

EDITORIAL

The Boycott of Fascist Germany

THE resolution of the A. F. of L. convention for the boycott of German goods, following a similar action by the British Trade Union Congress, undoubtedly raises the issue of the boycott to a higher importance and, at the same time, increases the weight of reformist influence in the international agitation against Hitlerism. A positive position on the question of the boycott, which is now brought into such prominence, is obviously required of all the various tendencies in the labor movement.

What is especially necessary is preciseness as to the aims of the boycott, its terms and its limitations. Otherwise the slogan lends itself to vague generalities, amounting no one to anything in particular. That is where the agitation on the question stands now, and that is why the opportunists of all countries are having such a happy time with the slogan. The revolutionary wing of the labor movement ought to call for a showdown on the issue of boycotting Hitler's Germany.

As a demonstrative action on an international scale, designed to show working class solidarity with the hard-pressed German workers and stern protest against their fascist torturers, a well-organized international boycott—suspending transport and communication for a definite time—could serve a useful purpose. Such an action, concentrating the force of international labor in a single paralyzing blow, could be a means of lifting up the spirits of the German workers and helping them to their feet again. The German workers, unaided and demoralized by the bankruptcy of all their organizations, and overcome with a sense of isolation and despair, need desperately now the concrete and visible proofs of international class solidarity.

A boycott, a real boycott, such as it is within the power of the international labor movement to enforce for a limited time, could serve as such a demonstration. Therein would lie its principal value. And, in addition, such an action would revive and strengthen the international labor movement by the revelation of power inherent in it.

Of course the A. F. of L. resolution was never intended by its sponsors to lead in such a direction. It is a face-saving gesture, calculated to put them "on record" without committing them to any obligations. The real measure of the Washington decision can be seen in the fact that Furuseth, head of the Seamen's union, voted against the boycott resolution. This passed without comment, as a matter of course. They intend no action against German fascism. They do not mean it seriously. The mere exhortation to refrain from the purchase of German goods—the passive, voluntary abstentionism of unorganized individuals—is not a real weapon of the struggle against fascism. Such a program has many negative aspects. And it is a harmful substitute for an organized action of the working class.

What is needed is an international, organized mass action which brings all its force to bear on one point at one time. The revolutionary elements in the labor movement ought to pick up the slogan of the boycott and drive the agitation in this direction. The A. F. of L. resolution, which gives the issue an official sanction, can be utilized as a springboard for the agitation in the unions. An international strike against the handling or transport of German goods and communication, as an anti-fascist demonstration for a definitely limited short time, should be the aim. The united front of workers' organizations is required. In such an action, which would blow the breath of life into the boycott, against Hitlerism, the railroad and transport unions would necessarily play a major role. Without their participation the agitation for a boycott is nothing but sound and fury.

Making Fun of International Communism

ONCE again proletarian internationalism, the spectre which haunted exploiters since the manifesto of '48, has become an object of their scornful derision. In 1914 the rulers of Europe, plunging into the desperate hazard of the war, breathed with relief when the Socialist parties, one after another, renounced their international obligations and forgot the oft-repeated pledges of international solidarity. Then they began to laugh. The bourgeois press of the world made fun of the contrast between socialist words and deeds. Now they are regaling themselves again. This time the object of their ridicule is the conduct of the Soviet Government and the Comintern regarding the Fascist assassination of the German labor movement.

It is a common thing nowadays for bourgeois correspondents, pointing to the abandonment of the prostrate working class of Germany, to interpret the Stalin policy of socialism in one country as a renunciation of international revolution. The New York Tribune and the New York Times, both authoritative journals of big capital, discoursed on this theme within the same week. The Times (October 12) jibed at the failure of Moscow, which "had proclaimed solidarity with the Communists all over the world," to "concern itself with the annihilation of the Communist Party of Germany."

The shameful record of the Soviet bureaucrats, who are also the leaders of the Comintern, may well evoke the scornful jests of the international class enemy. And the poorest of all answers is the answer of the Daily Worker to the effect that the Times has fallen under the influence of Trotsky. The true ex-

Hoover and Roosevelt

"There is nothing new under the sun," says the old proverb. Bunker-Hoover goes and NRA-Roosevelt comes and the same boss rule stays—the rule of bigotry, deception and brutal force. Roosevelt, however, knows better how to mix all those ingredients in the proper proportions and doesn't forget to add some NRA flavor to it. The Chief Engineer of the crisis was against unemployment insurance. He called it "dole", a thing un-American, degrading, humiliating, enslaving and so on. If a hungry, ill-clad and ill-shod "buddy" runs after you and ten others asking for a nickel that's "American", Christian, humane, and, if you

planation of the sardonic mirth of the capitalist press lies in the bitter facts.

It is a fact that the Comintern remained silent in the fateful days when everything hung in the balance in Germany, giving no clear word of advice and not even hinting at a demonstration action. The Comintern imposed the policy that led to the defeat and reaffirmed it afterwards. Soviet diplomacy—speaking directly for Hitler's benefit—hastened to give assurance that it would never think of interfering in another country in either a revolution or a counter-revolution. And, most shameful of all, the world has yet to learn of a single demonstration organized within the Soviet Union against the Fascist butchery of the German proletariat.

It is not in the least what the Bolshevik-Leninists, in opposition, have said but what the Stalinists, in power, have done that occasions the gloating merriment of bourgeois journalism over the downfall of internationalism.

But, for all that, they are laughing too soon. Internationalism, after its second historic defeat through false leadership, will rise again and become once more the inspiring and unifying force of the proletariat and the dread spectre of its enemies. Facing the bitter truth in shame and humiliation, but steadfast in the old faith, the true internationalists will work to hasten on that day. This is the greatest work of our time. It must be carried forward under the clean banner of a new International.

The Expulsion of Joe Angelo

ANNOUNCEMENT in the latest issue of the Progressive Miner of the expulsion of Joe Angelo demonstrates more graphically than any other single act how closely the leaders of the P.M.A. have come to the basic policy of Lewis and how basely they have betrayed the confidence which the Illinois miners unwisely gave them. The expulsion of Angelo is a symbolic act. It is a demonstration by the despicable imitators of Lewis against militancy, against union democracy, against the deepest impulses of the Illinois miners for an honest, fighting union—against everything, in short, that gave rise to the magnificent rebellion of the miners, their break with the Lewis union and the formation of the P. M. A.

With Pearey and Keek, as with Lewis and Farrington, the hounding and expulsion of Communist militants is not an isolated policy. It is bound up in every case with the treacherous game of selling out the interests of the miners and is a necessary part of the preparation for it. By getting rid of the union's conscious and incorruptible militants the misleaders always aim to disorganize the rank and file and rob them of the power of organized resistance to their perfidious service to the operators. The Illinois miners, who have risen in such heroic revolt and who have been betrayed so often by false leaders, are being maneuvered into another debacle. The expulsion of Joe Angelo is another warning signal, sharper, clearer and louder. Let the miners of Illinois be on guard and organize to defend themselves before it is too late!

The Socialist Party After Hillquit

MORRIS HILLQUIT, the deceased leader of the Socialist Party, was a unique figure who leaves no successor. A "European" social democrat on American soil, he was especially adept in dressing up the grossest opportunism in the formal garb of "Marxism." He cast the party in the image of its European contemporaries and made it one of the very worst representatives of this discredited school. The American S. P., shaped under Hillquit's hand, had all the vices of European Social Democracy without its strength in the workers' mass movement. Hillquit's Party imitated the Social Democracy in its period of senile decay without ever having experienced it: effectiveness as the organizer of the workers' movement in its period of youth and bloom. The American Socialist Party has been a horrible caricature.

The death of Hillquit upsets the balance of forces inside the Socialist Party and will start a new internal ferment. The pseudo-Marxist "old guard", which lost its head with the demise of Hillquit, will be obliged to yield the hegemony in the leadership to Norman Thomas. Under Thomas the S. P. will present a superficially different appearance. It will be more attractive to bright, "forward-looking" people who want to get somewhere quickly. But the content of its policy will not draw the party nearer to the militant workers. It will not express their impulses and aims. Still less will it lead them toward their historic goal. Where Hillquit robbed the Marxian formulae of their breath of revolutionary life, Thomas dispenses with the formulae altogether. Workers in its ranks who aspire toward a revolutionary fight against capitalism, will find the atmosphere suffocating and unbearable.

The insurgent youth and worker elements, who supported Thomas as a "lesser evil" against Hillquit, will be thrown on their own resources and compelled to formulate their standpoint more precisely. Political issues, which have smoldered in the internal conflict without a clear expression, will break through the struggle of persons and cliques. A new Left wing, moving toward Communism, will begin to take shape.

These predictions require no clairvoyant gift. Such developments are implicit in the whole situation of present-day Social Democracy, as is verified by the happenings in all the European parties. The American S. P., under the impact of the great events abroad and the class struggle at home will begin to catch up with the European developments at a faster pace.

appeal to the American people on the "Mobilization for Human Needs." Roosevelt is a greater demagogue than Hoover. He doesn't call federal unemployment insurance the "dole" or other names. He simply avoids mentioning it altogether. Instead he glorifies charity. To him this is the "fundamental basis of American civilization"; a thing "essential to the whole American scheme of life."

—D. MARCUS.

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB AFFAIR ENTERTAINMENT DANCING REFRESHMENTS Saturday Evening, October 21st. at the International Workers School 120 East 16th Street ADMISSION 15c

Notes of the Week

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE NRA.

The leading article of the New York Herald Tribune Sunday Magazine, last week, makes an eloquent plea for "No More Strikes".

"One of the ironies of the day in this country", it says, "is that one of our greatest organized efforts, one which has always been the loudest in the denunciation of war between the nations, is insisting on its own right to use force in settling its difficulties."

And then it goes on to quote William Green on the right to strike. (Another of the ironies of the day, by the way). The argument runs as follows: The nations (sic) have found that force is wasteful, futile. They have set up a Kellogg Pact and a League of Nations to banish war from their midst. Why can't the workers take an example from that?

There is the NRA. The NRA is concerned with the welfare of the workers as the League is with that of the nations (sic). Why not let NRA replace the strike as the League has replaced war?

Still another of the ironies of the day! Even while those words were being printed, the noble example which the American workers were to follow—received such a dislodging shock that there remains very little to follow. Germany split from the League of Nations with a "bombshell". War talk and war preparations are again seizing a feverish world. A most unfortunate example.

While the example is hardly worthy of pursuit, it does no doubt offer a resemblance. It is a resemblance worth a worker's attention.

Both the League of Nations and the NRA were born out of the despair wrought by wasteful destructive capitalist competition. In the first case, among the various capitalist nations. In the second case, among the different capitalists in the United States. They were both meant to serve as a sort of a regulator of this competition.

When the League was formed, the powerful capitalist United States refused to join. It believed it could contribute to the "welfare of the nations" on the outside, without international control.

When NRA went into effect, the richest single capitalist in the United States, Henry Ford, refused to join. He thought he could contribute to "industrial welfare" on the outside, without national control.

Japan and Germany, two of the major powers, have bolted from the League. How soon will it be before the big capitalists will be bolting from NRA?

Why is the League blowing up? Because it is bound by the very laws of capitalism. Capitalism means ruthless competition. Capitalism is war, war of all against all. Capitalism signifies the perpetuation of the use of force. How could the League help blowing up? How can NRA help blowing up?

The argument is really in favor of the use of the strike. As long as capitalism exists, peace among the nations is insecure. As long as capitalism and wage slavery, the demands of competition and the production for profit exist—just so long must hire and fire, unemployment, insecurity exist for workers. What better way has the worker to gain any measure of security, any degree of protection and improvement than by the collective, organized effort with his fellow workers—by the strike?

In spite of the eloquent plea, in spite of the supplications of the NRA boosters, the workers are continuing to strike. They draw their conclusions from past examples. Some day they will draw a final conclusion. They will learn that there is no way of gaining welfare and of banishing war than by sweeping away the whole capitalist system, with all its camouflages, with its League of Nations and NRA's, with all its reign of force and terror. And they will do that by force. That will constitute one of the ironies of another day.

And speaking of ironies, the greatest of all is perhaps the fact that the "No More Strikes" article in the Herald Tribune is signed by none other than Ida M. Tarbell, the author of the "History of the Standard Oil Company", a crusading muckraker and anti-Rockefeller campaigner of a past day.... —G.....

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The Food Workers' Industrial Union and the Split from the A. F. W.

A Horrible Example of Stalinist «Third Period» Trade Union Policies

In 1929 the "third period" policy of Stalinism produced a split away from the Amalgamated Food Workers and the formation of the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. A series of great strikes took place. Following this, within the newly-formed "revolutionary" trade union the bureaucracy began to consolidate itself. By the end of 1930, the situation, after over a year of crisis, of inactivity and stagnation in the FWIU was, as follows: The members were becoming dissatisfied with the leadership, and particularly with the bureaucratic methods of the then general secretary, Sam Weissman. He was brought on the carpet before the party control commission, on charges of drunkenness, irresponsibility, misappropriation of funds, etc. The party could not afford to whitewash him, as it had to cover up its own bureaucratic regime in the union. He was therefore removed, without any explanation to the members as to the reasons for the removal. The then leadership of the Cafeteria Department next proceeded to outline a three-months program of activity, no part of which was ever carried out.

With the continued inactivity, the union began to lose both in influence and in numbers. Many of the most militant workers left the FWIU to join the AFL. The dissatisfaction of the workers was further expressed in a series of struggles by the rank and file against the cliquism of the apparatus.

This was shown sharply, for instance, in the question of the cooperative restaurant. The party functionaries used the jobs in the "coop" as a political weapon, maneuvering so as to throw workers out of their jobs if they disagreed with the leadership, under one pretext or another. This course only served further to discredit the FWIU.

About this time the cooperative again came on the order of the day in the union and in the fraction, resulting in a bitter fight by the comrades against the cast-iron bureaucratic rule of the party leaders in the union. The struggle began with the Allerton Ave. stores. First a tax of 10% was proposed on the wages of party and non-party members working in the "coop", and this step moreover, was taken without consulting the union. For this Zack, secretary of the TUUC, was responsible. At one meeting he denounced the non-party workers without exception as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the working class because they refused to obey this decision.

Gagging the Workers Encouraged by this action of the T.U.U.C., the bureaucracy did not stop at this point. They were determined to gag the workers into submission, and into mechanical acceptance of orders. The question of the party camps was under discussion in the party fraction. It was there proposed to cut wages. After a discussion of several weeks had resulted in the leading fraction's recommendation, by nearly unanimous vote, of a wage cut proposal of 20%, the party proposed a cut of 40 percent. The 20 percent cut proposal was then brought into the general fraction, against a counter-proposal by the District Camp Committee to consider a cut of 40%. After heated discussion within the fraction, the decision was unanimously rejected and turned back to the party committee. For this, the following night the Central Executive Committee proposed another meeting, in the course of which the writer was demagogically attacked as a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite" for not consenting to the decision of the C. E. C. Finally a vote was taken adopting the ultimatum decision of the C. E. C. for a 40% wage cut with 14 voting against and many abstaining.

Campaign Against "Trotskyites" They carried out the decisions of the last convention of the union according to their own interpretation for example: Ebermeyer was made national secretary of the FWIU, an organization which outside of New York existed only in his own portfolio; Kramberg was taken out of the union; Bill, the organizer of the Cafeteria Department, was removed by the famous "open letter" of the TUUC and denounced as irresponsible, disloyal and intriguing; while twice removed, today this individual is again an organizer for the union, in spite of the public denunciation in the open letter. The result was that the plan actually was dropped from the activities, because the bureaucratic leadership was not really convinced of the necessity of the task. A number of comrades, including the writer, were expelled from the party, and a campaign of terrorization was instituted inside the union against the "Trotskyites".

Yet the workers did not take the revived activity seriously, because of their bad experiences of the past. Only ten comrades carried the whole burden of the drive. Therefore the results were rather disappointing on the whole. The strike is over, without any explanation having been given even to this day as to why it was lost. The workers still cherish certain illusions as to the strike being reopened after comrades come back from the camps. Not only that, but at a recent meeting of the un-

ion Kramberg announced that the strike was settled, that twenty workers would go back to their jobs immediately, and that within three months all the workers would be back on their jobs. This only resulted in disappointment; the strike has not been reopened, no workers have gone back, and the leadership has not a single explanation to give the rank and file. The workers have a special additional right to demand an explanation and an accounting because they were making financial sacrifices in preparation for the drive for 27 weeks straight, and nobody knows yet what has happened to the funds, as not even a financial report was given.

Favoritism in Giving Jobs

One of the worst features of the internal life of the FWIU, and one opposed to the principles of a class-struggle union, is the family cliquism and favoritism in handing out jobs. For example, in one case a worker had been working steadily for two years, quit his job of his own accord and within a few days had another, while other workers of long standing and active in the union who have been unemployed for months and years, have been discriminated against, and received no jobs. New workers are being induced to come into the union with the promise of a job, so that they come in, not on the basis of trade union convictions, but looking on the union as an employment agency. The "extra" jobs are being used as a club over the heads of the workers to strengthen the power of the cliques.

All these mistakes and many more flow out of the basic fault of the "third period" theory, with its "revolutionary trade-unions", "united front from below", "social fascism" and other misleading slogans.

Unquestionably there is a great revival of trade-union activity going on now. Throughout the country the workers are looking for organization. The conservative unions are growing by leaps and bounds,

while the FWIU stands still or shows insignificant gains. Unless the Left wing workers can break through their present isolation from the masses, the labor fakery of the A. F. L. will be able to mislead the newly-awakening workers and thus further betray the interests of the working class.

The Split A Fundamental Mistake

The fundamental mistake, flowing out of the "third period" theory, which lies at the bottom of all the other mistakes, was the deliberate split from the A. F. W. in 1929. This was one of the most criminal and stupid examples of Stalinist misleadership, because the Amalgamated is a recognized class-struggle industrial union with considerable prestige and a record of militant activity. In this case there was not even the excuse, as in the A. F. of L. unions, that the trade union fakery were threatening to expel Communists.

The experience of the past years has shown us that the splitting policy was false to the core and must be corrected. With the revival of the Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated from a skeleton organization to a rapidly growing one, at present the Left wing cadres and Communists have a wonderful opportunity to influence a growing mass movement, and build it up as a genuine trade-union so that it can become a mighty force for the New York food workers and encourage a sound united front policy with respect to the A. F. L.

For these reasons we must say openly that the place for the Left wing workers now is in the A. F. W. Those of them who are now in the FWIU must propose that preparations be made immediately for a merger of the two unions as a first step toward one union for the industry, and for a general organizational drive throughout the hotel, restaurant and cafeteria industry

—JAMES GORDON. Member, Food Workers' Industrial Union.

Hitler's «Bombshell» at Geneva

(Continued from Page 1)

tanks to Hitlerite Germany. In replying to the accusation, the company makes a denial of the specific charge, but not of the general one. More interesting is its reference to relations with the French government:

"The company does not export war material without government authorization. That regulation is still in effect." The statement of the blood-stained war manufacturers then goes on to accuse those campaigning thus against it, of harming the "pacific policy of France".

It is common knowledge in Europe that Hitler has been rearming secretly for some time. It is also common knowledge that the Quai D'Orsay is well aware of this fact. Now the munition manufacturers of France itself indirectly confirm shipment of arms to Germany with government knowledge. The new turn has gone far afield.

German-Japanese Plans in Anti-Soviet Front

On top of the above, reports have been abundant of a German-Japanese plan of cooperation. The purpose of it is unmistakable. The documents published recently by the Soviet press from the dossiers of Japanese secret diplomacy are enlightening enough. Now comes a report from Mukden of a loan of \$60,000,000 to be made by France to Manchukuo, Japan's outpost for anti-Soviet aggression. "Preliminary negotiations", says the report, "have been concluded between President Hattia of the South Manchurian Railway and Andre d'Olivier, a representative of French capitalists."—N. Y. Times, October 18, 1933.

The anti-Soviet front is forming fast.

In the face of these developments, the futility and the criminal self-deception of the Stalinist "Non-Aggression Pacts" becomes remarkably obvious. A real defense of the Soviet Union is imperatively necessary. The stupid, quasi-practical policy of the Stalin regime in foreign affairs is due for a collapse. A realistic appraisal of the conditions in the Soviet Union, a corresponding raising of the standards of living of the workers and a strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry is just as necessary as a reversal of the foreign policy. The Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of accomplishing either one of these tasks. It prepares the road for Thermidorian reaction. That has been shown by the entire past.

The International Workers' Front

The preparation for a resistance on the part of the international working class to the imperialist war plans likewise depends upon a rejection of the policy of the Stalinists. No "Anti-War Congresses" composed of pompous intellectuals, without a stable social basis and impotent because of their individual isolation, will ever serve to weld the proletarian front against imperialist war and attack on workers' Russia. The Einsteins, the Dreisers, the Upton Sinclairs and Sheiwood Andersons are already deserting the Stalinist Banner. Only

the united front of workers' organization, from top to the bottom can accomplish this task. To achieve this, the Communists must go to the masses, entrench themselves in all organizations in which workers gather en masse.

Both the preparation against attack inside of the Soviet Union as well as against imperialist war in all the capitalist countries demands the support of the line of policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Time is short and events are moving fast. The Bolshevik-Leninists must live up to their task.

—S. GORDON.

Bronx Butchers Strike

New York.—The Meat Cutters of the Westchester Meat Market are on strike for the 48 hour work and a raise in wages. They are striking against a work day of from 11 to 18 hours a day. Their wages have been reduced from \$48 which they were earning a year and a half ago by three wage cuts to \$20 today. They are led by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Bronx branch of the Communist League has offered to contribute its services, speakers, etc., to help the strikers in their fight.

Two of the striking meat cutters, Dave Cohen and Sam Klein were arrested on the picket line on charge by the boss of the market of "disorderly conduct". They were tried and released. The judge had to save the face of the boss who is violating the NRA code. The boss came to court and said he would comply with the code by cutting the Saturday workday from 15 to 12 hours.

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

A special general membership meeting of the three New York branches will be held this Sunday, October 22, 1933, at 1 P. M. sharp, in our headquarters at 126 East 16th Street New York. Members of all the branches are required to be present. ON TIME. The subject of the meeting will be the position of the trade unions in the United States today and the policy of the Communist League. The discussion will be led off by comrade J. P. Cannon and there will follow comments from the floor.

—CITY ORGANIZER.

S. T. LOUIS MEETING ARNE SWABECK

at CRUNDEN LIBRARY AUDITORIUM 14th and Cass Avenues Friday, October 27, 8 P. M. B A N Q U E T

7119 Lafayette Avenue Saturday, October 28, 8 P. M.

SPRINGFIELD MEETING ARNE SWABECK

at "THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM" Wednesday, Oct. 25 at 7:30 P. M. at MASONIC HALL 119 North 8th Street, Springfield, Ill.