

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## LEON TROTSKY

### Fascism and Democratic Slogans

1. Is it true that Hitler has destroyed "democratic prejudices"?

The April resolution of the Praesidium of the ECCI "on the present situation in Germany" will, we believe, go down into history as the final testimonial to the bankruptcy of the Comintern of the epigonism. The resolution is crowned with a prognosis in which all the vices and prejudices of the Stalinist bureaucracy reach their culmination. "The establishment of an open Fascist dictatorship"—the resolution proclaims in bold-face type, "accelerates the tempo of the development of a proletarian revolution in Germany by destroying all democratic illusions of the masses and by freeing them from the influence of the social-democracy."

Fascism, it seems, has unexpectedly become the locomotive of history: it destroys democratic illusions, it frees the masses from the influence of the social-democracy, it accelerates the development of the proletarian revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy assigns to Fascism the accomplishment of those basic tasks which it proved itself utterly incapable of solving. The theoretic victory of Fascism is undoubtedly an evidence of the fact that democracy had exhausted itself; but politically, the Fascist regime preserves democratic prejudices, recreates them, inculcates them into the youth and is even capable of imparting to them, for a short time, the greatest strength. Precisely in this consists one of the most important manifestations of the reactionary historic role of Fascism.

Doctrinaires think schematically. Masses think with facts. The working class perceives events not as experiments with this or that "thesis" but as living changes in the fate of the people. The victory of Fascism adds a million times more to the scale of political development than the prognosis for the indefinite future which flows from it. Had a proletarian state grown out of the bankruptcy of democracy, the development of society, as well as the development of mass consciousness would have taken a great leap forward. But as it was, in reality, the victory of Fascism that grew out of the bankruptcy of democracy, the consciousness of the masses is set far back,—of course only temporarily. The smashing of the Weimar democracy by Hitler can no more put an end to the democratic illusions of the masses, than Goering's setting the Reichstag on fire can burn out parliamentary cretinism.

2. The Example of Spain and Italy  
For four years in succession we heard that democracy and Fascism do not exclude but supplement each other. How then can the victory of Fascism liquidate democracy once and for all? We would like to have some explanations on this score by Bucharin, Zinoviev, or Manuilsky "himself!"

The military-police dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was declared by the Comintern to be Fascism. But if the victory of Fascism signifies the final liquidation of democratic prejudices, how can it be explained that the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera gave way to a bourgeois republic? It is true that the regime of Primo de Rivera was far from being Fascism. But it had, at all events, this much in common with Fascism: it arose as a result of the bankruptcy of the parliamentary regime. This did not prevent it, however, after its own bankruptcy was revealed, from giving way to democratic parliamentarism.

#### WE NEED MONEY!

"I have a little shadow that goes in and out with me, and what can be the use of it is more than I can see" runs a poem by Stevenson. And that is how it is with us. Over all our activities hangs a shadow, a financial shadow.

In the immediately past period our shadow was small. From the financial point of view we stood at noon or not far from it. But lately the sun has been going down. And our shadow has been lengthening. Last week it got so long that we couldn't see in front of us and the Militant didn't come out.

But that sun has to rise again and shorten our shadow. A desperate tug made it possible to get out this issue. But what about next week? And the week after?

It isn't at all a bleak future that faces us. Next week's issue or the issue of the week after will carry the details of our new expansion program. That will be the lever to lift us over this temporary obstruction.

In the meantime we need some assistance. And we need it quickly. Let us put our appeal on this basis: the expansion program as our long lever to raise us to a new level; immediate donations to keep us going. Send all funds at once to the Militant, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

One may attempt to say that the Spanish revolution is a proletarian one in its tendencies, and that the social democracy in alliance with other republicans has succeeded in arresting its development at the stage of bourgeois parliamentarism. But this objection, correct in itself, proves only more clearly our idea that if bourgeois democracy succeeded in paralyzing the revolution of the proletariat, this was only due to the fact that under the yoke of the "Fascist" dictatorship, the democratic illusions were not weakened but became stronger.

Have "democratic illusions" disappeared in Italy during the ten years of Mussolini's despotism? This is how Fascists themselves are inclined to picture the state of affairs. In reality, however, democratic illusions are acquiring a new force. During this period, a new generation has been raised up. Politically it has not lived in the conditions of freedom, but it knows full well what Fascism is: this is the raw material for vulgar democracy. The organization "Justice and Liberty" is distributing illegal democratic literature in Italy and not without success. The ideas of democracy are therefore finding adherents, who are ready to sacrifice themselves. Even the flabby generalizations of the liberal monarchist, Count Sforza, are spread in the form of illegal pamphlets. That's how far back Italy has been thrown during these years!

(Continued on Page 3)

## THE COAL OPERATORS' ORGAN FRAME-UP ON THE MILITANT

The Taylorville, Ill. Breeze, a Peabody Coal Co. rag, in its July 29 edition printed a miserable scrawl headlined to give the appearance of an advertisement of the Militant. The purpose of the article was to further the ends of the coal company by adding confusion to the situation facing the miners of Illinois and to attempt to discredit the growing influence of our paper in the minefields.

The Militant of course never did and never could have placed an ad with the Taylorville Breeze and we do not expect to refer to it again until we announce that the coal miners of Illinois have thrown the Peabody Coal Co. and similar parasites off their backs and with them the lickspittle tools of the kind that edit the Taylorville Breeze.

## U.S. Imperialism Holds High Cards in Cuban Situation

Machado is out. Cespedes is the new president of Cuba. Tweedle-dum has replaced Tweedle-dee. Both are from the same political party. The new cabinet intended at first to be a concentration cabinet, but a more "oppositional" character following the categorical demand of the ABC for political recognition, but is as exclusively bourgeois and agreeable to American imperialism as its predecessor was originally.

What is more important than its personnel is the program to which Cespedes has committed it. And the country: a reorganization of surplus labor back to the land; reorganization of enormous debt to the United States; and a trade agreement with the United States over the sugar crop which has been selling below the cost of production.

The details of this three-point program have not yet been made public but their character is indicated by the whole situation. There can be no doubt that all the high cards will repose, as heretofore, in the mitt of Uncle Sam. From Roosevelt to Welles to Cespedes the line is unbroken. The stake of the United States imperialists in Cuba has been estimated from a billion and a quarter to two billions. It reposes principally in sugar, tobacco, and government and private debts. Any program in Cuba will have to base itself on the careful protection of these investments.

Cespedes Welcomes U. S. Warships  
If confirmation were needed Cespedes has supplied it. He has welcomed the presence of American warships in Cuban waters and has been at pains to reassure the nervous men of Wall Street that he will play the game of serving Yankee profits according to the rules. In short the cast has been changed but the play is still the same. The capitalist press calls this substitution of actors a revolution.

That is how it is at the top of Cuban society. Below it is not so satisfactory. The American puppet masters. The whole nation was in

## PROTEST FRAME-UP AGAINST YOUNG ANTI-FASCIST WORKER

Athos Terzani, a young anti-Fascist is being held in the Queens County Jail on a murder indictment which is more flagrant a frame-up than any the labor movement has seen for some time. Terzani has been accused of the murder of one of his fellow worker and comrade-in-arms, Anthony Fierro—no less! The charge of murder against Terzani has as its purpose the shielding of the real criminals—the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America.

The workers are familiar enough with this specie of frame-up. But if proof be needed listen to this statement by Art Smith who boasted before an audience of 1,000 in Phila. on July 23rd that his organization had "murdered" one radical and sent 19 others to a hospital at a New York meeting recently. Enough said!

Workers! Defend Terzani! The bloodthirsty capitalist class must not be permitted to make another labor martyr of Terzani! Send contributions immediately to Herbert Mahler, treasurer, Terzani Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Ave., New York City.

## Clubs, Tear Gas, Riot Guns Used in Milk Strike

Richfield Springs, N. Y.

During the last four to five years the farmers in the New York milk district have been exploited to the limit by the big dairy companies. Naturally, therefore, when some slick organizers from up-state began to set up the Dairyman's League the farmers all supported it hoping that it would solve their problems. But they soon learned otherwise. The organizers solidified their own control in the league and through them the Borden company got their finger into the pie. The result was that the farmers received even less for their milk than before.

Farmers Get It in the Neck  
The dissatisfaction continued to grow, the conditions became unbearable and the farmers appealed to the governor to step in and appoint a Milk Control Board. By that the farmers expected to get a square deal. In March the Milk Control Board was appointed, the farmers were happy, the New Deal apparently was approaching; but again they got it in the neck.

The Milk Control Board classified the various grades of milk and set a price on each classification. The lowest grade was to be that containing three and two-thirds percent of butter fat for which the farmers were to receive 1

(Continued on Page 4)

## J.L. Lewis Betrays Miners at Coal Hearing

The NRA has blown life into the United Mine Workers Union and has given Lewis and Company a new lease on life. After a score of years of the most brazen betrayals and sell-outs, John L. Lewis is appointed labor's representative on the NRA. If this were the only act at our disposal to determine what the Roosevelt Government thinks of labor it would be sufficient for condemnation. However, the present government of the imperialists have a long record for the few months they are in power; a record of clever reform, and sugar coated measures for greater subjection and exploitation.

Workers throughout the mine area are flocking to the folds of the U. M. W. A. Not that they have any faith in Lewis and Company, but because they think that they will get a new deal under the NRA, through the conservative union. The sell-out in western Penn., by Lewis a few weeks ago and the revolt against Lewis and Company brought out in bold relief what the actual situation is. Nevertheless, the absence of a Left wing in the U. M. W. A., and the capitulationist Right wing, class collaboration policies of the Progressive Miners of America, all favors the Lewis stranglehold upon the miners together with the help of the government.

Lewis and Class Collaboration

Lewis, speaking before the code hearing said: "The Recovery Act means a rebirth—not the bringing into life again of the forces of former years which we have found impossible. It is now a recognized fact by the most disinterested and authoritative opinion, both within and without the industry, that it cannot save itself without involving the cooperation and supervision of the Federal Government." Lewis recognizes that the coal industry is a sick industry even if he did not recognize this as part of the decay of capitalism. He also recognizes that some form of nationalization is necessary to pull the coal industry out of the rut. The NRA, as a first step in this direction, will start this process and if more drastic government steps are necessary they will be taken to insure the operators profits.

Lewis says:—"We knew from long experience in the industry that it could only be stabilized and restored to a normal condition through a code which would be national in its scope and its provisions." But Lewis never thought it was necessary to have a national miners policy and national strikes. If Lewis thinks it is good for the operators and the government to have a national policy then why does he not think that such a weapon would also be good in the hands of the miners against the operators. The separate agreements, one after the other; the strikes on district scales, while across the line the other miners worked year after year, all indicate who Lewis is talking about when he thinks a national policy will be good.

According to Lewis, capital and labor benefit as follows: "The employer is the greatest beneficiary of the Recovery Act. On the other hand, what do the workers either by hand or brain, expect from the Recovery Act. Nothing beyond the right to organize and cooperate with the employer, and to receive what they have always been denied—a fair participation in the output of industry." In fact the workers won't even get these crumbs Lewis speaks of.

Lewis and Company is discredited throughout the industry, however the NRA class collaboration plan will give these labor agents a new lease on life. A Left wing must be built in the UMWA where they

(Continued on Page 4)

## MASS MEETING THE 2ND AND 3RD INTERNATIONALS AFTER HITLER'S VICTORY

What is Now Happening in the Communist and Socialist Internationals? What Are the Perspectives of Their Future Developments? Can the Socialist Party in Germany Be Revived? Has the Communist Movement Been Destroyed?

HEAR  
MAX SHACHTMAN  
Editor of the "Militant"

Who has Just Returned From an Extensive Visit to Various European Countries Where He Had the Opportunity to Study the Revolutionary Movement First Hand and to Visit the Exiled Bolshevik Leader Leon Trotsky in Turkey and France

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 30 at 8 P. M.  
IRVING PLAZA — Main Hall  
Irving Place and 15th Street  
ADMISSION : : : 10 CENTS

A U S P I C E S :  
New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

## 2 Young Negroes Slain by Lynch Law in South

Once again the Negro hating and working class baiting southern bourgeoisie has shown its unique method of meting out justice to that doubly exploited section of the southern proletariat—the Negro.

In the dark hours of early Sunday morning, August 13, Sheriff Shamblin and some deputies decided that for "safety's sake" they were going to transport the three young Negroes, Dan Phippen, A. T. Harden and Elmore Clark, charged with a typically southern felony—murder of a white woman—from Tuscaloosa to the larger city of Birmingham, Alabama. A lonely, untraveled road was picked for the caravan. Two cars made up the caravan. One car carrying the sheriff, a deputy or two and the prisoners and another following with deputies "for protection". When the journey was about half completed the sheriff ordered the trailing carful of deputies to return. This was at the darkest and quietest intersection of the road. The sheriff's car with the handcuffed Negroes in it resumed on its way. They had not gone far when a mob waylaid the car, and ordered the sheriff to hand over the Negroes to them. All went as if re-

(Continued on Page 4)

## N. Y. Furniture Strikers Repulse Manoeuvres of the Employers

The militant strike of over 1500 upholsterers is nearing settlement. The Furniture Manufacturers Association has been brought to terms by one of the greatest strikes in the history of the trade. They have been forced, at the moment when victory is in the grasp of the strikers, to call in the NRA to "conciliate the dispute".

And the NRA has acted. On August 17th, the Washington conciliator, Colonel Leopold Phillips, chairman of the Bureau of Conciliation, came to an agreement with the Furniture Manufacturers Association at the Manufacturers Hotel, (the headquarters of the NRA). The agreement, which was to serve as the "code" for the furniture industry, calls for a "sliding" wage scale beginning with a 60c an hour minimum, in place of the \$1.40 per hour, demanded by the union; a 40

hour week in place of the 30 hour week demanded by the union; the open shop; an arbitration board, to be presided over by the NRA representative, which would decide grievances, from time to time.

Without consulting the union or the men in any way, this spurious "agreement" was circulated broadcast among the striking pickets for the sole purpose of breaking the resistance of the men who might still have respect for the authority and "impartiality" of the NRA. Needless to say, the union immediately exposed this trick by a leaflet warning the men against the fake "agreement". Rudolph Thiez, business agent of the A. F. of L. Upholsterers Union then upbraided the Colonel in a letter which demanded an explanation for his complicity in the matter.

To pacify the union leaders and the strikers they represent, the Colonel sent the following letter to the boss association:

"I am terribly annoyed to find that your association has distributed today a pamphlet of the agreement entered into between yourself and myself.

"After all, the agreement was simply a tentative proposition and was not binding on either party and to have circulated that and the use of this organization in an effort to gain your own ends is highly unethical and unwarranted. If those are the tactics that the dealers intend to use, I am sorry to confess that many of the accusations made against you, which I have endeavored to listen to with an open mind and not to take sides, seem to be well founded.

"I insist that this statement be refuted by you immediately, as the only purpose of this agreement was to affect a compromise between yourselves with the union, and that during the period of time that these negotiations were on, no statement was to be made publicly or especially thru the issuance of the

## N. Y. Dress Workers Gain as Strike Ends; One Union Needed

False Policy of Stalinists Leads Left Wing Workers into Blind Alley. Reentry of Left Wing into I.L.G.W. Cannot Be Delayed. Vital for Enforcement of Settlement

The big strike of dressmakers of New York and nearby points for elimination of the sweatshop, which involved some 60,000 workers, has come to a conclusion with some gains for the workers. The strike lasted only a few days but displayed all the power and militancy for which the needle trades workers have become known. It was the most complete strike seen in this industry for a long time.

The overwhelming mass of the workers involved struck under the banner of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, but the I.L.G.W. union dress section made common cause with the former. In this a certain progress must be recorded. At least it is a far cry from the position of the Stalinists, who are in control of the I.L.G.W. union, took in the strike in 1929 when this union declared it would remain on the job in face of the I.L.G.W. strike. But it is a change which is compelled by the hammer blows of events. In essence there has been practically no change in the bankrupt trade union policy of the official party leaders.

International Consolidated Union  
It is necessary to add to this that at the present moment the I.L.G.W. union is pressed right up against the wall. Essentially the strike was one to establish recognition of the I.L.G.W. as the sole union in the industry to the exclusion of any other. It will have to be admitted that in this respect the strike also went far toward attaining its objective. The settlement which is arrived at is one between the I.L.G.W. and the manufacturers under the aegis of the local NRA administrator, Grover Whalen. It resulted also in the much more complete organization of jobbers and manufacturers. Apparently all accepted the settlement enthusiastically and cheered for Grover Whalen.

This gentleman did not fail to make clear, as an inducement to the manufacturers, that it was now their opportunity to make an end to the Communist influence in the industry. Proceeding from this the manufacturers will undoubtedly extend recognition to the I.L.G.W. even to shops where it was not formerly recognized. The strike affected practically all shops, organized and

unorganized. Subsequently this union's offices have been kept busy lining up new members, organizing throughout the industry.

Gained 35-Hour Week  
There was not a great deal of difference in the demands advanced by the two unions. It would be too much to say that these demands were all gained, but the actual settlement represents an improvement over past actual conditions and, if enforced, will mean a step forward for American labor. Undoubtedly the most important gain is the 35-hour five-day week. In this respect the I.L.G.W. has demanded 35 hours while the I.L.G.W. union demanded 35 hours. Both unions had demanded the abolition of piece work; the settlement, however retains this system for certain of the crafts, while otherwise the scale agreed upon for week workers represents an improvement from formerly actual conditions obtaining.

This progress made by the New York dressmakers will undoubtedly have its effect in further stimulating the American workers to fight more tenaciously for their right to organize and for a better standard of living regardless of the empty demagoguery of the NRA and regardless of its class collaboration brakes. One cannot disregard the pernicious class collaboration influences in this strike and its settlement. But it would be idle to conjecture what could have been accomplished with a militant union leadership. We know the splendid militant tradition of the rank and file. The important fact remains that this forward step will lend its impetus to new advance elsewhere.

One Union A Necessity  
But that is only one side of the question. Another one remains pressing ever harder for a solution. It can perhaps be approached most concretely from the point of view of the situation as existing at this moment in the needle trades. It is common knowledge amongst the rank and file workers that the present essential question is: Will this new agreement be enforced? Such a question could be answered in the affirmative only provided two necessary conditions obtain. First, that the rank and file members are ever watchful of their officials and that the Left wing definitely assert itself in this direction. Secondly that a unity between the two unions be accomplished in such a way that the Left wing union has become an integral part of the mass movement. In reality the attainment of the former is conditioned upon the latter.

Long since we have specifically proposed this as an orientation for the I.L.G.W. union of that section of the needle trades. We pointed out that it seek re-entry into the I.L.G.W. upon the basis of no discriminations, their membership rights and democratic union rights being guaranteed. This was a pressing necessity then and the possibilities for success of such a policy were reasonably good. Today it is even more than a pressing necessity. It is a matter of life and death to the Left wing union. There can be no real progress for the mass union movement without such a policy.

THREATEN PUBLIC TRIAL OF BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS IN MOSCOW  
The following highly significant incident occurred at the Congress of the Unitary Federation of Teachers (Red Trade Union) of France, which met on August 6th in Reims, France.

Pressed by the delegates for an answer and an explanation on the case of Victor-Serge, a Bolshevik-Leninist now in exile, the representative of the Soviet teachers federation stated officially from the platform:

"Victor-Serge as well as other 'Trotskyists' formed part of a counter-revolutionary group which has just been discovered. A public trial will take place in Moscow and their accusations and proofs will be given."

(Continued on Page 4)

## WHO BREAKS THE STRIKES ?

"Wholesale arrests were made today by State troopers and Sheriff's deputies in their effort to break the backbone of the ten-day-old strike of milk producers." This statement appeared in the New York Times of August 11.

Openly and brazenly this mouthpiece of American finance capital proclaims that the sheriff's forces, that is the forces of the political state, of the government, are acting to break a strike by wholesale arrests. Its headline announced: "200 Milk Strikers Seized Up-State." In sub caption appeared the addition, "Trend Pleases Lehman"—that is, the governor—"He says: 'Sheriffs Are Handling Situation Adequately.'"

Of course this trend pleases the governor. It equally pleases the big dairy companies. A strike broken by arrests and by previous attacks by state troopers, using tear gas, clubs and riot guns, a strike broken by force and violence.

That is what pleases them. In this instance the strikers were poor farmers. In many others the strikers are workers; and the treatment is the same, and if there is any difference, it is on the side of greater viciousness.

Does any worker still doubt that the government under capitalism, whether it be democratic or republican, functions to protect the rich against the poor. Does any worker doubt that it is a class government functioning to protect the interests of capitalism, to defeat the aims and aspirations of the workers and to beat down their resistance with sledge hammer blows. It is the capitalist state in operation. And this is only one more example added to countless similar experiences. American labor history is replete with these bitter lessons. Many workers' lives have been sacrificed and often their organizations have been laid waste in strike struggles throughout the country. Such is the record of the capitalist ex-

cutors in the government.

Will the workers draw the necessary conclusions from this? Will they understand that there is no other way to advance their interest? Right now they are being set into motion, pressed forward by economic necessity, but a correct direction cannot at all be assured unless the correct conclusions are drawn from all these experiences. That implies first of all a recognition of the true nature of present day class society and the function of the capitalist government within it. With that as a basis it will be easier to distinguish the wolves in sheep's clothing, the honey worded labor lieutenants of capitalism who play hand in glove with the government to disorganize and defeat the workers. With that as a basis it will also be easier to recognize the necessity of the working class building its own revolutionary party to carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system of society.