

WORKERS  
OF THE  
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UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Austrian Fascism and the Paris Meet C. I. Impotence Veils Itself with Parliamentary Cretinism

The strength of Marxism lies in its ability to recognize reality. In the mouth of a Marxist, "parliamentary cretinism" is not an insult but the characteristic of a political system which substitutes for social reality, juridical and moral constructions, a ritual of decorative phrases. The strength of Bolshevism consisted therein, that in Lenin's person it applied the materialistic method of analysis with the greatest theoretical honesty—not permitting any optimistic neglect to speak out what is, not permitting any consoling illusions to all the problems of our epoch.

In the fundamental questions of revolutionary policy—in the method of this policy—Stalinism signifies not only a negation of Leninism, but also the worst caricature of it. We can see this anew at the present time in the question of the fate of Austria. The prescription of the Communist party which has not called forth any protest on the part of the Austrian workers, should have, it seems, forced the Moscow organizers of international defeats of the proletariat to reflect on the sad results of their previous works. If the legal Austrian C. P., possessing its own press, showed itself to be unable in the least to offer any resistance whatsoever to the purely police repressions of Austrian Bonapartism, how will it oppose the attacks of the Fascist bands? However, the Moscow Pravda sees in the very suppression of the Austrian section of the C. I., which took place unresisted, a "victory", or, at least, the immediate introduction to victory. "The anti-Fascist movement in Austria is growing every day" (1)—writes Pravda of May 28th. "Despite the sabotage of the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy broad, proletarian organizations are being made in all countries for the European Anti-Fascist Congress" (our emphasis—L. T.). In precisely the same manner the anti-Fascist movement "grew every day in Germany" only to disappear suddenly on the 5th of March, no one knows where. These people not only have learned nothing but they always cut their optimism in the same patterns. They are not revolutionists, but priests who repeat this or that formula, made up of consoling lies, at the bedside of the dying.

However, precisely in what is the anti-Fascist movement manifested? And why does it pass over the prescription of the Austrian C. P. in silence? It was very busy, this movement "which is growing every day", with other more important tasks: the preparation of the Barbusse Congress in Paris. This is an example of parliamentary cretinism which should open the eyes of the most backward workers! It is wrong to think that a parliament is necessary for parliamentary cretinism; in general shaded rostrums are sufficient, forums removed from the arena of struggle from which false speeches can be made, barren formulas paraded, and twenty-four hour "alliances" concluded with journalists, pacifists, outraged radicals, tenors, and baritones.

## Archbishop Benjamin 'Blesses' USSR FSU Leaders Thank Wrangel Priest

New York, N. Y.—On Friday evening, June 30, a long haired and long bearded Russian priest Archbishop Benjamin, wearing a cassock with a big cross on his chest appeared at the New York Labor Temple on 14th Street and delivered an anti-Soviet propaganda speech, pure and simple. His secretary, appearing in the same attire, translated the speech into English. A White Guard meeting you think? Not at all. You are mistaken.

Paradoxical as it may seem, this meeting was arranged by the "Friends of the Soviet Union". The F. S. U. actually invited an enemy of the Soviet Union to deliver from its platform a speech that was nothing but a slander against the working class government from beginning to end. The Archbishop admitted having been arrested by the Bolsheviks in 1920 and having fled with the counter-revolutionary army of General Wrangel.

For all of this he received thanks and hand-shakings from Dr. LeRoy, who acted as chairman of the meeting, and B. Friedman, district secretary of the F. S. U., both of them members of the C. P.

The auditorium was filled with a mixed audience, mostly workers, a number of whom were party members and sympathizers. The meeting was advertised in the party press and through posters in the Workers Center. There were a number of White Guards present as was demonstrated by the applause given whenever the speaker

Naturally it is foolish to believe that there are "broad preparations in every country" for the Paris masquerade. Beaten down by unemployment, the police, the Fascist bands, the betrayal of the social democracy, and the impotence of the C. P., the Austrian proletariat is hardly interested in the lyricism of Barbusse, in the rhetoric of Bergery, and in the petty machinations of Muenzenberg. In what manner can the international meeting in Paris change anything in the Austrian situation which not in ten years, nor in five, but this very day is moving towards the complete suppression of the proletariat? Isn't it clear that by speaking in its boastful tone on the Paris Congress, Pravda completely reveals its real significance: to sidetrack attention from reality to fiction, from the conquest of the masses to the parliamentary game, from the irreconcilable clash of the classes to collaboration with the "free-lancers", from the streets of Vienna to a luxurious hall in a rich quarter of Paris, from civil war to an exercise in empty rhetoric. In other words: to the methods of Bolshevism to parliamentary cretinism.

The paper Rundschau, published in Basle by the Stalinist bureaucracy, which seems specially destined to prevent the German workers from drawing the necessary lessons of the catastrophe, quotes the article from Pravda referred to above, in its issue No. 17 as a great revelation. Do not lose courage, Austrian proletarians; Barbusse, allied with your Renner (see

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## ON TROTSKY'S RETURN TO THE S. U.—RUMOR AND FACT

Some two months ago rumors were circulated according to which comrade Trotsky was to become reconciled with Stalin and return to the Soviet Union. No member of the Left Opposition took these rumors seriously. Stalinism is fighting against the Left Opposition more sharply today than ever. Rakovsky has been deported to the ice desert of Yakutsk, the Stalinist press is full of slanders and pogrom incitement against the Opposition, at the Paris Congress our comrades were physically attacked and finally ejected with the aid of the French police.

In addition to all this, Trotsky had refuted this senseless rumor and the denial appeared some time ago in the world press. But only now T. A. S. S. (official Stalinist press agency) comes along and reports:

"The Voss Gazette (Berlin) of June 5 and various other papers report that the Soviet Union has permitted Trotsky's return to Russia, the Voss Gazette making reference to Trotsky's representations to Turkish press representatives. T. A. S. S. is in a position to declare that Trotsky's representations do not base themselves upon the facts and obvious flow from an adventurous desire to misguide the readers. Trotsky was long ago banished as a counter-revolutionist, on the basis of a law put in force on February 20, 1922. The latter is and will remain in force."

Trotsky explained to an American press representative that if the further existence of the Soviet Union should be threatened by any danger, then he will be at its disposal with all his forces. So will the whole Left Opposition, if need be, even against the will of the Stalinists.

## Nazis' Labor Front in Action Workers Get Big Wage Cuts; Look for Leadership

Berlin, Germany.—Hitler issued a decree shortly after he had taken over power—until September 30, 1933, no wage scales could be changed against the interests of the workers. The government ordered—the NSBO (Nazi shop organization) is not allowed to depose shop councils or discharge workers in any shop on its own authority. Only the police chief, having jurisdiction, can take such action. The national leader of the "Labor Front" issued the following decree after the occupation of the German General Trade Union Federation—No employer shall dare to take advantage of the momentary confusion caused by the taking over by force of large organizations, to change the wages and schedules of the workers. He will be regarded as an enemy to the state and held responsible.

Big words. The adherents of Hitler in the shops pointed triumphantly to these decrees before the others, who actively or passively reject Fascism. And in spite of, or even because of the barbarous persecution of the class-conscious workers, the latter are still the

great majority. Now, after the intoxication of victory, there followed very quickly the headache of the morning after. Now in all the shops the so-called "equalization" is being carried through with the sharpest emphasis by the leaders of the Hitler party. But what does "equalization" mean? Radical reductions in wages!

How the Fascist Technique Works  
At the beginning of May, in a Berlin shop, the Free Trade Union shop councilors were "equalized", i. e., dismissed. In their place was put a commissarial shop councilor who had had nothing to do with the shop. The "equalization" itself is carried on as follows: an S. A. storm division occupies the shop, the men are compelled to take part in the organization ceremony of the NSBO, the so-called reporter uncorks some monstrous nonsense, promises paradise and threatens, "Whoever does not immediately enter the NSBO will be regarded as an enemy to the state and arrested". That's all. The Nazi press says, "Again the NSBO was able, after long, patient, comradely clarification to smash the last bulwark of Marxism. The men received the report of our excellent party comrade X. Y. with enthusiasm, and spontaneously entered the NSBO, all except a few unteachable, and them too we shall convince in the course of time of the great ideas of Adolf Hitler. Heil Hitler!"

Eight days later, in the middle of the work, a shop meeting of the NSBO was suddenly called. The Nazi leader, an old foreman, known to be the worst hangerman in the company, opened the meeting after first throwing out the non-members, i. e., the class-conscious workers. The commissarial shop councilor (a Nazi leader) took the floor. "The firm faces bankruptcy, it has been operating at a loss for months. Either the men will have to take a wage cut, or the firm will close up and move out of town, where it has been promised free land and also capital, if it establishes a shop there." A commission is chosen to negotiate with the firm as to the amount of the wage cut.

This commission, which, naturally in accordance with the customs of the Hitler regime, has nothing to say, came back with a wage cut. The office employees' salaries were cut 33 1/2 percent the workers' wages 25 percent. The office employees accepted this detraction. With the workers it was more difficult. Two meetings broke up. The ordinary proletarians understood splendidly how to take away the force of all the objections of the (Nazi) district leadership. Only when the commissarial shop councilor dictatorially ordered the discharge of two fellow-workers who had taken a prominent part in the defense against the wage

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## A GERMAN OPPOSITIONIST CONDEMNED TO 5 YEARS BY THE FASCISTS

R., Germany.—On the Sunday of the Reichstag elections, there was a clash between S. A. troops and workers over a red flag that had been hoisted on one of the houses tops. The police arrested arbitrarily two comrades, R. and Erich Neuman and turned them over to the Fascist Special Court. There was no evidence that could be presented against them, especially not against the latter. The court simply "assumed" that he was guilty and sentenced him accordingly.

Comrade Erich Neumann is a veteran of the labor movement and has enjoyed special prestige in his home town. As an upright and honest functionary he realized the weaknesses and shortcomings of the labor movement and did his bit to fight against them. For this reason he also faced expulsion from the party in the course of the last year for "counter-revolutionary" factional work. But since the whole party section stood solidly behind him, the bureaucracy had to refrain from expulsion. Today, the "counter-revolutionary" is one of the first victims of the Fascist Special Court.

## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY DECOMPOSES

In Karlsruhe the Vorwaerts has reappeared as a social democratic weekly. Wels and Stampfer are publishing it with the aid of the Second International. But the German party takes a negative attitude against the emigrants. The new leadership, under Westphal and Kuestler, holds on to the submission tactic; side by side there is a strong current for a reform from top to bottom, and further, a current for the creation of a new Independent Socialist Party. But this much is certain: Wels and Stampfer, the tendency of the "New Vorwaerts", are completely isolated. We shall return to these developments later.

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## Lay Basis for Real Federation of Jobless in Ohio

The main accomplishment of the Mahoning Valley Workers United Front Conference was the endorsement of the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America and the calling of another conference on July 16 for the purpose of organizing a local federation. This proposal, which was made by Newby of the Left Opposition, was accepted unanimously by the conference of 65 delegates who represented 30 organizations with approximately 5,000 supporters. The local federation will, of course, be affiliated with the national federation; it will probably be called The Federation of Unemployed Workers Organizations of Mahoning and Trumbull Counties.

Because the conference failed to rally the support of any of the A. F. of L. locals and was therefore composed of representatives of C. P.-influenced fraternal, defense and unemployed organizations, on the one hand, and sections of the Ohio Unemployed Leagues and various labor groups on the other, it was decided to limit the conference, for the most part, to the problems of the unemployed. The lack of time also made such a limitation advisable. But it was agreed that the broader problems of the working class should be brought forward for action in the newly formed federation. However, the usual resolutions in regard to social and unemployment insurance, immediate relief, evictions, endorsement of relief march, struggles to free Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys, etc., were adopted. The conference also hopes to make an attempt to influence the state and national conventions called by the Ohio Unemployed League.

## Part of Left Opposition

The conference was sabotaged by the A. F. of L., the Socialists, and the Mustelites. (Perkins of the C. P. L. A. sat in as an observer but did not submit a credential or take any part in the discussion, etc.). The L. O., however, played a very active part in spite of its small forces. The proposal for the Preliminary Conference came from an Oppositionist who was chosen to be on the Call Committee. The conference was opened by a member of the L. O. who also acted successfully as an authorized representative of the national office of the Federation of Unemployed Workers League of America. Furthermore, the Communist League of America was the only organization to submit in its own name, a written set of proposals for this particular conference was given to every delegate. Newby of the L. O., was chosen to continue with the other Call Committee members to serve on the enlarged committee which is to prepare the Federation Conference.

## Chicago, Ill.—Three hundred party members and sympathizers attended a meeting on June 28, called by comrade Albert Goldman, on his expulsion from the Communist party. The expulsion of comrade Goldman, who has been a party member for many years and whose activity in the courts of Chicago on behalf of the revolutionary workers is the talk of the movement, caused a surprise and resentment, unexpected by the local Stalinist bureaucrats.

The subject of the meeting "Criticism by Expulsion" was an extremely timely one. Comrade Goldman traced the origin of his conflict with the party leadership on the question of the united front and on other fundamental questions relating to the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Communists. His attempts to iron out these differences within the confines of the party were rendered impossible because of the stranglehold held by the bureaucrats maintain. Goldman pointed out that in every dispute he had with the party, his position was distorted and violated, simply because he was never given the opportunity to make his point of view public so that the membership could understand it.

This bureaucratic control of the Party and the lack of inner democracy or discussion, Goldman pointed out, was not a local phenomenon, but arose directly out of the conditions in the Russian party and can be traced back to the struggle against Trotsky and the Left Opposition, over the fundamental questions of the revolution. Goldman showed that his attempts to invoke a discussion on the question of the united front in general, and specifically on the defeat in Germany, was prevented by retaining the rank and file in a state of ignorance and blind obedience. The speech had a profound effect upon these present and a lively discussion ensued. In the discussion comrades Poindexter and Becker spoke, together for forty minutes, on the party position. The speeches were a defense of the party bureaucracy. Extremely tragic was their view on Germany—where they indignantly refuse to

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

To the District Comm.,  
Dist. 2, C. P. U. S. A.

Dear Comrades:

On Wednesday, June 28, an open-air meeting of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), at Picken and Bristol Streets was broken up by members of the party and the Y. C. L.

Breaking up street meetings of opponent working class organizations is not a working class or Communist practice. It has been condemned by every responsible working class organization. It has been condemned by the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. It can result only in discrediting the people and the movement which practice it. Such tactics will repel workers who are moving towards Communism. Moreover it plays into the hands of the police who are looking for pretexts to break up workers' open-air meetings.

We call upon all party and Y. C. L. members and all workers generally to put a stop to this anti-working class practice. We call upon the District Committee of the C. P. to take the necessary steps to see that the members of the party and Y. C. L. conduct themselves as workers and Communists at workers meetings.

Comradely,  
NEW YORK BRANCH,  
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF  
AMERICA (OPPOSITION).

## America Cracks Whip at London. Ruthless Policy Splits Confab

Lays Down Law to Rivals -- Hands Off the U. S.  
'Domestic' Problems First, 'International' Questions Later. Roosevelt Ends 'Stabilization' Plans.

The current crisis in the London economic conference, brought on by Roosevelt's sharp note attacking the attempt to stabilize the American dollar in the international exchange market, has brought out openly and sharply the fundamental contradiction of the whole conference: the contradiction between the national organization of the power of the bourgeoisie and its international interests. Of all the imperialist powers represented at the conference, the United States is taking the most aggressive measures to concentrate all power in the hands of a small inner circle of the topmost levels of the bourgeoisie, and to interlock the apparatus of the national government with this concentrated capitalist power. Therefore it was only natural that the contradiction between the national and the international organization of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie should find its sharpest expression in the activities of precisely the American delegation at the conference. That is also why the American delegation, which showed superficially such vacillations and uncertainties in its proposals to the conference, was precisely the only which came out with a clear-cut statement on any subject—and that statement was "No" to a project of international collaboration in the stabilization of the foreign exchanges.

It would be incorrect to see the contradiction in policy as one of extreme nationalism on the part of internationalism on the part of other countries, or even as a clash of conflicting nationalisms alone. It is a contradiction between the program of meeting the crisis by a concentration of control in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, of coordination and mobilization with the purpose of throwing the burdens of the crisis on to the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the policy of trusting to the intrinsic forces of recovery of capitalism as expressed in the free interplay of competition on the world markets, on the other.

In the United States, where the crisis has had the most devastating effect, where unresolving contradictions masked by the preceding period of stabilization from 1923-1929 had accumulated the highest, where the transition from a relatively backward pre-war economy to a highly-developed imperialist economy involves the wiping out of the relics of the uneven development of the past by brutal shocks and violent readjustments, the concentration of control in the hands of the "executive committee of the bourgeoisie" has been thrown on the order of the day.

Least of all countries is the government of the United States willing to give up, even temporarily, even in part, any of its rapidly increasing control over the processes of readjustment within its national economy. Roosevelt's statement was quite explicit that "the sound internal economic system of a nation is a greater factor in its well-being than the price of its currency in changing terms of the currencies of other nations". When he goes on to add, "restoration of world trade is an important partner, both in the means and in the result", he shows clearly that this internal mobilization and concentration of control is directed toward domination of world markets by greater power in international struggle, not by international agreement.

The later statement of the American delegation, amplifying the note struck by Roosevelt, that "We are interested in American commodity prices; what is to be the value of the dollar in terms of foreign currencies is not and cannot be our immediate concern", reinforces the hypocrisy and deception of the Roosevelt statement.

What they say is "First let us carry through our policy in America, then we shall come to an agreement with the rest of the world"; what they mean is, "We want to carry through our policy in America without interference from the rest of the world so that

## THE STATEMENT OF COMRADE GOLDMAN

Even a cursory analysis of the statement of district eight with reference to my expulsion shows that the main reason for the expulsion is my view on the united front tactic, especially as applied in the Chicago united front action of the unemployed workers in October, 1932; my opinion of the tactics of the German Communist Party in the struggle against Fascism; and my criticism of the method of the calling of the Free Tom Mooney Congress.

My violation of discipline at the Mooney Congress, is the factor that led to my expulsion, is really incidental.

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## Pocketbook Strikers Win Demands from Morris White Co. in Struggle

New York, N. Y.—The strike of 4,000 pocketbook workers is the best answer to the demand for open shops of the Industrial Council of Leather Goods Employers Association. In the first week of the strike 25 non-union shops were stopped from work. The response of the workers is excellent. The strikers are picketing the shops daily. What is necessary now is mass picketing and mass demonstrations in the market to spread the strike to the rest of the scab shops.

In the last issue of The Militant we wrote an analysis of the conditions in the Morris White shops where the workers are forced to a starvation level. Today we can show that through the militancy of the workers in the Morris White shop in N. Y., this boss was forced to settle with the union and concede to the union demands:

- (1) 40 hour week;
- (2) No reorganization and readjustments;
- (3) One week trial period and the minimum wage scale enforced;
- (4) Unloading of the Bridgeport shop;
- (5) 44 hours for the Bridgeport workers instead of the 49 hours they worked previously;
- (6) A raise in wages for the workers, etc.

The agreement has not been signed as yet. Morris White employs 250 workers in N. Y. and 150 work-

ers in Bridgeport, Conn. Criticism should be made of the union officials for their failure to state specifically exactly how they intend to have the workers of Bridgeport labor under the same conditions as the workers in N. Y. The danger is that the conditions of the Bridgeport workers will not be raised to the level of the conditions in N. Y. The workers in both cities will be seriously affected if such a situation develops.

Another such firm is Resnick Bros., which has a so-called union shop in N. Y. and two shops out of town, in Holyoke and Springfield, Mass. Settlements with these shops and conditions different from those in N. Y. will result in undermining the conditions of the workers in this city. Then the employers will play the same dirty game against the workers in N. Y. and out of town.

We warn the workers of these shops to see to it in time so that settlements of out of town shops will be made on the same basis as those in N. Y. The workers of the shops should have no illusions that the present leadership will enforce the agreement. They must be on guard to insure the enforcement of the new agreement.

Our "Fraternal Club" administration is more interested in the Industrial Recovery Bill than they are in the enforcement of the agreements for better working conditions. Pocketbook workers, on guard! —N. D. F.