WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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LEON TROTSKY

Fascism and Democratic Slogans

1. Is it true that Hitler has destroyed "democratic prejudices?

The April resolution of the Praesidium of the ECCI "on the present situation in Germany" will, we believe, go down into history as the final testimonial to the bankruptcy of the Comintern of the epigones. The resolution is crowned with a prognosis in which all the vices and prejudices of the Stalinist bureaucracy reach their culmination. "The establishment of an open Fascist dictatorship",—the resolution proclaims in bold-face type, "accelerates the tempo of the development of a proletarian revolution in Germany by destroying all democratic illusions of the masses and by freeing them from the influence of the social-democracy".

Fascism, it seems, has unexpectedly become the locomotive of History: it destroys democratic illusions, it frees the masses from the influence of the social-democracy, it accelerates the development of the proletarian revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy assigns to Fascism the accomplishment of those basic tasks which it proved itself utterly incapable of solving.

The theoretic victory of Fascism is undoubtedly an evidence of the fact that democracy had exhausted itself; but politically, the Fascist regime preserves democratic prejudices, recreates them, inculcates them into the youth and is even capable of imparting to them, for a short time, the greatest strength. Precisely in this consists one of the most important manifestations of the **reactionary** historic role of Fascism.

Doctrinaires think schematically. Masses think with facts. The working class perceives events not as experiments with this or that "thesis" but as living changes in the fate of the people. The victory of Fascism adds a million times more to the scale of political development than the prognosis for the indefinite future which flows from it. Had a proletarian state grown out of the bankruptcy of democracy, the development of society, as well as the development of mass consciousness would have taken a great leap forward. But as it was, in reality, the victory of Fascism that grew out of the bankruptcy of democracy, the consciousness of the masses is set far back, —of course only temporarily. The smashing of the Weimar democracy by Hitler can no more put an end to the democratic illusions of the masses, than Goering's setting the Reichstag on fire can burn out parliamentary cretinism.

2. The Example of Spain and Italy

For four years in succession we heard that democracy and Fascism do not exclude but supplement each other. How then can the victory of Fascism liquidate democracy once and for all? We would like to have some explanations on this score by Bucharin, Zinoviev, or Manuilsky "himself".

The military-police dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was declared by the Comintern to be Fascism. But if the victory of Fascism signifies the final liquidation of democratic prejudices, how can it be explained that the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera gave way to a bourgeois republic It is true that the regime of Rivera was far from being Fascism. But it had, at all events, this much in common with Fascism: it arose as a result of the bankruptcy of the parliamentary regime. This did not prevent it, however, after its own bankruptcy was revealed, from giving way to democratic parliamentarism.

One may attempt to say that the Spanish revolution is a proletarian one in its tendencies, and that the social democracy in alliance with other republicans has succeeded in arresting its development at the stage of bourgeois parliamentarism. But this objection, correct in itself proves only more clearly our idea that if bourgeois democracy succeeded in paralyzing the revolution of the proletariat, this was only due to the fact that **under the yoke of the "Fascist" dictatorship, the democratic illusions were not weakened but became stronger.**

Have "democratic illusions" disappeared in Italy during the ten years of Mussolini's despotism? This is how Fascists themselves are inclined to picture the state of affairs. In reality, however, democratic illusions are acquiring a new force. During this period, a new generation has been raised up. Politically it has not lived in the conditions of freedom, but it knows full well what Fascism is: this is the raw material for vulgar democracy. The organization "Justice and Liberty" is distributing illegal democratic literature in Italy and not without success. The ideas of democracy are therefore finding adherents, who are ready to sacrifice themselves. Even the flabby generalizations of the liberal monarchist, Count Sforza, are spread in the form of illegal pamphlets. That's how far back Italy has been thrown during these years!

(Continued on Page 3)

WE NEED MONEY!

"I have a little shadow that goes in and out with me, and what can be the use of it is more than I can see" runs a poem by Stevenson. And that is how it is with us. Over all our activities hangs a shadow, a financial shadow.

In the immediately past period our shadow was small. From the financial point of view we stood at noon or not far from it. But lately the sun has been going down. And our shadow has been lengthening. Last week it got so long that we couldn't see in front of us and the **Militant** didn't come out.

But that sun has to rise again and shorten our shadow. A desperate tug made it possible to get out this issue. But what about next week? And the week after?

It isn't at all a bleak future that faces us. Next week's issue or the issue of the week after will carry the details of our new expansion program. That will be the lever to lift us over this temporary ogstruction.

In the meantime we need some assistance And we need it quickly. Let us put our appeal on this bsais: the expansion program as our long lever to raise us to a new level; immediate donations to keep us going. Send all funds at once to the **Militant,** 126 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

THE COAL OPERATORS' ORGAN FRAME-UP ON THE MILITANT

The Taylorville, Ill. **Breeze,** a Peabody Coal Co. rag, in its July 29 edition printed a miserable scrawl headlined to give the appearance of an advertisement of **The Militant.** The purpose of the article was to further the ends of the coal company by adding confusion to the situation facing the miners of Illinois and to attempt to discredit the growing influence of our paper in the minefields.

The Militant of course never did and never could have placed an ad with the **Taylorville Breeze** and we do not expect to refer to it again until we announce that the coal miners of Illinois have thrown the Peabody Coal Co. and similar parasites off their backs and with them the lickspittle tools of the kind that edit the **Taylorville Breeze.**

PROTEST FRAME-UP AGAINST YOUNG ANTI-FASCIST WORKER

Athos Terzani, a young anti-Fascist is being held in the Queens County Jail on a murder indictment which is more flagrant a frame-up than any the labor movement has seen for some time. Terzani has been accused of the murder of one of his fellow worker and comrade-in-arms, Anthony Fierro—no less! The charge of murder against Terzani has as its purpose the shielding of the real criminals—the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America.

The workers are familiar enough with this specie of frame-up. But if proof be needed listen to this statement by Art Smith who boasted before an audience of 1,000 in Phila. on July 23rd that his organization had "murdered one radical and sent 19 others to a hospital at a New Work meeting recently". Enough said!

Workers! Defend Terzani The bloodthirsty capitalits class must not be permitted to make another labor martyr of Terzani! Send contributions immediately to Herbert Mahler, treasurer, Terzani Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Clubs, Tear Gas, Riot Guns Used in Milk Strike

Richfield Springs, N. Y.

During the last four to five years the farmers in the New York milk district have been exploited to the limit by the big dairy companies. Naturally, therefore, when some slick organizers from up-state began to set up the Dairymen's League the farmers all supported it hoping that it would solve their problems. But they soon learned otherwise. The organizers solidified their own control in the league and through them the Borden company got their finger into the pie. The result was that the farmers received even less for their milk than before.

Farmers Get It in the Neck

The dissatisfaction continued to grow, the conditions became unbearable and the farmers appealed to the governor to step in and appoint a Milk Control Board. By that the farmers expected to get a square deal. In March the Milk Control Board was appointed, the farmers were happy, the New Deal apparently was aproaching; but again they got it in the neck.

The Milk Control Board classified the various grades of milk and set a price on each classification. The lowest grade was to be that containing three and two-thirds percent of butter fat for which the farmers were to receive 1

(Continued on Page 4)

J. L. Lewis Betrays Miners at Coal Hearing

The NRA has blown life into the United Mine Workers Union and has given Lewis and Company a new lease on life. After a score of years of the most brazen betrayals and sell-outs, John L. Lewis is appointed Labor's representative on the NRA. If this were the only act at our disposal to determine what the Roosevelt Government thinks of labor it would be sufficient for condemnation. However, the present government of the imperialists have a long record for the few months they are in power; a record of clever reform, and sugar coated measures for greater subjection and exploitation.

Workers throughout the mine area are flocking to the folds of the U. M. W. A. Not that they have any faith in Lewis and Company, but because they think that they will get a new deal under the NRA, through the conservative union. The sell-out in western Penn., by Lewis a few weeks ago and the revolt against Lewis and Company brought out in bold relief what the actual situation is. Nevertheless, the absence of a Left wing in the U. M. W. A., and the capitulationist Right wing, class collaboration policies of the Progressive Miners of America all favors the Lewis stranglehold upon the miners together with the help of the government.

Lewis and Class Collaboration

Lewis, speaking before the code hearing said: "The Recovery Act means a rebirth—not the bringing into life again of the forces of former years which we have found impossible. It is now a recognized fact by the most disinterested and authoritative opinion, both within and without the industry, that it cannot save itself without involving the cooperation and supervision of the Federal Government." Lewis recognizes that the coal industry is a sick industry even if he did not recognize this as part of the decay ofcapitalism. He also recognizes that some form of nationalization is necessary to pull the coal industry out of the rut. The NRA, as a first step in this direction, will start this process and if more drastic government steps are necessary they will be taken to insure the operators profits.

Lewis says: —"We knew from long experience in the industry that it oculd only be stabilized and restored to a normal condition through a code which would be national in its scope and its provisions." But Lewis never thought it was necessary to have a national miners policy and national strikes. If Lewis thinks it is good for the operators and the government to have a national policy then why does he not think that such a weapon would also be good in the hands of the miners against the operators. The separate agreements, one after the other; the strikes on district scales, while across the line the other miners worked year after year, all indicate who Lewis is talking about when he thinks a national policy will be good.

According to Lewis, capital and labor benefit as follows: "The employer is the greatest beneficiary of the Recovery Act. On the other hand, what do the workers either by hand or brain, expect from the Recovery Act. Nothing beyond the right to organize and cooperate with the employer, and to receive what they have always been denied —a fair participation in the output of industry". In fact the workers won't even get these crumbs Lewis speaks of.

Lewis and Company is discredited throughout the industry, however the NRA class collaboration plan will give these labor agents a new lease on life. A Left wing must be built in the UMWA where they

(Continued on Page 4)

MASS MEETING

THE 2ND AND 3RD INTERNATIONALS AFTER HITLER'S VICTORY

What Is Now Happening in the Communist and Socialist Internationals? What Are the Perspectives of Their Future Developments?

Can the Socialist Party in Germany Be Revived? Has the Communist Movement Been Destroyed?

HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of the "Militant"

Who has just Returned From an Extensive Visit to Various European Countries Where He Had the Opportunity to Study the Revolutionary Movement First Hand and to Visit the Exiled Bolshevik Leader Leon Trotsky in Turkey and France

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 30 at 8 P. M.

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Auspices:

New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

2 Young Negroes Slain by Lynch Law in South

Once again the Negro hating and working class baiting southern bourgeosie has shown its unique method of meting out justice to that dohbly exploited section of the southern proletariat — the Negro.

In the dark hours of early Sunday morning, August 13, Sheriff Shamblin and some deputies decided that for "safety's sake they were going to transport the three young Negroes, Dan Pippen, A. T. Harden and Elmore Clark, charged with a typically southern felony—murder of a white woman—from Tulcaloosa to the larger city of Birmingham, Alabama. A lonely, untravelled road was picked for the journey. Two cars made up the caravan. One car carrying the sheriff, a deputy or two and the prisoners and another following with deputies "for protection". When the journey was about half completed the sheriff ordered the trailing carful of deputies to return. This was at the darkest and quietest intersection of the road. The sheriff's car with the handcuffed Negroes in it resumed on its way. They had not gone far when a mob waylaid the car, and ordered the sheriff to hand over the Negroes to them. All went as if re-

(Continued on Page 4)

N. Y. Dress Workers Gain as Strike Ends; One Union Needed

False Policy of Stalinists Leads Left Wing Workers into Blind Alley. Reentry of Left Wing into I.L.G.W. Cannot Be Delayed. Vital for Enforcement of Settlement

The big strike of dressmakers of New York and nearby points for elimination of the sweatshop, which involved some 60,000 workers, has come to a conclusion with some gains for the workers. The strike lasted only a few days but displayed all the power and militancy for which the needle trades workers have become known. It was the most complete strike seen in this industry for a long time.

The overwhelming mass of the workers involved struck under the banner of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, but the TUUL union dress section made common cause with the former. In this a certain progress must be recorded. At least it is a far cry from the position of the Stalinists, who are in control of the TUUL union, took in the strike in 1929 when this union declared it would remain on the job in face of the ILGW, strike. But it is a change which is compelled by the hammer blows of events. In essense there has been practically no change in the bankrupt trade union policy of the official party leaders.

Internatoinal Consolidated Union

It is necessary to add to this that at hte present moment the TUUL union is pressed right up against the wall. Essentially the strike was one to establish recognition of the ILGW as the sole union in the industry to the exclusion of any other. It will have to be admitted that in ths respect the strike also went far toward attaining its objective. The settlement which is arrived at is one between the ILGW and the manufacturers under the aegis of the local NRA administrator, Grover Whalen. It resulted also in the much more complete organization of jobbers and manufacturers. Apparently all accepted the settlement enthusiastically and cheered for Grover Whalen.

This gentleman did not fail to make clear, as an inducement to the manufacturers, that it was now their opportunity to make an end to the Communist influence in the industry. Proceeding from this the manufacturers will undoubtedly extend recognition to the ILGW, even to shops where it was not formerly recognized. The strike affected practically all shops, organized and unorganized. Subesquently this union's offices have been kept busy lining up new members, organizing throughout the industry.

Gained 35-Hour Week

There was not a great deal of difference in the demands advanced by the two unions. It would be too much to say that these demands were all gained, but the actual settlement represents an improvement over past actual conditions and, if enforced, will mean a step forward for American labor. Undoubtedly the most important gain is the 35-hour five-day week. In this respect the ILGW has demanded 30 hours while the TUUL union demanded 35 hours. Both unions had demanded the abolitics of piece work; the settlement, however retains this system for certain of the crafts, while otherwise the scale agreed upon for week workers represents an improvement from formerly actual conditions obtaining.

This progress made by the New York dressmakers will undoubtedly have its effect in further stimulating the American workers to fight more tenaceously for their right to organize and for a better standard of living regardless of all the empty demagogy of the NRA and regardless of its class collaboration brakes. One cannot disregard the pernicious class collaboration influences in this strike and its settlement. But it would be idle to conjecture what could have been accomplished with a militant union leadership. We know the splendid militant tradition of the rank and file. The important fact remains that this forward step will lend its impetus to new advance elsewhere.

One Union A Necessity

But that is only one side of the question. Another one remains pressing ever harder for a solution. It can perhaps be approached most concretely from the point of view of the situation as existing at this moment in the needle trades. It is common knowledge amongst the rank and file workers that the present essential question is: Will this new agreement be enforced? Such a question could be answered in the affirmative only provided two necessary conditions obtain. First, that the rank and file members are ever watchful of their officials and that the Left wing definitely assert itself in this direction. Secondly that a unity between the two unions be accomplished in such a way that the Left wing union has becomes an integral part of the mass movement. In reality the attainment of the former is conditioned upon the latter.

Long since we have specifically proposed this as an orientation for the TUUL union of that section of the needle trades. We proposed that it seek re-entry into the ILGW upon the basis of no discriminations, their membership rights and democratic union rights being guaranteed. This was a pressing necessity then and the possibilities for success of such a policy were reasonably good. Today it is even more than a pressing necessity, it is a matter of life and death to the Left wing union. There can be no real progress for the mass union movement without such a policy.

THREATEN PUBLIC TRIAL OF BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS IN MOSCOW

The following highly significant incident occurred at the Congress of the Unitary Federation of Teachers (Red Trade Union) of France which met on August 6th in Reims, France.

Pressed by the delegates for an answer and an explanation on the case of Victor-Serge, a Bolshevik-Leninists now in exile, the representative of the Soviet teachers federation stated **officially** from the platform:

"Victor-Serge as well as other "Trotskyists" formed part of a counter-revolutionary group which has just been discovered. A public trial will take place in Moscow and then accusations and proofs will be given."

Is this another one of the famous amalgams of Stalin and his thermidorian allies to exterminate the Bolshevik-Leninists, the men who fought in the most dangerous battlefronts of the civil war?

If there is any truth at all in this declaration of the Soviet delegate then it is a sign that the baiting of the Left Opposition can no longer proceed on the old basis. It needs new justification in the eyes of the proletarian vanguard which has grown dubious and alarmed at the continued viciousness of the Stalinist persecutions.

U. S. Imperialism Holds High Cards in Cuban Situation

Machado is out. Cespedes is the new president of Cuba. Tweedledum has replaced Tweeledee. Both are from the same political party. The new cabinet intended at first to be a concentration cabinet, has a more "oppositional" character following the categorical demand of the ABC for political recognition, but is as exclusively bourgeois and agreeable to American imperialism as its predecessor was originally.

What is more important than its personnel is the program to which Cespedes has commited it. And the country: a reoragnization of surplus labor back to the land; reorganization of enormous debt to the United States; and a trade agreement with the United States over the sugar crop which has been selling below the cost of production.

The details of this three-point program have not yet been made public but their character is indicated by the whole situation. There can be no doubt that all the high cards will repose, as heretofore, in the mitt of Uncle Sam. From Roosevelt to Welles to Cespedes the line is unbroken. The stake of the United States imperialists in Cuba has been estimated from a billion and a quarter to two billions. It reposes principally in sugar, tobacco, and government and private debts. Any program in Cuba will have to base itself on the careful protection of these investments.

Cespedes Welcomes U. S. Warships

If confirmation were needed Cespedes has supplied it. He has welcomed the presence of American warships in Cuban waters and has been at pains to reassure the nervous men of Wall Street that he will play the game of serving Yankee profits according to the rules. In short the cast has been changed but the play is still the same. The capitalist press calls this substitution of actors a revolution.

That is how it is at the top of Cuban society. Below it is not so satisfactory to the American puppet masters. The whole nation was in motion against Machado. Machado had outlived his usefulness to his Yankee masters. He came to power as an anti-imperialist but sold out the movement to Wall Street whose yoke he helped to fasten on the Cpban masses. The base of his government contracted steadily. It rested finally on the army and the police including the hated La Porra, secret assassins. The latter proved powerless against the rising tide of revolt. The base narrowed to the pampered army. And at last under the pressure of the entire nation the army served notice that Machado's time had come. He fled to the Bahamas to exile declaring, like Alfonso of Spain, that he loved his country and rested on his record. The epitaphs of both remain to be written by the international Socialist revolution.

(Continued on page 4)

N. Y. Furniture Strikers Repulse Manoeuvers of the Employers

The militant strike of over 1500 upholsterers is nearing settlement. The Furniture Manufacturers Association has been brought to terms by one of the greatest strikes in the history of the trade. They have been forced, at the moment when victory is in the grasp of the strikers, to call in the NRA to "conciliate the dispute".

And the NRA has acted. On August 17th, the Washington concilfator, Colonel Leopold Philipp, chairman of the Bureau of Compliance, came to an agreement with the Furniture Manufacturers Association at the Pennsylvania Hotel, (the headquarters of the NRA). The agreement, which was to serve as the "code" for the furniture industry, calls for a "sliding" wage scale beginning with a 60c an hour minimum, in place of the $1.40 per hour, demanded by the union; a 40 hour week in place of the 30 hour week demanded by the union; the open shop; an arbitration board, to be presided over by the NRA representative, which would decide grievances from time to time.

Without consulting the union or the men in any way, this spurious "agreement" was circulated broadcast among the striking pickets for the sole purpose of breaking the resistance of the men who might still have respect for the authority and "impartiality" of the NRA. Needless to say, the union immediately exposed this trick by a leaflet warning the men against the fake "agreement". Rudolph Thiez, business agent of the A. F. of L. Upholsterers Union then upbraided the Colonel in a letter which demanded an explanation for his complicity in the matter.

To pacify the union leaders and the strikers they represent, the Colonel sent the following letter to the boss association:

"I am terribly annoyed to find that your association has distributed today a pamphlet of the agreement entered into between yourself and myself.

"After all, the agreement was simply a tentative proposition and was not binding on either party and to have circularized that and the use of this organization in an effort to gain your own ends is highly unethical and unwarranted. If those are the tactics that the dealers intend to use, I am sorry to confess that many of the accusations made against you, which I have endeavored to listen to with an open mind and not to take sides, seem to be well founded.

"I insist that this statement be refuted by you immdeiately, as the only purpose of this agreement was to affect a compromise between yourselves with the union, and that during the period of time that these negotiations were on, no statement was to be made publicly or especially thru the issuance of the

(Continued on Page 4)

WHO BREAKS THE STRIKES?

"Wholesale arrests were made today by State troopers and Sheriff's deputies in their effort to break the backbone of the ten-day-old strike of milk producers." This statement appeared in the **New York Times** of August 11.

Openly and brazenly this mouthpiece of American finance capital proclaims that the sheriff's forces, that is the forces of the political state, of the government, are acting to break a strike by wholesale arrests. Its headline announced: "200 Milk Strikers Seized Up-State." In sub caption appeared the addition, "Trend Pleases Lehman"—that is, the governor—"He says: 'Sheriffs Are Handling Situation Adequately'."

Of course this trend pleases the governor. It equally pleases the big dairy companies. A strike broken by arrests and by previous attacks by state troopers, using tear gas, clubs and riot guns. A strike broken by force and violence. That is what pleases them. In this instance the strikers were poor farmers. In many others the strikers are workers; but the treatment is the same, and if there is any difference, it is on the side of greater viciousness.

Does any worker still doubt that the government under capitalism, whether it be democratic or republican, functions to protest the rich against the poor. Does any worker doubt that it is a class government functioning to protect the interests of capitalism, to defeat the aims and aspirations of the workers and to beat down their resistance with sledge hammer blows. It is the capitalist state in operation. But this is only one more example added to countless similar experiences. American labor history is replete with these bitter lessons. Many workers' lives have been sacrificed and often their organizations have been laid waste in strike struggles throughout the country. Such is the record of the capitalist executors in the government.

Will the workers draw the necessary conclusions from this? Will they understand that there is no other way to advance their interest? Right now they are being set into motion, pressed forward by economic necessity, but a correct direction cannot at all be assured unless the correct conclusions are drawn from all these experiences. That implies first of all a recognition of the true nature of present day class society and the function of the capitalist government within it. With that as a basis it will be easier to distinguish the wolves in sheep's clothing, the honey worded labor lieutenants of capitalism who play hand in glove with the government to disorganize and defeat the workers. With that as a basis it will also be easier to recognize the necessity of the working class building its own revolutionary party to carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system of society.

Political Character of Strikes Under N.I.R.A.

The NRA slave codes of the capitalist class and its effects upon the American working class have been explained in the columns of the **Militant** and by the Left Opposition ever since the Gillespie Trade Union Conference prior to the act becoming a law. In the meantime, we have been hammering away on the question of trade union policy in the different industries. A correct analysis of the NRA must first be presented in order to present a correct program of struggle against the new capitalist offensive. Within the ranks of the other forces of the labor movement confusion still reigns. The socialists are still fighting within their organization over the question of an analysis of the NRA. Other groups say little or anything except that they are against the NRA. The Stalinists are also opposed to the NRA but have not answered the burning question of how to fight the NRA. In every union where they have fought the capitalist and reformers codes, the Stalinists have trailed behind them, not only in demands presented but also in many cases on the demands adopted as a law.

The capitalists projected the NRA in an attempt to solve some of the difficulties confronting them. However, the steps taken in this direction have created other contradictions. The most important of these new contradictions thrown to the surface is the one dealing with the trade unions. When the act became a law, it carried with it the outlawing of strikes as soon as the codes become finally adopted. In the meantime, an increasing number of strikes took place. These were not only a continuation of the wave of strikes just prior to the NRA as an effect of the upturn in production and increase in prices but also as a struggle for the right to organize and to bring pressure to obtain better conditions as the codes were being considered.

This wave of new strikes at the time the codes were being considered threatened to upset the NRA, especially the Penna. mines struggle. A special emergency measure was adopted. The establishment of the NRA Adjustment Board, an arbitration board to consider all strikes. The NRA outlawed strikes after the codes were adopted. The new measure outlawed strikes when the codes were being considered.

This means the workers face a new condition, a war measure condition in the trade union field. Trade union struggles of yesterday are now entirely changed—the new contradiction the capitalists themselves have created. Most of the trade union strikes of the past were listed as industrial and economic struggles and only the outstanding strikes took on a political nature of a high degree. Under the NRA EVERY STRIKE BECOMES A POLITICAL STRIKE AT THE VERY START. A strike against the capitalists is a strike against the STATE.

This brings to the surface as the most important working class question and opposition to the NRA—the workers right to strike, the right to organize. The capitalist intend to smother them in class collaboration, in arbitration and by outlawing them. The class struggle cannot be stopped this way. It can only be warped, providing the Communists are not equal to the task.

In other words, the central point of the workers struggle against the NRA revolves around the Communist answer to the trade union question. All strikes against the capitalists now are political strikes against the capitalist state.

Around the fight against the capitalists, the capitalist government and the capitalist labor agent's NRA slave code, the workers fight for the right to organize, to strike and to live, must be woven the struggle for the other demands of the class at this stage. The stagger plan must be fought by the struggle for the six hour day the five day week with increase in pay. The capitalists relief substitutes must be fought by the struggle for unemployed and social insurance. The question of long term credits to the Soviet union and recognition of the Soviet Union as against the capitalist maneuvers on this question must be brought to the fore. The struggle of the youth to obtain a social solution and recognition for the youth denied a chance to make a living by the "abolition" of child labor.

The trade union question of the working class has now become the central point of the workers struggle against the NRA and the outlawing of strikes. Violators of the codes can be fined and imprisoned. This means strikers. This means trade unionists. —H. O.

LIMITED EDITION OF "MY LIFE" ON SALE

Pioneer Publishers has recently obtained a limited number of copies of Leon Trotsky's autobiography "My Life" and is offering them for sale at the special price of $3.00 a copy. The Publisher's price is $5.00. Make haste and take advantage of this offer. The book can be obtained from—**Pioneer Publishers,** 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

AMONG THE YOUTH

L.A. Yipsel Suspended for Union Activity

The following appeal is from a militant Los Angeles Yipsel who has begun to see the reactionary nature of the leadership of the Socialist party and their youth adjunct the YPSL. Her being expelled for class activities on the pickot line makes this document more than an appeal—a warning to all revolutionaries within the socialist youth organizations as to the real drift of their leadership towards class collaboration and strike breaking. The appeal speaks for itself.—Ed.

LOS ANGELES.—
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

COMRADES:—

The State Executive Committee has declared me suspended from the Young People's Socialist League without voice or vote for a period of two months pending further investigation of my activity with Communists.

Every member of the Y. P. S. L. must understand the reasons for such arbitrary actions on the part of our leadership—its basic causes and its inevitable consequences....

Charges when brought down to actual facts amount to two things: my activities in the union of my trade, the Needle Trades Workers Union and participation in the United Front Anti-War Conference.

In the name of what working class principles do these "leaders" of working-class youth bring a Yipsel up on charges for belonging to the only militant union in her trade?

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union has proved through struggle that it is a militant union fighting for and in the interests of the working-class.

While the leadership sits back and engages in petty discussions, the cause of the workers is being consistently fought by the Needle Trades Union. Even at this time in the face of brutal police terror. manhandling of women and beating up of men on the picket line, a strike is being waged in a millinery shop under the leadership of the N. T. W. I. U.

Instead of suspending a member for being active in a strike, those members of the State Executive Committee who by their silence and inactivity have tactily sabotaged the strike, these Yipsel "leaders" should be severely condemned.

The Y. P. S. L. leadership charges me with Anti-War activity with the Communists. Who is accused and who are the accusers? It is the thinking, serious elements in the YPSL who must charge the leadership of the YPSL with not participating in this United Front activity, with sabotaging this United Front, with betrayal of their class.

The "Left wing" apologizers for the leadership say, "That is all very well, but our National Executive Committee has a policy which we must follow no matter how much we are in favor of united front activity. We are a disciplined organization."

When the formal discipline of an organization clashes with the duty to the working-class something must give. The duty to the working class will win out.

Our "leadership" would gladly sidetrack the entire principled discussion into the track of barren organizational formula. The question is too big to be handled in this lawyer-like manner. It has to be handled in a working-class manner. Whether or not the National Executive Committee said this or that sinks to insignificance alongside the question of loyalty to the working-class.

I appeal to all comrades who are interested in forwarding the cause of the working-class, to protest against this anti-proletarian act of suspension.

For the Revolution,
FLORENCE WYLE.

Chi. Y.C.L. Bureaucrats Expel 5 Militants

The bureaucrats of the Chicago Y. C. L. have found it necessary once again, to stem the tide of opposition which has developed amongst its members,—by expulsions. This is the only answer which the statement endorsed by 6 comrades of the Y. C. L. solicited from the bureaucrats. Five Expulsions and Probations for one. The appearance of the statement which precipated the expulsions was provoked by the German catastrophe and by the tendency on the part of the C. P. to return to its devastating policy of the united front from below which was responsible for the German disaster. The statement concerned itself with these two essential points.

If the young bureaucrats expected that the German defeat and the expulsion of Albert Goldman from the C. P., would be received with silence on the part of the Y. C. L. members, it is only because they have isolated themselves so from the rank and file that they can no more guage their sentiment.

The leadership was taken by surprise when it was informed of the actions of and in violation of the no fraternization law, organized a discussion meeting at which Lydia Beidel and Albert Goldman, prominent party members, spoke and presented their position. Subsequent to this, a debate was arranged in which the Stalinists were compelled to participate. Pressed for a statement, the youth submitted a 9 page document in which they clearly formulated their position upon a number of points.

The statement is introduced by pointing out that utter confusion exists among the leadership as well as the rank and file of the Y. C. L. on the question of the united front, and Germany due to constant changes without explanation or analysis. Honesty and clarification are necessary in order to avoid a similar catastrophes. It proceeds to prove that the theory of the limited front, from below and the theory of social Fascism advanced by the leadership of the C. I. are mainly responsible for the German defeat. The C. P. must severely condemn its action in Germany and repudiate these erroneous policies. Hailing the C. I. Manifesto as a turn in the correct direction the statement of the comrades correctly warns of the ensuing danger which flows from its (the manifesto's) acceptance of a Non-Aggressions Pact with the Social Democracies. The document concludes with a remorseless denunciation of the existing bureaucracy within the organization, demanding a change (free discussion, a convention, no bureaucracy, etc.) if the organization is to exist and make progress. In compliance with the demands of the 'Rotten Liberalism' Act (expel immediately all who disagrees) the comrades were expelled.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs have followed with great interest this and other movements along the same line. These convulsions are indicative of the fact that there are in the Y. C. L., young comrades who are alert to the situation and who have the moral courage to present their view in face of expulsion. One must not look at this group as an isolated one; nor should the comrades consider that their work is now completed. To those who could not be intimidated by threats of expulsion in the face of such important events as Germany we say that your work has now only begun. You have opened up stifled minds. You have begun to think objectively, to view things honestly. You must not stop at Germany. There is China and Britain, Russia and America. Stalinism has failed miserably. Why? Begin immediately to study these questions. Read the literature of all groups. Do not confine yourself to one side. If you study objectively our position along with others, we are certain that you will be in our ranks before long.

Study is not incompatible with participation in the class struggle. In the revolutionary movement they are inseparable. To those who shout that outside of the Y. C. L. you cannot carry forth work for your class, you must answer: no one has a monopoly on the class struggle. —T. F.

Education and the Century of Progress

Chicago.—Last month the Chicago oard of Education struck the Chicago public school system a terrific blow which may maim it permanently. After a secret meeting instigated by the secret Citizen's Committee they passed a bill which removes all the educational improvements made in the last forty years. They took these steps to end the "over-education" of the youth and to revive the school system from the "fads and frills" which were supposed to be stifling it. In one stroke they cut off, or severely cartailed the parental schools, physical education, junior high schools and a junior college. These measures to revive the "little red school house" are so disastrous that they deserve our immediate attention because they are ominous signs of the decline of the public school system throughout the United States.

This act was the solution of the Board of Education, to a critical financial situation in which the public school system has been in entangled for the last two years due to a premature depletion of the city treasury. For the last two years the public school employees have worked almost gratuitously and meekly like "true" patriots. The sporadic demonstrations they conducted plus a student's strike evoked nothing but a few spurious resolutions from the Board of Education.

B. of E. Chooses Graft

The B. of E. had two courses to choose; either curtail irretrievably the educational facilities of the Chicago schools and thus satisfy the dsigruntled, childless taxpayer or follow the Strayer report and eliminate the graft which had eaten up the funds previously. In making their decision they followed the the representatives of big business dictates of the citizens' committee, in Chicago. Graft was more favorable to them than an "educated citizen."

This fact is not as strange as it seems. The system of universal compulsory education extant today was instituted when American capitalism was expanding. It neededmore trained clerks, professionals, skilled workers, etc., than our private schools could provide. Today our economic system is declining and needs fewer such servants. This means that it is no longer necessary for the youth to receive that training which was needed till now. The big industrialists and financiers do not think that physical education, junior high schools, free junior colleges and colleges are necessary or even desirable for the children of workers and poor petty bourgeoisie. In fact it is dangerous to have an army of unemployed youth who can think for themselves. They will be able to find no other outlet for their education than in radical thought. In the past, a little education to spice the dish of jingoism and chauvinism did not have bad effects for the capitalist class. Since education cannot be abolished altogether the capitalist lackeys decided to strengthen the effects of legal narcotics in education; civics and U. S. History. Then they reduced the antidotes: scientific method, mathematics, laboratory work, etc., to ineffectiveness.

Decline in Education Marks Capitalist Decay

But this bill did not meet with the approval of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie of Chicago. They do not think that their children are being over-educated. The "little red school house" is an anachronism today and the workers are fighting against its re-establishment. But their protests have so far been of no avail against the Board which ignores them.

At the same time that this fight against education is conducted in Chicago, Chicago is also the scene of festivities which laud capitalist civilization and its achievements to the skies—the Century of Progress. Strangely enough this action of the Chicago school authorities is as much a part of the Fair as the machines which decorate its interior. Instead of being a blot on a perfect picture it is an indispensable part of it.

Not only have the last hundred years witnessed the growth of the machine but also it has seen the rise and early stages of the rapid decline of the capitalist' system of production. Little over one hundred years ago the young and vigorous capitalism in the United States began one of the wildest rides down the rocky road of history that time has even witnessed. Today it is a decrepid, tottering centenarian, exhausted by its ride and rotting with many contradictions and diseases which its mount has helped to intensify.

The visitor to the Chicago Fair should note the showy tinsel of the Fair on the one hand and the measures for curtailing and degrading public education on the other. They are both integrally connected. —D. S.

Progressive T. U. Center Disrupted by Right Wing

Some months ago the workers of the midwest states organized a Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee with headquarters at Gillespie, Illinois. The program and policy adopted was presented in the **Militant** some months ago. The whole Left wing approved the program and policy with the exception of a small Right wing led by MacFarlane and Walker, secretary and chairman of the Committee.

We are now informed that a secret meeting was called by the Right wing, over the heads of, and without the knowledge of the duly elected Executive Committee. At this secret meeting the policy was ignored and a new independent "federation of labor" was established. The new organization consists of several independent crafts Teamsters, Motion Picture Operators, Painters, etc., in the small towns of the coal fields, the logical carry and break, that follows the trail of the Progressive Miners Union break with Lewis and Company.

This new craft federation comes to "life" after the NRA takes shape and the workers are flocking into the A. F. of L. where they will be at the mercy of the bosses agents, the labor fakers, unless we build a powerful Left wing.

The whole affair raises a few important question. First, what is the position of the Right wing leadership of the PMA Percy and Keck, etc.? Now that a big section of the Right wing is ready to make amends with Lewis and Company, and do not want to be hampered by the Left wing or such a Progressive trade union committee, would it not be a wise policy on their part to wipe out the Left wing in the PMA as they are, and kill the Progressive Trade Union move by McFarlane and others kills the committee.

On the other hand—what are the Stalinists doing. The Stalinists have ideological control of the Executive Committee of the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee. What are they going to do about this? They did not use the P.T.U.E.C. for the Cleveland Conference. Will the Stalinists allow the Progressive Trade Union Educational Commitee to be killed by the Right wing? They cannot prevent the accomplished split, but they can call an executive committee and utilize the PTUEC with its correct policy as a sectional grouping of Left wingers to be connected nationally with the other Left wing bodies.

FROM THE MILITANTS

Examples of N.R.A. at Work in St.Louis

St. Louis.—Comrade Oehler's prediction that the NRA would not solve but intensify the basic contradictions of capitalism is being borne out to the letter here in St. Louis, which may be taken as an example of all the large industrial cities. The basic contradiction of capitalism is the tremendously accelerated growth of productive forces on the one hand, (which throws thousands of workers into the ranks of the unemployed) and a steadily contracting market on the other. It was in a futile attempt to solve this contradiction that the Roosevelt administration came forward with its N. R. A. plan and its demands for a 40 hour week and a minimum wage scale.

Burden Loaded on Workers

A striking example is the garment workers strike reported in another column of the **Militant** by comrade Murphy. The manufacturers signed a code agreeing to the 40 hour week and a minimum wage scale of $12 a week. In order to preserve their profits the entire burden of the code agreement had to be loaded on to the shoulders of the workers—mostly girls and women—who were already brutally exploited. A piece work scale was worked out by the bosses and handed to the workers. Under this scale many of the girls found it impossible to make their minimum.

Naturally they were fired and more efficient workers hired in their place. It was not a case of "newcomers" or inexperienced girls that were weeded out by this process. On the contrary, many of them were workers who have been employed in the trade from 5 to 10 years. In the shop where our comrade Rose Casano was employed seven girls were thus dismissed but since comrade Casano enjoys a great deal of respect among the girls in her shop, they carried on a militant fight for the seven girls fired and they were reinstated.

The Same Trick

Another concern which is putting across the same scheme is the notoriously low wage concern, the Artistic Furniture Co. The "depression" wages of this outfit was $1.00 a day for eight hours work. Now since the code has been signed many of the "old" men (old in years as well as in service) have ben dismissed because they can't make their minimum. In their place are hired young and husky men, many of whom are farmer boys drifting into the city, lured by the golden promises of the N. R. A. A "good" upholsterer can make from $15 to $18 a week. We have no worthwhile contacts in this factory but are working in that direction. As is to be expected the shop is bitterly anti-union and two workers have already been fired for talking organization.

Last week 500 employees of the Western Cartridge Co. of East Alton, Ill., walked out in a body protesting against the code and demanding a radical revision of it.

The reactionary ILGWU officials have already announced that at this time it is not a question of wages (heaven forbid!) but only the question of union recognition. Taking advantage of this, the Amalgamated which has some influence here, immediately began to talk about wages and shop conditions and because of this has gained additional prestige among the workers. It has also the additional advantage of being backed up by the socialist party, particularly the Yipsels who have shown exceptional courage and militancy on the picket line, not only in the garment workers strike but also in the molders strike at the Jackes-Evans Iron Co.

Interested Only in Pie-Card

The officialdom of the ILGWU is, of course, as in all other A. F. of L. unions interested only in one thing—the dues and the salaries derived from the dues. Hence its bid for the support of the bosses by laying low on the question of wages. But the workers whose exploitation has been doubled and trebled under the NRA will have something to say about this matter and the leadership will be pushed in a "leftward" direction whether they like it or not.

On one occasion during the strike when our comrade Casano was to be refused a place on a committee because it is known that she is a Communist, a girl in her shop who is hostile to Communism, took the floor to protest saying: "Who knows but that we all may be Communists before this thing is over." She was warmly applauded. The A. F. of L. bureaucrats may find it necessary to revise their past policies—in words at least.

Just as the socialist party and the Musteites act as a brake on the leftward swing of the working masses towards Communism so it is that the Amalgamated acts as a brake in the needle trades to prevent the workers, disgusted with A. F. of L. tactics from finding their way to the class struggle unions.

Stalinists Win with the Mayor

And it is just here where the rub comes in. The Stalinists have no unions worthy of the name. The NTWIU is only a shadow, and should comrade Casano step out, its already insignificant influence would melt away like snow under a midsummer sun. In spite of the noise they are making about the nut pickers and the rag pickers strike, which they led, the results when summed up are practically nil. The first thing they did in the former strike was to propose a committee to see Mayor Dickman, doubtless hoping to "expose" him as an agent of the bosses. But the prophet of the New Deal was not to be found napping. Like some fabled hero of old he strides forward sword in hand to slay the dragon which was preying on "his" people. He galivanted—he swore—he declared that "justice" should be done. He spoke to the strikers at the Labor Lyceum (no member of the Left Opposition has yet been permitted to speak in this fortress of Staliuism and received ten times as much applause as the Communist speakers. Many workers still believe that the victory gained was the result of the joint efforts of the Communist party and the Democratic party!

In the rag pickers where all the employees are negroes only one white man cooperated on the picket line. Insofar as actual participation in the strike was concerned the party practically sabotaged it or at least seriously neglected it (which amounts to the same thing). The one white worker referred to is Frank Bittner who although voting for my expulsion from the I. L. D. made haste to tell me that he was forced to do so or be himself expelled from the party!

—G. ROBERTS.

Davenport Stalinists Use Hooligans

Davenport, Iowa.—The first open air meeting of the branch was held Saturday, August 5, 1933, at the Washington Square where about fifty workers listened to comrade Papcun exposing the NRA. The party as usual became frantic due to the renewed activity of the Left Opposition, and immediately methods were devised to disrupt the open air meeting.

They got hold of a degenerate, with whom it is well-known there is something wrong in his upper story, to get up and rave at the speaker, threatening arrests and howling at the top of his voice. But the meeting was not broken up in spite of this rotten method of the party who have to resort to such means because they cannot answer the conclusive arguments of the Left Opposition. It is well-known that the party member called and hauled this depraved individual by the name of Frank Holliday to the place of the meeting.

Not satisfied with the threats that were made at the meeting the party leaders mobilized for the extermination of the Left Opposition, by force, if necessary. So they proceeded to get one of their erstwhile leaders, Ray Secoy, drunk and on Wednesday August 9th they waylaid, with another gangster name unknown, comrade Papcun who was on his way to his fishing camp along a lonely road and proceeded to attack him. The fight was only stopped by a stranger and his wife from a house nearby.

It would not be amiss to describe this Ray Secoy who is aspiring for leadership in the party, but who was defeated, due to the activities of the Left Opposition, for the Section Executive Committee at the last election on which he had served up until that itme. He is known locally as a degenerate of the worst type. He is trying to utilize the same methods as he previously did in his hijacking of workers by holdups for which he has served time once in a penitenary and another time in the local county jail.

These local leaders of the party are especially vicious due to the exposure by the Left Opposition of their incorrect policies, by the fact that the district leadership of the party, in District 8, has made them scapegoats for the wrong policies of the Central Committee and the District Committee.

It is evident by the above actions that the party leadership will stop at nothing to prevent the Left Opposition from being active and presenting its ideas to the workers of the tri-cities.

The Left Opposition of the tri-cities appeals to all workers to combat such terroristic activities as the party leadership is at this time displaying in order to cover up their miserable failures which are only a part of the national failures brought about by their incorrect tactics and policies.

—BETTY ROWLAND.

St. Louis Dress Workers Strike for Recognition

St. Louis.—The ILGWU of St. Louis has declared a general walkout for the industry. To date about 90 percent of the shops have joined the strike. Some 2,500 workers out of the 3,000 employed in the trade have walked out and more are leaving the shops every day. The largest and nationally known shops are effected by the strike.

The reason for the strike is that the bosses have signed the NRA but refuse to pay the minimum wage. The grievance of the piece workers is that under the present rates they cannot make the minimum pay. To meet this condition the bosses speed up the machines and if the workers cannot make the minimum they are fired. Some of the shops pay the code scale to some workers and not to others. Lay-offs are prevalent. About 20 pay checks were photographed which ranged from $1.00 for three days and $8.50 for four days.

The Yipsels have some influence among the shops and have shown great militancy on the picket line. Yesterday 18 pickets were arrested for picketing the shops still working. For singing the **Internationale** and **Solidarity** they were arrested on the charge of "disturbing the peace". Among the pickets arrested was comrade Rose Casano of the Left Opposition.

The speeches by the workers are fair but they lack leadership. About all the A. F. L. gives them is a few radical phrases and then: "We must stick to our (!) government and the N. R. A." The same reactionary stuff over and again.

But in spite of the labor skates the workers are militant. The walls of the old jail echoed with the strains of the **Internationale.** The cops just stood and gaped in astonishment.

Comrade Casano has been doing fine work and was one of the first to get the workers in her shop to down tools 100 percent. About 100 workers were employed in her shop. The L. O. has offered speakers as well as pickets to the strikers. It is doing all it can to help the strikers and gain influence among them. The Stalinists are nowhere to be seen. —LLOYD MURPHY.

N. Y. FOOD WORKERS MEET FOR UNITED ACTION

Last Tuesday, Aug. 22, in response to a call by the Amalgamated Food Workers Union for united action of all food workers organizations, a mass meeting was held in Palm Gardens Hall, N. Y. More than one thousand workers were present. The TUUL was at hand but the vague references made by its speaker on the subject of united action under a united organization called forth a very cool reception from the workers. Gitlow, (representing the A. F. W.) on the contrary, played up this very thing that the party speaker omitted and fairly brought down the house.

Lessons of the United Front

(Concluded in this issue)

POLITICAL BLOCS (Extra-Parliamentarian)

The united front of working class organizations and a political bloc of two organizations against other organizations are two entirely different things. The same elements enter into both but the relationship is entirely different. It is one thing to call a united front of all organizations and find one or more refusing to join. It is another thing to form a political bloc between two organizations as a united front.

The difference between a united front and political blocs as FORMS of united action cannot be settled within the frame work of the discussion on the question of the united front tactic. The differences between two forms can only be understood properly when the theoretical and political questions underlying the question of the united front are considered. It is often possible for organizations of opposite theoretical positions to momentarily pose tactical questions in the same light, as far as surface indications reveal. Such "similarity" is not sufficient grounds for a political bloc. Such a "united front" would only result in blundering and confusing the basic theoretical and more fundamental differences between these organizations, Such is the question and relation of the Right, Centre and Left Opposition.

The question of a revolutionary bloc, such as Communists and colonial revolutionists is a two fold question of program and limitations, and the frame work of the united action.

THE MARXIAN CONCEPT OF THE UNITED FRONT

The purpose of the united front is, (1) to bring to bear the greatest amount of working class pressure possible against the capitalist system, and, (2) to gain our class objective and immediate class interest, (3) to train and educate the masses and their organizations in action, (4) to expose in action all misleaders, agents of the capitalists, and opportunists, and (5) to win the rank and file to class struggle and revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. This leadership cannot be guaranteed in advance, it must be won in action. The united front must at no time result in a compromise on principles.

The united front is (1) a temporary agreement, (2) between working class organizations, (3) on immediate demands, (4) in action, (5) where each organization retains its organizational independence, (6) refrains from slander and personal attacks, (7) but maintains the right of minority expression and political criticism, (8) no exclusion of working class organizations, (9) and where continued effort must be made to bring into the united front those organizations that refuse to participate.

The organization with a Marxian program has nothing to lose and everything to gain by united action of the working class. Marxism will stand all tests in theory and practice.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Impressions of Fascist Germany

An Eye-witness Account of Conditions in Hitler's Regime

When I arrived in Berlin during the middle of May I went directly to the home of my good comrade S. On my previous visit in February he had invited me to come next time to stay at his house. Now I found a police seal on the door and somehow it helped me to make up my mind very quickly, to get out of the house and make no inquiries. I knew then that both comrade S. and his wife were in the clutches of the Fascists. The vision of the savage beatings with steel rods always applied to Communist prisoners sent a cold shiver down my spine.

Raids upon workers homes were still going on; now less dramatically but more "ordnungsgemaess". Formerly the groans of the victims could be heard on the outside. Now all sounds were muffled. But the terror was still used by the Nazis to show the possible doubters who was the master. It also provided an outlet for the acrimonious hatred deliberately fostered and tempered to a white heat in every Storm Trooper. Swiftness and thoroughness had now been added to improve the earlier dramatic staging. These had become specific features of the process of German Fascism taking over power and consolidating its gains.

What a difference in the picture now presented from that of my first visit in February! Then there was an atmosphere as if before a big battle in which the opposing forces had not yet come to grips, had not yet really measured strength. A disquieting anxiety prevailed, a painful uncertainty as to what the next step would be. It was in the air, it was everywhere. Could it be possible? Were the Fascists really going to be victorious? Apparently there was yet time to stop the onrushing horde. But time was precious. And then, in May, it had been settled, virtually without a battle. The important features of the "Third Reich" were visible and even the Nazis were surprised at the ease of their victory.

Most typical of the German scene now was the artificially drummed up enthusiasm flowing over into spectacularly staged demonstrations. "Celebrating the National Uprising" became the general title covering them all, but almost any occasion could be used for a demonstration; and, besides, they served admirably to feed illusions to the Nazi plebian following. Hoisting the rehabilitated imperial colors with the Swastika on public buildings meant the careful setting of the stage for a demonstration. Sometimes, in the rush, the Storm Troopers would forget about the national colors and the Swastika would go up alone; but the "enthusiastic" demonstrators did not seem to notice the difference. When the new nationalist reactionary spirit demanded a change of street names from their former obnoxious Marxian, or even mere republican coloration, as for example changing Platz der Republik to Adolph Hitler Platz, or the rechristening of such streets as Erzberger Strasse, Karl Marx Strasse, Bebel Strasse, Eberts Allee, etc. a demonstration with the solemnity of a religious ritual would be staged. Similarly at the enunciation of a new program of worthless promises or the installation of new officials under the "Gleichschaltung". Even the burning of Marxian books had to have its festival setting in which would be sacrificed to the devouring flames the literary treasures not only of the German working class movement but also that which gave expression to the country's progress in science and culture.

The greatest demonstrations, from the point of view of numbers, were those on May Day which was converted into a Nazi day of labor. In a certain sense these Nazi May Day demonstrations became a test of strength of the regime. To the workers, with socialist and trade union tradition of long standing, it meant adding insult to injury. Still they could not escape it. For them attendance was made compulsory. Berlin on that day therefore found the bulk of its proletariat marching dejectedly with their footsteps heavy and their heads bowed in agony. In the Ruhr territory on the other hand, I was told, that in most cases they sent stories afloat along the marching ranks which in a jocular fashion told about the size of the potatoes this year; showing the clenched fist to indicate size (the "Red Front" salute).

May 2 witnessed the final and complete taking over of the trade unions by the Nazis, including their well stocked treasuries, and the arrest of practically every trade union official, from the top down. Outstanding among them were Leipart and Grassmann. Both had particularly distinguished themselves by their abject servility. Now the official report of the arrests gave them special mention saying laconically: "transferred to a hospital". Of course, this was all done in typical Nazi fashion with appropriate proclamations about "the furthering of the interests of national elevation" and the protection of the united people against the "Marxist Bonzen". In reality it was one further important step in the Fascist process of "Gleichschaltung". Evidently they had reason to consider the strength of their regime as having fully stood the test; that at least was the verdict of Goebbels at a huge Berlin meeting of his party functionaries held a couple of weeks later. He presented what he called the recent major political achievements, enumerating for special emphasis four different events. First there were in the field of foreign affairs the demand at Geneva for German arms equality and Hitler's speech on foreign policy. At home there were the May Day demonstrations and the capture of the trade unions. Incidentally this also gives a picture of the Nationalist Socialist party political methods; the method of constantly keeping the followers intoxicated with the spirit of marching from victory to victory. All that was lacking was some ceremonial self-criticism.But that is not yet in the faculty of the Nazi.

"I mean that the National Socialist movement is to become the State", Goebbels said at this meeting. "In this the old guard possess an unquestioned privilege", he added amid the thunderous applause of the horde. A little later the party decided that the original hundred thousand members were to be provided with jobs immediately. Surely one could then better understand the reasons for the campaign to freeze out all so-called non-Aryans from their economic and professional positions. One of the very attentive observers of political developments in Germany at that time said to me: "On the day of the Jewish boycott the Storm Troopers had been whipped up to such a frenzy that a mere signal could have turned the whole affair into all the horrors of a Bartholomew's Night." The anti-Jewish campaign was gruesome in all its revolting details. But it was esentially a by-product of the real aim, namely, to cow the working class with a reign of terror.

It was difficult to imagine the German working class cowed or in abject submission. But a look at the Berlin North district soon convinced me that it was so. I stopped one day to read one of the Ullstein papers displayed for passersby. Beside me were two women. Their poor but neat appearance told they were from the working class quarters. Both had their attention attracted to an article dealing with the trial of the Altona Communists and the demand for the death penalty. Their eyes met in silence. It was a mutual dreadfully frightened expression. At that moment two trucks loaded to the bumpers with Nazi Storm Troopers approached. Their "heilrufe" spilt the air. The women hurried away. That excessively charged atmosphere made one feel uncomfortable. A couple of weeks later I learned that the supreme penalty had been imposed upon four of the Altona prisoners. When receiving the verdict, the leader of the group, Luetker declared: "The death penalty is the highest honor to a revolutionist."

In February the Fascists were only beginning their expansion, reaching out for every position within the state apparatus, cutting the ground from underneath their opponents while, at the same time, also moving by way of head-on-collison. But the advance was still quite chaotic. The streets swarmed with the Nazi ruffians, moving in detachments in the process of taking possession, but not yet entirely sure of themselves. Members of the Steelhelmets would meet, click their heels and salute in the stiffest Prussian military fashion, causing a jealous animosity among the Storm Troopers. Here and there could still be seen groups of uniformed Reichsbannermen; but they were much more uncertain. The workers everywhere carried the expressions of bewilderment and fearful anticipations.

Did the German workers fail in the decisive hour because they were not ready to resist the Fascist advance? No, that would not be the conclusion of the attentive observer. For that there were too many examples of actual readiness. There were the instances of general strikes in the free city of Lubeck and in the city of Stassfurt protesting against the Nazi murders. In both cases all wheels were brought to a standstill. For anti-Fascist demonstrations would turn out oftentimes hundreds of thousands eagerly awaiting a decisive leadership. In Hamburg, at the time when Nazi Storm Troopers began to occupy trade union headquarters, thousands of workers gathered in front of their building; ready to defend it. But the officials on the inside, who were more frightened at this mass demonstration and anyway suspected a Communist plot, beseeched and cajoled their members to stay at home.

One incident of workers' bravery I observed personally, although I arrived only as the smoke cleared away. It was at Neukoelln where I came one evening when Storm Troopers had made a raid on a restaurant frequented by Communists. I got near enough to see some brown shirts who lay sprawled on the street being picked up by their brethen. The workers had given a good account of themselves. But that was only one of the isolated, desperate efforts to fight off the mortal enemy. A centralized direction to these efforts, a firm policy, or a serious attempt to unite the working class was not at hand. The parties in which the German workers, through their tradition of organization discipline, had placed their confidence, failed. In that lies the real explanation of the ease of the Fascist victory.

— ARNE SWABECK

The Overflow of the Cuban Revolt

Continued Strikes, Riots Burst Bounds Set by New Deal Diplomacy

The Cuban revolt to oust Gerardo Machado, has been successful. So general was the opposition to the "butcher" that Ambassador Welles, who was attempting to eliminate Machado peacefully, was not given time to bring his "mediation" to the hoped-for conclusion.

The disaffection of the army was the last straw necessary to swing the scales against the dictator proving that the Cuban generals still recognize the master's voice. American imperialism, after many months of bargaining with anti-Machadist elements, had at last spoken clearly and the army shifted its allegiance.

There is every indication that the rank and file of the army would have mutinied en-masse against their officers and supported the already nation-wide general stirke of the workers and petty-bourgeoisie, if their superiors had not come forward in support of the revolt at the time they did.

All the decisive forces were against the perpetuation of Machado's Porrista regime. The workers and peasants together with the urban middle classes were the first to take up the struggle openly, American imperialism during the whole period since last February had given signs of its intention to peacefully replace Machado before a mass uprising that might carry the change too far, could get under way. On July 1st, the imperialist representative, U. S. Ambassador Sumner Welles, commenced his negotiations for that end, with the frank cooperation of almost all of the bourgeois opposition elements. The masses however, understanding in a confused and general way that some maneuver was afoot, took the offensive under the leadership of Communist and radical petty-bourgeois elements. The general strike proclaimed in the first days of August, received the wholehearted support of the Cuban working class, and was also utilized by the bourgeois oppositionists inasmuch as it was directed against the Machado regime. Wall Street's "mediation" move had failed, and now the only way to check the mass revolt was to be found in going along with it. The army caught between two fires both of which were directed against the government, joined the movement at the eleventh hour, and in the interests of Wall Street thus assuring the downfall of the dictator before the insurgent masses should get entirely out of control. Machado gone, Dr. Cespedes was hurriedly sworn in as provisional president and has already at this writing commenced to bring repressive measures to bear in order to check the mass movement, which barely commences to show the first signs of abatement.

Once unleashed, following the first reports of the "butcher's" flight, the fury of the populace was uncontrollable. The National Palace was sacked as were also the private homes of many of Machado's personal supporters and those of all his cabinet ministers. The offices of "El Heraldo de Cuba" Machadist daily were wrecked and the presses demolished. Many workers and soldiers under the leadership of members of the "ABC", systematically hunted down and slew those who had most distinguished themselves as murderers and torturers of enemies of the old regime. The police were either neutralized or powerless to interfere. Colonel Antonio Jimenez, chief of the "porra", Machado's extra-legal strong arm force, infamous for its prosecution of revolutionary workers and students, was among the first to encounter the wrath of the enraged populace. Jose Magrinat, who was sent to Mexico by Machado in January 1929 to assassinate comrade Julio Antonio Mella, did not even have time to scurry for his hole like the proverbial rat. In all, a score or more of Machado's "finest" have been killed. If the "butcher" himself escaped it was only due to his superior alacrity and better protection.

The deposed tyrant, now in refuge at Nassau in the Bahama Islands, may yet meet the fate of his cohorts.Meanwhile, he does not intend to suffer any unnecessary personal inconvenience, as is evidenced by the large sums of money mounting into millions of dollars, that have in recent years been deposited by him in foreign banks, doubtless in anticipation of such a contingency.

American imperialism will now be able to consolidate its forces in Cuba. A "new deal" for Cuba is already being spoken of quite openly, and the sending of four American warships to Havana is not so much an episode of it is symptomatic of the spirit of this "New Deal". Attempts will be made to smooth over the differences and contradictions of imperialism and native capitalism at the expense of the workers. This new situation will open broad perspectives of struggle for the Cuban workers, as no possible arrangement under capitalism can solve the contradictions of Cuba's economy except at the expense of the workers.

The new situation is pregnant with great possibilities for the Communist party and the proletariat. But in order to fulfill its role, our party must analyze realistically all the factors in the situation. The present mass movement raised by the general strike, must be utilized to the limit in order to better entrench our party among the masses, democratic demands must be raised and consistently fought for in order to gain every possible advantage from the period of confusion that is bound to ensue, and which the "concentration" government of de Cespedes, even with Wall Street's direct and complete support, cannot entirely eliminate.

Hundreds of exiles and political prisoners are returning to Cuba from their places of exile abroad, and from the detention colony on Isla de Pinos. Among these in addition to Communists are also many petty bourgeois aspirants for political jobs. Among these latter, a jockeying for power, hardly intended to calm matters, is bound to take place. All indications point to a period of internal struggles among the diverse sectors of the bourgeois and imperialist camps. If an attempt at a democratic regime is made, it can only be temporary as the continued crisis is not such as to permit of democratic forms. Some form of bourgeois dictatorship under imperialist tutelage is inevitable. The only road out of Cuba's permanent economic crisis is that of the proletarian revolution. But if this is to be seriously considered the Cuban Communists must lay aside their opportunist slogan of an "anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution". This slogan can only lead the proletarian vanguard deeper into the slough of nationalism. —R. N.

Stalin Reassures Hitler on Trotsky's 'Return'

Two or three weeks afio, the official Soviet news agency, **TASS,** denied the rumor that Trotsky is returning to the USSR. The solemn and categorical tone of this denial gave cause to believe that the Kremlin was pursuing some important political aim. But not in the field of internal politics, for neither the denial nor the newspaper rumor against which it was directed, was published in the U. S. S. R. The denial was intended fully and exclusively for **foreign** consumption.

The sense of this denial will become sufficiently clear when it is recalled that about two years ago Trotsky wrote on the necessity of preparing the Red Army for a struggle against National Socialism. This article, not even mentioned in the U. S. S. R., found in its time a loud echo in the National-Socialist press. We know with what demonstrative friendliness the Stalinist bureaucracy received Hitler's coming to power. **"Izvestia"** wrote: "The public opinion of the Soviet Union has never entertained any plans, directed against the present current in Germany". These words signified nothing short of a demonstrative disassociation from Trotsky. Can there be any doubt that the article in **Izvestia was** written after a corresponding diplomatic inquiry from Berlin and that it had as its purpose to convince Hitler that Moscow holds unanswering-ly to the doctrine of socialism in one country?

At the time **TASS** published abroad the categorical statement that Trotsky "will not return" to the U. S. S. R., the Berlin paper, **Vossische Zeitung,** directed an official inquiry to Trotsky through its Constantinople correspondent as to whether he is really returning to Rusia. The very fact of the inquiry seems unexpected and at the same time very significant, especially if the fact is taken into consideration that the **Vossische Zeitung** is now completely in the hands of the Nazis. Hitler simply ordered the former liberal paper, through its former liberal correspondent, to check up on the newspaper rumor of the coming return of Trotsky to Moscow and of the corresponding change in the external policy of the Soviets.

Thus, we see that Hitler and Stalin played a two handed game in this question. At first it might have been thought that the rumor of Trotsky's return arose accidentally, as happens with many newspaper rumors. But linking together all the stages of the question in retrospect, it is not difficult to assume that the rumor itself was spread by the Berlin department of "propaganda" with the aim of forcing Stalin to a degrading denial and assurances. This aim, at any rate, has been achieved.

L'Humanite which' like the rest of the Stalinist press in the West, does not let pass an opportunity to disgrace itself, has seized upon the denial of **TASS** in order to burst into a rude atack upon Trotsky, blaming him for having sperad the rumor of his return to the U. S. S. R. himself—for what purpose? Thus, these miserable bureaucratic blind men serve at every step as tools of foreign aims and under the pretence of serving the revolution, compromise and weaken it.

—N. N.

STALINISTS REFUSE L. O. REPRESENTATIVE RIGHT TO SPEAK

Youngstown, Ohio—About three hundred workers attended the August First Anti-War demonstration of the Communist party here. Representatives from the Unemployed Councils, Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, the International Labor Defense, and John Marshall, Communist candidate for governor, spoke. But a representative of the local Unemployed Federation was not given the platform in spite of the fact that it had endorsed the demonstration and had a request of the C. P. through H. Mack several days ago that one of its Executive members be permitted to speak specifically on the local Federation, Perhaps the fact that the speaker it had proposed was H. Newby of the Left Opposition had something to do with the Stalinists' "inability" to spare five minutes of its program for other than official C. P. speakers. —N.

Leon Trotsky on the Question of Fascism and Democratic Slogans

(Continued from Page 1)

Why Fascism in Germany is called upon to play a role entirely opposite to that which it played in Italy, remains incomprehensible. Because "Germany is not Italy"? Victorious Fascism is in reality not a locomotive of history but its gigantic brake. Just as the policy of the social democracy prepared the triumph of Hitler, so the regime of National Socialism inevitably leads to the warming-up of democratic illusions.

3. Can the Social-Democracy Regenerate Itself?

German comrades testify that the social democratic workers and even many of the social democratic bureaucrats are "disillusioned" with democracy. We must extract all we can out of the critical moods of the reformist workers, in the interests of their revolutionary education. But at the same time the extent of the reformists' "disillusionment" must be clearly understood. The social democratic high priests scold democracy so as to justify themselves. Unwilling to admit that they showed themselves as contemptible cowards, incapable of fighting for the democracy which they created and for their soft berths in it, these gentlement shift the blame from themselves to the intangible democracy. As we see, this radicalism is not only cheap but also spurious through and through! Let the bourgeoisie only beckon these "disillusioned" ones with its little finger and they will run on all fours to a new coalition with it. It is true, in the mass of social-democratic workers a real disgust with the betrayals and mirages of democracy is being born. But to what extent? The greater half of the seven to eight million social democratic voters is in a state of the greatest confusion, glum passivity, and capitulation to the victors. At the same time, a new generation will be forming under the heel of Fascism, a generation to which the Weimar constitution will be an historic legend. What line then will the political crystallization within the working class follow? This depends upon many conditions, among them, of course, also upon our policy.

Historically the direct replacement of the Fascist regime by a workers' state is not excluded. But for the realization of this possibility it is necessary that a powerful, illegal Communist party form itself in the process of struggle against Fascism, under the leadership of which the proletariat could seize power. However, it must be said that a creation of a revolutionary party of this sort in illegality, is not very probable, at any rate it is not assured by anything in advance. The discontentment indignation, fermentation of the masses will, from a certain moment onward, grow much faster than the illegal formation of the party vanguard. And every lack of clarity in the consciousness of the masses will inevitably help democracy.

This does not at all mean, that after the fall of Fascism, Germany will again have to go through a long school of parliamentarism. Fascism will not eradicate the past political experience, it is even less capable of changing the social structure of the nation. It would be the greatest mistake to expect a new lengthy democratic epoch in the development of Germany. But in the revolutionary awakening of the masses, democratic slogans will inevitably constitute the first chapter. Even if the further progress of the struggle should in general not permit, even for one day, the regeneration of a democratic state—and this is very possible—the struggle itself cannot develop by the circumvention of democratic slogans! A revolutionary party that would attempt to jump over this stage, would break its neck.

The question of the social-democracy is closely connected with this general perspective. Will it re-appear on the stage? The old organization is irrevocably lost. But this does not at all mean that social democracy cannot be regenerated under a new historic mask. Opportunist parties which fall and decompose so easily under the blows of reaction, come back to life as easily at the first political revival. We observed this in Russia in the example of the Mensheviks and the S. R.'s. German social democracy can not only regenerate itself, but even acquire great influence, if the revolutionary proletarian party should set up a doctrinaire "negation" of the slogan of democracy against a dialectic attitude towards them. The Praesidium of the Comintern in this field, as in so many others, remains a gratuitous assistant of reformism.

4. The randlerites Improve On Stalinists.

The confusion in the question of democratic slogans, has revealed itself most profoundly in the programmatic theses of the opportunist group of Brandler-Thalheimer on the question of the struggle against Fascism. The Communist party, the theses read, "should unite the manifestations of discontentment of all (!) classes against the Fascist dictatorship". (Gegen den Strom, page 7, the word "all" is underlined in the original). At the same time, the theses insistently warn: "The partial slogan can not be of a bourgeois-democratic nature." Between these two statements, each of which is erroneous, there is an irreconcilable contradiction. In the first place, the formula of the unification of the discontentment of "all classes" sounds absolutely incredible. The Russian Marxists did at one time abuse such a formulation in the struggle against **czarism.** Out of this abuse grew out the Menshevik conception of the revolution, later on adopted by Stalin for China. But in Russia, at least, it was a question of the collision of the bourgeois nation with the privileged monarchy. In what sense can one speak, in a bourgeois nation, of the struggle of "all classes" against Fascism, which is the tool of the big bourgeoisie against the proletariat? It would be instructive to see how Thalheimer, the manufacturer of theoretic vulgarities, would unite the discontentment of Hugenberg,—and he is also discontented,—with the discontentment of an unemployed worker. How else can one unite a movement of "all classes" if not by putting oneself on the basis of bourgeois democracy? Verily, a classic combination of opportunism with an ultra-radicalism in words!

The movement of the proletariat against the Fascist regime will acquire an ever greater mass character to the extent that the petty bourgeoisie becomes disappointed with Fascism, isolating the possessing summits and the government apparatus. The task of a proletarian party would consist in utilizing the weakening of the yoke on the part of the petty bourgeois reaction for the purpose of arousing the activity of the proletariat on to the road of the conquest of the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

It is true, the growth of the discontentment of the intermediary strata and the growth of the resistance of the workers will create a crack in the bloc of the possessing classes and will spur their "Left flank" to seek contact with the petty bourgeoisie. The task of the proletarian party with relation to the "liberal" flank of the possessors will consist, however, not in including them both in a bloc of "all classes" against Fascism, but on the contrary in immediately declaring a decisive struggle against it for influence on the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

Under what political slogans will this struggle take place? The dictatorship of Hitler grew directly out of the Weimar constitution. The representatives of the petty bourgeoisie have, with their own hands presented Hitler with the mandate for a dictatorship. If we should assume a very favorable and quick development of the Fascist crisis, then the demand for the convocation of the Reichstag with the inclusion of all the banished deputies, may, at a certain moment, unite the workers with the widest strata of the petty bourgeoisie. If the crisis should break out later and the memory of the Reichstag should have had time to obliterate itself, the slogan of new elections may acquire great popularity. It is sufficient that such a road is possible. To tie one's hands with relation to temporary democratic slogans which may be forced upon us by our petty bourgeois allies and by the backward strata of the proletariat itself, would be fatal doctrinarism.

Brandler-Thaelmann believe, however, that we should only advocate "democratic rights for the **laboring** masses: the right of assembly, trade unions, freedom of press, organization and strikes". In order to emphasize their radicalism more, they add: "these demands should be strictly (!) distinguished from bourgeois democratic demands of **universal** democratic rights". There is no person more wretched than the opportunist who takes the knife of ulta-radicalism between his teeth!

Freedom of assembly and the press **only** for the laboring masses is conceivable solely under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, under the nationalization of buildings, printing establishments, etc. It is possible that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany will also have to employ exceptional laws against exploiters: that depends upon the historic moment, upon international conditions, upon the relation of internal forces. But it is not at all excluded that, having conquered power, the workers of Germany will find themselves sufficiently powerful to allow freedom of assembly and the press also to the exploiters of yesterday, of course, in accordance with their actual political influence, and not with the extent of their treasury; the treasury will have been expropriated. Thus, even for the period of the dictatorship there is in principle no basis for limiting beforehand the freedom of assembly and the press **only** to the laboring masses. The proletariat may be **forced** to such a limitation; but this is not a question of principle. It is doubly absurd to advocate such a demand under the conditions of present day Germany, when freedom of the press and assembly exists for all but the proletariat. The arousing of the proletarian struggle against the Fascist inferno will take place, at least in the first stages, under the slogans: give also to us, workers, the right of assembly and the press. The Communists, of course, will at this stage also carry on a propaganda in favor of the Soviet regime but they will at the same time support every real mass movement under democratic slogans, and wherever possible will take the initiative in such a movement.

Between the regime of bourgeois democracy and the regime of proletarian democracy there is no third regime, "the democracy of the laboring masses". True, the Spanish republic calls itself "the republic of the laboring" even in the text of its constitution. But this is a formula of political charlatanism. The Brandlerian formula of democracy "only for the laboring", particularly in combination with the "unity of all classes", seems to be especially designed to confuse and mislead the revolutionary vanguard in the most important question: "When and to what extent to adapt ourselves to the movement of the petty bourgeoisie and the backward strata of the working masses, what concessions to make to them in the question of the tempo of the movement and the slogans on the order of the day, so as more successfully to rally the proletariat under the banner of its own revolutioanry dictatorship?"

At the 7th congress of the Russian Communist Party, in March 1918, during the discussion of the party program, Lenin carried on a decisive struggle against Bucharin, who considered that parliamentarism is done for, once and for all, that it is historically "exhausted". "We must...." Lenin retorted, "write a new program of the Soviet power, without renouncing the use of bourgeois parliamentarism. To believe that we will not be thrown back, is Utopia....after every setback, if class forces inimical to us should push us to this old position, we shall proceed to what has been conquered by experience—to the Soviet power...."

Lenin objected to a doctrinaire anti-parliamentarism with regard to a country which had already gained the Soviet regime: We must not tie our hands beforehand, he taught Bucharin, for we may be pushed back to the once abandoned positions. In Germany there has not been and there is no proletarian dictatorship, but there is a dictatorship of Fascism; Germany has been thrown back even from bourgeois democracy. Under these conditions, to renounce beforehand the use of democratic slogans and of bourgeois parliamentarism means to clear the field for a social democracy of a new formation.

Prinkipo, July 14, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

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THE MILITANT

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Discussion on the German Defeat

The article below represents the first installment in a discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. Comrades are invited to state their views which will be printed as discussion articles.—Ed.)

By the course of events in Germany, which culminated in the complete victory of Fascism, the international proletarian movement finds itself face to face with an entirely new situation. In its objective essence it means a new historical stage; the inauguration of a new reactionary period with its serious implications not only for Germany but for the world as a whole. That it will be fraught with new attacks upon the workers, with prospects of imperialist wars moving much closer, with new serious dangers to the Soviet Union and also with new revolutionary possibilities, goes without saying.

In measuring the consequence of these events the International Left Opposition has some time ago made clear that for this new situation the orientation, the position and the formulae of the past will no longer suffice. We thereby placed ourselves entirely upon the basis of the new historical situation created by the victory of Fascism and the collapse of the German Communist Party. Where we had previously emphasized the immediately pressing problems for a change of course of the party and of the Comintern to prevent the Fascist victory, that is, where we had emphasized the short perspective we now place before ourselves the long perspective. Where we before, in pressing for a change of course, also held the position of reform of the party, we are now compelled to recognize its complete breakdown and to orient ourselves upon that basis. To this extent there was unanimity within the International Left Opposition. In this we also met with sympathy and considerable agreement from other working class groups stirred by the course of events. Some doubt however, did naturally arise when the question was posed fully in the concrete: What must follow the breakdown of the party? Can there for us be any other course than that of a new party? To pose the question that way was such a radical departure from our former position of a party fraction fighting for reform of the party. But this was necessitated by the historical change which had taken place and, in the first instance, the doubts could only emerge wherever the full significance of this change was momentarily lost sight of. These doubts are disappearing and in their place we have a greater clarity.

In order that we here in America may better understand what is involved in this question of whether or not a new party in Germany we must endeavor to fully appreciate what the historical change means to the working class in general and to the German proletariat in particular. We have already mentioned that it means a new reactionary period. No further proof of that is needed than the tangible evidences of experience since German Fascism came into power. What needs particular emphasis, however, is the seriousness of the scope of the working class defeat. First the Social Democracy miserably exposed its bankruptcy followed by the bankruptcy of the Communist party. Both parties were numerically powerful yet they disappeared in face of the onslaught of the Fascist regime. Today there is no revolutionary party in Germany. This is the greatest defeat recorded in working class history. It is the culmination to a series of defeats suffered by the Comintern beginning with Germany of 1923, through the disaster of the Chinese revolution and back to Germany in 1933. And yet all these defeats occur under the conditions of the downward spiral of capitalism, during the capitalist decay stage, during the very period of its bankruptcy being the most glaringly demonstrated. This is the frightful paradox. And because of that the responsibility for the policies and strategy which brought such disaster becomes only many times greater. Of course, the Comintern leadership, the Stalinist leadership, must be held entirely responsible. ..Once again the importance of a working class revolutionary party has been demonstrated, but this time in a negative sense. Already from the time of the Communist manifesto we knew that the emancipation of the working class was unthinkable without its own revolutionary party. It was the absence of such a party, or to put it more precisely, the failure of the Stalinist party to perform this function, which accounts for the Fascists and not the proletariat being victorious. In seeking the reason for that, when traced to its source, the verdict will read: It is because we had in Germany a party of national Socialism instead of a party of interntional revolution. For proof of this, wherever doubts or disagreements still exists outside of our ranks, we need not confine ourselves to the inescapable conclusion that the theory of Socialism in One Country can produce nothing else but parties of national Socialism. We can add the advice to the comrades to study the numerous declarations of German party leaders on their program of national and social emancipation. This program is of course only a reflection of the basic party and Comintern orientation.

Today, after this frightful defeat, the German party leaders, speaking from emigration, and behind them the Comintern leaders, commit the double crime of stubbornly denying the historical character of the defeat and add to it the attempt of maintaining the dangerous illusions in the minds of the Communist workers that Hitler will soon get out of business.

But as Hitler remains and consolidates his power the disillusionment will inevitably set in. New and more frightful demoralization will result. The Communist workers will leave the Stalinist party leaders in disgust and despair. Today these gigantic experiences are fresh in the minds of the Communist workers and yet there is no discussion permitted by the party leadership. Inquiries into the correctness of the official line are taboo. Those who express doubts are hounded and expelled. From these facts it follows that what still exists in Germany of sporadic activities by the official party remnants is not at all the beginnings of an orientation based upon the new conditions but only the tail end of the past. After that follows the void, for there can be no other perspectives for a party leadership which denies the existence of the new historical conditions.

The facts being so, one can brand only as criminal lightmindedness the final conclusion of the Comintern resolution adopted after the German defeat; the resolution of April 1. This resolution finds that it is necessary to strengthen the party and all the mass organizations of the working class,

...."to prepare the masses for decisive battles. For the overthrow of capitalism and for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship by an armed rising."

In other words, the armed uprising is placed on the agenda in the midst of the greatest defeat yet suffered by working class. Upon what prognosis does it rest? First of all upon the Comintern alibi that the cause of what has happened in Germany is Social Democracy. Its part of the betrayal never needed to be doubted; but that does not in the least explain the Comintern and the official party responsibility, or its position. Secondly it rests upon the foundation of the Comintern affirming the infallibility of its characterization of "Social Fascism", thus nullifying and giving the lie to any expressions for desire of a united front with social democracy. Further it rests upon an estimation of the preceding governments of Papen and Schleicher having been Fascist governments the same as Hitler's. Finally it rests upon the analysis, as presented in the resolution, that there was no revolutionary situation in Germany. Yet a complete historical change has taken place. But the change is not toward strengthening the possibilities of the proletarian revolution. On the contrary, the Fascist reaction is immensely strengthened, the German working class defeated, the Communist parties elsewhere declining, demoralized and impotent. In face of this the armed insurrection is placed on the agenda by the Comintern resolution. Criminal lightmindedness is about the mildest characterization one can find for this.

The International Left Opposition poses the problems facing the German working class, and the world movement, from the point of view of opposite considerations. To rebuild upon an entirely new foundation what lies shattered in Germany, its general working class movement and above all to rebuild the revolutionary party, that is the task. There can be no more talk about the old basis or the old formulae. The problem is to build anew. The Left Opposition proposes an orientation toward a new Party in Germany liberated from the deadly embrace of bankrupt Stalinism. —ARNE SWABECK.

United States at London Confab

The World Economic Conference, just concluded at London, met at the most critical period of the world crisis. The victory of Fascism in Germany and Japanese aggression hung heavy over the conference. Between these realities and American Imperialism, the conference was unable to end satisfactorily for the leading European powers. In this situation, 1933 represents an accentuated 1913, and therefore, many countries left the conference with fear of tomorrow.

Conclusions drawn from the London Economic Conference indicate that the United States was not only able to hold its own position, it was also able to leave the gathering in a stronger position. Imperialist powers and capitalist nations do not enter peace conferences and economic conferences with any illusions about their ability to solve the "objectives" listed for public consumption. This is especially true of American Imperialism under the Roosevelt government.

The real objective of the economic conference that met at London was the imperialist struggle for points of vantage, at the expense of the other powers in the preparation for more intense economic and military wars. Peace conferences are cloaks for greater economic and military wars.

The high sounding phrases and humanitarian cloak was pierced by the reality of the economic conflicts and imperialist antagonisms at the very opening of the London Conference. Prime Minister Mac Donald, in behalf of Europe, and especially in behalf of England's hegemony over Europe raised the forbidden question of war debts. This move revealed an attempt of a European united front against American imperialism which came to London with the intention and plan to further the process of putting Europe on rations.

The powerful pressure of American Imperialism and the tremendous contradictions in Europe since Hitler took power smashed this attempted united front. This first attempt was repeated on several occasions but to no avail. The The next attempt to drive American Imperialism from her strong position was the European effort to peg up the dollar and obtain the temporary stabilization of international exchange. England was part of this bloc, half concealed and half open, nevertheless, the bloc and plan was shattered, especially after Roosevelt's statement on this question. Next the die-hards under the leadership of France organized the Gold Bloc. This move, in the long run played into the hands of American Imperialism because it widened the gap between the French and British interests and thereby gave America a better position in this three cornered fight.

It is true that Germany played no outstanding role at the conference at the rise of Fascism to power in Germany caused a shake-up and a realignment. It contributed to the success of America against Europe.

American Imperialism went to London well armed for the battle against Europe, as well as Japan. Some of the weapons in the hands of the American representatives were pounded out in the first days of the Roosevelt administration. This move was cloaked as part of a national policy but was pointed out at that time in its true international relations in the columns of the **Militant.** The Banking laws and farm relief amendment, which were important international weapons as well as internal weapons were used very effectively at the conference.

America went off the gold standard, repudiated the gold clause, gave the President power to inflate currency as well as other forms of inflation and to reduce the content of the dollar by one-half. If the American representatives did not hold this threat over the London conference another story would have been written. These weapons were very effective in helping the American representatives in shattering the united front of the European powers against America. The mere threat to use some of them resulted in excellent results at London as well as within the country. The internal policy of the Roosevelt administration is an integral part of this international struggle. It is two sides of the same problem.

Economic collaboration and organized production is as hopeless as non-aggression pacts (regardless of what Litvinoff says). No one but liberals and half-wits expected such from London. America desired more from the London conference, but America obtained more than the other powers. The London conference can be summed up as a prelude to a more intense onslaught on Europe, a greater drive by America to put Europe on rations, a prelude to the imperialist world war—in which America hopes she can duplicate her role of 1914-1918.

The Paris **Soir** paper summed up the World Economic Conference in the following words: "If we allow the depreciation of overseas currency to continue, their rivalry will be more than ever irresistible and our reserves will be wasted. It is only a question of time until European industires will be controlled by the United States."

—HUGO OEHLER.

Furniture Strikers Defeat Maneuver

(Continued from Page 1)

most dangerous material, such as a broadside.

Very truly yours,
Col. Leopold Phillip,
Chairman, Bureau of Compliance.

He added the following postscript without the knowledge of the union officials:

"This letter was sent to help pacify the labor leaders".

The whole fraud of the NRA as the impartial arbitrator in strike disputes is here shown up in all its nakedness. After secretly conspiring with the bosses association to put across starvation wages in the industry, the NRA sends a hypocritical "reprimand" to the very elements with whom he made the conspiracy.

* * * *

Now, when we have the bosses licked is the time for solid ranks in the strike. Let there be no talk of going back to work. NO FAKE SETTLEMENTS. Without the recognition of the union you are helpless to enforce whatever conditions you have achieved by the strike. Don't let the boss pull any promises to groups of men in the shop. It's too late for that. If he wants to settle, make him settle with the union. The time is past for herding upholsterers under the slave conditions of the past 3 years.

—LANKIN-COWL.

J. L. Lewis Betrays Miners at Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

are such forces in order to give direction to the revolt of the disillusioned workers in the very near future. Proper tactics will be able to guide such a struggle to a higher level than the recent western Penn. experience.

P. M. A. Capitulation and Stalinist Blunders

The Progressive Miners of America lost their most favorable opportunity and now the fruit of the Right wing policy has resulted in lost ground. Their capitulatitonis policy has not even enabled them to get in on the NRA bandwagon. The Right wing, or at least a big section of it, is ready to go over to the folds of the UMWA. The Left wing must intensify its work toward the realization of its policy. If the Progressive Miners of America had called a national conference prior to the NRA becoming a law as advocated by the Left wing and has conducted a Left wing policy, a different story would be written now. However the wrong policies of the Right wing of the PMA, and the whole series of Stalinists blunders for years in the trade union field means that we have to retrace our steps to obtain a running start for the coming struggles which are sure to develop in the sick and decayed coal industry. The reorganization of this industry through the NRA will cause increased class antagonisms between the operators and miners as well as between the large and small operators.

The National Miners Union could have saved the day some time ago if the Stalinists had a correct trade union policy, understood the united front and used a little common horse sense. Now they are pushed into a more difficult corner. Due to the Stalinist's wrong policies and the lost ground, our task is to retrace our steps through the wing of the UMWA and the PMWA Then the Communists can once again take the lead in the coming struggles. To continue to play with the paper National Miners Union is to waste valuable time and retard the movement of the class.

HUGO OEHLER

Clubs, Tear Gas in Milk Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

and three-fourth cents per quart. The better grades were priced at from 2 to 2 1-2 cents per quart. But the big dairy companies, including the Dairymens' League classified all milk alike and paid an average of 1 3-4 cents per quart. The farmers thus found that they were again sold out. From then on their conditions grew from bad to worse. Most of them cannot meet their taxes, not to speak of interests and payments on mortgages. A degrading poverty set in. The farmers reached the end of their endurance. A breaking point came. The strike was declared and spread to seven counties involving many thousand farmers. At their meetings the farmers agreed not only to hold back their own milk supply but also to picket the milk stations. There they took care of the scabs in the effective manner of dumping their milk.

"Striking Against the Government"

The owners of the big dairy companies, however, could lean back in their swivel chairs saying: You are not striking against us, you are striking against the government. Meanwhile Governor Lehman the willing tool of the dairy companies, concentrated all the state troopers in the teritory to give the striking farmers a lesson in law and order, enforced by clubs, tear ags and riot guns. He proclaimed that all law abiding citizens are to be protected, by that he meant the scabs. He proclaimed that all law breakers, meaning the striking farmers, must be prosecuted. Several hundred were subsequently arrested.

The striking farmers demanded as their share 45 percent of the price at which milk retails in the cities. This would mean about 4 to 5 cents a quart. The trouble is, however, that the farmers have no organization. They are merely loosely held together by pressure of the desperate condiitons under which they suffer. Nevertheless they all expressed themselves as ready to fight to a finish, stating that they had nothing to lose. At the time of this writing a truce has been declared and it remains to be seen whether the strike will be renewed or whether the big dairy companies, aided by the state forces, will be able to enforce their kind of an agreement.

The roads here in all directions have been patroled by about 500 state troopers equipped with steel helmets and gas bombs. How many sheriffs and deputies were added to this force I do not know but in many instances actual wholesale deputizing took place. The Dairymens' League asked the governor to also call in the National Guard. For the time being that is held in abeyance. There is no sign of the Milk Control Board offering a solution, but meanwhile the farmers are learning rapidly that the government is not for them but against them. —GADFLY.

U.S. Holds High Cards in Cuba

(Continued from page 1)

The anti-Machado movement was essentially anti-imperialist, at different times different classes came to the front and occupied the center of the stage. The students and the petty bourgeoisie constituted the Left wing of the nationalist front. While the proletariat remained passive they fought the military dictatorship with terroristic methods. Sections of the bourgeoisie went in for heavier work. They organized military insurections which were put down.

The direct intervention of the proletariat into the struggle precipitated the crisis which drove Machado out. The general strike has been described as a "passive, revolutionary" one. It is unquestionable that the proletarian organizations, many of them, distinctly left in political orientation, were opposed to both Machado and his imperialist masters. But the press dispatches fail to show the revolutionary content of their participation in the struggle.

Pre-Revolutionary Situation

The situation which developed was a pre-revolutionary one. It required the determined intervention of the proletariat under the leadership of a resolute, revolutionary vanguad to develop the situation into a revolutionary one and prepare for the seizure of power. The demands which the workers made, not on their bosses, but on the new government before it had an opportunity to consolidate its power, were modest to an extreme: immediate freedom of all imprisoned workers; repeal of certain legislation affecting wage scales; stricter enforcement of the eight hour day law; recognition of the Confederacion Nacional Obrero de Cuba, the national trade union center; and regulations to put in force lower prices for foodstuffs.

These are essentially democratic demands. All the more astonishing is the statement of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party in the **Daily Worker** of August 4: "Butcher Machado is gone, driven out by the mass revolutionary uprising of the Cuban workers, peasants and toiling population, organized around the general political strike, which was initiated by the Communist Party of Cuba"! ! The question arises: if the Communist party is so well rooted in the proletariat that it can organize a general political strike why did it not put forward demands corresponding to the situation?

The truth of the matter is that the Communist party did not organize the strike and is not, unfortunately a decisive factor in the situation; that the **Daily Worker** is boasting; and that the proletariat with inexcusable modesty marched behind the bourgeoisie against Machado. That is why the struggle did not rise above an anti-Machado movement.

The modesty of the proletariat below and the skill and pressure of American imperialism above combined to confine the anti-imperialist struggle to an anti-Machado movement. The job of Sumner Welles consisted in easing Machado out to allay the rising tide of discontent, and slipping in a substitute of the same servile stripe, but one more agreeable to the population. The situation created by the intervention of the proletariat very nearly upset his plans. But the "disinterestedness" of the proletariat which demanded nothing "unreasonable" or "unpatriotic" for itself alowed Roosevetl-Welles to retain the cloak of friendly mediation, that is to say, to keep the lid on the anti-imperialist movement, without resorting to more forceful measures.

None the less the mediators were worried. They had to allow the people to blow off steam. They utilized the anti-Machado sentiments of an entire country as a safety valve. The hatred of the people for Machado took on violent forms. The members of La Porra were hunted down like rats and killed where they were found. The Presidential Palace was sacked. The Heraldo de Cuba a Machado paper was also sacked. The soldiers and police stood by and even lent a hand occasionally.

Cespedes' Job

In this way mediation canalized the anti-imperialist movement. The shooting and sacking, thought the mediators, is like a thunder-storm. It makes a noise and it passes. But this thundertsorm did not pass quickly enough to suit the mediators. As long as the people were in motion the movement contained within itself the possibility of developing to a higher stage. "President Cespedes faces the serious problem of....preventing the successful mass revoltuion from becoming too revolutionary." **N. Y. Times, August 14, 1933.**

And if it went far enough it would make necessary armed intervention to induce it to subside. In that case the whole of Latin America with the help of England would raise a tremendous cry against American imperialism with the resulting shifts in trade more favorable for England at "our" expense. The lessons of Nicarauga and Haiti have not passed Wall Street by without a trace.

Still treading warily Roosevelt ordered warships to Cuban waters —without marines aboard—just to protect American citizens and property. No intervention intended. And the Cuban army has been ordered to shoot down any violations of "peace". The holiday is over, say the mediators. Slaves, back to your yokes.

The policy of Roosevelt in the Cuban situation is an extension on an international scale of his domestic policy. American imperialism is learning to speak a new language. For a time and for a purpose it is foregoing the accents of harsh command. The mailed fist is there. But it is clothed in velvet. Soft words now fall from Uncle Sam's lips. Friendliness beams on his face. He believes and practices mediation!

The reason is not far to seek. The crisis of American capitalism cannot be solved on a domestic scale alone. Europe, Latin America and Asia are the markets to which American capitalism must export to realize its surplus value. The assault on Europe has already begun. The assaults on Asia and South America are in preparation. That is the meaning of the trade parleys with the South American countries, as far as South America is concerned. And Roosevelt is careful not to jeopardize them by blunders of Hoover-Stimson type.

Cespedes and the new deal for Cuba will no more solve the problems of Cuban economy than the policies of Machado. Whatever makeshift is worked out will be a temporary scheme to protect the profits of American capitalism on the backs of Cuban masses. The condition of the Cuban masses can be improved and the problems of the revolution solved only in struggle against Cespedes and Wall St.

By themselves the Cuban masses cannot throw off the yoke of American imperialism and Cuban capitalism. The socialist revolution in Cuba is dependent on the revolution in the United States. That is true for Latin America as a whole. But to the Cuban proletariat can fall the honor of entering upon the revolutionary path before the more backward American proletariat. For that is necessary a Communist party rooted in the proletarlat marching on a correct internationalist road. In Cuba as all over the world the Stalinist theory and practice hold back the movement. The revolution in Cuba cannot grow to its full stature until the Communist party strikes off the shackles of Stalinism. This the newly former Cuban Left Opposition must help it to do. —T. STAMM...

2 Young Negroes Lynched in South

(Continued From Page 1)

hearsed. The sheriff did exactly as ordered. He did not lift his little finger in protest—not to mention his gun. The youngest of the three Negroes, Dan Pippen, 18, and A. T. Harden, 16, were slain outright. Elmore Clark, 28, was saved from death only by a ruse. He played dead and after the lynch mob left crawled to the house of a Negro family where he had his wounds dressed and cared for.

If ever the phrase cool, calculated and premeditated murder could be used, this is it. The sheriff was warned that a mob had organized to lynch the Negroes. He was warned not to move them without sufficient protection, yet he deliberately sent home the trailing car of deputies on the darkest part of the road. He made absolutely no effort to resist the lynchers. The case is clear.

That typical southern hypocritical yawping of southern courtesy and fair play is again to the fore. Always after another lynching. "Justice will be done", rants Judge Foster. And he immediately sets about pointing his finger at the International Labor Defense which had offered to defend the boys against lynch justice. The boys were undoubtedly terrorized against the use of the I. L. D. The attempts on the part of the southern bourbons to shift the onus of responsibility for this crime will go unheeded by the southern white and Negro workers. These workers will recall that it was due only to the mass pressure of the working class throughout the entire country and even throughout the entire world set in motion by the International Labor Defense that the Scottsboro boys are still alive. They will realize as they must that for a poor exploited Negro of the south there is only one kind of justice meted out in the courts—lynch justice. The legal murder of Dan Pippen and Harden are no accidents. Rather it is the rule in the south. To defend himself from the bestial fury of the southern ruling class the Negro must learn that only by uniting in common struggle with the exploited poor whites of the south against their common exploiters will a measure of safety be gained for him. Lynch law is the law of the southern ruling class.

* * * *

As we go to press we learn that a committee under the auspices of the Scottsboro Action Committee, the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners and the American Civil Liberties Union has been formed to demand from Roosevelt immediate action in Tuscaloosa and to force the arrest of Judge Henry B. Foster and Sheriff R. L. Shamblin in connection with the murder of the two young Negroes. —M. GLEE.

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: BOOK REVIEW :

S. S. Bulgaria
July 20, 1933

FOSTAMARA*

A remarkable book! From the first line to the last it is directed against the Fascist regime in Italy, against its lies, its violence, and book of passionate political propaganda. But sevolutionary passion is raiseh hert to such heights that it creates a truly artistic work. Fontamara is only a poor, god forsaken village in the South of Italy. In the space of the book's two hundred pages, this name becomes a symbol of the whole Italian countryside, its poverty, its dehpair, but also of its indignation.

Silone knows the Italian peasantry remarkably well: the first 20 years of the author's life, according to his own words, were spent in "Fontamara". Embellishein to him. He knows how to see ment and sentimentality are forlife as it is, how to generalize what he sees by means of the Marxist method and then to embody his generalizations into artistic images. The stroy is told by the peasants, cafoni, paupers themselves. Despite the exceptional difficulty of this style, the author executes it like a real master. Some chapters have a stupendous force!

Has this book appeared in the Soviet Union? Has it drawn the attention of the publishing houses of the Comintern? The book deserves a circulation of millions of copies. But no matter what the may be towards works of truly revattitude of the official bureaucracy olutionary literature, "Fontamara" —we are convinced—will make its way into the official bureaucracy may be towards works of truly revolutionary literature. To assist in the circulation of this book is the duty of every revolutionist.

—L. TROTSKY.

Fontamara. A Novel by I. Silone, Zurich, 1933.