

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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The Left Wing's Place Is in A. F. of L. Unions

The most convincing answer to the question of Left wing trade union tactics raised anew by the Roosevelt policy has been indicated by the instinctive action of the workers themselves. In tens and hundreds of thousands in various trades and industries throughout the country, the workers are streaming into the conservative labor organizations. A. F. of L. unions which in many cases were reduced to skeletons during the recent years, are experiencing a stormy revival.

If we wish to keep a live contact with the masses, hasten their inevitable disillusionment with the grandiose swindle of the N. R. A. and steer them into great class battles we must march with this instinctive movement and influence it from within. The Communists must urge the workers to join in this main stream which is flowing now in the channel of the A. F. of L. and unions of a similar type. And, what is no less important, the Communists must go with them in full force and without hesitation. To stand aside from this living movement with its present direction and arbitrarily prescribe a different path would only mean to rob the mass movement of its dynamic revolutionary nucleus, to paralyze resistance to the unholy combination of the bosses, the government and the labor fakery and condemn the Left wing to an isolated sectarian futility just at the time when conditions begin to mature for its wide expansion in the labor movement.

Yet, from all accounts, this is the ruinous course which the Stalinists, who year by year do everything they can to discredit, disorganize and discredit the Left wing, have imposed on the trade union conference at Cleveland. For these organizers of defeat every catastrophe only serves to justify the policy that brought it about and to seek new fields for its destructive influence. Faced with the overwhelming developments in the needle trades where, thanks to the blunders and crimes of the Stalinists, the resurgent movement of the workers has led to the reintegration of the reactionary forces and the virtual destruction of the Left wing organizations, the collective Stachels could think of nothing better to do at Cleveland than to prescribe a universal application of the bankrupt policy.

In the *Daily Worker* for August 28th, the gruesome wisdom derived from the new developments is announced as follows:

"Answering Muste on urging workers to join the A. F. of L. Stachel said we are against this, except in certain cases like the Railroad Brotherhoods, as the A. F. of L. is organizing the workers for betrayal and not for struggle."

This is what they have learned from the great trade union developments which are taking place before everybody's eyes. This is the incredible deduction from the Left wing catastrophe in the needle trades. Are the masses themselves going to the A. F. of L. unions of their own motion? This question, which is decisive for the elaboration of an intelligent and realistic approach, does not exist for these harlequins. Didn't the resolutions of several plenums of the Comintern and the Profintern and the Party and the T. U. U. L. instruct the masses to join the "red unions" and stay away from the A. F. of L.? And if the workers, under the impact of events and of pressure of various kinds, have taken a different path, how can that possibly necessitate an amendment to the various Plenums? It is quite clear that nobody but a counter-revolutionist could make such a suggestion.

"The A. F. of L. is organizing the workers for betrayal." Insofar as the leadership is concerned, there is not a class-conscious worker who can have any doubt on this point. The discovery is not original with Stachel. But the assertion of the fact does not prevent the betrayal. Neither does it prevent the workers from entering the A. F. of L. unions. In this circumstance it is quite obvious that the organization of the struggle against the betrayal can begin only inside these unions. To stand aside from the surging movement into the old unions on the ground that the bureaucrats have treacherous designs means only in effect to facilitate the betrayal and free the hands of the traitors. This is the essence of the Stalinist trade union policy imposed on the Left wing for a number of years and now again proclaimed at Cleveland.

We cannot have anything to do with such a policy. The class-conscious workers have to adjust themselves reality and connect themselves closely with the living movement of the masses. Cut-and-dried schemes are of no use in trade union questions. Different industries present different problems. There is no universal formula to fit every situation. But the main

DEMAND THE 7TH CONGRESS!

Is the Communist International dead? This question may well now be asked more insistently, more sharply than ever. It demands an answer.

At this moment the Second International has just concluded its special international congress. The Amsterdam International of trade unions recently held its congress. Left Socialist parties from various countries are now meeting in special conference. Only the Comintern remains silent. There are no signs of its Seventh World Congress.

It is now five years since the Sixth World Congress. Five years marked by the most severe capitalist crisis ever known. Five years of the most fatal consequence to the world proletariat, culminating in the disastrous German defeat. Five years filled with dreadful experience of false policy pursued by the Comintern leadership. The German proletariat lies prostrate, trampled underfoot by the Fascist hobbled boots. Its revolutionary party is obliterated. The Communist parties elsewhere, misguided and disoriented are declining in numbers and declining in influence. The

Soviet Union, once the proletarian tower of strength, is facing the greatest danger in its existence. And now a new reactionary period has been inaugurated with the Fascist victory posing new problems in all their magnitude to the world revolutionary movement. But its general staff fails to meet. Again we ask: What has become of Lenin's International?

The Second International leaders gathered under the heavy shadows of these terrific defeats and their own openly demonstrated bankruptcy. A motley crew of peridious betrayers attempting to shove off the burden of responsibility and attempting to find new avenues to capitalist ministerial posts. Though they failed entirely, as could be expected, to draw a balance of events the rank and file Social Democratic workers are now proceeding to do it for them. That is manifested in the many currents of Social Democratic workers everywhere moving in a Leftward direction, toward Communism. But at least the Second International called its congress. Not even that much sign of life is displayed by the Comintern.

Do the Comintern Stalinist leaders fear to give an account of their stewardship openly before the world proletariat in a World Congress? If so—and there are good reasons to believe that such is the case—that will prove even more fatal than the combined results of their disastrously false policies and orientation. That could only mean that the Comintern is entirely wiped out as a world revolutionary force for the future tasks.

But what about the millions of Communist workers? Their heavy tasks still lie before them. What about the still existing official Communist parties? Are they content to become reduced to impotent nationalist sects without an international revolutionary leadership? Will they raise their voice in a powerful demand for the convocation of the Seventh World Congress? We address this question to the American Communists. You must know what your international leadership has to say, what it intends to do. Demand that the Comintern leaders give an account of their stewardship!

NRA Reveals Its True Role in Strike Situation

It is an Instrument for Greater Class Collaboration and Simultaneously a Means to Make Strikes Illegal

As the N. R. A. moves forward to conquer new territory its true intent becomes ever clearer. Most recently this has been established in two directions both of which fit the plans for strengthening of monopoly capitalism. On the one hand the notable efforts to make the NRA a perfect class collaboration machinery carefully guarded by the reactionary labor leaders. On the other hand are the efforts to use this machinery as an additional club against working class resistance properly backed up by the means of force at the disposal of the government.

For the first instance we need only refer to the concrete example of the recognition by the coal codes of the John L. Lewis union to harness possible miners' revolts against forcibly imposed slave conditions of which such vivid manifestations were recently displayed. For the second instance telling proof is available in the attempts of the New York NRA administration, under Grover Whalen, to outlaw the TUUL union shoe workers strike because the manufacturers had plastered the Blue Eagle signs on their windows.

Industrial Codes to Prevent Strikes

The Recovery Administration now admits that the progress registered on the coal and auto codes came just in the nick of time to avert a general strike in the coal fields with possibilities of spreading to the auto industry. That is how they express it, those who naturally count upon its efficacy to crush workers' resistance. But even in this they may count without their hosts. The coal code with its projected forty hour week and \$4.00 a day wage, with a differential to \$4.20 in the South, leaves all the old problems of unemployment with its misery and the general unbearably low standard of living as before. But—and this is significant—it contemplates complete recognition of the United Mine Workers throughout the fields. In this manner it is hoped to perfect the class collaboration machinery. An accomplishment not without importance for it is precisely from this industry that the worthy administrators received their greatest shocks and entertained the greatest fears of mass rebellions.

At the initial stage of the code negotiations the coal operators remained adamant insisting upon their "sacred rights" to run the industry open shop or company union as they pleased. Evidently they now see things differently. It is not that their desires, first of all for the open shop and secondly for the company union, have changed. No, it is a question of accepting the lesser evil. Militant unionism they fear above all.

It has been comparatively easy for the bosses to obtain the Blue Eagle sign. They have not been loath to display it even though conditions in the shops remained either the same as before, or certainly unsatisfactory to the workers. That was the case of a group of shoe manufacturers in Brooklyn. It did not, however, deter several thousand workers from striking for decent conditions under the banner of the TUUL union. The NRA administration headed by Grover Whalen pounced upon this as a test case. Six pickets were arrested charged with illegally striking NRA shops, and charged with being a Communist union.

By this action Grover Whalen, out of ambition and clownish stupidity, revealed the strategy the capitalist will pursue to bolster up the NRA and against working class militancy. First they will strike down the Left wing unions and the Communist movement. If this serves their purpose of keeping the workers in leading strings of the class collaborationist A. F. of L. unions and the arbitration structure of the NRA, they will rest their assault there, at least for the time being. But if the workers press forward along the paths of struggle the capitalists will not hesitate to make strikes everywhere illegal. That is what is revealed in this case, and that is also the danger to the labor movement as a whole.

Russian Recognition A Class Question for World Labor

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States is rapidly drawing closer. The first breaches in the financial blockade of Soviet Russia have been made, with Soviet bonds being freely offered for sale in this country, and the government-controlled Reconstruction Finance Corporation financing purchases of cotton by the Soviet agency.

Objectively the recognition of the Soviet Union is a great gain for the workers' state, and therefore ultimately for the cause of the world revolution. Yet we must recognize that this gain is being accomplished only on the basis of the temporary coincidence of the immediate needs of the bourgeois American state and the Russian workers' state. Sometimes it happens that two lines which go in very different directions may cross at a point—but only at one point, only in a temporary and limited way.

The American state wants bigger markets for its products, to help it get out of its typically capitalist crisis, and it wants to lay the foundation for some kind of military agreement which will help it in its plans for imperialist expansion against the Japanese.

The Soviet State wants help in carrying out the second Five-Year Plan, first and foremost. It negotiates with the American government as one state with another, solely on the basis of these temporary coincidences of immediate aims.

Unity of Proletarian Interests Is Still the Issue

The fundamental differences between the two states, which are far more important than the secondary immediate purposes, have been kept in the background by the Soviet government. The fact that the Soviet State is, first and foremost, a workers' state, has played no part whatever in the change of American policy toward recognition.

The Left Opposition, true to its fundamentally internationalist outlook, has consistently based its proposals for "Long-Term Credits to the Soviet Union" on the needs of the workers' State in Russia and the working-class in America. These needs are identical, based on both fundamental and permanent interests; these two lines do not merely cross and coincide at a particular point, but are one all the way through. The international solidarity of the proletariat means that not only the immediate interests of the American worker will be served, in that he will get a job making products for the Soviet Union, but also his ultimate interests in building up the first fortress of the world revolution.

The Stalinists have consistently refused these proposals, have refused to mobilize the working class

Youth Day Must Prepare for Real Anti-War Fight

At the height of the patriotic hysteria of the last World War, when the leaders of the Socialist parties proclaimed civil truce with the capitalists and supported their national master class, a small, but courageous group of revolutionary socialist youth met at Berne, Switzerland, July 1915, to organize the youth of the various European countries against capitalism and war. Undaunted by the war frenzy, in total disregard of the universal chauvinistic public opinion, with the single aim of furthering the movement for the emancipation of the working class, irrespective of personal consequences, these young revolutionary fighters considered the next steps to be taken, and proclaimed the first Sunday of every September, International Youth Day—the day of demonstration against capitalist militarism and war.

The Young Communist International, the inheritor of the best traditions of the Socialist Youth International formed at Stuttgart in August 1, 1915 and the militant traditions of the Berne Conference, continued the practice of International Youth Day. In the early years of its existence it succeeded in mobilizing broad masses of young workers on this day as a culmi-

Left Socialist Conference Shows Trend Toward Left Opposition

Concrete manifestations of fermentation within the various Socialist parties, as a result of shattering of faith in the Second International, are multiplying rapidly. Left Socialist groups and parties are emerging and groping their way, with much confusion, but nevertheless in a Leftward direction. Outstanding among these manifestations is the conference under the auspices of the "International Committee of the Independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties", convening at Brussels, August 27th and 28th.

No sooner, however, had the conference called been issued than the Leftward developments became more distinct and more decisive. Most notable is the trend toward the Left Opposition. While these parties and groups are trying to find their way they are simultaneously repulsed by the Stalinist bureaucratic ultimatum and bankruptcy. The Left Opposition ideas are penetrating deeply into the membership of several of these groups. Numerous and increasing are the instances of pressure in this direction. Further discussion and clarification is the need of the hour and the prospects that several of them, or important parts of them, will fully find their way may be enhanced.

Among the initiators of this conference are included the Independent Labor Party of England, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany, the Norwegian Labor Party and independent Socialist parties and groups of Switzerland, Poland and elsewhere. The reason for the calling of the conference is said to be: "The complete failure of the Second and Third Internationals and their affiliated parties to offer an effective opposition to the attacks of capitalism on the workers throughout the world."

Confusion Is Still Apparent

However, in what this failure consist in is not yet clear to the initiators. In their confused way they speak of this preliminary conference as an attempt to prepare for a world congress the purpose of which is to bring together the representatives of working class organizations, which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the achievement of Socialism, for unity against "Fascism, war and capitalism." Invitations to participate were sent to all "Socialist, Communist and working class organizations. In other words the parties of the Second and Third Internationals, both of which have failed, and, of course, neither of which will attend. On the other hand among organizations which can on this basis support such a conference are the Right wing Com-

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LEON TROTSKY Hitler's 'Disarmament' and Prospects of War with Soviet Union

(Copyright Harpers Magazine)
I. Hitler's "Pacifism"

Diplomatic routine has its advantages so long as events move along the old tracks. Confronted with new great events, it wanders off. A most dangerous thing is not to appraise any enemy exactly only because his system extends beyond the bounds of routine. To reduce the problem to the assertion that Hitler is a demagogue, an hysterical person and a comedian, means to close one's eyes so as not to see the danger. It is not all hysteria that leads to the seizure of power. At any rate, there must be method in the hysteria of National Socialism. Woe to those who do not understand this in time! The leaders of the German labor organizations refused to take Hitler seriously; while they considered his program reactionary and utopian, they proved incapable of appreciating his dynamic power. The same danger may be repeated in the

domain of world politics.

Up to May 17, many thought that Hitler would proceed with violence in the question of the Versailles treaty, and that he would apply to the European regime the same methods as to the Reichstag building, Marxian literature and the Jewish department stores. Nobody really knew where the lightning would come from and where it would strike. But neither could anybody predict twenty-four hours in advance the crushing of the trade unions according to all the rules of a gangster assault upon a bank.

Hitler's speech in the Reichstag staggers one with its unexpected pacifism. By this alone it has attained its most immediate aim. It is always advantageous to take an opponent by surprise. Hitler is developing his first success. His adversaries are fairly embarrassed. Highly experienced diplomats have allowed themselves to be at least halfway assuaged by a few well-

calculated pacific sentences, after having allowed themselves to be frightened by Papen's strident phrases. John Simon has gratefully noted in the Chancellor's speech the moderate tone of a statesman. That is also the impression of Austri Chamberlain. Contrasting Hitler to Papen's the *Morning Post* has discovered in the declaration the "soft accent of the South". The entire press has declared: The whole atmosphere has suddenly become less tense. At the same time, the hypothesis has been expounded: the shrewd diplomat Mussolini has brought Hitler to reason; the pressure from Washington has undoubtedly not been without influence. And consequently: the chances

of the disarmament policy have manifestly increased. What a flagrant blunder! The psychological secret of the hubbub is simple: whoever expects to meet a madman brandishing an axe and encounters instead a man with a Browning hidden in his hip-pocket, cannot fail to experience a feeling of relief. But that does not prevent the Browning from being more dangerous than the axe.

There is no lack, on the other hand, of distrustful people who see in Hitler's declaration only an episodic maneuver occasioned by the unfavorable echo to the speech of Papen: it is enough, at least for a few weeks, to deceive public opinion and then one will see. An all too simple explanation! The menacing harangue of Lord Halsbarn provoked by the speech of Papen may, it is true, have served as the impulsion to Hitler's intervention. But all this relates to the order and to the tone of political declara-

tions, that is, it touches only the technical side. Behind the diplomatic fencing, however, are concealed much deeper factors and plans. It would be just as false to take Hitler's pacifism at its word as it would be to dismiss the declaration of a "demagogue" without penetrating into its sense. The political problems consist in establishing the inner relationships between Hitler's declaration and his real plans, that is, to try to understand by what ways Fascist Germany hopes to attain those ends which it cannot and will not name. The past must already have adequately shown that if there is fantasy and delirium in the policy of National Socialism, this does not mean that Hitler is incapable of weighing realities: his fantasy and delirium are in expedient conformity with his real political aims. That is our point of departure in

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Mooney Stays in Jail; Crook Free

"Sacramento, California, August 19, 1933.—Asa Keyes, who as Los Angeles District Attorney was convicted in 1928 of criminal conspiracy and sentenced to five years in San Quentin prison, received a full pardon from Governor Rolph today. Keyes has served eighteen months of his term.

"After reading letters and petitions urging executive clemency, some from—, former Chief Justice Matt I. Sullivan, and Supervisor Judge Edward I. Butler, who sentenced Keyes, Governor Rolph said it gave him 'great pleasure' to pardon Keyes and 'wish him every success'." (N. Y. Times, August 20.)

Tom Mooney, a militant labor organizer, who was framed up and sentenced to hang for a crime he didn't commit and later had his

sentence commuted to life imprisonment is now serving his eighteenth year in San Quentin Prison.

Despite reading many letters, petitions and telegrams from workers all over the world, and reports of demonstrations by millions of the tolling masses; despite the Wickersham report and the intervention of liberals, pinks, conservatives and all manner of friends of justice, including the judge who sentenced Mooney, but not including former prosecutor's agent, Matt I. Sullivan, Governor Rolph, who serves the Octopus, is convinced that Mooney is guilty and it gives the capitalist class great pleasure to keep him in jail.

How long will the workers allow this symbol of working class militancy to rot in jail? Into the fight to free Mooney and all class war prisoners!

BROOKLYN MASS MEETING

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
M A X S H A C H T M A N
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, SEPT. 6, 1933
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Temps and Stalin Against Trotsky

Temps of August 13th publishes a cable from its Moscow correspondent which we recommend to the attention of every thinking Communist. The cable seems to have been written directly in Stalin's office. Trotsky "will in no case return to the Soviet Union"; "Trotsky never was a friend of the peasant"; "no reconciliation is possible between Trotsky's policy of permanent revolution and the policy of... socialism in one country". All this is said, it is clear; not to scare the bourgeoisie but on the contrary to pacify the public opinion of the French bourgeoisie.

To fool the foreign workers Stalin orders the official Communist press of the West to say that Trotsky is an ally, a prop and hope of the world bourgeoisie! But the Temps correspondent assiduously assures the French bourgeoisie that "Trotsky

has no program, no adherents and that his name no longer evokes an echo in the Russian masses". In other words, the organ of financial capital not only does not attempt to exaggerate the influence of its supposed "ally", but on the contrary calms the French bourgeoisie with assurances of the full and complete victory of national socialism over the permanent revolution. The political meaning of the Temps cable acquires full significance in view of Herriot's visit to the USSR and in general, in connection with the policy of rapprochement between bourgeois France and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The most significant part of the cable, however, is its conclusion: "we are reassured from absolutely competent sources that even in case

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