

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Fighting the 'Recovery' Act

### Cleveland Conference Against the N.I.R.A.

Weeks have passed since the Industrial Recovery Act became a law. In this time big business and its government have been drafting codes that are ushering in a new form of industrial slavery.

The broad layers of the working class have not yet been organized to resist and to fight back. This is due to the confusion that exists within the ranks of the organized forces of the class.

The A. F. L. leaders, the Right wing in the Progressive Miners of America and the conservative independent unions are supporting the I. R. A. The socialist leaders are singing praises to the "great forward step". The majority of the other forces are in confusion.

The Stalinists, as usual, were not equal to the task. The Stalinists did not recognize the danger until after it had fallen upon their heads.

Now, at last the Stalinists have called for action to fight the Industrial Recovery Act. They are calling a national conference in Cleveland, August 26-28, for all trade unions, unemployed organizations, and others; to protect the trade unions, and to rally the class against the capitalist attack.

We welcome the fact that the Stalinists and Mustelites, who are jointly calling this conference, have at last realized the necessity of the struggle, but they have not presented a program suitable for resistance to the bosses' attack. HOW to fight the capitalist offensive is the most important question.

Anyone can criticize after the event. We are criticizing the program and method of calling the conference prior to the August 26-28 conference. Further, we were the first to raise the cry of alarm, to give a Marxist analysis, and to fight for the mobilization of the class against the capitalists' new attacks. At the Gillespie Trade Union conference a delegate of the Left Opposition presented a resolution, prior to the act becoming a law. A bloc of Stalinists and Right wing delegates voted down the Left wing of the conference fighting around the resolution (See the Militant of June).

The national conference called by the Muste-Stalinists bloc is a caricature of the proposal presented at Gillespie last June. A few weeks later, at the first national unemployed conference since the act became a law, at the Columbus Muste-Stalinist conference, the Left Opposition again raised the question of the Industrial Recovery Act, especially dealing with its effects upon the unemployed. We were the only ones to raise our voice on this subject. The Muste-Stalinist bloc ignored this vital question. At last they have realized its importance. But how are they going to fight it?

In regards to the Needle Trades Code, the Right wing proposed a 30 hour week and a definite minimum wage. The Left wing, Stalinist group proposed a 40 hour week and said nothing about a minimum wage. Later the Freiheit said that was a mistake but without stating what should be done. Preparations for the Cleveland Conference are under way. A trade union conference was called in New York, July 15th. The Stalinists passed out a draft resolution. This is a step forward and has some good proposals but the draft leaves out an answer to the trade union question. So does the resolution dealing with the Needle Trades that was passed out. So does the call for the Cleveland conference.

In all of the preparations for the Cleveland Conference, the Stalinists refuse to answer the following questions (Let us hope they answer them in the near future): Do the facts refute the Stalinist theory to wit, that the A. F. L. is on a decline and is being liquidated and that therefore we must split locals away and build parallel unions all over the line? Will the Industrial Recovery Act help to rearm the A. F. L. leaders in their hold upon the trade union movement? Should we hasten to build a Left wing within the A. F. L.? Should the weak, Left wing, paper unions return to the A. F. L. en bloc and function as a Left wing there. To ignore these questions, in the needle trades resolution in the New York Conference resolution and in the Cleveland conference call, is to ignore the most vital question of trade union policy and tactics in the struggle to protect the class, its trade unions and to repel the capitalist offensive. The Left Opposition answers these questions in the positive now as we have in the immediate past.

The working class have no voice in drafting the codes for the different industries. Only the pressure of the class through class struggle will force concessions from this enemy class. How to organize this class pressure effectively against the capitalists depends  
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### Bonapartist Government Robs Labor of Long-Standing Rights in Austria

Vienna, Austria.—Quite a number of bombshells have exploded in Austria in the last few weeks. Their significance should not be underestimated even if they did not quite hit their mark. It must not be overlooked that they constitute tremendous progress in the undermining of the entire Austrian labor law and therewith of the living standards of the Austrian working class. The work was carried on with deadly calm, without any other effects. The peace was not even disturbed by those who were hit—the apparatus of the S. P. saw to that—but each blow had its effect.

The first mine was laid in the May days by the Dollfuss government, when it destroyed the workers' right to strike with one stroke of the pen. This blow was completed with the introduction of compulsory arbitration for all "vital" industries, to which the printshops were added and lately so, the building trades. No matter how vague the clauses of this act may be, its sense is quite transparent: the old liberty rights of the boss class are once again to be established with unlimited sway. If no agreement is reached at the arbitration office, before which all disputes are brought, or if one party raises objections against the verdict, then the super-arbitrator can make a decision which is binding for all. That such a decision will never do harm to the employers cause is quite obvious.

In the public utilities the elimination of the workers' voice from the decision of their working conditions takes place even less maskingly. In the future only the administration is to decide about conditions of work there. After the metal workers and the railroad workers, the workers of the building trades form the most

### MINERS PROTEST VIGOROUSLY AGAINST RIGHT WING'S RE- MOVAL OF ALLARD FROM P. M. A. POST

EDITOR'S NOTE—In the rush to compete with the John L. Lewis gang for the favors accruing to labor fakers from the Roosevelt National Industrial Recovery Act administration, the Right wing in the Progressive Miners of America have launched a broadside against all Left wingers and being progressive in the union. Genuine control of a majority on the leading organs, their first step in this direction was the removal of Gerry Allard from the editorship of the P. M. A. paper, the Progressive Miner. The reply of the rank and file to this Right wing challenge is recounted in the dispatch we print below.

Gillespie, Ill.—Local Union No. 1 of the Progressive Miners of America voted almost unanimously in favor of a resolution demanding the reinstatement of Gerry Allard, recently deposed editor of the official organ.

This is the largest single local union in the P. M. A., with a membership of 2300. Claude Peary, president of the union, is a member of this local.

President Peary and Secretary Keck appeared at the meeting to explain their actions. Allard presented his case in person, claiming that the officials had no substantial reasons for removing him. After a hectic 5-hour debate the local union voted overwhelmingly to support Allard. A statement previously issued by the officials stated that they were confident the membership of the organization would accept the executive board's decision on the matter.

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### PICNIC

Annual Midsummer Picnic & Outing  
Sports, Games, Refreshments—  
Good Time for All  
Bring your Friends and Comrades  
SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1933  
at Tibbetts Brook Park  
Plot No. 3

Directions: Take I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome train to last stop—then take bus and street car to Picnic Grounds

Auspices: N. Y. Branch—C. L. A. (Opposition) and Protomagia Club

### Fascists Kill Young Worker in Astoria, L.I.

New York, N. Y.—While bourgeois democratic America hailed General Balbo, representative of the first Fascist state, the latest embryonic Fascist organization the Khaki Shirts of America was proving its kinship to the Black and Brown Shirts of Italy and Germany by the murder of Antonio Fierro, a working class student of City College, New York.

The murder took place at a meeting of Khaki Shirts held in Astoria, Long Island, on Friday last. When some workers and students in the audience questioned the statements made by the speakers a general attack was launched against them. One of the Khaki Shirts drew a revolver and shot young Antonio Fierro.

Though the murderer is known to the authorities he has not been arrested, but instead two of the anti-Fascists who were present are being held by the police. They are Terzani and Michael Palumbo, charged with felonious assault.

The International Labor Defense which is handling the defense of the frame-up workers is also pressing for the arrest of the real murderer. Full support of the I. L. D. in this case is the duty of all workers.

The murder in New York by the Khaki Shirts is in line with their provocative actions elsewhere, particularly in Philadelphia, which apparently is their headquarters. With the tacit approval of "law and order", they direct their first efforts against the "Reds".

The history of similar organizations such as the "Nazis" which started out as "anti-Marxist" and ended up with the destruction of all forms of workers' organizations must be driven home and used in the building of a united front of all labor manifestation of nascent Fascism in America.

### NAZIS LAUNCH NEW ATROCITY CAMPAIGN AGAINST WORKERS

Leipzig, Germany.—In the last few days, a new wave of persecution has swept the city, especially since the proscription of the S. P. G. In the streets, all those wearing corduroy jackets are halted and the jackets confiscated as impermissible "uniform apparel". The same holds true for the blue linen shirts formerly worn by the Socialist Youth.

But the Nazis are not concerned only with clothing. The strong distribution of material from all organizations has aroused in them a blind wrath. Consequently, at the unemployment registry offices, all the unemployed have been forced to undergo thorough examinations. Workers are also stopped arbitrarily in the streets. On the morrow of the proscription of the S. P. G. the former social democratic factory councilors in many of the big concerns were put under arrest (Borggold, Stoehr, etc.).

The new atrocities can be explained only by the fact that the fighting spirit of the Leipzig workers precisely has held on longer and more firmly than elsewhere. In many factories, the NSBO (Nazi factory cells) did not succeed in getting more than one or two members.

Along with the new printed organ you have at your disposal a hectographed (excellently hectographed) bulletin, "The Communist". It would be extremely desirable to devote the greatest possible space in this publication to the examination of the policy of the British Communist Party along the lines indicated above, and also to the discussion of controversial questions within the Left Opposition itself. While persistently striving to widen our influence among the workers, we must at the same time make it a point to work for the theoretical and political education of our own ranks. We have a long and laborious road in front of us. For this we need first-class cadres. With all my heart I wish you success.  
—LEON TROTSKY.  
Prinkipo, 19th of May, 1933.

### HITLER PREPARES 'SUICIDES' FOR COMRADE TORGLER AND THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS

Berlin, Germany.—The trial on the "arson" attempt against the Reichstag has been postponed several times. The mysterious Van der Lubbe is designated as the chief defendant, comrades Torgler, Popoff, Dimitroff and Tanceoff are named as being "suspected". Those who are really responsible for it, Goering and Co., are working on new provocations.

The Fascist government keeps on postponing the trial and is attempting even to suppress it altogether. The jailed Communists are submitted to torture. It is quite apparent that "suicides" are being planned for the inconvenient "criminals".

The whole international working class must enter into a broad and serious protest action against the planned murder of comrades Torgler, Popoff, Dimitroff and Tanceoff!

### HOW NAZI 'PACIFISM' LOOKS IN PRACTICE

From a small town in Thuringia, we receive the following news, which throws a sharp light on the "peace work" of the loud-mouthed Adolf: In this place there is a great watch factory which at one time employed thousands of workers. The watch factory was closed down completely. It has been transformed now for the production of hand-grenade igniters, employs 2000 workers and works at full speed! Comment is superfluous.

### Spartacus Delegates Raise Internat'l Issues at Youth Anti-Fascist Meet

The Youth Conference against War and Fascism which met last Sunday, July 16 at the Church of all Nations was called by a long list of organizations, primarily the Young Communist League and its auxiliaries. The Sunday meeting was to prepare for an international conference of youth, in Paris, late this summer. About seventy delegates, composed in the largest part of young Communists representing Y. C. L. units, I. W. O. youth units and the like, appeared. The War Resisters League, a group of militant pacifists, the Lovestonite youth, the National Student League and the Spartacus Youth Club also sent delegates.

The only display of enthusiasm at the conference took place when the members of the Spartacus Youth Club, attempted to read the statement printed below, comrade Carter was allowed three minutes, after a protracted period of disorder, in which to read the statement. When another comrade attempted to complete the reading of the statement, a vote was passed forbidding it.

It is significant that the Y. C. L. ers who ran the conference refused an answer to the several times repeated question of delegates to the International Left Opposition at the Paris Anti-Fascist Congress this past June. A report of the Paris Congress was a major, and only, report on Fascism, at the Sunday conference. Yet we were called "disrupters" and "out of order" for questioning and for condemning the treatment of our comrades at the Paris meet.

Little can be expected of this conference and its customary decisions for work, just as little can be expected of any of the numerous anti-war conferences that the Stalinists have conceived. Undoubtedly I. C. as well as the international conference still to be held, will go the way of all Stalinist miscarriages. Its any effect will be in further confusing the workers. Against this, the Left Opposition will continue to fight with the weapon of Leninist clarification.

## Slavery Provisions Exposed in Code for Steel Industry

The fierce attack upon the living standard of the workers, which the American capitalists are making under the cover of Roosevelt's Industrial Recovery Act, becomes more openly vicious with each new code. In the mealy-mouthed hypocrisy of the proposed steel code, the robber barons of the steel industry make clear their intention of taking their rightful places at the head of the capitalist offensive. After the Cossack terrorism of the Great Steel Strike in 1919, and the consistent brutality with which all attempts to unionize the steel mills have been put down, nothing less could be expected of the barons than this code.

In the code "minimum" hourly wages range from 25 to 40 cents for different territories. Assuming workers are employed a full 40 hours a week, this means wages of from 10 to 16 dollars a week. Since the dollar is down 25 percent and more on the international exchange and prices are skyrocketing, these wages at present really are worth from \$7.50 to \$12, when inflation really gets under

way they will amount to even less. The steel workers shall not have a standard of living; they shall have a standard of starvation.

### Publicity to Steel Baron's 'Generosity'

Right now the capitalist press is giving all possible publicity to the generosity of the steel bosses in granting a 15 percent raise to their workers before the code goes into effect. But the dunkey journalists carefully forget that this 15 percent wage increase is wiped out and more than wiped out by the rise in living costs. The proposed code shows how strangely the clothing of liberality sits on the shoulders of the steel barons.

The code fixes the work week at forty hours. But there is a cruel trick in the provision limiting hours. The code reads: "None of the members of the code shall cause or permit an employee to work on average of more than forty hours per week in any six month period".

There is absolutely no limit set to the number of hours a worker may be forced to work in any single week. The code permits the steel manufacturers to drive their workers eighty hours a week for three months, and then to throw the workers on the street for the next six months. By this treacherous provision the steel code puts a premium upon seasonal unemployment coupled with the longest possible work week. Every advantage the workers can gain from the shorter work week is stolen from them; every hardship of irregular employment forced upon them.

### The Right to Organize?

Finally, what about the right to organize, the great gift the A. F. L. fakery claim is granted by the Industrial Recovery Act? Article IV, Section 1 of the code states: "That no employee and no one seeking work shall be required to join any company union, or to refrain from joining, organizing or assisting a labor union of his own choosing." So far, all is orthodox: "It is the belief of the industry that the method of collective bargaining set forth in such plans (Employee Representation Plans) provides for a day to day adjustment of all matters relating to the employment of employees... that such principles should be maintained and that the rights of the employees and members of the industry to bargain collectively through representatives elected or appointed in accordance with such plans without interference, restraint or coercion of any sort should be preserved and protected."

The so-called "Employee Representation Plan" provides for the election of representatives by the workers, but "such nominations and elections shall be held on the premises of the employer". These representatives shall settle differences between the workers and the employer by "collective bargaining" with representatives of the employer, but in case the representatives cannot agree, "procedure for appeal shall be maintained—if necessary, to the head of such employment of the business of such employer." In other words the Employee Representation Plan is a company union, set-up slipshod and foolproof, having its elections under absolute control of the boss,  
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### Trotsky Greets 'Red Flag', British Organ of L. O.

Dear Comrades,  
You have begun the publication of a little monthly, the 'Red Flag'. This is a modest step forward. We must hope that other steps will follow.

The advance of Communism in Great Britain is no way corresponds to the rate of decay of British capitalism. The conservative traditions of British politics, including the politics of the working class, are in themselves obviously insufficient to explain this fact. We only declare what is true and cannot be confuted when we say that above all, and, alas, with greater success, than by any other factor, the progress of Communism during the last years has been hindered by the leadership of the British Communist. They, of course, have not acted independently, but have only followed blindly the orders given by the leaders of the Comintern. But this fact does not free the British Communist bureaucracy from its responsibility, nor lessen the damage it has done. The study and critical examination of the policy of the British

Communist Party during the last eight or ten years constitutes a most important task in the education of the Left Opposition itself. You should carefully study the official publications of the Party throughout this period, digest them, and bring out clearly the Party line on the main strategic problems: its attitude towards the Labour Party, the trade unions, the Minority Movement; the colonial revolutions; the united front policy; the I. L. P., etc. Even the mere selection of the most striking quotations, and the presentation of them in chronological order, would lay bare not only the glaring contradictions of the 'general line', but also the inner logic of these contradictions, i. e., the violent vacillations of the Centrist bureaucracy between opportunism and adventurism. Every one of these tactical zigzags pushed Communists, sympathizers, and potential friends back, to the Right, to the Left, and finally into the swamp of indifference. We can say with confidence the least exaggeration, that the British Communist Party has

become a political throughfare and that it retains its influence only with that section of the proletariat which has been forcibly pushed to its side by the decomposition of both capitalism and reformism.

Along with the new printed organ you have at your disposal a hectographed (excellently hectographed) bulletin, "The Communist". It would be extremely desirable to devote the greatest possible space in this publication to the examination of the policy of the British Communist Party along the lines indicated above, and also to the discussion of controversial questions within the Left Opposition itself. While persistently striving to widen our influence among the workers, we must at the same time make it a point to work for the theoretical and political education of our own ranks. We have a long and laborious road in front of us. For this we need first-class cadres. With all my heart I wish you success.  
—LEON TROTSKY.  
Prinkipo, 19th of May, 1933.

### Left Opposition Active in Toronto Anti-Nazi Meet

Toronto, Canada.—The Left Opposition was the last contingent in the big anti-Fascist parade on Tuesday, July 12, and followed directly behind the "official" Left wing and Communist organizations.

Over 150 workers... members, sympathizers and friends rallied behind our big masthead "The International Left Opposition of Canada." This banner, in the centre of which was a big hammer and sickle, was carried by two young girl comrades, one of the Spartacus Youth Club and the other of the Y. C. L.

### L. O. Slogans in Parade

As our contingent swung off, our comrades boomed out the international. Then followed a flow of revolutionary songs, "The Red Flag", "Solidarity Forever", "The Red Army March" etc. As we came up Spadina to Queen St., the workers lining the streets applauded and cheered. As the march proceeded, the enthusiasm and spirit of our comrades rose still higher, and soon were shouting out the slogans of our banners, all of which breathed the spirit of international Solidarity and class struggle. "Free the Scottsboro Boys", "Long Live the

greatest and most militant labor demonstration since 1919, were able to show the workers the strength of its ideas, the enthusiasm and idealism of its banner-bearers, and the general growth of our movement. The militant character of our participation and banners, has already brought incitements and other revolutionary groups. We quote from The Toronto Telegram, July 13: "Nothing is more calculated to persuade Torontoans that Hitler was right than the presence in the Toronto demonstration of banners carrying such slogans as, 'Victory under the Banner of Trotsky', 'We demand the abolition of Section 98', and 'Hands off the Young Communist League'."

...Unless 'Victory under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky' and 'Hands off the Young Communist League' do not mean the advocacy of revolution, the English language has lost its meaning." The editorial calls upon the police to take action. What do the Stalinists say to the above? Is this another united front between Trotsky and the bourgeois press?  
—Q.