Boston, Mass.
- Sun., Oct. 8th...Rochester, N. Y.
- Mon., Oct. 9th...Buffalo, N. Y.
- Tues., Oct. 10th...Toronto, Can.
- Wed., Oct. 11th...Toronto, Can.
- Fri., Oct. 13th...Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Sat., Oct. 14th...Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Sun., Oct. 15th...Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Mon., Oct. 16th...New Castle, Pa.
- Tues., Oct. 17th...Youngstown
- Wed., Oct. 18th...Youngstown
- Thurs., Oct. 19th...Cleveland, O.
- Fri., Oct. 20th...Cleveland, O.
- Sat., Oct. 21st...Chicago, Ill.
- Sun., Oct. 22nd...Chicago, Ill.
- Mon., Oct. 23rd...Chicago, Ill.
- Tues., Oct. 24th...Chicago, Ill.
- Wed., Oct. 25th...Springfield, Ill.
- Thurs., Oct. 26th...Stanton, Ill.
- Fri., Oct. 27th...St. Louis, Mo.
- Sat., Oct. 28th...St. Louis, Mo.
- Sun., Oct. 29th...Kansas City, Mo.
- Mon., Oct. 30th...Kansas City, Mo.
- Tues., Nov. 2nd...Minneapolis
- Fri., Nov. 3rd...Minneapolis
- Sat., Nov. 4th...Minneapolis
- Sun., Nov. 5th...Minneapolis
- Tues., Nov. 7th...Chicago, Ill.
- Thurs., Nov. 9th...Davenport, Ia.
- Fri., Nov. 10th...Davenport, Ia.

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—LEFT WING WORKER.

—CLARKE.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

L.O. Issues Stir Party Membership

The situation in Brownsville, New York City, after several months of a campaign against "Trotskyism", is tense. The apathy and lethargy among the league and party is being displaced by grumbling and discontent. About all they are beginning to think for themselves. The masses became crystallized lately by the rank and file to the looseness among the leadership, not a single meeting let alone a demonstration was held on International Youth Day. This despite the empty mouthing of the Sklars, Gilberts and Sheremans, about the necessity of youth carrying on a struggle against war, Fascism, etc., etc. Blood is demanded. The repercussions of this affair has penetrated to the district. The bureaucrats there are asking for an accounting, particularly because of the disquieting rumors of "Trotskyism".

Sherman, the section organizer of the Y. C. L., is slated to be removed. His place will probably be filled by either Al Daschi, who earned his spurs slugging Oppositionists, or John Morris, who proved his organizational ability, by expelling sympathizers of the Left Opposition from the American Youth Club, when he was organizer of that club.

It was at this opportune time that comrade Shachtman appeared in Brownsville to speak on the future of the Socialist and Communist movements. The impression that his criticism of the bureaucrats, who are strangling the movement, made upon the party and league; can best be gleaned from what happened at the Bob Minor Election Italy two nights later at the Brownsville Youth (?) Center.

The gigantic and monstrous (so advertised) rally attracted about 200 workers. The drivel of his remarks which dealt with misery, starvation and hunger, were so dry, that an atmosphere of listlessness permeated the hall. It was so bad that the singing chorus of the club and a group of league members had to be rounded up in order to inject some life into the "rally". With the appearance of these boosters Minor was in his element. Thereafter every remark no matter how trivial was greeted with applause. At the end of the Minor esque oration, the chairman called for questions, while the customary heart rending appeal for a collection was being made.

Despite the absence of a single member of the Opposition or even a close sympathizer (excepting the writer of course) every question handed in was on "Trotskyism" and on the very points that comrade Shachtman had raised at the meeting where he spoke. The election "rally" had so suddenly turned into a discussion on "Trotskyism", that Minor was left dumfounded. Taking the floor again he pathetically appealed for questions from the audience.

After a violent and vituperative harangue in which Trotsky was referred to as an organizer of paid police bands and the head of the worst sort of scabbing scam in the working-class movement, (here several matured workers who evidently remember the part played by Trotsky in the Red October walked out) he made the following answers to the questions:

1. "What is the circulation of the Role of the Party?" (this question evidently prompted because of Shachtman's remarks about the increase from 60,000 before Hitler took power, to the imaginary sale of 300,000 after the Fascist victory.) Answer: "I don't know." This from a Central Committee member and former editor of the Daily Worker.

2. "How did Stalin come to power?" Answer: Not Stalin but the working class came to power. All those who dare to raise this question are but miserable agents of the bourgeoisie.

3. "Why was Trotsky and the Left Opposition expelled?" Answer: Because they disagreed with the workers (!) of the Soviet Union. Don't we expel scabs from the unions, fellow workers? Deep silence on the part of the workers was the answer to this.

4. "Why does the leadership of the C. P. retain its leadership after this group of self-avowed incompetents admitted FULL RESPONSIBILITY for the weakness of the Communist Movement?" Answer: A long lynch incitation against the Trotskyites, followed by: "Only provocateurs and Trotskyite police (!) bands would raise this demand. (Talk about inner party democracy.)"

5. "Did Lenin ever say Socialism can be built in one country?" Answer: Stalin-Lenin's co-worker is proving (!!) it. SOCIALISM IS BUILT (!!!).

6. "Why did the German C. P. fail to lead the workers in a struggle against Hitler?" Answer: "They did lead (!) that's why comrade Thaelmann is in jail" (and Hitler in power and Heckert in Paris.)

7. "Why weren't the tactics of the October Revolution used in Germany?" Answer: "The same tactics were used (!) and the working class today (!!) stands on the threshold of a Soviet Germany (!!!)."

But the baseless slanders and pompous boasts will not avail. The league and party members are beginning to think and investigate. The truth of the platform of the Left Opposition is sifting through

everywhere. And before long an accounting with the bureaucrats will be made. The triumph of the Left Opposition is assured. —LEAGUE MEMBER.

League Growing in Youngstown

Several months activity in the unemployed workers movement is yielding good results for the Youngstown Branch. Not only is there a marked increase in our influence and prestige among the organized workers, but along with this we have gained in membership and supporting sympathizers. The demand of the workers for the Militant is increasing steadily and the support of our sympathizers has enabled us to furnish subs to twelve unemployed workers this week. Besides this we distribute twenty-five copies of the Militant each week among Party members, the YPSL group, and a few rank-and-file members of A. F. of L. unions.

We have among those who choose to follow our program in preference to that of the Stalinists, the Mustettes or the Social Reformists, several who are active in the local unemployed workers movement and a few who are active members of mass A. F. of L. unions. Our attempt to fraternize and discuss with the YPSL members succeeded after many months of sincere, comradely approach to them. In their ranks is a goodly share of half-heartedness and confusion; but there is also a small number of serious youth who are honestly searching for a class solution to the evils of capitalism. With these elements we shall always find it easy to collaborate, and we hope that from among them will come more than one who will eventually accept Lenin's program of revolutionary Socialism.

The new perspective spurs us on! —N.

The "Daily Worker" Goes to the Masses

The first fruits of the "Open Letter to all Party Members" have already ripened and are ready to be plucked (if you care for that kind of fruit). At least on the journalistic field. "The circulation of the Daily Worker has fallen off," the Open Letter of July 13 announced proudly among the achievements of the Central Committee. Having failed to reach the masses in their struggles, in their unions, in their class movements, the Daily Worker has now undertaken a shrewd flank attack which bespeaks an enviable military-journalistic talent. If the masses are not to be corralled in the field of struggle Edward Newhouse will catch them in the tennis courts or on the golf course. If they succeed in evading Newhouse, they find their nudity challenged, each morning when they rise to dress, by the fascinating party frock patterns of Anne Adams. If they rush desperately to the dining room, Hathaway (surely it is he who prepares those tempting daily menus!) is there to tantalize them with some Cheese Fondue (don't forget to add 1 bit of soda as big as a pea), or Consume Printanerie or Lobster a la Newburg (prepared at Camp Nidgedaiget). And after an attack of acute indigestion induced by Browder's latest article, they are turned over to the mercies of Dr. Paul Luttinger (M. D.—\$1.65 per visit, and a bargain!).

The layout can't fail. They catch you coming and going; from the breakfast table to the sickbed, and if anyone gets away, he has only himself to blame, for the Daily Worker has done the best it knows how.

Take Anne Adams, for example, the Boilerplate Queen of Patterns (not to be confused with Diamond Lil), and the editorial comarcon (unfortunately anonymous) who guides her through the columns of the Daily. On August 24, we are recommended pattern 1539 (Size 36 takes 4 yards of 39 inch fabric to

say nothing of the 3-8 yard contrasting), all for 15 cents (coins preferred). To make this adorable costume, "pure dye silks are the most satisfactory" although, Anne tips you off, "a well-dyed wool would look good too". Pure opportunism! Why not make it up out of imported chiffon velvet, or cloth of gold trimmed with ermine? We pass the suggestion on to the Worker editor. Or what's the matter with polka dotted satin which, Bettina Bedwell of the Daily News cables, is being "used for sports clothes at Cannes and Monte Carlo"?

Then those menus. More care should really be taken in getting them up, by breakfast for breakfast is all right once in a while, but there is nothing like braised kidneys well done, with Duchesse potatoes. Nor have we yet seen a reference to how to prepare Shepherd's Pie a la Hohenstaufen. Anybody even a Daily Worker reader, who has had to stand the slops of the relief kitchens wouldn't hesitate a minute—we'll wager—between Hathaway's potted shoulder and our squabs en casserole with noodles a la Neapolitan on the side (bake in a moderately slow oven about 20 minutes or until crumbs are well browned). And what about cakes? Are they orphans? Can a really good meal be eaten without them? We call Hathaway's attention to the possibilities of Chocolate Marshmallow Roll with Baltimore Filling and Caramel Frosting. Just delicious!

Or Newhouse on sports. Not bad, only he doesn't go far enough. Keep out sometimes, but not deep enough. Take August 16: "Tennis is the one major sport registering progressive tendencies. Two years ago Helen Mills Moody blazed the trail by appearing without stockings at Forest Hills and last season Bunny Austin staked out his pioneer's claim by wearing shorts on court. Although the Deliberating Body of the West Side Tennis Club deliberated mildly against the principle of shorts, mass pressure by lady players with presentable stems granted a reversal of decision." Granted the mass pressure. But where was the party? Did it do anything to raise this movement to a higher, political level? If it did, Newhouse certainly fails to mention it. It's little slips like this that keep the Sports Column out of time with the rest of the paper. Bear in mind what comrade Browder once wrote: "A Bolshevik paper should be a Bolshevik paper." (Collected Works, Vol. IX, page 318.) That's just as true today as when it was written.

Finally, good old Doc Luttinger. We don't want to appear to be

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ference called for the purpose of dealing with working class problems.

Issues Unclear Unfortunately no one made the issue clear to the delegates. What was necessary was someone to explain that the reactionaries are taking advantage of the party leadership to set a precedent. It was necessary to point out the difference between the official party and the expelled groups and to insist that in spite of the disruptive tactics of Communist party leadership the party represents an important section of the American workers and should not only be permitted to join but invited to do so. Gitlow was very weak. Weisbord was not effective. The non-Communists made a good fight in their own reformist way but could not overcome the fear of and the hostility to the official party.

Sentiment on the National Recovery Act was divided. The more conservative delegates saw good in it and wanted to give President Roosevelt a chance. Why these delegates who have hope in the N. R. A. should at this time be interested in a Labor party is somewhat of a mystery. Probably they figure that a Labor party should be organized for the purpose of helping Roosevelt put the N. R. A. over. To cut the discussion short the matter was referred to the incoming national committee.

Truax representing the Unemployed Leagues of Ohio, in the closing session and during the discussion on the N. R. A. pathetically asked: "If you go on record in favor of the N. R. A. how can I go back to face the unemployed who are starving? And what shall I tell them that you accomplished in the two days of your conference?"

Poor Truax! He has yet to learn that out of a conference of about a hundred and fifty delegates where there are only two real workers and two real farmers nothing much should be expected. —A. V.

FROM THE MILITANTS

Strike Lessons on Pacific Coast

Los Angeles.—It is sad to have to write to you that the workers on strike against Golden Bros. Millinery shop were defeated.

The bravery of the strikers, their militancy on the picket lines, their courage before the clubs and saps of a degenerate group of police, the great number of arrests bravely endured (17 in number) were not able to overcome the objective fact of the strike being forced on the workers in the off season and the subjective condition of weakness in the Trade Union Unity League officialdom. (To grace them with the name of "leaders" would be sheer violence of the latter term.)

Victory could have been won, even though the strike took place in the slack season, but for the passivity and lethargy in the general activities—a condition due to the actions of the apparatus of the T. U. U. L. and not the strikers themselves.

The chairman of the strike committee, comrade Louis Meyers insisted on a more militant attitude, but to no avail, as a result scabs manned the shops.

After much effort, comrade Meyers succeeded in securing what amounted to a little more than a verbal agreement with his views.

In spite of its weaknesses, the strike has created a tradition in Los Angeles. To all workers, particularly needleworkers, it showed how even the most brutal of police terror can be fought. Smashed picket lines were reformed. Jail did not daunt. In this manner strikes are won; not in the class collaboration of the conservative trade union fakers.

A storm of strikes, in the needle trades above all, is in the offing. The first strikers, the forerunners, are already here. The NTWU is conducting a number of small strikes. The Amalgamated Clothing

Workers has struck the Kurtzman Clothing Co. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is planning a general strike and has been waging a series of minor strike battles in this situation. It becomes yet more important for the I. U. W. L. members to stand firm for the place of the Left wing is within the mass unions.

To the strikers out now and to those who are yet to strike, the workers of Golden Bros. shop have taught lessons that we hope will not go unheeded.

Although the strike has been called off, rearranged battles remain to be fought. These are the struggles for the freeing of the strikers arrested on the vicious anti-picketing ordinance, a piece of legislation aimed to maintain Los Angeles as the pride and joy of employers.

These trials are now going on. First results have not been good. Two workers were fined \$20 each. Two girl strikers, Elsie Meyers and Sally Wedgerton, have been fined \$50 or 25 days in jail. This case has been appealed. Three girls are going on trial now.

This fight cannot remain solely in the courtroom. Behind the victimized strikers all of Los Angeles labor must be mobilized.

The fight against the anti-picketing ordinance concerns every worker who is ever going to strike whether he or she is in a union affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, or independent unions. For workers to strike without picket lines is like soldiers marching to war without fire arms.

Around the right to strike and to picket a broad united front can be formed. The acute need of the moment for all workers is the winning of this right. The most important ingredient of successful strikes is strong picket lines. The anti-picketing ordinance stands in the way.

Only action by the workers can remove this anti-picketing ordinance, not legal argument before the bosses' courts. Although this latter angle must not be ignored, the following must be driven deep into the consciousness of stirring Los Angeles labor: "Only united action by the workers can do away with the anti-picketing ordinance, and open the road to higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions." —C. C.

Labor Partyites Convene

Chicago, Ill.—The significance of the gathering held at Chicago on September 2-3 and calling itself the United Conference for Progressive Political Action was not very great, its representation was such that nothing much can be expected of it in the way of harm and certainly not in the way of any good as far as the American labor movement is concerned. The old intellectual stand-bys who have been yearning for a Labor party to furnish them with an opportunity to play some political role in the movement were there. A few old and young enthusiasts from small groups of the League for Independent Political Action and a non-descript group of old men and women made up the majority of the hundred and fifty or so delegates to the conference.

Farmer Answers Judge There were several representatives of real organizations of farmers. The outstanding representative from the farm regions was a Judge from Iowa, John F. Wirts, President of the United Farmers of America. The incident that occurred at Le Mar, Iowa, where a group of about a hundred farmers gave one of Wirts' colleagues on the Iowa bench the scare of his life was to him, a result of the machinations of a few insane radicals. The only real farmer in the conference answered the Judge simply and effectively when he said that immediately after the demonstration at Le Mar the state and federal authorities began to do something for the farmers.

Two delegates represented bona fide organizations of unemployed workers. Their confusion was great. Nevertheless whenever they spoke the atmosphere became a little fresher. Obviously they were "Mustettes" and all the lack of clarity and all the hesitation so characteristic of that group was recognizable. A red tinge to the conference was furnished by Ben Gitlow who was quite careful not to protrude his Communism and run the chance of antagonizing the conservative delegates.

Warn Against Revolution Wery one to judge from the first few speeches made at the conference the conclusion would be almost inevitable that the delegates were meeting for the purpose of preventing a revolution in the United States. The more conservative element at the conference, led by Mahony, mayor of St. Paul and Judge Wirts, had the floor for most of the first session. They testified to the ferment existing amongst the city workers and farmers, especially the latter, and warned the delegates that unless a Farmer-Labor party is organized a violent revolution would result. It would be unfair to the other delegates to state that the conference met for that purpose.

There were many sincere elements anxious to further the interests of the workers and farmers. These honest elements actually believe that a Labor party is the instrument by which the American workers and farmers will ultimately free themselves from the yoke of capitalism. They will live, to see the day when the Labor party will be the instrument of saving capitalism and not of destroying it.

Postpone Organization It was recognized by the delegates that to proceed to form a Labor party at the conference would be the height of absurdity. It would

have been a Farmer-Labor party without farmers or laborers. Not a single union was represented officially. Here the "sensible" decision was arrived at to instruct the National Committee for the ensuing year to carry on propaganda in favor of a Labor party and call a larger conference to organize one. One can rest assured that if and when a real labor party is organized the people present at this conference will have very little to do with it. The trade union bureaucrats will not permit the two-by-four intellectuals to run the show for them.

In spite of its non-representative character it would be a mistake to disregard the conference entirely. The economic and political situation is such that a Farmer-Labor party may be a serious possibility within the near future. The conference may or may not be the embryo of the future Labor party. In the past many such conferences were called by Labor party enthusiasts. Nothing came of them. The same result may follow the present conference. But that is hardly likely. The inevitable failure of the National Recovery Act to appreciably ameliorate the condition of the working class, will stimulate the movement for independent political action and the trade union bureaucracy may yet be drawn into the movement if for no other reason than as a milestone around the neck of the proletariat.

Exclude Communist Party The spectre of the Communist party hovered over the conference. The hottest discussion of the whole conference revolved around the question of permitting the Communist party and its affiliated organizations to enter into a federated Labor party. The organization committee recommended that all labor and political organizations that are genuinely interested be invited to participate in the formation of a Labor party. The conservative elements led by Professor Douglas insisted upon an amendment specifically excluding the Communist party and its auxiliary organizations. The amendment was lost. The professor, urged on by Bert Miller formerly of the Lovestonites, thereupon introduced a resolution recommending that the incoming national committee exclude the Communist party and this motion was carried by a slender majority.

The Stalinists have sown the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind. Their unbridled name-calling and absurd slanders have created a situation where the reactionary leaders appear to have some justification in their claim that the Communist party simply disrupts and destroys. The reformists gloat over the opportunity to show up the decisive tactics of the Stalinist leadership. That the reactionaries succeeded in putting through their resolution only by a few votes shows conclusively that an intelligently led Communist party would have so much influence with the rank and file that the reactionaries would not dare bar it from any working class conference. This does not imply that the Communist party should participate in the organization of a Labor party. On the contrary it should point out to the workers that a Labor party cannot solve their problems. The decision to exclude the party shows what is in store for it in any con-

Cracks in N.R.A. Structure

The NRA, as a machinery of recovery, is one of those marvels of American technique, like the ninety-day ships built during the war or the flimsy mass-production houses put up during a boom, which is as astounding for the speed of its construction as for its makeshift, jerry-built character. While the house is already being put up, the cracks are already appearing in its walls. Barely two months after the act was passed which created the NRA, and on the eve of another Barnumesque publicity campaign intended to whip up enthusiasm for it, we can say that the Marxian analysis of the futility of such devices is already being borne out by the bourgeoisie who will not stop at the concrete facts. This means that the bourgeoisie will not stop at the present stage of its efforts to climb out of the crisis on the backs of the workers. As one stage after the other proves insufficient, it will put more and more pressure to bear. Correspondingly, the resistance of the workers will need to be ever more aggressive and better organized.

In the present stage of the bourgeoisie offensive, the basic strategy is to concentrate and coordinate economic and political power through increasing State intervention, to win the support of the broad masses for this program by demagogic bluff, and to avoid sharp challenges and irrevocable decisions. That is why no decisive answer has been given to the question of inflation, why no action has been taken on the imposing public works program involving the expenditure of 3,300 million dollars, why the "spread-work" program and the leveling-down of the higher wage scales have been disguised as maximum hours and minimum wages, and why the struggle against aggressive trade-union organization has been disguised as a concession in favor of "collective bargaining".

The official justification for this course is that purchasing power will thus be increased, and this in turn will increase production and consequently employment. The beginnings of the breakdown of this policy, and the likelihood that the bourgeoisie will have to resort to more drastic measures, are shown in the following developments:

1. The ambiguous character of the governmental policy is shown by the fact that two important officials have resigned from the NRA for exactly opposite reasons, one from the left and the other from the right; Mary Van Kleeck as a liberal social worker because not enough concessions were being made to labor, Dudley Cates because labor was receiving too many concessions in the so-called right to "collective bargaining".

2. The nation-wide wave of strikes which greeted the NRA and has continued to develop until it now embraces hundreds of thousands of workers shows that the elemental needs of the working-class which are incompatible with the NRA are expressing themselves in spite of the bourgeois ideology represented by the NRA humbug which is being pumped into them by all the agencies of the bourgeois state. Faced with the realities of the strike movement, the state has no choice but to discard the bluff of impartiality, and breaks up picket lines, shoots workers, discriminates against Left wing un-

ions in spite of its demagogic class-collaborationist pretenses.

3. For its part, too, the capitalist class wants something more substantial than bluff. On the promise of inflation and energetic government action, it speculates in securities and commodities, and increased production even though there was no immediate outlet for the new products and they had to go to fill up depleted stocks instead of into consumption. For the past month and a half, however, this movement has been stopped. Steel production, for example, which reached 59 percent of capacity in the middle of July, is now down to 42 percent, although it usually increases at this time of year. The stock market has been going down steadily for over two weeks. Wheat is now 85 cents a bushel instead of \$1.02 as it was in July. The capitalists will not continue a fake boom based on hopes alone.

4. The banks have not participated in the speculative expansion program called for by Roosevelt. On the contrary, they have been reducing their outstanding credits, paying off their loans, building up their reserves, and reducing not only the amount of currency but also the amount of bank credit in circulation. At the American Bankers Association convention just finished, they were urged by government spokesmen to loosen up and lend more money. Behind all their diplomatic and evasive speeches was the definite policy of making Roosevelt show his full hand, not only promises and possibilities, but a clear statement as to inflation, before they would join the NRA procession.

Under all this pressure it is to be expected that Roosevelt will drive forward toward inflation in a far more decisive manner than heretofore. So far, the result has been a steady advance in prices, which is the same as inflation so far as the worker is concerned because it means a rise in the cost of living and a lowering of real wages. But so long as the actual machinery of inflation has not been put into action, that is, by actual manipulation of the amount of currency and credit in circulation for the direct purpose of raising prices, the kind of "inflation" which has occurred so far is not permanent.

When the capitalists find that there is no market for their increased production, they will have to reduce their prices. In order to keep prices rising, more money has to be pumped into circulation by artificial means, and this is the kind of inflation, in the stricter sense, which still lies before us.

It is to be assumed that Roosevelt will continue to proceed in the same kind of evasive, tentative, two-steps-forward-and-one-back manner in which he has been going so far. Probably, after the big badly-hoo campaign to mobilize the consumers for the NRA has come and gone, there will be an impressive announcement that hundreds of millions, or even billions, of public works have been quietly prepared during all this time, that the blue-prints are now ready, and that all the orders will be released at once. This will involve loading up the banks with government bonds, and thus forcing them to expand their investments. After huge issues of government bonds have failed to provide a substantial foundation for an upswing in business, the

T.U.U.L. Disrupts Doll Strike

The sad pass which Stalinism has reached is clearly manifested in the Doll and Toy Workers' strike. The toy part of the industry, where the Stalinists have a small foothold, is told by them not to join in the general strike. They did this first with leaflets, (distributed by members of the Young Communist League) and then with lists.

They used members of the Communist party and of the Unemployed Council to attack and cut up union pickets of the Gong Bell Toy Shop at 200 5th Avenue, N. Y. C. Giordini, president of the Toy and Doll Workers (paper) Union, was in the shop urging the workers not to join the strike when members of the A. F. of L. union came to pull the shop down. It was then that the attack began. One of the pickets of the A. F. of L. union was cut so badly as to require medical attention.

This action on the part of the Stalinists is strikebreaking, no matter what the intentions. This action is to be doubly condemned as dragging the name of Communism in the mud, and playing into the hands of the A. F. of L. reactionaries. The reformists of the A. F. of L. can now get up on the platform at strike headquarters and tell the workers that Communists are strikebreakers and to have nothing to do with them; and, in fact, to beat them up wherever they meet them. This greatly hinders any work of building a Left wing within the union. All attempts to expose Farulla and Cannon are almost worthless for a while, thanks to the criminal blunders of the Stalinists.

Workers, be on your guard against those who attack the Communists. Examine their deeds, and see if the attacks are not to cover up their criminal policy of selling out the strike last year, and, then, after being kicked out of office and union, going to the A. F. of L. and getting a charter without the consent of the union membership. Judge these leaders by their actions and deeds and not by their words. To that end, see that the strike, settlement, and shop committees function so that the leaders (whom we did not elect are checked up. Finally, elections of officers on the basis of their work within the strike, should be cared for when the strike is settled. —A DOLL WORKER.

means provided for in the inflation act would be utilized, no doubt: Federal Reserve credits would be expanded, new currency issued, and finally perhaps, as a last irrevocable step, the dollar might be cut down to half its gold content. Every one of these steps, insofar and for as long as it has any effect, will result in raising the cost of living, and thus cutting the real wages of the worker—apart from the rest of the capitalist offensive in cutting relief, cutting school budgets, speeding-up labor, etc. —B. J. FIELD.

Discussion on the German Defeat

Relativity and Pacifism

Even Slander Needs Meaning

The article appearing below is another contribution to the discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. The views expressed are those of the writer. Comrades are invited to participate in this discussion but their contribution should be limited to about 700 words.—Ed.

In the *New Republic* of July 5 there appeared an article by comrade Trotsky entitled "The German Catastrophe" (reprinted in the *Militant*) which subjected the policy of the Central Committee of the C. P. and the C. I. to a critical analysis. The substance of this document was that the failure of the C. P. and the Social Democracy to form a united front, and the failure of the C. P. G. to propose it, was responsible for the catastrophe. With the substance of this criticism, limited as it must be within the confines of a short article, we have no argument. But this explanation does not go far enough and to the root of things. The reader gets the impression that the leaders of the C. P. G. were free agents acting in accordance with their own judgment which proved to be erroneous. The leaders of German Communism acted as they did not merely because their judgment was poor but because they consented to become puppets of the existing foreign policy of Stalinism. They had received orders from Moscow to offer only a dilatory opposition or passive resistance but no serious struggle against Hitler. What proof is there for these assertions? And what were the motives for justifying this policy?

The organs of the L. O. noticed the strange silence of the C. I. for months preceding the events of March 5, they called attention to its failure to furnish political assistance and to the failure of the C. P. G. to make adequate defense preparations. The C. P. U. S. A. also ignored appeals from the L. O. for action on the German crisis. These were the outward symptoms of the crisis in the C. I.

Were these features and events mere accidents and oversights on the part of the Stalinists? We know that in politics there are no accidents or oversights—not where major policies are concerned. We believe the answer is to be found in the changed foreign policy of the C. P. S. U. From a party committed to the promotion of world revolution it has degenerated into a party of national Socialism. In order to establish this hypothesis we invite the consideration of the following facts.

It is common knowledge that an isolated workers' revolutionary government operating under the discussion of a party committed to a policy of world revolution must of necessity have difficult and strained relations with capitalist powers, who, when they are not conspiring actively to destroy it are protesting against the "outrages", that a foreign party, i. e. the C. P. S. U. should be conducting propaganda on their territory through an affiliated organization, the C. I. Hence, since the termination of the active intervention program the capitalist world powers have demanded the cessation by the S. U. of Communist propaganda on their soil. In the language of diplomacy this means the suppression of the C. I. Depending upon various situations in the international field they have threatened to break off relations, have refused to sign trade agreements, treaties, extend loans, guarantee credits as long as the C. I. was an active threat to their existence. The Soviet diplomacy countered with the argument that it was not responsible for the actions of the C. I. and that no Soviet government agency was engaged in any hostile action on foreign soil. Mr. Henderson, British foreign minister to mention only one case, refused to accept this contention insisting that the S. U. was responsible for the acts of the C. I. which he considered a propaganda arm of the Soviets. He informed the Soviet Union that if the C. I. engaged in propaganda on British soil relations between the two countries would again be broken. As long as Lenin and Trotsky were leading the C. P. S. U. this demand for suppression of the C. I. was energetically resisted. But with the death of Lenin, the expulsion of the L. O., the slowing down of world revolution and the rise of the policies of national socialism, the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. S. U. has gradually yielded to the pressure of world imperialist powers. The benefit of an active international center coordinating the activities of the parties was considered as insignificant compared to the benefits of recognition trade and credits. The belief gradually grew up among the Stalinist bureaucracy that one or the other would have to be sacrificed. The C. I. was, of course, sacrificed and with it the international conception that the fate of the Soviet Union was bound up with the fate of the world proletariat. The

theory which the Stalinist school of national socialism advanced, officially and unofficially, may be expressed as follows:

The mere existence of the S. U. is a beacon light to the world proletariat. If the S. U. can obtain a breathing space for a number of years during which unruffled, peaceful relations, loans, trade, etc., can be established with the capitalist world powers then fulfilled socialism can be developed within the Soviet Union. The resultant socialist construction will be a great inspiration to the oppressed proletariat, who will then, seeing a finished socialist structure as an objective reality, be only too willing to overthrow their bourgeoisie. What shall the proletariat do in the meantime? In the meantime the C. P. S. U. abandons its original program of world revolution. In fact, the proletariat of other countries must mark time not even attempt to seize power because this would disturb the Soviet capitalist peaceful cohabitation. In fact for the time being, the world proletariat must be prepared to sacrifice its historic mission—the overthrow of capitalism for the sake of the "upbuilding of socialism in the Soviet Union."

These arguments have not an iota in common with Leninism. The war scare which the Stalinists use to justify their policy is strange—very similar to that used by the German social democracy in 1918. When after the German Revolution they were called upon by the workers to establish a workers government and come to the assistance of the Russian revolution, they replied in these words: "If we come to the assistance of the German proletariat and establish a workers government the allies will march into Germany and occupy Berlin. Thus all the achievements of the German revolution will be destroyed. It is therefore much safer and more certain to follow the slow but peaceful path to socialism of the Weimar Constitution." Now we can understand the silence of the C. I. before and after the coup d'etat. Now we can understand the passivity of the C. P. G. The German working class and with it the hopes of the world proletariat were sacrificed for years to come, so that the Stalin bureaucracy might nurse its illusory hope of peace calm and quiet living together with world capitalism.

The Future of the C. I.

From the Stalinist course of a half-liquidated International there arises a three fold danger:

1. If the Soviet Union should be really threatened with war, intervention or both, the danger is that the workers of the various important countries will not respond with the same enthusiasm to the slogan of defending the Workers Republic as they have heretofore. These

workers will argue that the C. I. and the C. P. S. U. remained silent while Fascism rolled over our organizations and broke the backbone of our movement for liberation. Why should we break our heads for the Stalinists when the Soviet Union, manned by Stalinism, finds itself encircled by world imperialism?

Naturally from the standpoint of the I. L. O. such a viewpoint would be calamitous and the L. O. would actively resist it. But the danger nevertheless exists that such currents are likely to make themselves felt widely. The I. L. O. must take measures to forestall the possibility of such phenomena.

2. There is another danger—that of passivity. Many Communist-minded workers will lose faith, because of the inactivity of the C. I. in all revolutionary movements and withdraw from the struggle altogether.

3. Lastly, the greatest danger is that of liquidation. When, in 1923, the C. I. failed to respond to the revolutionary situation, the result was a steady streaming back of workers to re-enroll under the banner of the social democracy. Such a danger is magnified today because the breakdown of the C. P. in Germany and Austria. In Germany and Italy Fascism has been able to carry on only because it has made deep inroads into the ranks of the workers. The danger therefore exists of large masses streaming into the folds of Fascism because of the breakdown of both Internationals, the 2nd as well as the 3rd.

Conclusion

The Stalinist police, can now, be summarized as follows:

1. Abandonment of the Leninist program of world revolution.

2. Nominal existence for the C. I., Muzzling of the C. I. as important world crises arise.

3. Civil peace with world capitalism, no international class struggle.

4. Suppression of democratic centralism in the C. P. S. U.; conversion of the party into a semi-military administration and ruled from the top by a dictatorial oligarchy.

Where does this policy lead to? It is obvious that we are not dealing any more with a centrist current in Communism with which we have tactical differences but with light wing opportunism.

Upon the shoulders of the I. L. O. rests the responsibility of preventing the above-mentioned dangers from becoming acute and from engulfing for decades the entire workers' liberationist movement. Under these changed circumstances the I. L. O. must make plans for its transition from the role of an Opposition within the C. I. to a new role—that of the leading nucleus for the organization of a new International.

—L. BROWN.

U. S., Cuba and Latin America

Does intervention exist in Cuba? The capitalist press says no. We say it does. It began with the establishment of the revolutionary junta of five. The whole Atlantic fleet was sent to Cuban waters. The air fleet and marines were mobilized. Cuba was bottled up. A new form of intervention took place. "Armed" intervention had not been established? Cuba's independence has not been violated! As soon as the new government was established pressure from American imperialism increased from day to day, until the petty bourgeois element in the lead had slowly yielded and helped check the pressure of the bank and file and the workers from below. Nevertheless, the new regime which is compromising with American imperialism is sitting on a dynamite keg and the proper spark can blow up this regime causing repercussions which will be felt by the most backward strata of the American workers.

Why is America so careful in her dealing with her colony, Cuba? Cuba is present the determining factor which will decide to a great degree the outcome of the impending Pan-American Conference to be held at Montevideo. This conference will be the culmination of a bitter struggle now raging among the imperialists to decide who will obtain a more favorable position in the trade relations with the South America countries. England, Germany and Japan are still making inroads in America's private backyard. The Americans hope to overcome this between now and the date of the conference.

One false move in Cuba, which will increase Latin America's hatred for the iron heel of the North will play into the hands of the other imperialist. American hopes to avoid this, which accounts for the new form of intervention the Roosevelt government is conducting in Cuba. As soon as the London Conference was over, as soon as America had tied a few more ropes around Europe in order to put her on rattions, America turned her attention to the South American struggle and the coming conference. Reports from investigators Roosevelt sent south at the very beginning of his administration indicated that Cuba was a most critical spot. This spot had to be removed as part of the preparations for the Pan-American Conference.

The objective conditions for a political explosion in Cuba were mature. All that was needed was a "hands off policy" from the iron heel of the North. America did more than that. It helped remove

Machado and place in power a more suitable puppet but events and conditions got out of control. Within a month history passed beyond this American set-up. The Cuban situation is characteristic of the quicksand upon which American Imperialism has built its world structure. Attempts to solve one contradiction pave the way for a new and bigger contradiction.

The proletarian revolution cast its shadow across Cuba, an outpost of American imperialism. America's backyard has a revolutionary situation. Workers seize sugar plantations, American imperialism is denounced, complete independence is demanded. The Red scare becomes the headline overnight in the rabid American press. But the economic and political implications run deeper than the diplomatic and yellow press maneuvers. It runs deeper than America's attempt to patch up things for the Pan-American Conference.

America went to the London conference to smash the attempted united front of Europe. America's positive role at Europe's conference was to deliver a few destructive blows. America's role at the Pan-American conference is different. This is America's set-up. It is England's time to deliver a few destructive blows.

Below the surface of this imperialist struggle for markets and the preparation for war runs the more fundamental struggle of the imperialists and the proletariat. The American working class has an urgent and tremendous task to aid the Latin American workers and peasants. The overthrow of American imperialism is our task and the workers and peasants of Latin America are our closest allies. Their fight against American imperialism in Cuba is our fight.

—HUGO OEHLEK.

Secretary Hull expressed the opinion to the London economic conference that if any nation wrecked it, "that country will merit the execration of mankind." Yet the United States did it. Secretary Woodin, when denying rumors of currency stabilization agreements reached at London, said that "any agreement on this subject will be reached in Washington, not elsewhere." Soon Secretary Swanson, who is now busy building a navy "second to none", can be expected to add his declaration that "any future agreement on naval relations will be reached in Washington, not elsewhere.

The *New York Times* of September 10 quotes Albert Einstein, world famous pacifist, as follows: "If I were a Belgian I would not refuse military service under the present circumstances, but I would, on the contrary, accept it with a clear conscience with the sentiment of a contribution toward securing European civilization."

The "present circumstances" are Einstein's fear of a threat of war emanating from Hitler. Einstein thinks that the tide of war will roll westward and that Belgium will fall beneath the Nazi chariot wheels. Hence the gratuitous admonition to Belgian workers to train for the defense of "their" country.

The French Socialists and the British labor states want to defend European democracy against Fascist and "Soviet dictatorships". Hitler, too, wants to defend European civilization against "the East". How many saviors of European civilization there are!

It is difficult to reconcile this latest position of Einstein's with his endorsement of and services for the Stalinist Amsterdam World Anti-War Congress. This the Stalinists will have to explain away. We warned in time against entrusting the leadership of the fight against imperialist war to well meaning intellectuals and pacifists. For our good advice the Stalinists gave us curses and blows.

This latest advice of Einstein's stands in contradiction to his former, well known advice to the entire world to refuse to bear arms. He is the formulator of the pacifist idea that if only two percent of a population refuse to bear arms that number will suffice to defeat the war plans of the imperialists.

But if you think you see a contradiction here Einstein does not. He explains this point: "There does not mean I renounce my previous opinions. I desire nothing more than to see the moment come when the refusal of military service will be the means for an efficacious struggle for the progress of humanity." You see, he merely postpones his idea of refusing military service for a whole. And in the meantime he advocates the exact opposite.

Is there a contradiction here? Yes and no. It all depends on how you look at it. Workers should remember that Einstein is the author of the theory of relativity which despite its positive contributions to science, implies that there is no objective world independent of consciousness and that the world is only the result of the position of the measurer. In other words if you stick your head between your legs and look at the world from that position the Empire State Building grows down from the sky and calling on Belgian workers to enter the military service of the capitalist class is not in contradiction to pacifist ideas.

That is generally the conclusion to which the petty bourgeois, confusionist theories of pacifism lead. We hope that Einstein will forgive us if we see in his playing with serious questions the bankruptcy of pacifism and its objective support of imperialism.

—T. STAMM.

Southern Negroes Under the N.R.A.

The murderous meaning of Roosevelt's "New Deal" to southern Negro workers has been brought to our attention by many conflicts which have arisen around the issue of wage differentials between white and Negro workers. A firm in Atlanta which prominently displayed the blue eagle insignia pays its Negro employees from 6 to 13 cents an hour. The most violent forms of Jim Crowism transferred into the wage differential question is given testimony in an article in the *New York Times* of August 27, from which we quote in part:

"Mississippi already has given the nation an example of barbarity based on an economic condition.... Negro freemen were lured from their engines with flares and then shot down. Others were slain or severely wounded in the engine cars.... It can be assured that how- ever true the statement that the living costs of the Negro justifies a differential in wages, the thought is not a pleasant one to blacks who are forced to live in miserable surroundings in order to live at the lowest scale. This situation created by the NRA regulations benefited as they are in intent (?) is one that must have the serious and honest consideration of reasonable men of both races."

It would be much more correct to state that this situation and the whole Negro question requires the consideration of working men of both races; for serious bourgeois of both races created exactly this situation. I quote further from the same article to prove this statement:

"Many men suggested that a differential in wages should be established. This was successfully done among laundry workers, where Negro workers have long represented the majority of the workers. But a drastic differential in other lines is another matter and contains a danger pointed out by Dr. R. R. Moton, head of Tuskegee In-

A Discussion with those Stalinists Who Reflect

On every occasion the Stalinists repeat that the Bolshevik-Leninists whom they call "Trotskyists" are working in favor of military intervention in the U. S. S. R. A shameless absurdity of this kind is calculated to mislead ill-informed people. The courageous man, the honest man, must inevitably say to himself: "It is impossible that such a thing is simply an invention, there must be some truth in it." And unfortunately there are not a few of such courageous men in the world.

How then must one understand the aid that the "Trotskyists" will lend aid to intervention? Does that mean that the Bolshevik-Leninists are on the side of imperialism in the struggle against the U. S. S. R., that is, that they will be materially or politically interested in overthrowing the workers' state with the aid of the military force of the imperialist bourgeoisie? There are people who even go as far as such assertions. In the majority of cases, these are slovenly careerists who are little concerned over intervention, revolution, Marxism and ideas in general they simply serve the master of today and will unhesitatingly betray this master in time of danger.

At bottom, these "udarniks" (shock brigadiers) of slander continue the tradition of the reactionaries, who, from 1914 onward and particularly from 1917, repeated indefinitely that Lenin and Trotsky were agents of the German General Staff. After 15 or 20 years in the course of which such events as the October Revolution, the Civil war, the creation of the 3rd International and the intransigent struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists for the banner of Marx and Lenin against the degenerating bureaucracy have withdrawn from the mud of the accusation formerly fabricated by the military espionage, by Milinkov, Bourtzev and Kerensky.

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ians and the bonapartists against the October Revolution; finally that it aided Hitler against the proletariat in Germany. Is this true or not? This is the decisive question.

Of course our criticism does not contribute to raising the authority of the Stalinist faction; but can one put the prestige of the bureaucracy and the vital interests of the world proletariat on the same plane? The Stalinist bureaucracy, which disposes in abundance of the services of publications, papers, "theoreticians", journalists, has not even approached a refutation of our criticism. Is it not truly astounding that the C. I. has no book which draws the lessons of the German events of 1923, the Bulgarian intervention and a series of other events of lesser extent. Thus, after the miserable report of Heckert they have put a cross on the causes of the victory of German Fascism. By treating our criticism as counter-revolutionary the Stalinist bureaucracy merely says by that we assail the principle of its infallibility. This principle has no doubt of demonstration: whoever doubts it is expelled from the organization and is locked in a prison in the U. S. S. R., then the family of the criminal is deprived of domicile and bread.

But is or is not the Opposition correct in its criticism? What then has military intervention to do with it? However in its chase for stronger and stronger arguments to justify its measures of physical destruction of the Leninists, the Stalinists with more and more frequency advance the argument of intervention. Their reasoning is constructed somewhat along the following lines: the "Trotskyists" say that Socialism in a single country is impossible; that the kulaks in the U. S. S. R. are not destroyed

The Left Socialist Conference

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portant points of view, failed to pose the orientation of the new international. Where it speaks in the general abstract manner of retrieving the international unity of the working class, that will have as many and as distinct different interpretations as their were tendencies represented. Some of the delegates undoubtedly supported the resolution because it postponed the new regrouping of revolutionary force outside the two Internationals, others because they did not yet consider it necessary to create a new international and finally there were those who interpret the failure of the two Internationals as proof of the necessity of unification of all workers organizations on the basis of concrete demands and without regard to divergent principles.

Summed up this conference nevertheless presents to us a picture of the travail and the birth pangs of a movement. We recall the time of the rise of the Bolshevik revolution and the collapse of Social Democracy how important sections and groups within it were struggling to find their way to Communism and in most cases not without difficulties. Again this process is repeated, but, as it appears, at an accelerated tempo. The lessons of Germany are sinking in deeply among several of these present groups and parties developing Leftward toward international Communism. This general development is the fact of monumental importance standing out above all difficulties and all the confusion still apparent.

The decadence and betrayal of Social Democracy became the compelling force driving many of these parties in a Leftward direction. Such new groups will still emerge. But the Stalinist control of the Comintern instead of facilitating has hindered this process, and that in a large measure accounts for the confusion still existing amongst them. In their further developments these parties will therefore find themselves ever more faced with the task of smashing the Stalinist barriers.

Before this conference the Left Opposition affirmed its break with Stalinist Centrism and its greater irreconcilability than before towards reformism. That position will in the coming period stand out the more impressively and win its way within the parties groping for an international revolutionary orientation. The firm kernel which has already emerged augurs well for the future. —A. S.

It appears that the coal operators actually did get busy and are trying to reach a conclusion on their code discussion. When signed it will, we assume also carry the name of "fair competition", even with the company union clause retained. But what made them get busy was the fact that the workers got into action and struck the jobs,

New Left Wing Policy

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of "dual unionism" bluff us out of it. But just as firmly we must refuse to accept the paper unions of the Stalinists as substitutes for genuine mass organizations. Independent unions have a very slim chance in the present situation. That is not because there is any law to this effect—as the Lovestone opportunists imply—but because a force capable of organizing them is lacking and because the trend of the masses toward the conservative unions cannot and should not be counteracted. (For Marxist independent unions are not a dogma or fetish any more than A. F. of L. unions are).

But not the least, and very probably the greatest, factor in the situation which excludes any widespread development of independent unions at the present time is the fact that the Stalinists, who have made a dogma of independent "class struggle" unions, have succeeded in discrediting the idea and alienating the workers who might have cooperated in building them in these industries where their existence had a certain justification and necessity. By their "fictitious" new trade union center, their stupid tactics, their arrogant bureaucracy, their hooligan abuse and expulsions of critics and political opponents, their subordination of the unions to the narrow clique interests of the Stalin faction and the conversion of the decimated organizations into mere appendages of the Stalin party—by their whole policy and regime, they have covered the idea of an independent union movement with their own disgrace.

The verdict of doom has already been pronounced on the so-called unions under their domination. As for the unorganized workers, they are passing them by and the non-Stalinist elements who have not been expelled are leaving them. Make no mistake about it. Unions that cannot grow now when new strata of workers are surging forward and seeking organization are dead beyond the possibility of resurrection. The Left wing militants who want to play a part in the new situation in the labor movement must turn their backs on the Stalinist paper unions and put a cross over the whole experiment.

THE NEW LEFT WING PROGRAM.

To see the present strike wave as only the first stage of a resurgent class activity of the American workers and prepare to influence its further development; to call the workers to enter the trade unions and to go with them on this path; to struggle increasingly within the unions against the policy and leadership of the reactionaries; to break resolutely and completely with the Stalinist sectarian paper unions—these in our opinion, are the main points of the new trade union theses, which the Left wing requires.

But the new program, by itself, is not enough. The Left wing also requires a new leadership. Up till now the Stalinists have dominated the movement, disorganizing and

disrupting everything they could not control and silencing all critical voices with threats and expulsions. They had a monopoly on the leadership. Consequently, the responsibility for the results is also their monopoly. In the light of what happened in the past three months, on top of all that went before, it is possible now—it is absolutely necessary!—to draw the final balance of their trade union policy. The beginning of the strike wave was the great opportunity and test of the Left wing and its leadership. (Given a correct policy and a competent leadership the Left wing in the labor movement could not fail to bound forward, to expand its influence and organization at the expense of the reactionaries.)

It happened differently, as everybody knows. In the trade union movement in America, as in every vital problem of the working class throughout the world, Stalinism remained true to its mission as the great organizer of defeats. The conclusion which the revolutionary workers throughout the world are drawing must also be drawn here. In the trade union question the necessity for a complete break with the Stalinist leadership is especially obvious and imperative. And their disastrous leadership in this field is only a particularly illuminating illustration of their leadership in general. The question brooks no delay. The liberation of the Left wing of the labor movement from the strangulating grip of Stalinism is the key to the problem of planning and organizing the struggles of the American workers, of raising the elemental movement to new heights. This is today the crux of the trade union question.

—J. F. CANNON.

GET A SUB!

Our own Dr. Luttinger (name unknown) says that the best thing for a young and growing paper is subs. All subs are good. They are of two kinds; new ones and renewals like the one that came with the letter reprinted below. Please read the letter carefully and draw the proper conclusions in the form of new subs and renewals. This is a favorite theme to which we will return in the near future.

Dear comrades, It seems as if I will never get a dollar together again in my life. So I am sending you fifty cents herewith and beg you to extend my Militant sub for as far as that amount pays for. My Militant expires with No. 190. Very close now. In a money way times have been even harder than last year with no prospects of improvement for me. But I suppose it isn't much better anywhere else or with anybody else.

"Capitalism is simply played out and can no longer provide us with the barest necessities of life. Yours for Communism and the L. O."

Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

(Continued from Page 1)

revolution's aims with any form of American domination.

The Cuban workers and peasants, however, can rely only on their own strength, on their own popular organs of struggle, that is, the Soviets. In this respect, we have nothing in common with the Stalinist conception that Soviets are to be organized only at the moment of proletarian insurrection. That would only lead, as was so tragically demonstrated by the Stalinist policy in China, to the failure to organize Soviets in time as the revolutionary center and instrument of the workers and peasants, or else to the organization of caricature Soviets after the revolutionary wave had receded. Soviets are needed now, not merely as the future organs of the proletarian insurrection. They are needed in order effectively to mobilize the whole people of Cuba, in an elementary mass organ, for a successful struggle to kick out the American bandits and assure the integrity of Cuba. The time for the organization of Soviets in Cuba is now when the struggle for the demands of the masses against the vacillating "government" and against the domination and oppression of American imperialism, is unfolding and gaining in intensity.

The Cuban masses have already seized arms in their endeavor to defend and to advance the gains already made. To further that process is one of the main tasks of the Soviets. The masses of the people must be armed to the teeth in the elementary interests of the defense of Cuba against American imperialism.

The revolutionary problems of the Cuban masses are now posed in imposing magnitude. But these problems cannot be solved by the Cuban masses alone. They can count surely on the solidarity of the Latin American masses who also suffer under the domination and oppression of the same northern colossus. But above all they need the energetic and immediate support of the working class of the United States. The freedom of the Cuban people from the imperialist yoke is intimately linked up with the struggles of the American workers against the same exploiters.

The economy and politics of the U. S. are the dominant factor in Cuba. The fate of the proletariat of Cuba and the United States is inseparably connected. The active support of the American working class in closest solidarity with the fighting Cuban masses, can defeat the American intervention in Cuba and secure the complete and unconditional independence of the Cuban people!

A heavy responsibility rests upon the American working class. There should be no delay in their sympathetic action. It is the duty of the Communist movement in the

Growing Strike Wave

(Continued From Page 1)

ers are concerned, but a section of them came out in response to the crisis are concerned, but a section of call of the National Textile Workers Union of TUUL.

Within a few days this mass movement may even be dwarfed by the new miners strike now looming on the horizon. Already 30,000 are out in central and Western Pennsylvania. These miners are losing patience with the quotatory promises made to them before that President Roosevelt and the NRA coal code would soon remove all their depression misery. They are returning to reliance upon their own mass force as the prospects of a code bringing favors to the miners recedes into the background. The efforts of the UMW officials to hold them tied to their job until the advent of the code seems to be of little avail.

An effective strike of 1,000 miners in the state of Utah has been in progress now for some time with all the means at the disposal of the capitalist state institution massed against them. Clubbings and jailings are on the order of the day with military control in the field almost amounting to a state of martial law. This strike is under the leadership of the National Miners Union. In both the Eastern and Western Kentucky fields members of the UMW have begun strikes. Even the anthracite miners are stirring. In Lackawanna county several shafts have been shut down and the "liberal" governor Pinchot has taken this occasion to instruct his sheriffs to prevent all mass picketing.

Outside of these two most important fields, mining and textile, innumerable strikes, some of considerable size are either in progress, or have just been settled or have so far reached the stage of a definite truce unless the workers' demands are met. Notable, however, is the fact that in practically every instance where settlements have already been arrived at, or the threats averted, some positive gains have been scored by the workers involved.

In New York City 10,000 cleaners and dyers have struck for shorter working hours and higher wages. The delivery truck drivers threaten to follow. 25,000 underwear workers have declared a strike. 4,000 button workers are already out. 10,000 neckwear workers are on strike. Several thousand embroidery workers scored important gains in their strike settlement just made. 25,000 millinery workers threaten to go on strike. 4,000 moving picture operators won against an attempted company union by the threat of a strike and picketing of many theatres.

An injunction against picketing has been issued against the New York bakery workers strike which is now running into several months duration. About 3,000 are still out. Similarly the Brooklyn Shoe workers strike, involving several thousand, to organize this active support of the American toilers for the Cuban liberation struggle!

sand men is still in full force despite all the attempts to make it illegal under the charge of being a Communist strike.

From St. Louis comes the report that the city is in the grip of many strikes. In the main it is the clothing shops which are hit, about 1,000 being out at the time of this writing. A total of 300 pickets have been arrested. In Cleveland a street car strike of 3,000 workers was narrowly averted by the company agreeing to recognize the union and to have the demands for wage increases settled by arbitration. In the Fresno, Calif. region a strike of 15,000 fruit pickers gained for them a 33 per cent wage increase. Fruit pickers in Jacklins, Wash., are on strike for better wages and working conditions. These are just a few examples, culled at random, of strikes going on at this moment. A glance will convince the most sceptical observer that there is today a strike wave constantly moving upward. This is not accidental. Moreover, it is indicative for the future. The extremely low standard of living to which the American workers have been reduced demands improvements and the workers are showing determination to get it. As the now rapidly upward moving cost of living really begins to make its effect felt the workers will surge forward that much stronger.

The strikes in progress also prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the American workers do not rely merely upon the N. R. A., despite all its blather, to accomplish this improvement. Generally speaking the masses still believe that it will be helpful, but they also believe in reinforcement by their own strike power to actually obtain its benefits. Apparently we will be justified in saying: In the main the workers are striking today with the NRA with some signs of taking action regardless of it. Tomorrow, when their illusions disappear, they will be striking against the chains imposed by the N. R. A. —A. S.

Walk Out in the Harverstraw Shop

After over three weeks of intensive organization work, the workers of the Spiewak plant in Haverstraw, N. Y., for years the open shop "jinx" of the mens' garment market, unanimously voted to go out on strike against prevailing sweat shop conditions and for the recognition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Local 178. Mr. Spiewak is caught short with a mass of orders that he cannot fill. Not a garment can be produced. In turn the Linbrook plant whose cutters are on strike will now be tied up, since the cutting was all done at Haverstraw. News of the Spiewak strike has tremendously heartened Local 178 in New York, and has spurred it on towards a 100 percent organization of the industry.

All the preliminary organization work preparatory to the calling of the strike was handled by Sara Avrin in close collaboration with the New York office of the union.

Bosses and NRA Defeat Workers

The shipping department of the Geo. B. Hand Co., a paper house, went on strike, September 11, 1933 after being refused a minimum wage of \$20 per week which the shipping clerks demanded.

The tactics of the strikers were to spread the strike so as to include the machine girls and the other workers and so as to get the support of whatever union included shipping clerks.

The boss, knowing the raw conditions throughout the factory and the chances we had for spreading the strike, defeated our first tactic by immediately after our walk-out raising the wages of the employees on both the paperette and machine floors.

Our second tactic failed because there is no shipping clerks' union and because the shipping clerks section of the Amalgamated Workers Union stated that because their "hands were full at present" they could not take up our strike.

The strike then decided to file complaint against the firm for gross machine girls 14 hours a day, refusing to let the shipping clerks deal with him collectively, paying below the lowest level of the NRA. The NRA investigated the firm and gave the boss a complete whitewashing, thus showing which class it serves.

The strikers have experienced their first disillusionment. They have made their first move in the direction of organization. Conditions will force them to make moves which they will make more resolutely and with better planning. —GEO. J. SAUL.

A CORRECTION

In our article on the Los Angeles Unemployed Movement, appearing in the issue of August 12, a mistake occurred to which our attention has been called by the Los Angeles comrades. In reference to the Mays Case, it recorded the vote as being against him. It should be the opposite. He won out 35 to 6.

BOOK REVIEW:

THE UNTRIED CASE—By Herbert B. Ehrmann. Vanguard Press, \$2.00. It is six years since the two martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti were framed and murdered by the State powers of Massachusetts for a crime that a professional gang had committed. This gang was known as the Morrelli gang of Providence, R. I. According to the confession made by Castellino Maderios, one of the gang who took part in the South Braintree hold-up on April 15th, 1920, where a policeman and a guard were killed for which Sacco and Vanzetti, innocent victims, were executed.

On August 22, 1933, six years after the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti, Ehrmann, one of the defending Communists that were assigned to investigate the Maderios confession, for the first time tells the real inside story of the South Braintree crime to the public. On reading this book that is full of so many facts, names, dates, names of gangsters, etc., pertaining to this gangster murder, one wonders why it is that the legal defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti, withheld the story from the international working class and intellectuals who demanded freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. The answer is, in Ehrmann's own words found on the last page of the preface—"Until Governor Fuller's decision was released on August 3, 1927, Mr. Thompson and I refrained from any public comment. We believed that it was contrary to the ethics of our profession to try our case in the newspapers. The legal aspect of the case, however, has been closed by death, and our duty now is to the record of history." This shows that Thompson and Ehrmann, although liberal lawyers, did not understand that the Sacco and Vanzetti case was a "class" case. Their clients understood it very well. The lawyers did not want any public demonstrations or protests. This they imagined would hurt their clients' case.

This book, published last month, gives an interesting story of how the South Braintree murder was actually committed. From Maderios' confession we see that the crime was committed by six professional gangsters. Their names are all given.

Mr. Ehrmann shows how Maderios made his confession. He was in Dedham jail at the time together with Nicholas Sacco and he smuggled a note to Sacco on Nov. 18th, 1925 saying:—"I hereby confess to being in the South Braintree Shoe Company crime and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not in the said crime." The same note was sent by Maderios to the Boston American. The note reached deputy-Sheriff Curtis but got no further. This note started a long and tortuous journey traveled by the defense attorneys, that led to the exposure of the Morrelli gang.

As soon as Ehrmann had established the facts of the murder, he telephoned to the assistant district attorney prosecuting the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Ehrmann continues "He had been a class-mate of mine at college and I felt I could talk frankly to him. To my surprise he showed no interest in the news from New Bedford and Providence."

The author describes how Judge Webster Thayer "listened impassively to the arguments which lasted for five days. He was uniformly courteous and engaged in an occasional pleasantry." It was the same judge who denied every motion for a new trial.

What does all this signify? That the whole State apparatus, Gov. Fuller and his Commission containing a Liberal Professor like Powell murdered two workers, not for a crime they committed but for their radical ideas. The only crime Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty of was that of being unusually loyal to their class. They were agitators. They did not believe in patriotism and war. They organized strikes. Sacco evaded the draft. They were also on defense committees for helping victims of the "red" raids and deportations, after our Liberal President Woodrow Wilson saved the world for Democracy.

Throughout the whole book there is no hint of a connection between this case and a thousand other frame-ups that have occurred in the day to day struggles against capitalism. It is evident that Ehrmann did not understand this frame-up of capitalism as Sacco and Vanzetti understood it.

The book, however, reads like a detective novel and is a useful document for future historians to refer to. It shows very simply how capitalist courts will reject every proof of innocence no matter how convincing if it favours the frame-up victims. The book is full of facts and evidence that conclusively proves even to the intelligence of a child that Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered though innocent. —SAM FISHER.

These are stirring times. The masses are getting into motion. Are the militants on the job? If not, then make the start the sooner the better. A very good beginning is to take hold of our literature and bring it to other workers. In this the Militant should be included.

This movement at the time of formation of the County Workers Protective Union. There was nothing incorrect about this characterization, but our Los Angeles comrades point out that despite this policy the Protective Union has since grown and acquired a broad base. All militants are co-operating in activities within it.

Discussion on the N. R. A. and the Slogan "Nationalization of Industry"

This article introduces a subject which has not formerly been discussed in the Militant, it is therefore accepted explicitly as a discussion article. The views expressed are those of the writer. Other contributions in discussion on this subject are invited, but they should not exceed 100 words—Ed.

The bourgeoisie is presenting the National Industrial Recovery Act as the answer to the Soviet's five year plan, as the "better road" of capitalist planned economy. The "plan" which is to solve the present crisis and bring capitalism out of the wilderness into the promised land, envisages the formation of trusts along the lines of European cartels on a semi-voluntary basis for the purpose of regulating competition, allocating production, setting standards of minimum wages and maximum hours of work. It includes the aim of raising prices and increasing the purchasing power of the masses.

Exposure of NRA Our Task

It is the obvious task of the Communist to expose this bourgeois method of solving the problems of the crisis solely for its own benefit with the most shameless and criminal disregard of the mode of existence of the working class. This exposure takes on a wide scope. What is here presented is part of a larger discussion on the new problems posed by NRA.

1. We must show that NRA is nothing but a scheme for reestablishing of profits for the capitalists and so ordering industry as to give the ruling class an all-the-more powerful grip on the means of production, the basis of exploitation.

2. It is an attempt to organize American capitalism on a stronger base for the purposes of imperialist expansion. Naturally this includes the possibility of quickly transferring economy to a war footing when the occasion arises. And in fact the present campaign to put over the NRA is but the prelude, the rehearsal for a war campaign. America is in desperate need of imperialist bases on the Asiatic mainland.

3. It permits more efficient and concentrated action against the working class in the event of workers' resistance. At the same time

by the demagoguery of fake wage increases and the incantating of the idea that the government stands above the classes ready to mediate in the interests of all, it tries to lead the workers into passive acceptance.

4. NRA is an organized method for unloading the crisis on the backs of the workers. It is the organized method under government auspices of setting the most wretched living standards for the proletariat. It is the nation-wide stagger plan which reduces the hours of work, at the same time throwing the sop to the workers of a nominal increase of hourly pay, the net result being that the workers lose about one week's pay a month. The wages thus saved, it is hoped, will be used by the bosses to hire extra hands.

5. NRA is the attempt to drag on the workers either in company unions or under the leadership of the treacherous class collaborationists. It is a weapon drawn against resist the wiles of class collaboration, then the open shop will be put over on the entire American working class.

N. R. A. vs. Planned Economy

6. We must emphasize also that this "plan" is peculiarly unlike what we know as planned economy. For planned economy is the organizing of industry for ever greater production, for the increase of commodities, not for their restriction. This so-called plan is rather the organizing of waste, of sabotage of production, of restrictions of output—in short it is the organizing of hunger with the greatest ingenuity, simply and solely for profits. The allocation of production within the cartel means rendering idle and useless a large percentage of the machinery of production. It has even been proposed to tax such idle machinery out of existence. (Note Eastman's plan for scrapping old railroad equipment.) The plan supposedly involves the figuring of costs of production, but to engage in any real analyses of the capitalist mode of production would mean the exposure of its anarchy before the entire working class, would show up the serious disproportions of capitalism in the various sections of the country, would expose to full view the waste and inefficiency of

production under the present system, particularly as concerns the quantity of machinery left in complete idleness in the various large plants. Rather than attempt to set a uniform system of accounting which would virtually involve the determination of the socially-necessary labor entering into the production of a commodity, the abandonment has been forced to adopt a "blanket" code. The other codes being adopted imitate the generalities of this blanket code.

No, this is no planned economy; such an economy can only be set in motion by the proletariat who alone can see to it that not the workers exist for production but production for the workers, who alone can produce for use and not for profit.

7. The relation of NRA to inflation is worthy of closer attention than is here possible. Government inflation has become a necessity for the bourgeoisie as a class. NRA is one of the ways of preparing for the later stages of inflation and is itself, thru the price-fixing provision, an attempt to "control" the course of the "inevitable" inflation.

Aims of the Communists

Not alone does the Communist expose the real nature of this bourgeois attack on the working class, but he participates in all the immediate struggles of the workers—whether for higher wages, better conditions, the right to strike, the rights of unionism for the rights of the worker to democratic justice, etc.—for the purpose of guiding the immediate aims of the struggle so that they coincide with the interests of the class as a whole, and also for the purpose of gaining the confidence of the proletarians through correctness of policy, and through struggle as to make the worker politically conscious in his resistance to the ruling class.

Lenin states that "the workers can acquire political consciousness only from without, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers." Hence our task "is not merely to serve the labor movement at each of its separate stages, but to represent the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aims and its political basis, and to protect its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social Democracy (read Communism) the labor movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois: in conducting only the economic strug-

gle the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties and runs counter to the great slogan: "The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves." —To facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class is our principal and fundamental task. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and methods of the struggle, are straying on to the wrong path and cause serious harm to the movement."

The writer is well aware that Lenin used the terms "economic" and "political" above in the same narrow, restricted sense in which they are counterposed to each other. In the broader sense of the term "political" is concentrated economic so that to the Communist every social problem the economic included, is a political problem. Nevertheless the narrower interpretations aid in applying a corrective to policies not sufficiently all-embracing.

Function of Intermediate Slogans

At each stage of development it becomes the task of the Communist to search for that particular and precise intermediate slogan which will perform best the service first of being of actual benefit to the workers if achieved; secondly, which will aid in rallying the workers for resistance to the ruling-class solution and in favor of its own solution; in this case the slogan, in this case the problem of the crisis; thirdly, that will lead the workers along the path of class struggle towards our final goal of the seizure of power. Is there such a slogan that presents itself at this time in any given industry? I believe there is but a few words are necessary before stating them but the workers back to work at once? And why should not the workers participate in the control of production and in the administration of the industry? The problem of nationalization cannot of course be "imposed" on any industry at all from without. It must link up with the concrete fighting slogans and arise as a working class demand along with and from these narrower slogans. With this in view we will attempt to show the applicability of the slogan of nationalization to mining and the railroads in later articles.

(To be continued) —JACK WEBER.

READ YOUNG SPARTACUS OUR YOUTH ORGAN OUT EVERY MONTH