

WORKERS
OF THE
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Civil War Shakes Cuba; U. S. Ready to Intervene

The political crisis in Cuba appears at last to have reached a definite climax. The pressure of the working class and the petty bourgeois masses aimed at the overthrow of "Butcher" Machado, has thrown a monkey wrench into Ambassador Welles' attempts to solve the impasse by arbitration. Strikes initiated by the revolutionary workers in Havana as a protest against the intervention of Wall Street's viceroy as mediator in the island's politics, spread throughout the island affecting all industries and paralyzing the nature of a general political strike. Even the Chamber of Commerce organizations in some places are giving their support to the movement. Mass demonstrations in Havana and other cities have created a situation that at this writing the police and military have been unable as yet to dominate.

Mass Murder
Machine guns are being used indiscriminately against all groups gathering in public places and the list of dead and injured mounts rapidly. While the overwhelming majority of the population is being brought into action, all of the bourgeois opposition groups which are united only in the demand to overthrow the Machado dictatorship, are exerting their chief energies to attempts to canalize the movement and keep it under their control. The Communist party, however, in any sense having the hegemony of even the workers on strike, counts nevertheless with broad sympathies among the masses.

For many months the American imperialists, who have a dominating control of the Cuban sugar industry and of most of the island's minor industries besides, have realized that Machado's regime was in its decay stage and incapable of further serving their interests effectively. Any one of the principal leaders of the opposition (Mencal, Mendiant, Gomez), all of whom have extensive interests in the sugar industry, themselves together with the imperialists, would be equally willing, given the power, to serve Wall Street interests, and would be able to do so in a less crude and more effluential manner.

Behind the "Arbitration"
It was the realization that Machado's overthrow could only lead to a long drawn out struggle among those very elements now collaborating in the opposition, which might give the Communists and other extremist elements an opportunity for struggle and growth, that led the Roosevelt administration to seek a means of compromise through mediation. The revolutionary mass movement is not only the workers' protest against the arbitrary interference of the U. S. State Department, but is also an attempt on the part of the Cuban masses to seek the revolutionary way out of the political impasse and the economic crisis which has been continuing in the island ever since the collapse of the sugar industry in 1925.

The colossal failure of American armed intervention in Nicaragua and the scandals attendant on the

occupation of Haiti, have made the State Department reluctant to intervene with armed forces in Latin American countries if other methods can possibly be used. However the situation in Cuba may easily develop to a point where Wall Street will demand armed intervention. Steps are already being taken to facilitate rapid movements of armed forces to Cuba on a moment's notice. Several U. S. marine and navy units are already prepared to embark. Washington dispatches indicate that the 1st Artillery Brigade now in N. Y. State and about 1,000 marines stationed at Quantico, Va. would be the first to be moved.

In this regard the American Communists must raise the slogan "Hands off Cuba".

The Cuban masses require and Street's government in order to overthrow the dictator who until a few scant months ago was able to continue in power, thanks principally to the support of the American imperialists.

Correct Policy Decisive
Our party in Cuba has the opportunity to play a leading role in the struggles now developing in that country. Its influence in the coming period will depend almost entirely on the correctness with which the party reacts to the situation. If the proper slogans are advanced and the correct tactics pursued, the Communist party may well find itself in the direct leadership of the Cuban working class. In order to achieve this however, a definite break must be

U. S. Anti-War Congress Socialists Withdraw from Arrangements Committee

On Labor Day week end, September 1st to 4th, the "United States Congress Against War" will be held in New York City. The official call of the Congress contains the signatures of the Communist party, a number of organizations which it controls, pacifist groups, the I. W. W., and the Socialist party. Recently the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party withdrew from the united front because of criticism against it contained in the *Daily Worker*. A few words on how this united front was arranged.

Under the paternal guidance of Henri Barbusse—who will be in the United States for the Congress—Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair, members of the American Committee for Struggle against War, issued an appeal for the September Congress. Suddenly an arrangements committee composed overwhelmingly of Stalinist controlled organizations was organized. The Mustelites joined in. Under pressure of Barbusse in the S. P., led by Jesse Wallace Huggan of the War Resisters League, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party joined the united front on the condition that it be given adequate

representation on the arrangements committee. This was soon agreed upon. A number of Socialists, Norman Thomas, Julius Gerber, etc. were added to the Committee; a few more Stalinists were put on.

Double Game of Stalinists
In the preparations for the Congress the Stalinists played a double game. In the press they continued their old attacks on the Socialists, for the consumption of their own members and "others". At meetings of the arrangements committee they spoke very humbly and even apologized for articles appearing in the *Daily Worker* attacking the Socialists. This was the picture several weeks ago when the Socialists took the C. P. representatives to task for an article in the *Daily* and Minor replied by stating that he had not read the article!

Instead of an open appeal to the National Executive Committee of the S. P. by the Communist party for united front against war, the Stalinists employ intermediaries, radical or liberal intellectuals. But this did not help them. The National Executive Committee of the S. P. withdrew from the Congress on the excuse that it was looking for a criticism of it in the *Daily Worker* of the Socialist leaders. The arrangements committee replied by appealing to the N. E. C. to reconsider its decision. On August 3rd it decided: "That this arrangements committee takes the position that in developing the united front no organization which is carrying out the purposes of the anti-war Congress should be attacked by participating organizations on fields of common work. That all participating organizations shall first place before arrangements committee or the sub-committee empowered to act for it, any and all differences of opinion between the participating organizations relative to the U. S. Congress Against War, before making them public. It is understood, however, that every organization shall be perfectly free to urge its own program with respect to the struggle against war. These assurances which the Arrangements Committee will make effective and which was agreed to by all participating groups including representatives of the Communist party should make fruitful cooperation possible. (*Daily Worker*—9-8-1933).

Meaning of Non-Aggression Pact
We quote at some length because of the importance of the section. The non-aggression pact could not be more simply written. No criticism "on the field of common work". Does not this mean no criticism of the pacifism and Socialist action and policies on war? Where differences of opinion arise they should first go to the united front committee. Editors of the *Daily Worker* take note: before writing critical articles of editorials on the anti-war Congress submit it to the Arrangements committee! The Stalinists

also receive in our midst, that they also authorize, it appears, to go to Marseilles and Corsica! (July 23).

Listen to *Renaissance*, the Russian monarchist daily, the organ of the Gorguloffs:
"The present state of things is such that it is likely that he (Trotsky) will have no lack of visitors. And moreover, perhaps there is reason to predict, that besides those who are expected, there will be others, quite unexpected.... July 25).

The Down with the masks! What is behind this campaign, these intemperate to murder issued by the political bureau?
That Litvinov sojourns in Royat in the company of Tardieu, very good! That Lunacharsky is officially received on his disembarkment at Paris, perfect! That Muenzenberg obtains a regular passport and the right to carry on his publications, that Paul Schwenk has the authorization, as a Communist deputy in the Prussian Landtag, to organize public meetings in Paris, all very well! Still better, that Radek, a new defender of the Versailles treaty, of the order for whose execution by Pilsudsky, is officially received in Warsaw and entertained by the editor of the biggest Polish bourgeois paper. Yes, all that is very natural; "socialism in one country" needs that.

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Perspectives of the Upturn

By LEON TROTSKY

This analysis by comrade Trotsky was written in August last year as an introduction to a discussion. It retains all its validity today except for the reference to the German trade union question. The demand contained, correct then, has now been obviated by events.—Ed.)

Business cycles in the post-war period have ceased to constitute the normal machinery of capitalist development, insofar as capitalism, in its entirety, is in a period of decay. But this does not mean that economic fluctuations belong to the past. Immediately after the war, it is true, they lost their cyclical and as to the recovery, at least, their universal character. Both these characteristics, however, up to a certain point, at least, are being revived before our eyes.

The present crisis is of world wide character. This means that world economy whose existence was

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A.F. of L. Leaders Sanction N. R. A. No Strike Policy!

The American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Wm. Green and J. L. Lewis, has entered into a no-strike agreement with the Industrial Recovery Administration. It came as an anti-climax to the numerous strikes in various industries, the most powerful being the one of the Pennsylvania miners which involved at the time of the truce some 70,000 men, threatening to extend to embrace several hundred thousand, even engulfing the steel industry. That struck the hearts of the capitalists and labor lieutenants alike. They hurried to reach the no-strike agreement. This is a desperate attempt to hamstring the American workers until the industrial codes with their class collaboration and compulsory arbitration machinery, is firmly established.

The no-strike truce is to cover all unions and industries and to remain in effect during the period

of recovery. How long that is to be no one can predict. It provides for an arbitration board of seven members headed by senator Wagner. On this board are two labor representatives, Green and Lewis—the very ones who lead in selling-out labor's right to strike. This is by no means the first base betrayal performed by these reactionary labor leaders. It is only one more added to the record.

We can still remember the no-strike agreement entered into between the A. F. of L. officials and the Hoover administration at the inception of the crisis. It was stipulated to remain in effect during that period of "national emergency". So there we have it. A no-strike agreement with the bosses and their government during the crisis and a no-strike agreement during the period of recovery. Chain the workers more solidly to the chariot of capitalist exploitation while their aspirations and their endeavors to attain a human standard of living are crushed beneath the wheels of the state machinery of suppression. That is the policy of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. It fits right into the mitt of the Wall St. executives at Washington.

At the very moment when the truce was being signed the Pennsylvania miners lay bleeding, one killed and many wounded by bullets spewed from guns of private pig-uglies hired by the coal and steel barons; striking Pennsylvania hoolery workers were subjected to tear gas attacks by the police; and

striking up-state New York milk farmers were roused salvo into their limbs, wounded and sore from contact with the state troopers' clubs.

No sooner was the ink on the signatures to the agreement dry than the U. C. Frick Coke Company struck out from its contents all reference to the union which the miners had organized. It meant that the company has no intention whatever to recognize the miners' right to organize. But the government had no punishment to meet out to defiance from that side. The miners, on the other hand, have in this clear indication of how their right to organization will fare in the coming arbitration. No sooner was the ink on the signatures dry than the non-union coal operators at the hearing of their code refused to withdraw their open shop qualification from the code.

It is no wonder that the capitalist representatives in the government were eager to obtain a no-strike truce. They recognize perfectly well a labor offensive when they see it. They have first of all the task to satisfy the powerful open-shop trusts which will insist upon moving heaven and earth to prevent unionism from entering their plants. In this the government was fully at the disposal of the trusts. The Washington merry-go-round was set into motion. Administration was taken out by airplane to the Pennsylvania strike and, back to Washington to get the signature of the labor leaders, on to Crum Elbow for the approval of the President from his vacation retreat and back to Washington again. He was followed by the labor adviser to the Recovery Administration, McGrady, who covered almost the same route. The fear of an extension of the labor offensive oiled the machinery. It worked well and under high pressure speed. The labor lieutenants of capitalism can now repeat once again: "We do our part".

At first the miners were reluctant to accept the truce. That should not cause any wonder. They have had many bitter experiences of truces and arbitration, and hardly could there be found one example where this sort of intervention has not always served the interest of the bosses. Their reluctance set added machinery into motion. The federal government has opened an investigation into alleged Communist agitation in the Pennsylvania fields. It is to be led by Assistant Federal Attorney Lloyd W. Bryan. In this manner the powers that be are closing in on the workers to lay the basis for permanency of the no-strike policy.

This no-strike truce, by the time it is carried to its final conclusion, will be sure to prove another serious lesson to the American workers. The A. F. of L. leaders will stand out the more clearly in their true light. The role of the state powers as an instrument of coercion will become the more apparent. Its effect will inevitably be to further sharpen the future conflicts bound to develop on a yet much larger scale.

N. R. A. and the Trade Unions Question of Policy is Decisive in the Present Stage

We are entering a new stage in working class developments. This is verified not merely in the appearance of the N. R. A. and the new methods of capitalist co-ordination which it attempts to put into life, but primarily in the new relationship of forces created by the new economic conjuncture. These new methods of co-ordination express the efforts to find new ways of chaining the change in relationship of forces and maintain it within the old bounds.

It is a stage of developing economic struggles over a far flung field which is unfolding before us. At the present moment we see only its small beginnings, however, with a sharpness and acuteness fully indicative of the gigantic tremors which will ensue as these struggles enlarge their scope and intensity. The role that trade unions will play in this next chapter, to be recorded by history in this period, will become one of paramount importance. In the same measure, we can say confidently, will the question of trade union policy be the decisive question of the immediate future. Communists least of all can afford to overlook or ignore this.

No promises can be held out for the upward economic conjuncture. It can be expected only to be of a cumbersome, contradictory nature and heralding deeper plunges into prolonged and more turbulent crises. But that is a question of perspective for which the workers need to prepare in this present stage. Meanwhile the sharper the present change the sharper the action of the masses. The fact of the reduction of unemployment will correspondingly increase the self-confidence of the workers. Even a small change of economic conjuncture does not take place without leaving its mark. The change which is expressed in new workers being hired by the factories breeds a spirit entirely different from the one of the continual lay offs.

With all the efforts of capitalist co-ordination of its economic structure, of creating a gigantic monopoly, the competitive warfare does not cease. It only becomes elevated to a higher stage. On the other hand the workers find themselves in increasing measure united by the process of production. Their interests become constantly hampered down to a more unified level. In this sense the relationship of forces is changing in favor of the workers. The intolerable conditions, however, of the extremely low standard of living imposed upon them during the years of the crisis press ever harder for readjustment. But readjustments are not at all contained in the N. R. A. all demagogic palaver of higher nominal wages and shorter working hours to the contrary notwithstanding. Readjustments mean struggle. That is what we see initiated today.

It is characteristic that the greatest of the strikers, that of the Pennsylvania miners grow from the

demand for the right to union organization. That can be said also to hold true to a more or less degree for other strikes of a smaller scale. In other words under the N. R. A. the workers are taking advantage of the change toward a more favorable relationship brought about by the turn in conjuncture. The elementary instinct of the workers is to translate the fact of their being united by the process of production into unity in organization. Everywhere there is manifested the tendency of workers seeking organization and it is to be assumed that the new conditions created will immensely further and develop this tendency. But in connection therewith the important question arises: Towards which unions will this working class stream gravitate, towards the conservative unions or towards the so-called revolutionary unions, or will it seek new and independent forms?

It should not be difficult to answer this question. The answer depends in the main upon the political maturity of the American working class. And, in this respect we know that we cannot speak of a working class politically mature of having a tradition of socialist consciousness behind it. As a matter of fact we are not here concerned

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Jackal Press Howls at Trotsky

The announcements that comrade Trotsky, held in Turkey for five years by Stalin's diplomats, is allowed to sojourn in France, has thrown the Stalinist bureaucrats into confusion. For a week, the editors of *L'Humanite*, filled its columns with a torrent of filth. Darnar, one of the editors of *L'Humanite*, has been instructed by Stalin's agents to sling mud, to concoct detective stories—a stinking literature of provocation worthy of a white guard. The Political Bureau of the French party which was too impotent to organize the slightest action against Fascism, has stirred itself to hysteria to incite the apparatus against Trotsky.

These articles and these bursts of rage will do much to open the workers eyes to the real policy of the bureaucrats!

And where do they look for arguments? They look to the Fascists, to Coty! (the arch-reactionary perfume manufacturer and publisher) Read the articles in *L'Ami du Peuple* (Coty's paper), listen to the cries of hate from the allies of *L'Humanite*:

"The traitor Trotsky is given permission to sojourn in France. 'One has the right to demand why the government has revoked its decision by authorizing the traitor Trotsky to sully French soil by his presence. . . ."

"It is this wretched creature, who has shed French blood, that

LABOR'S MIGHTY CHALLENGE

Only a few brief weeks since the Industrial Recovery Act went into operation and there is already a husky crop of powerful strikes such as the country has not witnessed for a long time. Are these the harbingers of coming greater, and more intense, struggles? Unquestionably that is the case.

The workers are beginning to assume the offensive, relying essentially upon their own mass power,

to enforce their rights of union organization and to elevate themselves from the extraordinary decline in standard of living imposed upon them during the years of crisis. The spring which is too tightly compressed must ease and give way. A period of widespread struggles such as will shake the country to its very foundation can be expected from which the workers will have much to gain in political consciousness.

Challenge to Capitalism
These strikes already constitutes a mighty challenge hurled into the teeth of American capitalism. A compact for an industrial truce may delay, may to a certain extent throw confusion into these developments, but it cannot stop them. The labor lieutenants of capitalism may perform their service in aiding confusion and disorganization within the workers ranks, but they cannot hold the movement back for long. It will sweep over their heads and gain in scope and effectiveness. These strike movements are a challenge to them and all their policies of the dead past which they stand for. They are a challenge to the trade union movement as a whole, pressing it forward, pressing it into service for the advance of the working class.

Challenge to Official C. P.
But these strikes are also a challenge to the official Communist party leadership to have done with its "third period" antics. To have done with its fatal policy of splitting the trade unions and isolating the party from the mass movement. Now is not the time to play with futile paper unions of your own bureaucratic image, but to direct the revolutionaries and left wingers to enter and take up work in the mass unions. Now is not the time to split the working class, but on the contrary, to use every means and opportunity for its unification.

France Friend of USSR--Litvinov
We beg our readers to compare these two quotations First is the declaration made by Litvinov in Paris (*Le Temps*, July 9).
"Neither our political nor our economic interests clash with those of France in any part of the world. That is why we consider that nothing should stand in the way of the continuation of a political as well as an economic rapprochement."

Further down, it is announced that Herriot is going to undertake an official mission in the USSR. Peri, "theoretician" of the French party explains in *L'Humanite*, daily organ of the French Communist party (July 17th):
"It can be said that the role of leader of the anti-Soviet crusade held for so long by French imperialism, has today passed into other (???) hands."

What does this signify? We must affirm that this signifies that the USSR, weakened by the defeats of the international proletariat, is resorting to pacts, scraps of paper, particularly, with France the imperialist, the policeman of Europe and the guardian of the Versailles Treaty. Was it not that vicious enemy of the U. S. S. R., W. Churchill, who just said recently at Paris that the French army was the sole guarantee of the security of Europe?

Peri and Co. lie to the proletariat on the USSR in the situation; but the bourgeois press, all praise the Litvinov, does not conceal its opinion of the Soviet situation. *Le Temps*, of July 17th, publishes a

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Roosevelt's National Police

In the Industrial Recovery Act the Roosevelt Administration has set up a united front between the national government and the big capitalists for the purpose of dividing wages down to starvation levels. In order to do this with the least possible commotion it is necessary for the government to have its own police, in addition to the army, to use against workers who presume to strike against the attack on their living standards. Such a national police is already being formed.

But it is not the blunt old Hoover Administration that is preparing this new weapon of the bosses. It is Roosevelt who has put through the National Industrial Recovery Act and is directing the capitalist offensive against the workers and now builds up a new machinery of crime, kidnapping, racketeering, extortion and blackmail. Laws are being prepared giving the government jurisdiction over all crimes interfering with interstate commerce and over all criminal activities involving operations in two or more states.

A liberal interpretation of such laws, and no doubt they will be interpreted with the greatest liberality, gives the government control over all labor disputes. At the time while these laws are being drawn up, the bureau of investigation, identification and prohibi-

tion are being combined into a new Division of Investigation. This new Division will soon swallow up many other bureaus. Most important of all, the new Division of Investigation will have special squads of police to suppress all crimes against national Federal jurisdiction. In short a national police department is being created. In view of Roosevelt's methods in the recent past, there is every reason to suspect that the main purpose of the new police is not that of stopping kidnapping and racketeering.

However guesses are not needed. The head of this Division of Investigation is John Edgar Hoover. This man was one of the most active of Attorney General Palmer's red baiters in the early twenties. He was instrumental in the deportations of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Ludwig Martens, the Soviet representative to the U. S., and others. He has also served as head of the Bureau of Immigration which has always been notoriously ready to aid the bosses by deporting militant workers. There are few men as capable as Mr. J. E. Hoover for the job of leading a government attack upon the working class. It is clear that with such a man in charge the national police are intended to serve not against the gangsters but against workers who strike for more than the starvation pay of the N. I. R. A.

—PETER MORTON.