

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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The Trade Union Question

The Left Wing Needs a New Policy and a New Leadership

The American workers, stirring and solidarity. It is implicit with the certainty of another movement, deeper, wider and more militant. The Left wing must base itself on this perspective and be ready for it. That means to begin now to reform its ranks and begin to assert its influence in the mass movement. Can this be done on the basis of the trade union policy of Stalinism? No, that is absolutely impossible. Those who try it will be deprived of all influence. On this question the decision has already been rendered by the actual developments in the labor movement. The trade union Left wing which eventually rises to the magnitude of the new tasks, coordinates the militant forces on a national scale and organizes the real struggle against the capitalists and the labor fakers will consist of those who make a complete break with the bankrupt and discredited trade union policy of Stalinism. The tactical line which the Left wing must take is clearly marked out by the actual course of the movement, and no arbitrary scheme which contradicts this course is worth a cent. The Left wing must put itself in line with the main trend of the workers, assist and encourage their impulse for organization and become itself a force to bring the workers into the unions—the real unions, not the paper unions. And the Left wing must go with them and organize the fight inside the unions against the capitalist agents in the ranks.

The Left wing—that is, the real Left wing which remains true to principle and to the interests of the workers—will enter the mass unions and urge other workers to do likewise without any illusions about the reactionary leaders and without the least A. F. of L. fetishism. Communists do not make a fetish of any trade union organization form. In the future, as in the past, a rise of militancy in the unions will be apt to bring wholesale expulsions and splits. It is quite likely that many of the greatest battles will have to be waged independently, as "outlaw" organizations. The resurgence of Left wing—again, the real Left wing, not sycophants and traitors masquerading as such—will remain with the masses under such conditions and not flinch from the formation of independent mass organizations. That, however, is a prospect of the future than a present problem. We will keep it in mind and let no labor fakers' cry

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There is a new situation in the labor movement which the Left wing must take as the point of departure. The wave of strike struggles did not fall from the skies, nor were Roosevelt and the labor fakers the creators of it. The fearful sufferings inflicted on the masses during three and one-half crisis years; the starvation rations of the unemployed, the multiplied wage cuts and unprecedented speedup which goaded the employed workers to desperation—these were the real authors of the present strike movement. The workers' resentment and dissatisfaction was due for an explosion and it was reasonable to assume that it would coincide with the first signs of an economic upturn.

This was foreseen by the most perspicacious representatives of capitalism. The NRA was devised as a means of coordinating the efforts of the employers and their labor lieutenants with the Government in a single scheme to arrest this movement in its first stages and to keep it within safe bounds. It is possible that the inauguration of the NRA precipitated the strike movement. But at bottom it was caused by the discontent of the workers with their unbearable conditions and their aspirations to improve them at the first opportunity.

These causes will remain and will evoke increasing powerful movements of the masses after the battery of the Roosevelt program has spent itself, leaving conditions substantially unchanged except insofar as they are improved by organized struggle. Bitter experience will work rapidly and mightily to free the workers from their present illusions about the purposes of the NRA. The capitalists will not voluntarily improve the lot of the slaves under the beneficent influence of the Blue Eagle. The workers will gain nothing they do not fight for. The labor agents of imperialism will not become leaders and organizers of militant struggles, but on the contrary will do all they can, now and in the future as in the past, to sabotage and defeat them.

The Left wing cannot depart for a moment from these self-evident A. B. C. propositions. What has been happening in the way of working class activity in the recent months is only an anticipation of things to come. It is possible of course, and even probable, that the NRA swindle will succeed in harnessing the new movement for a time. The illusions of the masses are very great. But the higher the hopes the more certain the disappointment and the expression of this disappointment in more resolute and determined class action. The first magnificent upsurge of the workers is, after all, only a tentative beginning, a preliminary testing of their collective strength

Program and Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

The revolutionary events in Cuba have reached a decisive stage. The activity of the masses of workers, industrial and agricultural, has forced its way to the forefront of the struggle. The organization of their forces to fight for their demands and to mobilize the masses to resist U. S. intervention now requires the setting up of their own organs of struggle. The formation of Soviets for the defense of Cuba's freedom is the imperative need of the day.

American intervention already exists, even though no shots have as yet been fired from the thirty warships concentrated in Cuban waters. By its economic might, supplemented by its fleet, the American imperialism is exerting a powerful pressure. In face of these conditions it is inconceivable that the cowardly San Martin government can exist very long on its present makeshift basis. It represents the petty bourgeois interests and is incapable of realizing the aims of the people who hate foreign imperialism, to say nothing of the aims of the proletariat. It is oscillating under pressure from two directions—from the masses surging forward, and from the United States. Its alternatives are complete collapse or capitulation to Wall Street. It cannot be conceived of as the leader of the fight to the end against imperialist intervention.

Cuba is now the most vulnerable point in the struggle of the United States for complete hegemony of the Latin American market. Only the fear of serious repercussions in the South, which would also give an advantage to other imperialist competitors, explains the fact that the United States intervention has not yet taken the open form of troop landings and armed attack. But let no one be deceived by the diplomatic maneuvers. The Wall Street magnates will readily stake the life of every American marine to maintain their more than a billion dollars worth of property in Cuba and continue their frightful exploitation of the Cuban toilers.

Is there any possibility for the Cuban masses to make an end to this scourge under the leadership of the present makeshift government? Obviously not. The Cuban workers themselves, in fraternization with the soldiers, have already indicated the road to be pursued. They have formed Joint Committees, (Comites Conjuntos) which are nothing less than a spontaneous striving to build up their Soviets. The present

make-shift government, far more afraid of the Cuban masses than of American imperialism is even trying to sidetrack the calling of the Constituent Assembly. The workers must demand its convocation and raise their demands there. The abrogation of the Platt amendment and the unconditional independence of Cuba and the nationalization of the industrial enterprises and plantations in forefront of the demands. Most of these enterprises are owned by American imperialists and the advancing of these demands will serve to make clearer the distinction of their interests from those of the Cuban people and to develop the irreconcilability of the

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New Forces for Left Opposition

New forces are coming forward to the support of the International Left Opposition. Three important European revolutionary groups adhered to our views contained in a declaration submitted to the conference of Left Socialist parties recently held in Paris.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, led by the well known militant, Sneevliet, whose record dates back many years in the Communist and revolutionary movement and who recently served time in connection with the mutinies in the Dutch navy, has already definitely

entered the ranks of the Left Opposition. This party counts 950 members and constitutes the guiding influence within a powerful trade union in Holland.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany (S. A. P.) led by Walcher and Froelich, foundation members of the old Spartacus Bund in Germany, added its signature to our declaration at Paris. It would be difficult to estimate the S. A. P. membership at this time suffice to say that when the Fascists seized power in Germany it counted 15,000 members.

The third group adhering to our declaration at Paris is the Independent Socialist Party of Holland with a membership of 7,000.

The progress of these groups toward support of our position has naturally become enormously accelerated since the disastrous defeat of the German working class and the openly demonstrated bankruptcy of both Internationals. But even prior to these events they had chosen the path leading in the direction of the International Communist position. In that they learned to distinguish between the principled views of the Left Opposition and those of Stalinism. The leadership of the S. A. P. entered its present course passing from Stalinism through the Brandler group, rejecting its right opportunist ideas of national parties, and finally accepting the international position of the Left.

Such is the process of differentiation. From the disastrous defeats of the working class new reserves for the future struggles emerge and take on definite form. From the abominable perjury of Social Democracy arise new groupings who break unhesitatingly with the past. From the pernicious National Socialism of Stalin new forces learn the lessons of inestimable value which help them find their way to the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. By historical events the principled views of the Left Opposition are being vindicated.

Powerful strikes are again shaking the very foundation of the country. Following right upon the heels of the big walk out of Pennsylvania mines some weeks ago and that of the New York dress industry new strikes are popping daily setting workers into motion everywhere and enormously sharpening the class relationship which the NRA attempts to regulate. Yet what we witness today is unquestionably only a prelude to the much bigger battles coming tomorrow.

The rapidity with which workers now decide to strike and their walk out is splendid response makes an estimate of how many are involved at any given time almost impossible. But it can easily be said without any fear of contradiction that during the last few weeks there has been a continuous wave of strikes embracing several hundred thousand workers. We will attempt to list some of them as examples of the general movement.

Most furious is the battle now being waged in the textile industry, silk section, where police clubbings and tear gas has been employed in full force but without in the least shaking the solid ranks of the strikers. It started in Paterson, but has now spread to involve a total of approximately 60,000 workers taking in also the silk dyeing industry and extending to Loell and Fairlawn, N. J. to New York City, to Phillipsburg, Port Jervis, Stroudsburg, and Allentown Pa., as well as the New England textile region. Throughout New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania the silk textile and dyeing mills are practically completely shut down. In general the strike is in protest against the terms of the cotton code now in operation also for silk textile, but in particular it is for union organization and for shorter working hours and higher wages. The Associated silk workers in cooperation with the parent organization, the United Textile Workers conducts the strike as far as the overwhelming majority of the work-

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Paterson Strike Ties Up Silk and Dye Industries

The Militant Workers Recognize Fallacy of the Stalinist Paper Unions

PATERSON, N. J. The strongest sector of the nation-wide strike of silk workers, its Paterson division of more than 25,000 men holds firm. The tie-up in this city has closed every shop, the looms are idle and the workers have responded 100 percent solid to the strike call.

Striking against the intolerable conditions forced upon them by the vicious wage-slashing of the four years of the crisis the producers of silk are determined to take no promises from the NRA and by struggle

to jack up their wages from the miserable \$13 average to a \$36 minimum, to bring down the hours from the slave working day of 11 and 12 hours prior to the strike to a 30 hour week.

Paterson is in the grip of the strike. Men and women, of all nationalities, young and old, those who have never known the meaning of union organizations and veterans of class struggle, are banding side by side on the picket lines, in huge, enthusiastic strike meetings displaying a spirit of militancy equalled

only by the heroic battle of 1913. The great virility of this struggle is vividly demonstrated by the pouring out of the mills of more than 15,000 dye workers who for the first time in 20 years have taken their stand on the picket line ready to see the fight to the end. Bursting the shackles of long oppression and exploitation they are braving the police clubs, and tear gas, flocking into the union halls—a testimony to the great power that lies latent in the unorganized mass of workers in this country.

Meanwhile in Washington, negotiations are in progress between the union officials, the manufacturers, and the false friends of labor of the Roosevelt administration. A code for the silk workers is also under consideration. But the workers are watchful. They will not be tricked into any fake agreement, they will not be content with any conditions merely because it bears the insignia of the NRA. Already they have turned down a code that perpetuated the wretched conditions that have plagued the silk trade for years.

The real leader of the strike in Paterson is the Associated Silk Workers, an autonomous local of the United Textile Workers which is affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The decisive section of the industry, the 10,000 broad silk workers, are striking under the aegis of the Associated. It is marvelous to see the spirit of these workers. They are not newcomers to the picket line. This is by no means the first strike they have participated in. On the contrary, they have written a tradition in letters of red in the history of American labor. The workers in this union are wary of the betrayers of the American Federation of Labor. Years of sell-outs have brought this lesson home to them. The name of MacMahon, the president of the U. T. W. is anathema to the members of the Associated Silk Workers.

The rank and file of the Associated have thrown new leaders to the fore. The strike committee is controlled by genuine progressives—Left wingers who have been repelled by the horrible mismanagement, the crimes and the fearful bureaucracy of the Stalinists.

But for the dye workers, the ranks of the strikers are united. Here the forces are divided between the Associated and the Stalinist-controlled National Textile Workers Union.

The dye workers are green to the struggle. They came by accident to the paper union of the Stalinists. They were ready to accept any union that reached them first. But it is the universal opinion in Paterson among the more mature workers in the industry that the N. T. W. will be unable to hold the dyers permanently. There is more than one fact that can be produced in proof of this.

The criminal (after listening to the stories of good, reliable fighters one is tempted to say, insane) policy of the Stalinists and their paper N. T. W. has driven many of the best militants into the Associated, made them bitter against the N. T. W. Prior to the strike, the N. T. W. had practically no influence among the weavers, and the weavers, the more conscious group in the silk industry, passed them by when the strike started and made common cause with the Associated. So discredited, impotent and uninfluential was the N. T. W. at the outbreak of the strike that this is common knowledge in Paterson—the N. T. W. tried frantically to postpone the date of the strike in order to make "preparations". Further, so great was the stigma of rotten internal life in the N. T. W. and its adventurist tactics, that Stalinists themselves were instrumental in forming a craft union of the warpers, independent of their paper union! One more fact. A member of the N. T. W. organized 3,000 workers—throwsters—hitherto unorganized and brought them not in to the N. T. W., but into the Associated. Can there be any doubt now whether the Stalinist outfit will hold the dyers?

The advanced, experienced workers in Paterson will have nothing to do with the N. T. W. The inexperienced dyers will not be long in finding out the justice of their decision.

In Paterson as elsewhere the workers are streaming into the real unions. They are paying no attention to the paper outfits run by the Stalinists. There is no place for the Left wingers in Paterson but in the Associated which they can transform into a powerful weapon for the militants nationally—a starting wedge in the struggle against the bosses and the reactionaries.

—CLARKE.

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—CLARKE.

Swaback to Start National Tour

The long awaited tour of comrade Swaback will begin on September 29th. With the rich experience of the five months which he recently spent in Europe, which included attendance at the pre-conference of the Left Opposition and a protracted visit with comrade Trotsky in Prinkipo, comrade Swaback will have a message of exceptional interest. Branches will have the option of a lecture on: "The Future of International Communism"; or "The Roosevelt Program: What It Means for the Workers".

The larger branches which will retain comrade Swaback for several days and in some cases have both lectures as well as small meetings with branch members and sympathizers. Comrade Swaback's lecture tour is the opening gun of the great new campaign of the Communist League which is designed to lift all of our activity to a higher plane on a new basis. All the League branches will undoubtedly concentrate their full attention on the preparation and promotion of these meetings and utilize them for the strengthening of our movement.

The following is the schedule of cities:

Fri. Sept. 29th	Newark, N. J.
Sun. Oct. 1st	Bethlehem, Pa.
Tues. Oct. 3rd	New Haven
Wed. Oct. 4th	Boston, Mass.
Thurs. Oct. 5th	Boston, Mass.
Fri. Oct. 6th	Boston, Mass.
Sun. Oct. 8th	Rochester, N. Y.
Mon. Oct. 9th	Buffalo, N. Y.
Tues. Oct. 10th	Toronto, Can.
Wed. Oct. 11th	Toronto, Can.
Fri. Oct. 13th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. Oct. 14th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sun. Oct. 15th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mon. Oct. 16th	New Castle, Pa.
Tues. Oct. 17th	Youngstown
Wed. Oct. 18th	Youngstown
Thurs. Oct. 19th	Cleveland, O.
Fri. Oct. 20th	Cleveland, O.
Sat. Oct. 21st	Chicago, Ill.
Sun. Oct. 22nd	Chicago, Ill.
Mon. Oct. 23rd	Chicago, Ill.
Tues. Oct. 24th	Chicago, Ill.
Wed. Oct. 25th	Springfield, Ill.
Thurs. Oct. 26th	St. Louis, Mo.
Fri. Oct. 27th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sat. Oct. 28th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sun. Oct. 29th	Kansas City, Mo.
Mon. Oct. 30th	Kansas City, Mo.
Tues. Nov. 2nd	Minneapolis
Fri. Nov. 3rd	Minneapolis
Sat. Nov. 4th	Minneapolis
Sun. Nov. 5th	Minneapolis
Tues. Nov. 7th	Chicago, Ill.
Thurs. Nov. 9th	Davenport, Ia.
Fri. Nov. 10th	Davenport, Ia.

MINE PICKETS SHOT IN PENN.

Fifteen miners picketing the Gates mine in Uniontown, Pa., were severely wounded when armed deputies opened fire on them. A deputy who got into the way of one of the deputy bullets was also wounded. The conditions of the miners in this bituminous region are scandalous. Not even the "blessings" of the NRA, with which the miners are being hopped up by the UMWA officials, has been granted them. The gilded lily of Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot, has of course promised the usual investigation. A more detailed article will appear in next week's

Left Socialists Meet -- Two Steps Forward, One Step Backward

The international conference of Left Socialist parties and independent Communist organizations, held in Paris, August 27-28, adjourned without being able to define a future common course. That was to be expected. The reason for it is the wide divergence of views represented, ranging from an international Communist position to that of outright reformism. Hence the main resolution adopted speaks vaguely of retrieving the international unity of the working class on a revolutionary Socialist basis. Nevertheless distinct progress can be recorded from this conference by virtue of the fact that the beginnings of a firm international revolutionary kernel emerged. Three important groups, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland definitely committed themselves to the position taken by the International Left Opposition.

Represented in the conference were the following parties and groups: (1) the Independent Labor Party of England; (2) the Socialist Labor Party of Germany (S. A. P.); (3) the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland; (4) the Independent Socialist Party of Holland; (5) the Swedish Communist Party (Kilbom Brandlerites); (6) the Norwegian Labor Party; (7) the Italian Maximalists; (8) the Spanish Communist Federation (Workers and Peasants Bloc); (9) the Independent Polish Socialist Party (represented by proxy by a member of the I. L. P. delegation); (10) the Party of Proletarian Unity of France; (11) the Independent Rumanian Socialist Party; (12) a representative of the Left wing of the Russian Socialist Revolutionists; (13) the Leninbund, Germany; (14) the International Left Opposition. Participating as observers in the conference were also an American Socialist and two delegates of the French "Socialist Action".

During the general discussion the conference revealed three distinct tendencies. The first tendency was represented by the International Left Opposition expressed in its declaration submitted. That contained our analysis of the defeat in Germany, recorded the bank-

ruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and proposed an orientation for new national parties and a new International. As already mentioned the representatives of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland adhered to and signed this declaration.

On the opposite side were the delegates from the Party of Proletarian Unity of France and the Norwegian Labor Party. They took the position that the strength of the proletariat will be realized through the unity of the organizations. By that they meant the unity of Communist and Social Democratic organizations. In support of this tendency were the representatives of the Rumanian party, of the Left Socialist Revolutionists and of the Maximalists, the latter, however, declaring themselves against unification of the two Internationals.

In between these two tendencies the British I. L. P. found a position. While its representatives criticized both Internationals they expressed hope in possibilities for the reform of the Comintern. Somewhat similar was the attitude of the Swedish Kilbom party which found itself in agreement with the I. L. P. criticism but has not yet defined its further course. It should be noted that by its participation in the conference the Kilbom party broke the discipline of the Brandler organization of which it is still a part.

It was quite inevitable that groups of such divergent views could not find their way to a common orientation and a common course of action. Before that can be hammered out further clarification is necessary. And with that there is also likely to be further differentiations, those who remain adherents of the reformist views going their own way, while the revolutionists pursue their course toward the restoration of the International. However, due to the confusion still existing and expressed at the conference, the resolution adopted by the majority, inexact and vague in the most im-

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—LEFT WING WORKER.