

PRICE  
2  
CENTS

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.  
VOLUME VI, NO. 51 [WHOLE NO. 198] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1933 PRICE 2 CENTS

## The New Rift in the Lovestone Group--and the New Party

After having been slain so often, the very much alive flesh and blood specter of "Trotskyism" has risen again to disturb the equanimity of the Lovestone group. A call has been issued for a national conference next month, and the current issue of the *Workers Age* prints a discussion supplement in which are published the statement of the majority "On the New Party and Trotskyism", and the minority statement by Zam "For a New Perspective for Our Group". The dispute is the second one in a year to wrack the frail body of the American Right wing, and the latest one promises to have even more far-reaching consequences than the one which preceded it.

That the discussion should revolve around the recent German events and the problem of a new Communist party and international arising out of them, is already highly significant. In the first place, it is a warning revelation of how the overwhelming pressure of international (the so-called "foreign") questions inexorably crushes every futile attempt to establish a revolutionary organization and policy on purely "American" issues (whatever they may be!). In the second place, it again attests the fact that the regenerated Communist movement will and can come into existence primarily on the basis of the position taken towards the August 4th of Stalinism; its capitulation to Fascism in Germany. And not as an isolated instance, or an episodic incident, but as the crowning point of ten years of policies which have converted the Communist International from the general staff of the world revolution, into a brake on the world revolution operated by the omnipotent Stalin secretariat.

The attitude to be taken to the problem referred to has already aroused stormy discussions in most sections of the radical labor movement of Europe. However contented conservative officials may be with the way matters have gone up to now, however reluctant they may be to engage in a discussion of the problem of the new International which is now posed as imperiously as it was after August 4, 1914, the discussion is nevertheless forcing its way into the pores of one organization after another. Not even the Lovestone group is exempt from this penetration. And if the official Stalinist parties will be among the last to reveal an open concern with the problem and to bring forward a sector which will contribute serious forces to the new movement, it is not because they enjoy any organic immunity from it, but only because the molecular processes of differentiation already at work have not yet gained sufficient strength to break the momentarily effective stranglehold with which the bureaucracy is throttling all criticism and progress.

The Lovestone group suffered a blow several months ago when the group supporting the views of Gitlow—which has now taken a favorable position towards the slogan of a new Communist party and international—broke away from it. The new internal struggle is an echo and a continuation of that rupture. The statement of H. Zam, the official and solitary representative of the minority on the National Committee, declares for a new Communist party in the United States and in every other capitalist country, that is, for a new Communist International outside of the Soviet Union and exclusive of any Russian section. Zam's membership on the National Committee facilitates for the time being his role as official representative of the new current, although the genuinely progressive tendency in the Lovestone group does not and cannot find in him anything more than a fortuitous and unauthentic spokesman. But although truer voices will speak out tomorrow, it is the two "official" currents which concern us at present, the official statements in the discussion supplement of the *Age*.

Let us first examine the declaration of the Committee majority.

The Lovestone document—interspersed with the customary falsehoods, inventions, distortions about the "Trotskyites"—proceeds from the idea that no new course is needed for the simple reason that no change has taken place in the situation. The sole criticism that Lovestone musters up boldness enough to make of the disastrous course of Stalinism in the German situation, is contained in the weasel words about "its failure to apply effective tactics to realize its correct Communist principles and aims."

The fact that the Communist party was deliberately prohibited by its own and the Moscow bureaucracy from effecting that elementary, obviously imperative and obviously correct united front which would have crushed Fascism before it came to power; the fact that the

Fascists were allowed to come into power and to consolidate it without the Communist party lifting a finger to organize the slightest resistance to them; the fact that the last of the parties in the Comintern that retained a mass basis up to then now lies crushed, bleeding from a thousand fatal wounds, completely incapacitated—that is, has collapsed; the fact that the catastrophic course which rendered this outcome inevitable has been officially canonized by the Comintern and all its sections without the slightest attempt at self-criticism or re-valuation; these facts and dozens of others which proclaim from the housetops the collapse of the Communist International—are blithely dismissed with the observation that, although they had correct Communist principles (the nationalistic dogma of socialism in one country!) and aims (the "people's revolution" and the "national emancipation of Germany!"), the Stalinists were not so effective with their tactics. Here you have revived the theory that if the monarch lost both battle and kingdom, it was only for want of a horse-shoe nail. The story was plausible and amusing in kindergarten books. In the present case, it is nothing less than a despicable attempt at whitewashing the Stalinist criminals who are responsible for the tragedy of the German proletariat and, implicitly, their discharged Right wing flunkies who seek re-hiring.

**"Genuine Opposition to Fascism"**

The Stalinists in Germany have not had their August 4th, argues the thesis. "No one can doubt the sincerity and genuineness of the official C. P. G's opposition to Fascism at any stage of development," it declares. There is no way, however, of measuring sincerity in politics. There is no such thing as a "sincerometer", as Lenin once told Serrati, nor is there a need for one in politics. Sincerity does not weigh decisively on the scales of the class struggle, and what is important is not an instrument to measure it (and there is none), but an instrument with which to take the measure of political tendencies, of programs, of actions. That instrument is Marxism.

No sincerer opponent to the im-

(Continued on page 4)

## Boycott of Germany

(Resolution of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists.)

The boycott is an important weapon in the international struggle against Hitler Germany. It is an elementary truth that the boycott cannot overthrow Hitler. But it can force him to make certain concessions and it can help the defeated German working class, as well as the world's working class, in regaining confidence in the power of proletarian internationalism.

The boycott of goods, supported by bourgeois and liberal Jewish organizations, transforms this method of struggle against Hitler into a means of bourgeois competition and ideological preparation for war, and into the creation of a "collaboration" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in view of coming war.

The boycott of German goods is also propagated in the same sense by the reformist lackeys of capitalism. The revolutionary proletariat can take part only in an active boycott, which also develops the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie; boycott of shipping, strikes of seamen, longshoremen and railroad workers.

The 3rd International, refusing any boycott in the interest of the commercial policy of the Soviet Union, shows again its inability to defend the class interests of the proletariat; an inability which is due to the non-Marxist policy of socialism in one country. Experience has proved that the boycott has no meaning unless it is conducted by the mass organizations of the proletariat, and if it is designed to attain an aim in a definite period of time. This is why the boycott should be preceded by systematic propaganda and by the creation of a united front which will permit the projection of the boycott with a determined aim and at the same time with all the necessary force.

It is in this sense that the Plenum of the International Opposition has addressed itself to all workers' organizations on August 28, and again in its appeal on the subject of the trial on the burning of the Reichstag for joint action of all workers' organizations.

**International Secretariat,**  
September 28, 1933

## Stalinists Expel 3 Food Workers from Union

New York.—Three militants of years standing in the revolutionary and labor movements have just been expelled from the Food Workers Industrial Union in New York for the crime of disagreeing with the political views of the Stalinists in control of the organization and for supporting the standpoint of the Left Opposition. At the same time that this reactionary deed was committed, the Stalinists borrowed another leaf from the book of labor fakery and used the economic club against one of the expelled by firing her from the job which the union bureaucracy controls.

The militants involved are Sebastian Pappas and Sylvia Weiner, two founders of the union, and one of its most qualified organizers, James Gordon. There is not an organized worker in the food industry who is not acquainted with all three militants for their activities in the union, its strikes and on picket lines, for their combativity which has more than once brought about their arrest and imprisonment. Despite the fact that all three of them enjoy a blameless record in the movement, the Stalinists sat in judgment upon them in typical star chamber proceedings and promptly expelled them.

**Culmination of Long Fight**

The expulsion comes at the conclusion of a long fight within the union which began even prior to inexcusable splitting of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union by the Stalinists for the purpose of creating the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. For some time now the expelled members, whose loyalty nobody has ever been able to challenge, have been attempting to correct the pernicious course being pursued in the F. W. I. U. by its Stalinist officialdom. The aim of the Left Oppositionists in the organization has consistently been to establish one united union in the industry and to re-establish a genuine Left wing movement not isolated from the masses of the food workers.

Never able to meet the arguments made by our comrades, the Stalinists have instead sought for some time now to whip up the membership to a lynch spirit for the purpose of facilitating the expulsion of the workers who were a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy. Then, having reduced the union to a caricature, not much greater in strength and influence than the Stalinist party fraction which completely dominates it, the officialdom trumped up charges against the three militants and pronounced sentence of expulsion upon them.

The most despicable act of the Stalinists consists in the firing of Sylvia Weiner from her job in the "Coops", a Stalinist institution where she had been at work up to the time of her expulsion. The capitalist uses precisely the same method of firing and blacklisting in order to starve out militants in the shop until "they come to their senses". The A. F. of L. agents of capitalism use the same method in order to rid themselves of critics and opponents in the unions; they take them off the job, keep them unemployed without the possibility of getting work elsewhere, and thus starve the class conscious fighters into submission to the machine. Sylvia Weiner's discharge does not leave a single spot on her sterling record in the union; it does, however, brand the cynical bureaucracy which committed the act with an ineradicable stigma.

**Rank and File Indignant**

Scores of workers are seething with indignation at the expulsion which every rank and file understands to be based exclusively on the political opinions of the three comrades. Militants in the food and needle trades industries who have worked and fought side by side with our comrades in a dozen battles, refuse to swallow the crude and disgraceful action of the Stalinists. The latter have not heard the last of this expulsion. There are many workers who are determined to make a vigorous protest in every organization against the action. The hope of the Stalinists to finish off their business in the dark of the moon and in the confines of their trial chambers will, we are confident, be successfully spalled by resolute militants. The Stalinists, in this case at least, will be compelled to answer for their action before an infinitely more authoritative court than that which tried the three: the court of the workers and their organizations. The Stalinists will be confronted by militants in the food industry, in the needle trades unions and elsewhere and made to explain.

This crime will not be allowed to pass with impunity—bear that in mind, Messrs. Stalinists!

## A Letter from Prison

Nov. 6, 1933  
Gloucester, N. J.

**The Militant,**  
Comrades:—

I believe you should know that the I. L. D. has not given me any consideration whatsoever at any time during the 5 months that I have been incarcerated owing to my active work for our cause. I expect no action from this source and I feel that the Attorney is not being encouraged to exert the energy in my behalf that I know he can and is quite efficient to do. I am confident that he is perfectly O. K. but is not receiving the attention and care to enable him to forge ahead in the cause for which I confidently stand.

I am personally without funds and deprived of even smoking, also other incidentals which a person really needs. I am sure my comrades do not know these circumstances for I am positive that they realize I face my duty unflinchingly and so do warrant consideration in our unity of cause.

It would please me so much if you will kindly forward the "Modern Monthly" and keep me in mind as I am sure you realize I rightly warrant by my comrades.

**The Militant** is coming to me regularly and I want you to know that I appreciate all you do to inspire and further what is Right-For-All.

I have not heard any definite news for quite some time, the latest given to me here is that I be deported to Italy.

With Kindest Personal Regards,  
Believe me Sincerely,  
COMRADE BELLUSSI.

Note: Letters to comrade Bellussi should be addressed as follows: Anthony Bellussi, Detention House, Philadelphia Immigration Station, Gloucester City, New Jersey.

## N.Y. Food Workers Turn To Trade Union Action

**Sentiment for Aggressive Organization Struggle Follows N.R.A. Fiasco; Hotel Strike in Prospect**

New York.—While the organization campaign drive of the Hotel and Restaurant Union Branch of the A. F. W. is going on as reported previously the Union is confronted now with a new serious situation. The bosses realize that our Union is becoming a powerful force and they are preparing to strike the Union a blow.

They failed to line up the Vatel Club members for the Company Union and they are concentrating at present on the Geneva Association. The big Hotel owners are working methodically in creating the scabbing machinery. They have already begun to force the workers of Taft and New Yorker Hotels to join the company Union, and for obvious reasons. These Hotels so far have very few union members. This fact alone should convince every food worker that in order to protect his interests he must not only join the Union but convince his fellow workers to do the same.

The NRA unions even among the non-unionized workers were very strong. But now they begin to realize that the only road to follow is a more direct action against the bosses. The NRA officials did not lift a finger to help any worker but surely they did work very hard in protecting the interests of the bosses.

Besides the above mentioned behavior of the local NRA officials news reached us from Washington that the President is ready to sign the Hotel Code without any consultation with the Labor Unions. Of course this is an open violation of the law known as the NRA but the class conscious workers did not entertain any doubts that the cap-

talists would violate every law which might harm even slightly their sacred interests.

No results whatever were accomplished, whether the matter brought up to the NRA was an arbitrary firing of an individual or a whole crew of cooks, whether a concerned wages or hours. The new ruling that tips are wages, and the forthcoming signing of a hotel men's code without the participation of the workers, are putting the finishing touches to the hopes and confidence of the hotel and restaurant workers in assistance from the NRA.

Now one ruling after another weakens the position of the workers: the hours of the waitresses at Loft's are being lengthened, the waiters are not getting their fixed minimum wages, cooks and waiters are being fired arbitrarily, and the impossible burden of proving that the discharge is for union activity is being put on the organized workers.

They are beginning to realize that their fate is now in their own hands, and that they must look for help only to their own organization of organized workers, whether working in the biggest hotels or in the smaller restaurants, are preparing for decisive action, completely independent of the NRA.

The workers for their part are prepared to draw the inevitable conclusions from the situation which has been forced upon them. They are prepared to fight back from now on against every aggression of the bosses, whether by the picket line or the strike, and if necessary they will surely not shrink from a general tie-up of the whole hotel and restaurant industry in the city of New York.

The food workers are realizing that only a Union based on class struggle principles is able to defend their interests. That is why they got rid mighty fast of their illusions about the NRA and they are determined to fight for their demands. Their fight will not be an isolated one. Tens of thousands of unorganized will join the ranks of the Union when it leads the fight for the abolition of the miserable conditions that the Hotel Men's Association inserted in their code which the NRA Administration and the President is preparing to sign.

—HOTEL WORKER.

## 'Good Government' Cleans Up in the New York Municipal Election

The Tiger's tail has been twisted. The "rascals" have been driven out of office. The "millionium" of the end of "bossism" has come to New York. Honest-to-goodness government is installed in power and the days of corruption, skullduggery and political racketeering are over. The shining champion of cheapness and honesty in municipal administration, the master demagogue, Fiorello H. La Guardia is ensconced in City Hall to the great rejoicing of the "economy" experts, the pious Christians, the yellow press, the innumerable office-seekers—not to mention the Big Boys who backed and financed his campaign.

It was a tense campaign filled with recrimination abuse and character assassination in which the right was no doubt shared by all the contestants for the mayoralty alike. There can be no doubt that this election must have been a real tickler to anyone with a sense of humor.

The great issue trumpeted up and down our fair city was boss or no boss. Tammany's candidate, the others admitted, was a square shooter but "Honest" John O'Brien had an evil genius behind him whispering Mephistofelian advice into his ear. "Holy" Joe McKee the crusader against Tammany dictatorship was accused of being the cat-paw of the same kind of boss domination which he inveighed so strongly against. And La Guardia, ever ready with radical phrases to please the demos, was charged with being a Communist. No less!

**A Rude Awakening**

The rude awakening will come for the masses in New York when they discover that the election promises to clean up the city, to make an end to corruption, whether carried out or bursting like soap bubbles, will not make a particle of difference in their economic conditions. The dead weight of the four years of abysmal privation, and body-wracking unemployment, will not be lightened when and if the grafters are cleaned out by La Guardia.

Quite another matter are the promises Mr. La Guardia has made to introduce "economy" into the city administration, where he contends extravagant waste has prevailed under Tammany. When La Guardia talks of "economy" he is not addressing himself to the workers but to the gentlemen of Wall Street who will supervise his actions in office. The New York City government is saddled with a huge debt to Morgan, Rockefeller et al. who want it honored, the principal and the interest. The panaceas heralded by La Guardia and others, that dispensing with useless office holders will balance the budget and provide funds to meet the city's obligations, is so much election ranting. If this debt is to be met—and the bankers are demanding

their pound of flesh—then the demagogic phrase-mongering of La Guardia will give way to cold reality.

The necessary funds will come out of the hides of the toiling population of the city of New York. Education facilities will be stripped and the wages of the teachers cut. The nickel fare will pass into oblivion. Unemployment relief will be drastically slashed from the miserable pittance it is today; the Republican instead of the Tammany camp-followers will be its chief beneficiaries. Injunctions, police terrorism, strike breaking—it is a pipe-dream to expect any change towards liberalism from La Guardia and his retinue. The mayor has changed but the system remains. Capitalism rules. The workers suffer.

**The Labor Vote**

For the militants and revolutionists, the results of the recent elections are hardly gratifying. Under the elusive sway of the NRA, the tantalizing promises of La Guardia, the brain-trying confusion of the campaign, the masses in their groping backwardness cast their votes for the representatives of the capitalist parties. Barring the vote stealing, election gerrymandering and violence at the polls—these are a constant factor—the parties purporting to represent the workers made a frightfully poor showing.

The Socialist party, and its standard bearer Charles Solomon, whose whole campaign was of such a pink-tea reform nature that La Guardia stole his thunder, receiving three-fourths of the liberal votes cast for Hillquit last year. The socialist vote dropped from 249,887 to 63,450. So indistinguishable were the programs of La Guardia and Solomon that the prevailing opinion among the socialist voters of a year ago was to vote for the man who had a chance to get elected.

**The Vote for the C. P.**

The Communist party and its mayoralty candidate, Robert Minor received 26,564 votes or an increase of 2,500 votes over the vote recorded for Patterson last year. Considering the huge increase of voters this year the Communist vote has remained stationary. The campaign conducted by Minor and the Stalinists many times sunk into the most vulgar opportunism. The crimes of Stalinism in the union and in the class struggle in this city, the repercussions of their bankruptcy throughout the world, is sadly registered in this election.

—GEO. CLARKE.

**COTTON PICKERS ARRESTED IN STRIKE**

Cotton pickers arrested following the attacks on the strikers by the growers' armed "San Joaquin protection" in the San Joaquin Valley, Calif., will be defended by A. L. Wirin of the Southern California branch of the A. C. L. U. Seven workers are charged with criminal syndicalism, seventeen pickers with resisting an officer and rioting, four with vagrancy and disturbing the peace.

The murder charges grew out of the shooting of a Mexican striker at Arvin. Though the strikers, according to all witnesses, were without weapons and the cotton grower is held. The indictment against Pat Chambers, the leader of the strike, for criminal syndicalism is called a frame-up by Mr. Wirin. Chambers, it is reported, at all times urged the strikers not to resort to violence. His bail was first set at 2,000 and then raised overnight without hearing to \$20,000. A writ of habeas corpus filed in the Superior Court to reduce the bail proved unavailing. At a hearing on the bail for the four strikers charged with vagrancy, the District Attorney of Kings County declared the defendants were arrested because they were strike leaders and urged that the bail be high to keep them in jail. The bail was set at \$200 and raised at once and the mag released. Governor Rolph's fact finding committee investigating the violence reported "Without question the civil rights of the strikers have been violated. We appeal to the constituted authorities to see that the strikers are protected in rights conferred upon them by the laws of the state and by the federal and state constitutions."

## Progressive Enginemen Organize For Reform of Railroad Unions

On July 19th, 1933, at the recent B. of L. E. Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, the "Progressive Club of Enginemen" was started by 74 members of the progressive block in that Convention. The progressive movement has already taken on an organized form inside of the B. of L. E. This minority movement grew up and developed on and around a 25 point program of much needed changes in the organization. Among other things, the progressive minority program called for the "Initiative Referendum and Recall"; abolition of all gag laws and secret work and the reinstatement of all gag law victims; for a new set of officials with lower salaries; for the removal of the B. of L. E. headquarters from Cleveland to Chicago, etc.

However, the Johnston machine had a sufficient majority to control the convention, and were able, with one or two exceptions, to prevent the proposals of the progressives from being enacted into law. When these progressive delegates saw that their program was being defeated they decided to launch an organized progressive movement inside of both of the two Engineers' Brotherhoods to perpetuate and keep alive the progressive program defeated at the B. of L. E. convention, and the result was the Progressive Club of Enginemen. Every locomotive engineer, fireman and hostler who is a member or eligible to membership in the two engineers' brotherhoods and who subscribes to the progressive program, may join the Progressive Club of Enginemen.

There is certainly a big and fertile field for an organized progressive minority movement in the Enginemen's Brotherhoods as well as in the 21 Railroad Unions. The Minneapolis Railroad Council Movement aims to do the same thing inside of the 21 railroad unions that the Progressive Club of Enginemen aims to do inside of the Engineers' and Firemen's unions. Instead of leadership and program the Railroad Brotherhoods have a well-organized bureaucratic autocracy which has entrenched itself behind gag laws, obligations, secret work and a very tightly censored Brotherhood press. No member of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods can even mildly criticize his administration's

policy and program without running counter to some gag law which will cause his expulsion.

The official bureaucrats are strangling, as much as possible, all membership activity—for the many needed changes in the railroad unions. It is almost impossible to get them to attend a Union meeting with a constructive program listed for discussion and action. They are urging cancellation of Conventions in the interest of economy because they have no program to present to the membership at these conventions save that of paying dues and keep things as they are. The Progressive Club of Enginemen as well as Railroad Councils at all railroad terminals is a logical and practical result of the railroad workers to the bankrupt program of the overpaid and useless swarms of craft officials who keep the railroad workers divided and helpless for their personal benefit.

The Progressive Club of Enginemen should put a full time functionary on the job at its headquarters in Cleveland, launch a monthly paper or bulletin to guide and activate the movement and to furnish the membership of the different Clubs with a circulating medium for their ideas. The General Secretary of the Progressive Club of Enginemen is, C. E. Hennies, member Division No. 3, B. of L. E., 822 E. 157th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

—RAILROADER.

**YAKIMA HOP PICKERS STILL IMPRISONED IN STOCKADE**

More than half of the original seventy I. W. W. members who were attacked and herded into a stockade at Yakima, Wash. during a hop pickers' strike late in August by "pickhandle brigades" and vigilantes are being still held in the stockade for trial according to a report received by the American Civil Liberties Union from its local representative. Six persons, four of whom are Communists, are charged with criminal syndicalism, ten with unlawful assembly, thirty-three with first degree assault. The trials will be conducted in an atmosphere bitterly hostile to the strikers. Mark Litchman has been retained to handle the cases by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

**OPEN FORUM**

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY AFTER HILLQUIT**  
Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN  
Friday, November 17, 1933  
8 P. M.

at International Workers School  
126 East 16th Street  
Auspices: Manhattan Branch,  
Communist League of America  
(Opposition)  
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

**BROOKLYN BRANCH AFFAIRS:**  
Headquarters: Militant Hall, 154  
Watkins St. (Near Belmont Av.),  
Brooklyn.  
Sat., Nov. 25th, 8 P. M.—Diego Rivas on Revolutionary Art and Oppressed Minorities.