

The Left Socialist Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

portant points of view, failed to pose the orientation of the new international. Where it speaks in the general abstract manner of retrieving the international unity of the working class, that will have as many and as distinct different interpretations as their were tendencies represented. Some of the delegates undoubtedly supported the resolution because it postponed the new regrouping of revolutionary force outside the two Internationals, others because they did not yet consider it necessary to create a new international and finally there were those who interpret the failure of the two Internationals as proof of the necessity of unification of all workers organizations on the basis of concrete demands and without regard to divergent principles.

Summed up this conference nevertheless presents to us a picture of the travail and the birth pangs of a movement. We recall the time of the rise of the Bolshevik revolution and the collapse of Social Democracy how important sections and groups within it were struggling to find their way to Communism and in most cases not without difficulties. Again this process is repeated, but as it appears, at an accelerated tempo. The lessons of Germany are sinking in deeply among several of these present groups and parties developing Leftward toward international Communism. This general development is the fact of monumental importance standing out above all difficulties and all the confusion still apparent.

The decadence and betrayal of Social Democracy became the compelling force driving many of these parties in a Leftward direction. Such new groups will still emerge. But the Stalinist control of the Comintern instead of facilitating has hindered this process, and that in a large measure accounts for the confusion still existing amongst them. In their further developments these parties will therefore find themselves ever more faced with the task of smashing the Stalinist barriers.

Before this conference the Left Opposition affirmed its break with Stalinist Centrism and its greater irreconcilability than before towards reformism. That position will in the coming period stand out the more impressively and win its way within the parties groping for an international revolutionary orientation. The firm kernel which has already emerged augurs well for the future. —A. S.

It appears that the coal operators actually did get busy and are trying to reach a conclusion on their code discussion. When signed it will, we assume also carry the name of "fair competition", even with the company union clause retained. But what made them get busy was the fact that the workers got into action and struck the jobs.

New Left Wing Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

of "dual unionism" bluff us out of it. But just as surely we must refuse to accept the paper unions of the Stalinists as substitutes for genuine mass organizations. Independent unions have a very slim chance in the present situation. That is not because there is any law to this effect—as the Lovestone opportunists imply—but because a force capable of organizing them is lacking and because the trend of the masses toward the conservative unions cannot and should not be counteracted. (For Marxists independent unions are not a dogma or fetish any more than A. F. of L. unions are).

But not the least, and very probably the greatest, factor in the situation which excludes any widespread development of independent unions at the present time is the fact that the Stalinists, who have made a dogma of independent "class struggle" unions, have succeeded in discrediting the idea and alienating the workers who might have cooperated in building them in these industries where their existence had a certain justification and necessity. By their "fictitious" new trade union center, their stupid tactics, their arrogant bureaucracy, their hooligan abuse and expulsions of critics and political opponents, their subordination of the unions to the narrow clique interests of the Stalin faction and the conversion of the declared organizations into mere appendages of the Stalin party—by their whole policy and regime, they have covered the idea of an independent union movement with their own disgrace.

The verdict of doom has already been pronounced on the so-called unions under their domination. As for the unorganized workers, they are passing them by and the non-Stalinist workers who have not been expelled are leaving them. Make no mistake about it. Unions that cannot grow now when new strata of workers are surging forward and seeking organization are dead beyond the possibility of resurrection. The Left wing militants who want to play a part in the new situation in the labor movement must turn their backs on the Stalinist paper unions and put a cross over the whole experiment.

THE NEW LEFT WING PROGRAM.

To see the present strike wave as only the first stage of a resurgent class activity of the American workers and prepare to influence its further development; to call the workers to enter the trade unions and to go with them on this path; to struggle increasingly within the unions against the policy and leadership of the reactionaries; to break resolutely and completely with the Stalinist sectarian paper unions—these in our opinion, are the main points of the new trade union theses, which the Left wing requires.

But the new program, by itself, is not enough. The Left wing also requires a new leadership. Up till now the Stalinists have dominated the movement, disorganizing and

Perspectives for the Cuban Proletariat

(Continued from Page 1)

revolution's aims with any form of American domination. The Cuban workers and peasants, however, can rely only on their own strength, on their own popular organs of struggle, that is, the Soviets. In this respect, we have nothing in common with the Stalinist conception that Soviets are to be organized only at the moment of proletarian insurrection. That would only lead, as was so tragically demonstrated by the Stalinist policy in China, to the failure to organize Soviets in time as the revolutionary center and instrument of the workers and peasants, or else to the organization of caricature Soviets after the revolutionary wave had receded. Soviets are needed now, not merely as the future organs of the proletarian insurrection. They are needed in order effectively to mobilize the whole people of Cuba, in an elementary mass organ, for a successful struggle to kick out the American bandits and assure the integrity of Cuba. The time for the organization of Soviets in Cuba is now when the struggle for the demands of the masses against the vacillating "government" and against the domination and oppression of American imperialism, is unfolding and gaining in intensity.

The Cuban masses have already seized arms in their endeavor to defend and to advance the gains already made. To further that process is one of the main tasks of the Soviets. The masses of the people must be armed to the teeth in the elementary interests of the defense of Cuba against American imperialism.

The revolutionary problems of the Cuban masses are now posed in imposing magnitude. But these problems cannot be solved by the Cuban masses alone. They can count surely on the solidarity of the Latin American masses who also suffer under the domination and oppression of the same northern colossus. But above all they need the energetic and immediate support of the working class of the United States. The freedom of the Cuban people from the imperialist yoke is intimately linked up with the struggles of the American workers against the same exploiters. The economy and politics of the U. S. are the dominant force in Cuba. The fate of the proletariat of Cuba and the United States is inseparably connected. The active support of the American working class in closest solidarity with the fighting Cuban masses, can defeat the American intervention in Cuba and secure the complete and unconditional independence of the Cuban people!

A heavy responsibility rests upon the American working class. There should be no delay in their sympathetic action. It is the duty of the Communist movement in the

GET A SUB!

Our own Dr. Lutinger (name unknown) says that the best thing for a young and growing paper is subs. All subs are good. They are of two kinds; new ones and renewals like the one that came with the letter reprinted below. Please read the letter carefully and draw the proper conclusions in the form of new subs and renewals. This is a favorite theme to which we will return in the near future.

Dear comrades, It seems as if I will never get a dollar together again in my life. So I am sending you fifty cents herewith and beg you to extend my Militant sub for as far as that amount pays for. My Militant expires with No. 190. Very close now. In a money way times have been even harder than last year with no prospects of improvement for me. But I suppose it isn't much better anywhere else or isn't anybody else. Capitalism is simply played out and can no longer provide us with the barest necessities of life. Yours for Communism and the L. O.

Growing Strike Wave

(Continued from Page 1)

ers are concerned, but a section of them came out in response to the call of the National Textile Workers Union of TUUL. Within a few days this mass movement may even be dwarfed by the new miners strike now looming on the horizon. Already 30,000 are out in central and Western Pennsylvania. These miners are losing patience with the quotatory promises made to them before that President Roosevelt and the NRA coal code would soon remove all their depression misery. They are returning to reliance upon their own mass force as the prospect of a code bringing favors to the miners recedes into the background. The efforts of the UMW officials to hold them tied to their job until the advent of the code seems to be of little avail.

An effective strike of 1,000 miners in the state of Utah has been in progress now for some time with all the means at the disposal of the capitalist state institution massed against them. Clubbings and jailings are on the order of the day with military control in the field almost amounting to a state of martial law. This strike is under the leadership of the National Miners Union. In both the Eastern and Western Kentucky fields members of the UMW have begun strikes. Even the anthracite miners are stirring. In Lackawanna county several shafts have been shut down and the "liberal" governor Pinchot has taken this occasion to instruct his sheriffs to prevent all mass picketing.

Outside of these two most important fields, mining and textile, innumerable strikes, some of considerable size are either in progress, or have just been settled or have so far reached the stage of a definite threat unless the workers' demands are met. Notable, however, is the fact that in practically every instance where settlements have already been arrived at, or the threats averted, some positive gains have been scored by the workers involved.

In New York City 10,000 cleaners and dyers have struck for shorter working hours and higher wages. The delivery truck drivers threaten to follow. 25,000 underwear workers have declared a strike. 4,000 button workers are already out. 10,000 neckwear workers are on strike. Several thousand embroidery workers scored important gains in their strike settlement just made. 25,000 millinery workers threaten to go on strike. 4,000 moving picture operators won against an attempted company union by the threat of a strike and picketing of many theatres.

An injunction against picketing has been issued against the New York bakery workers strike which is now running into several months duration. About 3,000 are still out. Similarly the Brooklyn Shoe workers strike, involving several thousand, to organize this active support of the American toilers for the Cuban liberation struggle!

BOOK REVIEW:

THE UNTRIED CASE—By Herbert B. Ehrmann. Vanguard Press, \$2.00

It is six years since the two martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti were framed and murdered by the State powers of Massachusetts for a crime that a professional gang had committed. This gang was known as the Morrelli gang of Providence, R. I. According to the confession made by Castellino Madeiros, one of the gang who took part in the South Braintree hold-up on April 15th, 1920, where a paymaster and a guard were killed for which Sacco and Vanzetti, innocent victims, were executed.

On August 22, 1933, six years after the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti, Ehrmann, one of the defending Counsel that were assigned to investigate the Madeiros confession, for the first time tells the real inside story of the South Braintree crime to the public. On reading this book that is full of so many facts, names, dates, names of gangsters, etc., pertaining to this gangster murder, one wonders why it is that the legal defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti, withheld the story from the international working class and intellectuals who demanded freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. The answer is, in Ehrmann's own words found on the last page of the preface,—"Until Governor Fuller's decision was released on August 3, 1927, Mr. Thompson and I refrained from any public comment. We believed that it was contrary to the ethics of our profession to try our case in the newspapers. The legal aspect of the case, however, has been closed by death, and our duty now is to the record of history." This shows that Thompson and Ehrmann, although liberal lawyers, did not understand that the Sacco and Vanzetti case was a "class" case. Their clients understood it very well. The lawyers did not want any public demonstrations or protests. This they imagined would hurt their clients' case.

This book, published last month, gives an interesting story of how the South Braintree murder was actually committed. From Madeiros' confession we see that the crime was committed by six professional gangsters. Their names are all given. Mr. Ehrmann shows how Madeiros made his confession. He was in Dedham jail at the time together with Nicholas Sacco and was smuggled a note to Sacco on Nov. 18th, 1925 saying:—"I hereby confess to being in the South Braintree Shoe Company crime and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not in the said crime." The same note was sent by Madeiros to the Boston American. The note reached Deputy-Sheriff Curtis but got no further. This note started a long and tortuous journey travelled by the defense attorneys, that led to the exposure of the Morrelli gang.

Walk Out in the Harverstraw Shop

After over three weeks of intensive organization work, the workers of the Spievak plant in Harverstraw, N. Y., for years the open shop "jinx" of the mens' garment market, unanimously voted to go out on strike against prevailing sweat shop conditions and for the recognition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Local 178. Mr. Spievak is caught short with a mass of orders that he cannot fill. Not a garment can be produced. In turn the Linbrook plant whose cutters are on strike will now be tied up, since the cutting was all done at Harverstraw. News of the Spievak strike has tremendously heartened Local 178 in New York, and has spurred it on towards a 100 percent organization of the industry. All the preliminary organization work preparatory to the calling of the strike was handled by Sara Avrin in close collaboration with the New York office of the union.

Bosses and NRA Defeat Workers

The shipping department of the Geo. B. Hand Co., a paper house, went on strike, September 11, 1933 after being refused a minimum wage of \$20 per week which the shipping clerks demanded. The tactics of the strikers were to spread the strike so as to include the machine girls and the other workers and so as to get the support of whatever union included shipping clerks. The boss, knowing the raw conditions throughout the factory and the chances we had for spreading the strike, defeated our first tactic by immediately after our walk-out raising the wages of the employees on both the paperette and machine floors.

Our second tactic failed because there is no shipping clerks' union and because the shipping clerks section of the Amalgamated Workers Union stated that because their "hands were full at present" they could not take up our strike. The strike then decided to file complaints against the firm for gross violations of the NRA: working machine girls 14 hours a day, refusing to let the shipping clerks deal with him collectively, paying below the lowest level of the NRA. The NRA investigated the firm and gave the boss a complete whitewash, thus showing which class it serves.

The strikers have experienced their first disillusionment. They have made their first move in the direction of organization. Conditions will force them to make moves which they will make more resolutely and with better planning. —GEO. J. SAUL.

A CORRECTION In our article on the Los Angeles Unemployed Movement, appearing in the issue of August 12, a mistake occurred to which our attention has been called by the Los Angeles comrades. In reference to the Mays Case, it recorded the vote as being against him. It should be the opposite. He was out 35 to 6. Another section of the article discussed the sectarian, adventurist policy of the party group within

Discussion on the N. R. A. and the Slogan "Nationalization of Industry"

This article introduces a subject which has not formerly been discussed in the Militant, it is therefore accepted explicitly as a discussion article. The views expressed are those of the writer. Other contributions in discussion of this subject are invited, but they should not exceed 100 words—Ed.

The bourgeoisie is presenting the National Industrial Recovery Act as the answer to the Soviet's Five Year Plan, as the "better road" of capitalist planned economy. The "plan" which is to solve the present crisis and bring capitalism out of the wilderness into the promised land, envisages the formation of trusts along the lines of European cartels on a semi-voluntary basis for the purpose of regulating competition, allocating production, setting standards of minimum wages and maximum hours of work. It includes the aim of raising prices and increasing the purchasing power of the masses.

Exposure of NRA Our Task It is the obvious task of the Communist to expose this bourgeois method of solving the problems of the crisis solely for its own benefit with the most shameless and criminal disregard of the mode of existence of the working class. This exposure takes on a wide scope. What is here presented is part of a larger discussion on the new problems posed by NRA.

1. We must show that NRA is nothing but a scheme for reestablishing of profits for the capitalists and so ordering industry as to give the ruling class an all-the-more powerful grip on the means of production, the basis of exploitation. 2. It is an attempt to organize American capitalism on a stronger base for the purposes of imperialist expansion. Naturally this includes the possibility of quickly transferring economy to a war footing when the occasion arises. And in fact the present campaign to pull over the NRA is but the prelude, the rehearsal for a war campaign. America is in desperate need of imperialist bases on the Asiatic mainland. 3. It permits more efficient and concentrated action against the working class in the event of workers' resistance. At the same time

by the demagoguery of fake wage increases and the indicating of the way that the government stands above the classes ready to mediate in the interests of all, it tries to lead the workers into passive acceptance.

4. NRA is an organized method for outloading the crisis on the backs of the workers. It is the organized method under government auspices of setting the most wretched living standards for the proletariat. It is the nation-wide stagger plan which reduces hours of work, at the same time throwing the sop to the workers of a nominal increase of hourly pay, the net result being that the workers lose about one week's pay a month. The wages thus saved, it is hoped, will be used by the bosses to hire extra hands.

5. NRA is the attempt to drag-on the workers either in company unions or under the leadership of the treacherous class collaborationists. It is a weapon drawn against resist the wiles of class collaboration, then the open shop will be put over on the entire American working class.

N. R. A. vs. Planned Economy 6. We must emphasize also that this "plan" is peculiarly unlike what we know as planned economy. For planned economy is the organizing of industry for ever greater production, for the increase of commodities, not for their restriction. This so-called plan is rather the organizing of waste, of sabotage of production, of restrictions of output—in short it is the organizing of hunger with the greatest ingenuity, simply and solely for profits. The allocation of production within the cartel means rendering idle and useless a large percentage of the machinery of production. It has even been proposed to tax such idle machinery out of existence. (Note Eastman's plan for scrapping old railroad equipment.) The plan supposedly involves the figuring of costs of production, but to engage in any real analyses of the capitalist mode of production would mean the exposure of its anarchy before the entire working class, would show up the serious disproportions of capitalism in the various sections of the country, would expose to full view the waste and inefficiency of

production under the present system, particularly as concerns the quantity of machinery left in complete idleness in the various large plants. Rather than attempt to set a uniform system of accounting which would virtually involve the determination of the socially-necessary labor entering into the production of a commodity, the administration has been forced to abandon this ambitious undertaking and to adopt a "blanket" code. The other codes being adopted imitate the generalities of this blanket code. No, this is no planned economy; such an economy can only be set in motion by the proletariat who alone can see to it that not the workers exist for production but production for the workers, who alone can produce for use and not for profit.

7. The relation of NRA to inflation is worthy of closer attention than is here possible. Government inflation has become a necessity for the bourgeoisie as a class. NRA is one of the ways of preparing for the later stages of inflation and is itself, thru the price-fixing provision, an attempt to "control" the course of the "inevitable" inflation.

Aims of the Communists Not alone does the Communist expose the real nature of this bourgeois attack on the working class, but he participates in all the immediate struggles of the workers—whether for higher wages, better conditions, the right to strike, the rights of workers to democratic justice, etc.—for the purpose of guiding the immediate aims of the struggle so that they coincide with the interests of the class as a whole, and also for the purpose of gaining the confidence of the proletarians through correctness of policy, and through struggle as to make the worker politically conscious in his resistance to the ruling class.

Lenin states that "the workers can acquire political consciousness only from without, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers." Hence our task "is not merely to serve the labor movement at each of its separate stages, but to represent the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aims and its political basis, and to protect its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social Democracy (read Communism) the labor movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois: in conducting only the economic strug-

gle the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties and runs counter to the great slogan: "The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves." To facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class is our principal and fundamental task. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and methods of the struggle, are straying on to the wrong path and cause serious harm to the movement."

The writer is well aware that Lenin used the terms "economic" and "political" above in the same narrow, restricted sense in which they are counterposed to each other. In the broader sense of the term, "politics" is concentrated economics so that to the Communist every social problem the economic included, is a political problem. Nevertheless the narrower interpretations aid in applying a corrective to policies not sufficiently all-embracing.

Function of Intermediate Slogans At each stage of development it becomes the task of the Communist to search for that particular and precise intermediate slogan which will perform best the service first of being of actual benefit to the workers if achieved; secondly, which will aid in rallying the workers for resistance to the ruling-class solution and in favor of its own solution; in this case the slogan of the crisis; thirdly, that will lead the workers along the path of class struggle towards our final goal of the seizure of power. Is there such a slogan that presents itself at this time in any given industry? I believe there is but a few words are necessary before stating it in its general terms first.

The Communist must be quite clear as to what constitutes progressive development of economic forces. For example, no Communist can be opposed to the process of trustification. On the contrary we look upon this process as inevitable. What we do oppose is bourgeois control of the vast power embodied in highly concentrated industry, and we propose to substitute our own class contented in place of the capitalist class content of trusts. In similar fashion we are not opposed to unions, but we are opposed to company unions; that is, to unions permeated by capitalist influence. No institution or social instrument is sacrosanct to the working class on this very account. Thus in the struggle for power

—JACK WEBER.
READ YOUNG SPARTACUS
OUR YOUTH ORGAN
OUT EVERY MONTH