

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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

VOLUME VII NO. 2 (WHOLE NO. 2061)

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

A Capitalist Budget of 10 Billion Dollars

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

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

It is estimated that the public debt will rise to thirty billion again, if the President's budget is not chopped to pieces in the house and Senate. Those who support the President's financial program are inviting a comparison of the "recovery" deficit with the World War deficit. The "recovery" deficit is estimated to reach 10 1/2 billion dollars. The expenditures connected with the war, not considering war debts reached the total of 41 billion dollars.

The Price of World Hegemony

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

In addition to the public debt there are the private debts. The National Industrial Conference Board estimated that private debts for the first crisis year of 1929 reach the figures of a 12 1/2 billion dollars, with interest over 7 billion. The corporations alone had a principal indebtedness of 75 billion. This indebtedness is no problem in periods of prosperity. But when a crisis continues into the fifth year it becomes a major consideration of the whole capitalist class and calls for government "subsidies" through various forms to uphold the tottering economic structure. The vast expenditures through the R. F. C., and other agencies are designed to accomplish this end.

A Class Budget

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

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

OPEN FORUM EUROPE AFTEN ONE YEAR OF HITLER

Recently returned from an extensive visit to Europe and Germany

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK

International Workers School
126 East 16th Street

SUNDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1934
8 P. M.

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

Fascism in America! PELLEY'S SILVER SHIRTS

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

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

Fascism in the U. S.

To our knowledge, the outstanding Fascist organization in the United States is the Silver Shirts of America with headquarters at Asheville, North Carolina. The literature and form of organization of this outfit, the men in the leadership and the people in back of it, give us the impression that the Silver Shirts are no fly-by-night gathering like the late but unlamented Khaki Shirts of Philadelphia. If handled properly, they may become a gruesome menace to the labor and revolutionary movement, to the working class fortresses yet to come.

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

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

"The Chief"

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

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

Truly "Miraculous"

Under the headline, "The Dead are Alive and Organized", he recounts his "miraculous" discoveries: "First, I have become convinced by my own investigations and experiences that there is no such thing as Death—that life once created cannot die to extinction, that there is one continuous stream of consciousness using many lives for expression, of which physical bodies in a mortal world are the lowest and clumsiest.

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

A New Pope

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

(Continued on page 4)

"Anti-Social Activities"

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

War Sparks Fly in Far East; Powers Arm

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

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

Kerensky Minister Reveals Jap War Aims

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

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

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

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

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

Green quotes these words without comment.

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

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

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

Just the day before this report was given President Roosevelt proclaimed at the dinner of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation: "It therefore has seemed clear to me as president that the time has come to supplement and to implement the declaration of President Wilson by the further declaration that the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention."

Pacifism to Screen War Aims

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

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

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

U. S. Imperialist Designs

Notwithstanding Litvinoff's de-

(Continued on page 4)

Big Meetings in Hotel Union Drive

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

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

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

Clear the Decks!

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

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

Here is the proposition:
25 cents for a six-month's sub in clubs of four!
Four prepaid sub-cards, each good for a six-month's sub, can be secured for one dollar.

Send in your dollar today and sell the cards later to your friend and fellow-workers.

Or, if you lack the dollar to advance, collect the four 25-cent subs and send them in all together with the dollar.

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

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

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

5. We want the active Builders to help in the promotion of the campaign by explaining how they work so that we can pass the experience on to others. The Builders Column during this campaign is to be collectively edited by the comrades in the field.

There are no prizes offered in this special campaign and no goal is set at present. The special offer will hold good for only a limited time and we do not want to guess what the result will be. We intend to set a goal, however, and to reach it. The mark we set will be determined in the next week or two on the basis of the response to this appeal and the votes of the active Builders. With your first batch of subs at the special rate send in your proposal for the goal of the campaign.

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

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBERG MEMORIAL MEETING

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

ADMISSION 15c

Lovestone Discovers Esthonia

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

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

Attorney for Stalinism

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

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

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

"Explaining" Paragraph 4.

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

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

Propaganda Pledge Is Defended by Stalinist Attorneys

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

not betrayed." But softly, friends, softly. You who are so good at explanations, be good enough to enlighten us on the following questions which your alibis leave somewhat obscure.

Soviet Policy at Genoa

1. Herberg declares that not Stalin but Lenin and Trotsky "put through this reorientation" in foreign policy which Chicherin voiced at the Genoa conference, and that "it is on the basis of this fundamental viewpoint that Soviet diplomacy has operated for more than a decade and still continues to operate today." At Genoa, the imperialist statesmen demanded of the Russian delegation as a condition for recognition and material assistance that the Comintern be suppressed in Russia. On May 11, 1922, the Russian delegation replied:

"The memorandum demands that Russia should suppress upon her territory all attempts to aid revolutionary movements in other countries. If, however, by this formula the memorandum means to forbid the activities of political parties, or organizations of workers, the Russian delegation cannot accept such a prohibition unless the activities in question transgress the laws of the country."

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

Policy of Tenth Soviet Congress

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

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

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Continued in the next issue

Discussion Article on the NRA

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

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

JACK LONDON CLUB
Labor Lyceum Bldg.
Chelsea, Mass.

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

Pioneer Publishers

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

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

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

**JUST OFF THE PRESS!
IN JEWISH
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL,
AL AND THE SOVIET UNION**
(The Class Nature of the Soviet State)

by LEON TROTSKY
In this pamphlet comrade Trotsky discusses the problem that has been uppermost in the minds of all revolutionary workers, since the Left Opposition proclaimed the need of the Fourth International: The problem of the Soviet Union. Are we to build a new party in the Soviet Union? Do we proclaim that there is no longer a proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.? Are we for a new revolution to depose the rule of Stalinism? Also other questions having a bearing on the subject.
32 pp.—10c for single copies
Bundles of 5 or more 7 cents
order from
UNSER KAMP
126 East 16th St., New York.

OUT SOON! SUBSCRIBE NOW!

"THE NEW INTERNATIONAL"
An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism
(Published monthly by the National Committee, Communist League of America).

Max Shachtman, Martin Abern,
Editor Business Mgr.

Feature articles in each issue by L. D. Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian Bolsheviks... Important contributions on the major problems of the American working class and the proletarian revolution by well-known writers in the American and international labor movement... A magazine of international significance for the international labor and revolutionary Communist movement.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

Send in Your Subscription Today!
Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year in the United States; \$1.00 for seven issues; \$1.75 in Canada and other foreign countries. Single copy—fifteen cents; bundle rates—10 cents in bundles of five or more.

Fill out the slip below and mail to:
THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
STATION D, P. O. BOX 119
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$..... for which enter subscription to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, for:
Name.....
Address.....
City..... State.....

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1922, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

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

Vol. VII, No. 2 Whole No. 206
SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1934
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

WORKING IN MACY'S MODEL RESTAURANT

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

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

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

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

The stated hours of work may be from 11:30 to 2:00, but if a customer comes in at 1:59 the waitress must stay until the customer leaves.

Discipline and Penalties

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

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

The tiniest speck on a uniform is sufficient excuse to levy punishment. The terrible offenders may be punished by being sent to work in the kitchen, for which they receive \$3 cents for the entire day, or else they may be sent home altogether and lose their salary and commission for the entire day. By a strange coincidence the greatest number of specks appears on the slowest days, and many a girl is "reluctantly" sent home to learn to keep her uniform clean in the future.

II.

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

The "Steady Extra" Racket

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

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

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

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

No Bus Boys

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

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

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

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

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

Macy's "Mutual" Benefit.

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

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

Sick Workers Not Rehired.

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

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

—MACY WORKER.

The Railroad Brotherhoods The "Obligation" as a Gaglaw

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

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

Destructive Role of Secret Work

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

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

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

ficials, the very ones who robbed the organization, ruled that in obstructing the flotation and levy of the Loyalty Loan and Assessment he had intended to injure the organization and had therefore, violated his obligation.

This is just one of the hundreds of cases which could be cited to show how the obligation works and how it is used by labor officials to hold the rank and file in check. That is precisely why all labor officials favors the obligation as well as the secret work.

The Obligation Never Affects The Officials

It might be well to add here that, although the B. of L. E. officials brought the organization to the very brink of ruin by fraud and mismanagement, not one of them has been expelled for violation of obligation. Workers do not belong to labor unions and pay their dues there because of any obligation. They do these things because the workers in growing numbers are gradually learning that it is to their interest to act in an organized manner in dealing with the bosses.

Instead of wasting our time in repeating foolish obligations and secret work at our union meetings we should discuss the necessity and importance of workers being well organized in every industry. Whether workers know it or not, they belong to organized labor for the personal benefit and protection which they receive or expect to receive and not on account of any obligation they took when entering the union.

Whether the so-called obligation ever served a useful purpose or not in our trade union make-up is not important for us now. What vital concerns us at present is, that the obligation serves the labor bureaucrat as a vicious gag-law to stifle the expression of the membership. Every progressive railroad worker should raise these questions and discuss them in the Lodge, Union Meeting, and Convention and there point out and explain the destructive effect of these obligations as well as all other ritualistic work in the Lodge or Division room. Motions and resolutions should be introduced at every opportunity calling for the abolition of all "obligations" and secret work in our unions.

WHY WORKERS' UNITY? Speaker:

JOSEPH CARTER
Friday Evening, Jan. 19, 1934, 8 p.m.
at
SPARTACUS HALL
313-53rd Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Auspices: Bay Ridge, S. Y. C.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

SERIES NO. 3
Vol. 6, No. 1 to Vol. 6, No. 57
January 7, 1933 to Dec. 30, 1933
57 Issues
\$2.50

SERIES NO. 1
VOL. 1, No. 1 to Vol. 4, No. 12
Nov. 15, 1928 to June 15, 1931
71 Issues
\$10.00

SERIES NO. 2
Vol. 4, No. 13 to Vol. 5, No. 51
July 4, 1932 to Dec. 31, 1932
76 Issues
\$3.50

Series 2 and 3 Together **\$5.00** Money must accompany each order.

Order from the *Militant*, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

THE SOVIET UNION & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from the last issue)

"State Capitalism"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Class Nature of the Soviet State - by Leon Trotsky

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

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

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

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

Bureaucracy and the Ruling Class

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

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

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

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

Class Exploitation and Social Parasitism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(To be continued)

See the Play that Has Stirred Thousands

"PEACE ON EARTH"

AT

THE MILITANT BENEFIT SHOWING

HERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL OUR FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS TO WITNESS ONE OF THE SEASON'S BEST PLAYS AND AT THE SAME TIME HELP THE ONLY MARXIST PAPER IN THE COUNTRY

— THE MILITANT

Civic Repertory Theatre, 14th St. & 6th Ave.

THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 8, 1934, at 8:45 P. M.

Tickets at 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1.00 are available at 126 E. 16th St.

New York City or 154 Watkins St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

NOTES OF A JOURNALIST

By Alpha

KOLTZOV IN PARIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A PUMPKIN IN THE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

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

BRONX OPEN FORUM WHAT IS CONGRESS DOING FOR THE WORKERS?

Speaker:

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

EDITORIAL

The Great American Skin-Game

WHEN Roosevelt said in a speech on the radio that all the steps taken under his administration fit consistently into a general program, he was right in one respect. Even if some of the shots miss...

The monetary policy is the latest illustration. Despite conflicting interests in the camp of the exploiters, the general interest of the dominant section is served at the present moment by lowering the gold content of the dollar.

The Roosevelt technique combines a ruthless aggression in the service of the imperialist masters with the most elaborate deception of the masses. The NRA, a trap for the workers and a death blow to a large section of little business people...

Roosevelt has helpers in this game. The official labor leaders testify to his friendship for labor and hail him as the heaven-sent champion.

There is no use denying the effectiveness of Roosevelt's methods of fooling the people. His skill in this respect is no small part of his value to the ruling class of America.

The Expulsions in Local 9

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

Such violent infringements by reactionary officials on the autonomy of Left wing locals are an old story in the labor movement and have to be expected. The labor agents of the bosses would not be true to their mission if they did not resort to such measures against the militants.

The violation of the democratic rights of local organizations to choose their own officials is an issue which ought to rouse the rank and file against the reactionary usurpers.

LABOR LEADERS AND NRA

The A. F. of L. has issued its annual business review which claims three gains for the workers under the NRA. At the same time the statement criticizes the NRA for not giving the labor leaders greater representation in the bodies set up by the code apparatus.

The three gains are qualified with a few ifs and buts which do not add clarity. No conclusions have been drawn by the statement regarding the relation of the working class to the NRA.

Basic Problem Untouched The report says that 1,800,000 laborers have been put back to work. But they do not state at what weekly wage. We know that the great majority of those who returned to work have been placed on the minimum wage rate.

Reduction in Real Wages The hourly wage increase is reported to be 5 cents, and is qualified by the fact that this has not compensated for the shorter hours nor the rise in prices.

Green Appeals to Capitalists The A. F. of L. report devotes a couple of paragraphs to the wage slave; the rest is a warning to the capitalist class.

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

Why is it no so in this case? What enables Dubinsky to override the local with impunity without fearing a revolt in the other locals? The answer is clear. The Left wing does not stand on firm ground.

Such a course is fatal for the Left wing militants in the International. It is impossible to work effectively in one union in the interest of a rival, especially a discredited rival that has no real basis to exist.

The hopeless position of the Left wing in this case, which robs it of the possibility to organize a real fight against the arbitrary actions of the bureaucrats, is another horrible example of Stalinist bankruptcy in the trade union movement.

The loss of the executive board in Local 9 by a mere order of the bureaucrats is a serious blow. But if it leads the Left wing workers to examine closely into the reasons for this defeat and to discard the tactics which made it so easily possible the lesson will be worth all it cost and more.

The Sixty-Cent Dollar

AMONG the blessings which the "New Deal" has showered down upon the American workers, the 60-cent dollar takes now a place. It is not enough for the dollars in the pay envelope to be fewer; they are now also to be smaller—almost by half.

On top of the direct wage cuts which have so fearfully reduced the income of the employed workers, there is now to be added an indirect wage cut of devastating proportions. The unemployed, half subsisting on the relief lists must suffer a drastic cut in the purchasing power of paltry relief allowances.

Every form of inflation works this way. But Roosevelt's move to cheapen the dollar strikes at the workers with exceptional force because it does not stand alone as a single measure; it follows and is tied up with other measures in the "New Deal" program which will obstruct the instinctive movement to raise the money wages proportionally.

The working masses who have taken Roosevelt at his word and trusted him as their friend are due for a double disappointment. When they draw their wages in 60-cent dollars the fine speeches, which raised such hopes, will begin to sound like a mockery.

The report warns the capitalists that they had better get busy and not let the government take the whole initiative. Roosevelt knows how to use Green and Company—so why not you, the capitalists?

Role of Labor Leaders in N. R. A. They were allowed in the first committees which were established to muffle and beat down the first strike wave. They did their job well and are reserved a place to prevent strikes and to break them.

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

Japan Moving against Soviet Union In this furiously developing tension in the Far East the part played by the American government should not escape our attention. It has very special objects in the Soviet recognition in relation to this situation.

War Sparks Fly in the Far East

(Continued from page 1)

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

Far East Tension Increases Both aim at the further partitioning of dismembered China and the further subjugation and exploitation of the Chinese masses already bled white by the imperialist robber bands.

Unquestionably this fits right in with the Roosevelt policies. It holds the prospects of speeding up American exports to the Soviet market and, above all, the prospects that the Japanese war lords may break their teeth at the Soviet border.

The Game of American Imperialism

Those who control affairs in the United States pursue their own aims toward the Soviet Union and in relation to the Far East. No one should be deceived by the alleged peaceful intentions of Soviet recognition. It was calculated on gaining access to the huge Soviet market.

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

The U. S. Versus Japan

China is today the most coveted booty. The fewer countries that are left in the world today into which the imperialist powers can export capital profitably, that is, colonies and dependent nations, the more bitter is the fight for the subjugation and partition of such nations.

The Japanese imperialist diplomats and military leaders understand this perfectly well. They never fail to make it clear. The Japanese foreign minister, Koki Hirota, two days after he assumed office, on September 14, declared: "The United States should keep her hands off eastern affairs."

The Psychic Transformed

The transformation was: Mr. Pelley, the Psychic became Mr. Pelley, the Fascist... "Chief". Psychicism became the underlying philosophy, just as Aryanism and Teuton Gods are for Hitler and his Hitlerites.

Pelley Praises Ford The March 1931 issue of The New Liberator has high praise for Henry Ford who, according to Pelley, "is doing, without maudlin sentiment, ... the highest type of constructive spirituality deploying throughout society by way of mass production industry".

Time, events will bring the real backers of this mystical, incipient but barbarian Fascist movement to the fore. Yes, and possibly more... —GEORGE CLARKE.

can recognition of the Soviet Union undoubtedly tends to accelerate the Japanese war plans. But this will also show the more clearly why we should not be deceived about the peaceful intentions of the American government in granting recognition.

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

Several important articles are held over till next week on account of space limitations. NOTE The discussion article on the NRA which is concluded on Page Two of this issue is by Harry Brand.

THE SILVER SHIRTS

(Continued from page 1)

this to Whom or What shall we look for authority of commitments like the following?... Omnipotent, infallible The Fascist movement needs the myth of the impeccability of its leader, the unassailability of his ideas, the unquestioning of his instructions (leaving aside terror for the moment).

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

"The Higher Import" "The Chief" admits, for the present, that others may learn to feel this "Higher Import" and hear this "Deeper Voice". But he reserves to himself the right to judge whether the new prophet has heard correctly or has been advised by a false spirit.

Who bucks the Silver Shirts, where do they get finances? The inscription on the back side of Lib-eration says that the Silver Shirts of America are the active civic organization of the League for Lib-eration and that both Lib-eration and the Galahad Press, Incorporated, which publishes the magazine, are subsidiaries of the Foundation for Christian Economics, Incorporated. It should be quite obvious that these are only dummy corporations shielding some big financier or industrialist.

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

Mystery Shrouds Fascist Killing of Van der Lubbe

(Continued from page 1)

On September 28, Soedermann denied having claimed to be a Professor or even a medical doctor, affirmed he did not and could not make a medical examination, and told this story: A Dutch journalist was allowed to visit Van der Lubbe on behalf of his family. The authorities invited Soedermann to go along. He accepted because of his life-long interest in criminal psychology.

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

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

GROCERY CODE

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

CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM 2257 North Avenue Every Sunday Afternoon, 3 P. M. JANUARY SCHEDULE Jan. 28—Germany: An Evaluation of the Present Situation from a Socialist Viewpoint. A Lecture by Arthur McDowell, Nat'l. Chairman, Young Peoples Socialist League

Furlough Protest by New York Teachers

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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