

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## The Industrial Control Bill

### Workers Must Organize Against State Capitalism

The speedy adoption of the Industrial Control Bill was no surprise to the industrialists. Before the bill became law three conferences of the railroad presidents and coal operators and the iron and steel men were held in Chicago. Long before President Roosevelt signed the bill, the new administrator, H. S. Johnson, was busy at work on his job as the head of industrial control. Within the first week after the bill became law five major industrial groups, which, in normal times employ two-thirds of the workers of America, were in session working out their industrial codes.

The iron and steel, soft coal, automobile, oil and textile bosses are busy planning how they can increase profits under the terms of the bill. The twenty leading manufacturers of oil burners have already drafted their industrial code and sent it to Washington for approval. The railroad presidents commenced the good work with an announcement of a 22 1-2 percent wage cut.

The Industrial Control Bill which is accredited to Roosevelt, was, in reality, originated by the leading financiers and industrialists. Their democratic office boys, headed by Roosevelt, only carry out their orders. The Industrial Control Bill is a necessary step to tighten up the decaying structure of capitalism at home. It is aimed to hurry the process of centralization and concentration to enable the American imperialists to obtain a position of advantage in the intense and bitter international economic and military struggle for world markets and trade advantages. The small producers and others who will be eliminated in the process are opposed to the bill, as are a handful of capitalists. The competition and anarchy of capitalist production will be "organized" on a higher level. However, the leading section and the real rulers of the country were behind the bill. Those who put up a howl, such as the merchants and manufacturers, were not objecting to the bill, but to the section which gives lip service to the workers' interests. There are a section of the open shoppers who continue to speak plain English. They are not yet familiar with the new kind of talk, copied from the European reformers—a language which gives lip service to the workers' interest everytime a new attack upon the working class is to be launched.

#### A Form of State Capitalism

The Industrial Control Bill, as a form of state capitalism, is a desperate attempt to find a way out of the contradictions which engulf capitalism. Traylor, the La Salle Street banker, speaking before the soft coal operators in convention at the Drake Hotel in Chicago, where they were planning how to make more profits said, "the program of the new administration is an effort to save ourselves from annihilation." "There is more security in the new deal, whatever that may be, than there is in the communism of Russia, which might be our program if we failed in the old stand-pat program which you and I believe in."

We are informed by the bourgeois economists and the rest of their liars that the "planned economy" is to inaugurate an era of "fair competition". But have not these apologists for capitalism informed us for the last score of years that any governmental interference, capitalist or otherwise, into private business, will wreck our industrial system and eliminate fair competition? Industry and government always were partners and always will be, because government can be nothing else than an instrument of suppression used by the dominating economic group. The only difference is that in the past the relationship was more disguised only in emergencies, in wars, and in the period of decay capitalism is the relationship of the economic masters and the government office boys stripped-naked before us.

The conferences already held, and what little has leaked out from them, clearly indicate the line of (Continued on Page 4)

### Mass Meeting in Germany Under Hitler

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT of the

#### Fascist Dictatorship in Action—The Condition of the Social Democracy—The Communist Party and the Trade Unions

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK

Just arrived from a visit to Germany and to comrade Trotsky. Stuyvesant Casino. Second Avenue and 9th Street. THURSDAY, JUNE 29th at 8 P. M. ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

### Left Opposition Excluded at Anti-Fascist Congress

On June 4 and 5, the European Anti-Fascist Congress, many times delayed and postponed, was finally held in the Salle Pleyel at Paris. The Daladier government had refused permission to hold the meeting anywhere outside of the well-known Communist halls. The restricted nature of the congress, lacking a broad working class base, did not allow for a mass protest and pressure to force the concession from the government to hold the convention in full view of the Parisian proletariat.

#### "DAILY WORKER" ON CONGRESS

Significant for the sham character of the whole business, is the reaction of the Stalinist press to it. The Daily Worker, for instance, did not even dignify the congress with a first page account, but relegated it to the back page. This speaks enough for the bureaucracy's own lack of confidence in their doings. No decisions of any value were adopted, no discussion of fundamentals was permitted. Ceremony and flowery speeches—there is the sum total of the results achieved by it.

#### LEFT OPPOSITION EXCLUDED!

The International Left Opposition was officially excluded from the sessions. Behind the scenes, the bureaucracy built up an entire apparatus whose business it was to see that the Left Opposition's voice be stifled, no matter from what quarter it may come. Direct reports are still forthcoming and it is not yet definitely known whether the Bolshevik-Leninists gained access by round-about ways or not. But from the preliminaries attending the meet, a distinct impression may be gathered of the fierce intent of Stalinism not to permit the Left Opposition to force it to give an account before the whole working class of the crimes it perpetrated against the German and the international proletariat in the tense months and weeks preceding the seizure of power by Hitler.

#### SLUG BOLSHIEV-LENINISTS!

At a regional Anti-Fascist Congress in the Grange-Aux-Belles (Red Trade Union Headquarters of Paris), Left Oppositionists, delegates from the Ligue Communiste and local unions were forcefully unseated and disgracefully battered by slugs organized under the direct leadership of outstanding French bureaucrats.

#### NEVERTHELESS—OUR VOICE IS HEARD!

It remained for a member of the Young Communist League of France to take the floor for a presentation of the views of the Left Opposition. That was entirely unexpected and consternation reigned in the ranks of the bureaucracy. Before the young orator could conclude his remarks with a declaration of concrete proposals put forward by the L. O., the bureaucracy organized a monstrous noise throughout several parts of the hall to drown out his voice. His counter-resolution received two votes, the Stalinist masquerade was not entirely airtight.

#### WHY THE TERROR AGAINST THE LEFT OPPOSITION?

Why the terror against the Left Opposition? Why this unheard-of determination on the part of the bureaucracy? A glance at one of the speeches is sufficient for illumination on this point. The German delegate Mueller, shoved to the forefront by the bureaucratic impresarios, had the following to say: "If today Fascist terror is raging worse than ever before, it is not an indication of the strength of Fascism, but of its weakness (1). But it is also a sign of the rapid rise of the revolutionary wave." (Daily Worker, Saturday, June 17, 1933.)

#### A FABRIC OF LIES

It is with such a fabric of lies and illusions that the Stalinist bureaucracy nguns to cover up its criminal shipwreck in Germany. It is upon this self-same rotten fundamental of untruths that Stalinism proceeds to cover up its tracks before the working class of the world by speaking of preparations for a German general strike to overthrow Fascism now. It is their fear that the Left Opposition would tear the mask off their cynical, lying countenances and force through a discussion of the real state of affairs and those responsible for it that

### All Out to Anti-Nazi Meet on Union Square

On Saturday, June 24, the militant workers all over the United States will come out in the streets and demonstrate their solidarity with their German fellow workers tortured under the bloody heel of Hitler's Fascist rule. This demonstration, called by the United Front Anti-Fascist Committee in conjunction with various language groups, must cry out its answer to the bestial oppression of the naked capitalist dictatorship in Nazi Germany.

The Left Opposition calls upon its members and sympathizers to be on hand in the demonstrations throughout the country and in New York on Union Square on Saturday, June 24th at 2 P. M., in the common protest against German Fascism. All out! Down with German Fascism!

### Danger Signals Flash at London Conference

#### War to Solve Crisis Nears as Contradictions Sharpen. Imperialists Wrangle Over Tariff, Prices, Markets. Hugenberg Betrays Real Plans -- to Attack USSR.

Although the London Economic Conference has been in progress for only two weeks, it has already given ample proof of two things: the breakdown of the illusions of reasonable, peaceful international agreement, and the bull-headed determination of American imperialism to smash through every obstacle to obtain its ends.

#### S.P.G. Vote Shakes 2nd Int'l

May 17, 1933: A Comparison With Aug. 4, 1914

The policy of coalition and tolerance, ever typical of the Socialist Party of Germany, found an ignominious end when Hitler seized power. As a nurse raises a child so did the Social Democracy raise Fascism. From 1914 to Hitler's accession, the S. P. G. bore direct responsibility for the policy of the German bourgeoisie in regards to the German masses. Its occasional attitude of opposition expressed itself in pitiful amounts, as the refusal to consent to retrenchment in social insurance and reduction of other tasks the S. P. G. was incapable

#### Hitler Clashes with Hugenberg for Control

The Hitler-Hugenberg rift has more than an internal significance. Especially is this so when simultaneous with the raids on Hugenberg's Green Shirts the Nazis also raided the office of the Bavarian People Party (Catholic) in Munich.

At least in so far as the raids on the Catholic center were concerned an official communique declared: "Leading personalities of the Bavarian Peoples party were connected with the recent events in Austria, especially with the suppression of the National Socialist party" (Austrian Nazis).

The Nazis mean serious business in Austria. They will tolerate no vacillation from distant allies or near allies. That is, from the Bavarian Catholics or from Hugenberg's nationalists. Already the Nazis have undertaken a mighty propaganda—not only in word but in deed. Nazi bomb factories have been discovered in Austria. Dollfus, Austrian Chancellor, has used this as a pretext to banish the Nazi press.

Lovestone and his kind notwithstanding, the differences between the Hitlers and the Hugenbergs are not yet completely ironed out. The social and political aspirations of each still represent varying phases of dominant class interests.

#### C. Zetkin, Veteran Red Dies at 76

Clara Zetkin is dead. The veteran revolutionary labor leader of more than 50 years of active, militant service to the cause of the German and international proletariat has passed away in a sanitarium near Moscow a few days ago. The death of Clara Zetkin, a real tragedy to the world's working class, coincides with the greater tragedy of the German proletariat whose movement now writes under the heel of Hitler and his brown cohorts.

The name of comrade Zetkin is associated with some of the most glorious traditions of the German proletariat and its struggle for emancipation. She began her participation in the socialist movement under the tutelage of Marx and Engels. She was in the forefront of the battle against the anti-socialist laws of Bismarck. The great honor of being the initiator of the organization of working class women on an international scale belongs to Clara Zetkin. Her name is indissolubly associated with this indispensable activity.

theoretically possible peaceful alternatives, and by bringing international conflicts of interest before an international arena, will constitute a long step in the preparation of the coming imperialist war.

The keynote of the conference—intrigue, treachery, a nauseous hypocrisy, and the naked violence of an accomplished fact—was given before it started, when Roosevelt took America off the gold standard while MacDonald was on his way to Washington, thus breaking the strongest weapon in the British armory, the stabilized depreciation of the pound sterling in terms of the dollar. England replied after MacDonald had left, with a preferential trade agreement with Argentina that gave the lie to its sanctimonious talk about increasing the freedom of international trade.

America, which had insisted on putting the question of German reparations on the agenda at the Lausanne conference last year, refused to permit the war debts to be discussed in London; as if a genuine settlement of currency questions could be reached unless it were decided whether or not hundreds of millions of dollars would be moving each year to the United States. MacDonald promptly opened the conference by throwing the question of war debts on to the table, quickly followed by Jung of Italy. Hull of the American delegation held over his speech for twenty-four hours during which the threat of possible withdrawal by America hung over the conference.

Matters were patched up enough to permit of the organization of the conference into two committees, one on currency and the other on economics. The composition of the committees alone indicates how little seriously the conference itself took their activities. The chairman of the currency committee is a provincial Ohio politician, James M. Cox. The economic committee consists of representatives of Holland, Argentina and Germany. England is represented on neither committee.

The real negotiations all this time have been taking place behind the scenes. While the pretentious masquerade and the speeches dripping with international good-will were going on at the conference, a little committee having nothing to do with the conference was fighting grimly and silently behind the scenes for the real decisions. It consisted of the governors of the central banks of the United States, England and France. Five days after the conference started, this real and small committee disbanded when the American representative left for Washington.

In the same way the wheat conference had been sitting for a week before the "big show" started. Like the bankers' committee, it has run into a deadlock of national interests; as the bourgeois press reports, it only exhibited "the hesitations of the Australian and Canadian wheat growers, the apprehensions of the Polish and French peasants, the grievances of the Argentine live stock producers, the concern of Italy and other countries to reserve their internal markets for their own farmers."

### Hold Protest Meeting in Phila.

Philadelphia Pa.—An enthusiasm which more than hints at the smoldering unrest of the workers and their desire for leadership in struggle blazed forth in answer to the protest open air meeting called by the Philadelphia Branch of the Left Opposition where more than six hundred workers came out to show their resentment and to denounce the Fascist tactics of the police and the courts exemplified in the malicious frame-up of our comrade Leon Goodman at an open air meeting held at the same corner two days earlier.

This protest meeting was far bigger than any open air meeting the Stalinists have ever had in this city. The workers responded to our leaflet appeal. Eight o'clock they lined the street within the vicinity of Hope and Jefferson Streets. Some hailed us as we approached. The workers were heartened at our appearance and drew close to hear our speakers and to take part in the protest meeting.

and called for them by name. A resolution was passed condemning the action of the arrest and demanding the immediate unconditional release of comrade Goodman. Petitions were passed among the workers which many signed willingly. At the close of the meeting workers formed grouplets among themselves and around our comrades and discussed.

The Philadelphia Branch has been carrying on a campaign of open air meetings before the workers in the Kensington section of the city. The workers are willing to fight but they demand leadership. Stalinism with its bureaucratic ultimatum demands stifles initiative and independent thought among the vanguard of the working class. This mass meeting protesting Goodman's arrest casts a perspective of what strength lies latent among the workers. The Stalinists with their policy of isolation are in great measure responsible for their non-organization.

### Ill. Miners in Mass Action

#### Women's Auxiliary Takes Valiant Part in Struggle

#### 10,000 MINERS IN FUNERAL CORTEGE

10,000 miners marched in the funeral cortege of Thomas Urbon, member of the Progressive Miners Union slain by Lewis and Peabody gunmen, in Springfield, Ill. Thomas Urbon, martyr to the cause of militant labor in the United States, was murdered in the gun battle that took place when scabs attempted to operate a mine struck by the Progressive Miners of America. The "democratic" governor of Illinois, Horner, prohibited all banners and hands in the parade in the interest of "law and order."

### New York City to Stop All Jobless Relief

The announcement that on September 30th, the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee will discontinue its activities receives little comment in the bourgeois press. And for good reason. Open admission of the failure of "private charity" would be too much to expect. Nevertheless, it is now clearly evident that the bourgeoisie is unwilling to shoulder the expense of even the beggarly sops thrown to unemployed workers.

As a matter of fact, however, the bulk of the funds for this work, as class conscious workers probably realized a long time ago, was coming not from our great philanthropists but from employed workers.

For the past several years many firms in New York had followed the policy of "requesting" their employees to make weekly donations to the unemployment fund. These were mainly of small amounts, running from 10 cents to 50 cents per week. With the deepening of the economic crisis, followed by further drastic wage reductions, a militant spirit developed among the workers, many refusing to continue the weekly payments. Confronted with a dilemma, the bourgeoisie characteristically faces the problem: disband the committee! This is equivalent to a starvation sentence for the unemployed.

Such a prospect must be doubly alluring to the jobless of this city, especially in view of the attitude of the bankers on governmental economies. To expect the bourgeoisie to submit to additional taxation, for the purpose of meeting relief needs, is to expect too much. The dissolution of the Gibson Committee should make this fact plain.

On top of that, Mayor O'Brien announced last Tuesday night that if the city's revenues "broke down," they would have to appeal to private charitable agencies to help carry on unemployment aid. Revenues have already broken down, and the attempt to pass the buck back to private charities means eventually the utter breakdown of the whole system of relief to unemployed workers and their families.

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—MEYER HIRSCH.

—D. BELLOWS.