

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

PRICE 5 CENTS

VOLUME VI, NO. 31, WHOLE NO. 178

NEW YORK, SATURDAY JUNE 17, 1933

The 'New Deal' in Practice

Industrial Recovery Bill Hits at Workers' Standards

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

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

What the Act Consists of?

The bill as it was finally passed consists of two sections. The first, devoted to the increase of public works, is most probably but another one of the many promises to increase public works that the American people became so familiar with under the Hoover regime. Over three billion dollars are to be expended for public works. What this means one cannot as yet say. Does this huge item include within itself the sums to be expended at Boulder Dam for the next five years? Does it include the four year expenditure contemplated in the Tennessee Valley? Does it include the three year naval building program? And does it include the ordinary yearly public works expenditures? Too often now, we have been treated to grandiose figures by the Hoover regime only to find at the end of the year that the total public works expenditure had been less than the year previously. True, the fact that the exact same thing occurred in the New York State regime of our former governor Franklin D. Roosevelt (promises of public works increases observed at the end of the year) should not prejudice one against the three billion dollar outlay; but if nothing more, we remain at least skeptical.

The second section of the bill and by far the more important one is the industrial control section. This section has been hailed as a boon not merely to the industrialists but also to labor. This is the bill to increase profits, decrease unemployment, introduce a shorter work week, produce higher wages and put our entire industry on an organized basis. In short, this measure, like Lydia E. Pinkham's pills, is good for whatever ails you be it falling hair, fallen arches, dandruff and falling teeth. What are the actual provisions of this section, and what is its history and the history of those empowered to enforce it? Only in this manner can we obtain an inkling as to what this huge all inclusive measure will actually mean.

The Origin of the Bill

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

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

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

Provisions

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

The Anti-Fascist Congress to Meet in Paris Soon

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

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

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

The incomplete credentials report listed 158 delegates from 43 organizations. Only 30 unions were represented (partial report); a dozen from the Progressive Miners of America, half a dozen from the Trade Union Unity League, and the balance—small A. F. of L. locals from nearby mining towns.

Another representation was as small, if not smaller, than the previous conferences. This weakness was undoubtedly due to the wording of the call which stated that the purpose of the conference was "to further our policy of organizing... into a new labor center," thus implying the conference was held for the purpose of organizing a new federation, and possibly also, in minor degree, due to some of the former represented organizations not receiving copies of the call from the secretary.

(Continued on Page 4)

Class War Rages In Mine Area of Illinois

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

The battle started as 2,000 miners-pickets asked the scabs at No. 59 mine not to go to work. Immediately, firing by machine guns and rifles broke out from the mine tipples. Taking advantage of cover the pickets advanced and succeeded in disarming many of the gunmen.

Fighting continued in various parts of the city as groups of pickets supported by the heroic Women's Auxiliary fought against efforts to disperse them.

Seven members of the PMA were shot, one seriously but 42 strike-breakers and thugs were sent to the hospital. Tom Urban, Progressive Miner, was shot in the stomach and his life is in danger. Many miners were bruised and cut in the fight.

(Continued on Page 4)

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

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

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

The short statement of our comrade outlines a plan for the establishment of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States based on the relations of the world economic and political situation.

Its revolutionary, working class content sharply distinguished the position of the Left Opposition from the opportunist position of the Stalinist regime as given by Litvinoff at London:

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

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

Nazi - Austrian Tension Brings Sharp Clashes

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

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

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

If we take into consideration the attacks of the Fascists on the Catholic Church...

(Continued on Page 4)

THE SENATE INQUIRY EXPOSED

The Banking Investigation Itself is the Biggest Scandal

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

What Can the Senate Comm. Do?

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

(Continued on Page 4)

What Did Morgan Reveal?

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

Chilean Opposition Organized

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

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

Chilean Section of the International Communist Left Opposition—as the Communist Left.

The dialectics of the revolutionary movement have produced in the Communist ranks of the entire globe a division that is growing graver from day to day. The enthronement of a bureaucratic system in the Communist International and in its sections, the tactical and theoretic errors of the ruling bureaucracy (which were carefully analyzed in the reports and theses presented to the Congress and were set forth in published form before the meeting), have given rise in all countries to the Communist Left Opposition in whose ranks we Chileans now take our position.

In contrast to the defeats and zigzags that characterize the official policy of the C.I., the Left Opposition represents today the most decisive factor in the revolutionary struggle of the world. The recognition by the Congress that the Chilean worker must take his place among the cadres of the International Communist Left Opposition was on the part of the Congress a theoretic punctualization that is

(Continued on Page 3)

Leon Goodman Arrested in Phila.

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

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

To magistrate Zweig all Communists are criminals. When the magistrate asked whether comrade Goodman was a Communist he replied that he was a member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). This was enough evidence against Goodman, without permitting him to say anything in his defense and the judge immediately railroaded him for ten days.

We continued the meeting, the attendance of which kept increasing, despite the arrest. The meeting lasted until 10:30 p. m., with comrade Cary Morgenstern and Roberts as the speakers.

We called upon the workers to be

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

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

SUBS!

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

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