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Foreign Developments

After the Collapse of the London Confab

The London Economic Conference, which opened less than two months ago to the accompaniment of a tremendous blast of publicity, of hopes, promises and fears, has slipped quietly to an early grave. International cooperation among the competitive national organizations of monopoly capitalism has once again proved to be a utopian illusion, under which bankrupt democracy and aggressive imperialism can conceal their nakedness.

The keynote of the conference was the antagonism between American and British imperialism. France utilized the conference as a mobilization ground for its political and financial allies. Germany, which was in the position of merely asking for concessions without even the bluff of having anything to offer, was completely shoved into the background.

With the illusory hopes of common action thus shattered, national policies must again pull in different directions in accordance with the special situations and needs of monopoly capitalism in the different countries. All the major problems have been left unsolved—increasing production, dealing with unemployment, markets, currency stability. The efforts to solve them by reestablishing the unity of the world market having failed, the immediate next steps will undoubtedly further increase the disproportions and contradictions of the various sections of the world market, and the political expression of these contradictions in preparation for war.

Economic Trends in U. S.

The general background against which these efforts are taking place is one of mild improvement in the crisis on its way into depression, although nowhere is the improvement taking place at such hysterical speed as in the United States. The upturn here would have had to take on a violent character at some point, if only because of the extremely low points which had been reached on the downward swing of the crisis. A further stimulating factor was the zig-zagging character of the course toward inflation, which allowed both wild speculative uprushes and also severe speculative setbacks, depending upon the manner in which day-to-day events allowed the government's policy to be interpreted. Twice during the past two months the president had to intervene in a falling speculative market with the assurance that he had not given up the idea of inflation.

On this policy, of course, America was unable to swing Europe behind it; the post-war experience of most European countries was recent enough to remind them what a drastic surgical operation it constitutes. With all the more enthusiasm, then, repulsed on the field of international agreement, the Roosevelt government jumped into the activities of the National Recovery Administration, centralizing and coordinating American capitalism on its national territory before the next decisive leap at foreign markets.

The British policy has been one of aggressive competition for foreign trade on the basis of stabilized currency and slow, definite increases in price levels, production and financial basis in gold reserve and note circulation. The unexpected coup of the Argentine trade agreement, the removal of the embargo on Soviet trade, the steady increases in tariffs, all point in this direction. The reparation of British money held abroad, and to some extent an influx of foreign short-term credits, have broadened the financial basis of these operations and have reflected the willingness of large sections of European capital to support England in the duel with America.

France and the Crisis

In France, the situation is complicated by the fact that the work of liquidation and deflation, accomplished by the crisis in most advanced countries, has not been fully achieved owing to a variety of causes: the delay of more than a year before the crisis actually began, the prompt adoption of governmental measures to shut off France from the world crisis by trade restrictions and the maintenance of domestic markets, the special favors given to certain industries whereby they suffered less from the crisis but the government was burdened more, etc. The appearance of relative immunity from the crisis brought in large amounts of foreign capital for short-term investment in France during 1931 and 1932, thus still further adding to its apparent strength, but in reality contributing a potential element of great weakness. In international capital loses its confidence in the financial stability of France, the French financial situa-

tion will prove to be very vulnerable. In the meantime, the price level within France remains high, while wage-cuts in general have not gone as deep as in the United States or Germany. This however puts increasing pressure on French capitalism, which will inevitably attempt to force its burdens on to the French proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie. The budget has become unbalanced to a frightening extent.

(Continued on Page 4)

Hitler Executes Four Altona Communists

The Nazi beast has struck again. This time he has brought down four heroic workers who took part in the defense of the working-class quarter of Altona, near Hamburg, when the brown shirts invaded them in a provocative parade last year. The Hamburg workers, steeled in the traditions of the fights of 1919 and 1921, bitterly resented the invasion and drove the uniformed gangsters out.

The authors of the Nazi massacre were at that time condemned to death by the court to feed the then democratic illusions of the masses and conceal the preparations for Fascism that were going on throughout the apparatus of the German government. Now the hypocritical mask of democratic measures can be cast aside. The Nazi terrorists have been freed, pardoned and treated as heroes. The Communist workers who acted in self-defense have been beheaded. The last words of one of the four beheaded comrades were: "The death penalty is the largest honor for a revolutionary."

Dissension in French S. P. Right Wing Actual Victors -- "Left" Compromises

The congress of the S. F. I. O. (French Socialist Party) concluded after giving the Left wing an absolute majority (2,197 votes) over the Centrists (981 votes) and the Right wing (753 votes) and also over the 104 votes received for the resolution of the Socialist Action.

1. The congress was opened with a speech by Vandervelde, president of the Labor and Socialist International who begged the delegates not to disrupt the unity of their organization. The ex-minister of the Belgian king epitomized the confusion reigning in the leading circles of the 2nd International. This organization suffered a terrible blow by the victory of Fascism in Germany. All the organizations, in which the reformist leaders placed so much trust, collapsed without resistance like houses of cards. It is worthless to hope that the Vanderveldes and the Adlers will condemn their own policies; after having dispensed with several German social democrats who vainly tried to lick Hitler's boots, they recommend the Coue method for their organizations: Have the determination to remain united. But events are stronger than Vandervelde's tirades.

2. Split, more than ever before, is first on the order of the day. From the time of the black-white motions up till the declaration of war by the Right wing after the vote of censure hardly a month has passed. The Right wing not only opposed the conflict before the socialist and international party masses but also before "republican and socialist public opinion of this country." In other words, the unity of the Socialist party retains only a formal aspect; each tendency is opening the battle for influence over the masses of the country. Under these circumstances, the maneuvers of each of the tendencies to shift responsibility for the split are relatively secondary.

3. The Left wing won out in the voting; but the political advantage of the congress was incontestably gained by the Right wing. And it is no wonder. Only the Right wing was decisive. The Left wing, on the contrary, in the process of evolution, was split into numerous tendencies and grouplets. Also, the Right wing stated its program clearly and frankly at the Congress. It hid nothing, it spoke to the whole country. We are not politicians they said, but statesmen. We are ready to give France an authoritative government which will assure internal order and the security of the frontiers. The fact that that pronouncement was not made in the old traditional verbiage caused a stir of "surprise" in Blum's camp. In order to retain their majority, the leaders of the Left wing avoided all votes on the

USSR Accorded Recognition by Spanish Gov't.

Recognition of the U.S.S.R., by Spain as cabled to the *New York Times* is hailed by the *Izvestia* as a step taken when "the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union had been decided finally and without argument." "The extension of the international connections of the U. S. S. R. is direct evidence of the force of socialism. Capitalist governments are forced to reckon with the U. S. S. R. as a factor with which for their own interest it is better to live at peace."

To speak of the "victory of socialism" as "decided finally", and "it is better", for the capitalist, "to live at peace", with the Soviet Union is to confuse the real state of affairs and the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. Recognition does not flow from the capitalist desire "to live at peace" with the Soviet Union, not because of the "victory of socialism". The opposite is true.

The pressure of world conditions in the decay stage of capitalism and the quest for profits forces capitalist nations to trade with anyone, even with the Soviet Union. The *Izvestia* does not fool the capitalists with this kind of phrases. This helps disarm the workers to dangers to their own class and helps the capitalists cover up their war plans. The victory of Fascism in Germany and the victory of Japan in the East against China and the Soviet Union places the Soviet Union in the most dangerous position it has been in since the days of open intervention and civil war.

The realignment of imperialist forces since Hitler took power forces the Soviet Union to make amends with Poland, France, etc. and now Spain. To cloak these forced concessions as victories is to prepare the way for greater mistakes and concessions.

N.Y. Upholsterers Strike Spreads to New Shops

A spirit of militancy pervades the upholsterers who are in their second week of strike. Over fifty shops, large and small, have already responded to the call issued a week ago, Thursday by local 76 of the American Federation of Labor. The demands are for the 30 hour week and the basic minimum wage of \$1.40 per hour. The manufacturers association have failed to bring the strikers back into the shops with promises to live up to the code, especially after the proposed conditions of the code were made public (44 hour week and 34c per hour). A roar of laughter went up from the men when this was read off by Brother Moskowitz, chairman of the strike committee. Code or no code, the men are in no mood to be tricked into any conditions below those demanded by the strike. Every day new shops are pulled. The notoriously scabby Trade shop on Long Island, the backbone of the open shoppers, came down 100%. With the determination the men are now showing the strike is bound to win.

In the midst of the solid spirit of the men, however, is to be found that apathy which is characteristic of men who are coming into the union and into the strike for the first time. It is easier to rely upon leaders than to take active responsibility yourself. Too much work and responsibility is being shoved upon a few individuals at the top. As a result, the struck shops do not meet to consider the particular plans of their shop. The daily general strike meeting is not sufficient. The particular problems of the individual shops cannot be taken up there. For example—the "farming out" of work by Lewittes shop to a two by four dump, which threatens to demoralize the men of that shop, could have been avoided if handled by the shop committee. Also a closer tab should be kept by the shop committees on the location and activity of the men, so that at any time the union could put its finger on any sore spot.

We consider it our duty to express our opinion on the question of pulling signed shops during a general strike. The general strike takes precedence over all such agreements. Strikers do not understand why those union men who called them on strike, themselves go back to work on the basis of the old agreement, and not on the basis of the strike demands. The bosses always break agreements when it is to their advantage to do so. Mason Art, for example, introduced piece work into their shop in direct violation of the agreement signed last September with the union. Greppoint and others all violated the agreement by paying single time instead of time and a half for overtime. A general strike of the trade in all cases takes precedence over extent contracts. No work should be produced in these shops.

The Industrial Union, with the calling of the general strike, has adopted an entirely new set of tactics. Knowing that the overwhelming sentiment of the men is for going into the A. F. of L., they have adopted the policy of "helping" the strike, under the slogan of "unity with the rank and file." In view of the cool reception that their strike demands got from the strikers, they changed them from \$1 an hour and the 40 hour week to \$1.15 an hour and the 35 hour week. In this respect they are still lagging behind the A. F. of L. The excuse of not knowing what

(Continued on Page 4)

35,000 Pa. Mine Workers Strike For Right of Union Organization

Western Pennsylvania is again aflame with a miner's revolt growing daily in sweep and scope. The miners' wives from the outset joined directly in the battle taking the blows with their husbands and giving blows as the powerful picket

Leon Trotsky Moves From Turkey to France

Comrade Leon Trotsky has finally obtained permission from the French Government to make a trip for his health to Corsica and Southern France where, he will stay, for an indefinite period. Around these simple facts a number of wild legends and conjectures have been built, both by the bourgeois and the Stalinist press. It has been stated for instance that comrade Trotsky will be sent to the United States, as first Soviet Ambassador, that he has made peace with Stalin and Litvinoff that the French government is willing to have him because he will help them against Hitler, etc.

It is not necessary to make any special answer to all these rumors except to point out that they are completely devoid of a basis in fact. When the Stalinists insinuate, however, as in a recent issue of the *Daily Worker*, that this is the reward of the bourgeois for comrade Trotsky's services to them against the Soviet Union on his trip to Copenhagen last year, we

(Continued on Page 4)

line extended over a far flung territory. Death has taken its toll. One miner is reported killed in typical Pennsylvania steel trust fashion; shot down in cold blood by company plug uglies while carrying the American flag at the head of a picket line. Several other miners are expected to die from wounds received and many are suffering from lighter injuries.

The strike started in Fayette Co., Pennsylvania's darkest corner and the scene of many labor battles. It started as a direct challenge to the H. C. Frick Coke Company for the right of union organization. This company is the largest producer in the county and a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. In its further sweep the strike has embraced the adjacent counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Armstrong. The latest reports estimate a total of 35,000 miners involved. As it spread the issue became more than the one of right to union organization. It assumed the character, even though there is no set of specific demands formulated, of a general revolt against the intolerable open shop and semi-open shop conditions imposed by the Pennsylvania steel and coal barons.

It is significant that the strike has also embraced the mines of the Pittsburgh Terminal company which now has a contract with the United Mine Workers. This company was the very backbone of the onslaught which smashed the U. M. W. in the lost strikes of 1927-28. Later when the National Miners Union made headway and led the Western Pennsylvania strike in

1930 the Pittsburgh Terminal Company again recognized the U. M. W. and signed a sort of a contract, though not one agreeable to the men.

Test of Recovery Act

This strike is one of the many expressions of working class attitude under the national industrial recovery efforts. It is a test indicating that the working class is ready to resume the offensive, not relying upon the clauses of the recovery act but upon its own mass power to enforce its right to union organization and to gain better conditions. While in progress, the spokesmen for the steel trust at Washington hypocritically eliminated from their industrial code the demand for company unions. Obviously their intention was to rely upon the police club and soldier bayonets to maintain this demand in practice. They have struck a snag. The miners gave the answer: Up to this point, but no further.

On July 29 the Pennsylvania governor dispatched National Guard troops to Fayette County—to "maintain order." How did the troops discharge that duty? It became the immediate signal for the H. C. Frick Company to declare its mines reopened, calling for scab labor and pledged governmental protection. A new bloody onslaught was launched upon the miners led by the company's privately armed deputies, of which the H. C. Frick Company is said to have—only 275. But despite these heavy odds against the workers they have stood their ground. The mines remained idle, the strike spread.

Conditions in Fayette Coke Region

Between the black hills of Fayette county lie dotted numerous of the old type bee-hive coke ovens, stretching their low built structure for blocks with the rows of open fires resembling miniature open-hearth steel furnaces. Daily these ovens belch out smoke blackening everything in sight. A heavy pall hangs over the little mining communities. But that accounts for nothing compared to the heavy hand of the steel trust in evidence everywhere. Everything is company owned, the soil, the miners homes, the city and village administrations, the stores in which the miners make their purchases often in company scrip as the only reward received for their labor. The laws laid down by the steel trust are enforced by their own "yellow dog" deputies. For years the Fayette county miners have been compelled to work under these most revolting conditions. It is these conditions that the steel trust fights tooth and nail to maintain.

Many attempts have been made by these miners to organize a union as the only protection for their rights. Often they were sold out by the U. M. W. officials. We still remember the dastardly sell-out of the 1922 strike when John L. Lewis signed the Cleveland agreement leaving out 60,000 miners of Fayette and adjacent counties and sacrificing their budding organization. The miners were caught in a death trap; but they have been fighting on ever since. Now again they are joining the U. M. W.

What Does this Strike Indicate?

There is much to be learned from this present Pennsylvania miners' strike. It is offensive in its character. Perhaps that is its greatest significance. In that sense it is very indicative for the future, particularly when viewed in connection with many other strikes throughout the country, smaller but similar in character. Does it not bring eloquent testimony to the conclusion which we have drawn long ago that in the stage of recovery efforts the class struggle is bound to increase in intensity? In its further development these struggles are just as sure to immensely sharpen the class distinctions in the United States and serve to lead the workers toward political consciousness as a class.

The strike also indicates that during the recovery period there will be a decisive trend of the working masses toward union organization. The stream will head toward the conservative unions despite all their failures and betrayals. Perhaps one can say that in the Pennsylvania mine fields there is today no other union in existence anyway. That is true. The National Miners Union by its utterly false policies and methods long ago forfeited its right to existence and passed out of oblivion. But that only so much more proves the point and indicates the future trend. To keep abreast with that trend the Left wing must now take up in earnest the problem of lodging itself within the mass unions.

—A. S.

Japan Provokes the Soviets Criminal Stalinist Policies Weaken Soviet Resistance

Shanghai.—There is a lull in military activities in North China following upon the conclusion of the Tangku truce which leaves Japan in virtual occupation of a huge "demilitarized zone" flanking the Great Wall. Japanese imperialism is now drawing back preparatory to a fresh leap forward, and it is commonly believed that their next objective is Outer Mongolia, possession of which would add to their strategic advantages in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

Out here, the view is widely held that the Soviet position vis-a-vis Japan and the entire imperialist world has been greatly weakened as a result of the capitulationist policy pursued by Moscow, notably in regard to the agreement to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway. The fist shaken menacingly in the face of imperialism by Voroshilov is no longer taken seriously, since these gestures are not borne out in practice. "Not an inch of our territory!" yell Stalin and Voroshilov in unison. But in the interests of their "peace-loving policy" they have adopted such a weak-kneed attitude before the political and military minions of the Mikado that they have virtually lost the entire Chinese Eastern Railway. If the line were not sold now, it would be seized. The negotiations going on in Tokyo are simply a face-saver for Soviet diplomacy, giving a formal character to a fait accompli. Both Moscow and Tokyo

know this, and China knows it also. In the circumstances, it is a foregone conclusion that Japan will get the C. E. R. on her own and not on Soviet terms. "Sell on our terms or we will seize it—we know you'll not fight to retain it"—this is the Japanese attitude.

Provocations by Japan

Japan is evidently so convinced that the Soviet Union will not fight in defense of her interests that quite recently she took the bold step of sending one of her warships, the H. I. J. M. S. Tachikaze, into Soviet territorial waters off the Kamchatka coast allegedly to investigate the shooting of three Japanese fishermen in the region of Cape Oiga. The warship entered these waters after permission for it to do so had been expressly refused by Moscow.

Meanwhile Moscow, claiming to have established the fact that three Japanese fishermen were shot and killed by Soviet coast guards near Cape Oiga, has tendered a cringing apology to the Japanese government, agreeing to mete out dire punishment to the coast guards and to compensate the families of those killed. In the Soviet note on the subject, however, no mention is made of the fact that the fishermen were killed while trespassing in Soviet waters—surely a mitigating circumstance! No, in the interests of placating the Japanese bandits the Moscow epigones take upon themselves or, rather, upon the unfortunate coastguards who presumably were performing their duty the entire blame.

By way of contrast, the Japanese foreign office returned a curtly truculent reply to the Moscow protest against the Japanese destroyer entering Soviet waters after being forbidden to do so.

Judging by past experience, it is reasonable to suppose that the Japanese imperialists will be further encouraged by the kowtowing attitude of Moscow. The day following the Soviet apology, three Soviet fishing vessels were seized by Japanese warships and their crews placed under arrest on charges of spying in the neighborhood of the Kurile Islands. And now inspired reports are appearing, alleging discrimination against Japanese shipping at Vladivostok, a port which the Japanese imperialists have long coveted. More and graver situations may be expected, and are expected. Thus Soviet diplomacy a la Litvinov and company, expressed in action, is bringing the Soviet Union nearer to war with Japan—just the precise opposite of what is being aimed at. Successive retreats before the Japanese bandits (which began in late 1931, when Japanese troops were arbitrarily transported over

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 3)

BACKGROUND OF THE NEW DEAL

By the developments toward the much heralded national industrial recovery, which have taken place so far, it appears that the New Deal is getting on the way. Maybe this should give us an opportunity to determine just what this New Deal is. Undoubtedly the general idea behind it, the system of policies represented by that name, are quite clear. But the New Deal itself will be fully estimated only when it is put over and has become a reality. Today the first steps are being taken, it is set into motion, and we must view it in motion to forecast its final results. It is possible to say at the outset, however, that when finally put over, the New Deal will loom up to the working masses as something entirely different from what it appears to be today.

To the same extent the working class judgment will differ. Today there seems to be an attitude, and quite understandably so, that any change is sure to be for the better; that at least cannot become any worse. Many workers are even captivated by illusions of special benefits from the industrial recovery act and its industrial codes. Tomorrow when its scope is known we will find that the New Deal lends itself well to other more choice and more harsh names.

Crises Creates New Conditions

One thing is certain; the system of policies centered around the industrial recovery efforts represents something new, at least to the extent that new conditions press for new methods. The new conditions are at hand. The crisis in its course of development laid the basis for them. It offered the possibility of the whole national economic structure in preparation for the next stage of the business cycle. Now the problem is to step into that stage and secure an upward economic conjuncture. And it was precisely at this point that many of the old concepts and formulae of capitalist business were found not to fit the new conditions or the new requirements. They were discarded. At the same time new ideas were sweeping the world, catchy ideas, ideas of planned economy. Why not try to apply some

of them on a capitalist basis? And so, it came about that the ideas now identified with the New Deal are combined into a sort of a plan aiming at the "organization" of capitalism. A greater concentration and centralization of capital, a more gigantic monopoly. It is the proponents of "organized capitalism", appearing under the collective name of the brain trust, who are the moving forces behind these ideas.

Capitalist Economy Reorganized

But before we look further into the question of the industrial recovery policies of the Roosevelt administration and in order to gain a better understanding of them, it is necessary to first examine their background. As already mentioned, a crisis becomes also a period of capitalist readjustments. An immense reorganization of the whole structure of American national economy took place during the crisis. With a view to the future, this reorganization followed strictly along the lines of the motive