## REVIEWING | THE NEWS

"Democratic" Traditions

tablished with more demagogic ization. claptrap and eyewash peddled than in any recent year of the "Old needed the assurance.

Capitalist "Democracy" which years is in "safe" hands. Its traditions are being conformed to and with a vengeance.

#### . . . . "Tricks of the Press"

The World Telegram, April 27 prints the following cable from Paris:

"All foreigners who participate in May Day demonstrations Tuesday will be expelled from the country at once, Minister of Interior Albert Sarraut announced today as he awaited news of Leon Trotsky's passage over the frontier to a new home.

"The government is particularly anxious to get Trotsky out before Tuesday, because Socialists and Communists, after years of enmity, have made common

The staff of the Daily Worker,

"All non-citizens who participate in the May Day demonstrations Tuesday will be expelled from France immediately. Minister of Interior Albert Sarraut declared today.

"The new restrictions are seen as expressions of the French bosses' deadly fear of the growing unity of Communist and Socialist workers."

bourgeois". And then, of course, Communist and Socialist workers" rial union call for a new central- becoming more than talk and proto conform to the "united front izing and co-ordinating structure if paganda among the American work- cannot be carried through artiff- "The year of the 'united front' polfrom below".

If the May Day edition had ter times 24 pages and if every burocrat in the Stalintern wrote it, still it would not be able to explain away the Stalinist united front with reaction in the hounding of Leon Trotsky.

#### . . . . Bert Wolfe

Answering a question on Trotsky's "theatrical personality", Bert Wolfe says, "Trotsky has personal attributes that are not altogether Age).

Trotsky was the head of the first Soviet established in St. Petersburg in 1905. He organized the October insurrection in 1917. He organized the Red Army and led it until sweeps them out. every bourgeois army and every White Guard bandit was run out of the spurs bestowed upon him from Soviet Russia. Wolfe may consider above. He became one of the early that in this Trotsky showed personal traits "not altogether desirable in a leader". Of course, he might have gone to Mexico during the stirring days. Sober professorial study would no doubt have appeared "less theatrical" and would also have been much safer. It would appear that the French government agrees with Wolfe that Trotsky has "personal attributes" that "are not altogether desirable"

### Shachtman Meeting at K.C.

Kansas City-As a result of Comrade Shachtman's visit impetus was given to the work of the League in Kansas City, Mo.

On Sunday, April 22, Comrade Shachtman gave a talk on the need for a new revolutionary party in

Comrade Shachtman's meetings. In better, particularly when its execu- inism. It is unable even to attain been prevented through the machaddition to substantial collections tion is in the hands of an ever the virtues of a mass movement. inery of the NRA and the labor at both meetings, several new more bureaucratic Stalinist leader- The American Stalinist party has fakers. position and 4 young and decidedly It is in these wrong positions tation and disorganization. It can- The exploiters are willing to give Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year 1926 until 1933, in all these years the principles of Marx, Engels, capable sympathizers were added that Browder has shown his most not lead in the revolutionary tasks. crumbs to the workers as their reofficially to the ranks of the Kan- "magnificent, brilliant and remark- For that a new Communist Party ward for not objecting to the capsas City branch of the League. able, etc." qualities. Perhaps that is required.

# Old and New Organization | small industries and in wholesale distributing centers for farm areas. Such localities give birth to a clus-**Forms**

line in N. Y. Times. Considering the advanced capitalist countries, reduced tenfold. that the first year of the "New the American workers have been Deal" has seen strikers killed, known as the most politically backclubbed and jailed, company unions ward. The expression of their po- for centralization through confer egate bodies. Such industries as organized on every side, negroes litical backwardness was not con- ences and permanent bodies by steel, coal, auto, textile, etc. add lynched, profits increased and more fined to the spheres of ideology and heaping together as many of these weight to the new form of organizabillions spent on war preparations theory. It was expressed most organizations as possible. Shop tion. and more reactionary measures es- glaringly in the sphere of organ- units and the industrial form of

Deal", it would appear to us that of organized workers in the ele- solve working class problems in one and shop committees as embryo or- leaders great alarm. Mr. Oneal, in the tricks of bourgeois diplomacy, ers in Paterson, whether weavers, the wealthy publishers scarcely mentary trade union form of organ-industry the centralization of these ganizations for industrial unions. nanged the leaders of the eight European sections, clearly revealed some broader problems on a local tute the foundation. The key to one, cannot criticise the Social De-unions, by all and every means to industrial union. At the same time, Sacco and vanzetti and has kept of affairs. Beneath these outstand- brought together in a centralizing of all existing workers' organizations as untaken to initiate and complete orrelation changes taking place in national conference. the United States.

> that the basis of the old forms is used but it should be our deliberate for their demands. higher type for our class struggles. dow the old ones.

The old forms primarily revolve around the craft structure for the April 28, rewrites the cable as fol- permanent bodies, that were formed made its way in life only when the democratic bodies representing all Oneal admits that he is a Marxist no revolutionist or Marxist at all. but within supposed union shops heaping together a quantity of the forms. But in this whole period shall also send representatives and doubt that the Social Democracy and straight-forward manner. same backward forms.

A class that is politically back-tion. ward, with a low class ideological The new organizational forms are units of the industrial union of the growing body of thought which has level, can tolerate such antiquated now pushing forward. Already country. forms. But a rapidly developing hybrid and distorted forms of the class in motion, such as we find in new organizations can be noted. America today, already shows signs The Federal Union is an attempt to should be the workers' answer to into manhood with the aid of Oneal. of a struggle to grasp new and "answer the demand" by sidestep- the NRA. This should be the an- We must admit that under his tels. Labor is hindered in organhigher organization forms.

toward revolve around the shop ter and answer the demand for bodies shall fulfill the needs of the United Front between the Socialist meeting and the shop committees as Federal Unions in the Auto Indus- class and safeguard and extend its Not being content with a modest the basic units of the industrial try by establishing "Works Coun-democratic rights. Such a struc- effort, Oneal decides that while he in France doesn't fit in with the union. This form has been propa- cils" (employee representation com- ture must be separate and apart is about it he may as well expose idea of "the advance agent of the gandized for years. Now it is pany unions). However, shop del- from the NRA or any other class the great fakir, Lenin. It is inwithin reach of fulfillment.

> we are to be effective in combating ers. the aid of the NRA. If the shop dominated by the diversified and

The class struggle of the Ameri-|committee and industrial union use or wields tremendous influence in can workers has been known the old vehicle, which successfully shaping, the immediate course of "Secretary of State Hull assures throughout the world for its mili- co-ordinated the old craft, language the class relations. publishers New Deal will conform tancy and its sudden flare-ups. and territorial structures, the efto traditions of Democracy"-head- Likewise, among the workers of fectiveness of the new weapons are dustries of the country are so lo-

Shop Delegate Bodies

organization call for centralization later a Stalinist party that were the industrial union as its highest rest with the shop unit and indusno more than caricatures of their expression. If the object is to solve trial unions, although they consti-

New Forms to the Fore

was omitted. The coupling of the The higher forms we must work turn, go the labor fakers one bet- NRA plan. These shop delegate extent that we can no longer recog- and in striking for better conditions. egate meetings based upon shop collaboration machinery. The shop committee and indus- meetings and industrial unions are The completion of the transform- complishes this. In the March 3rd

tion and cartels developing through shop delegate bodies in the cities popularize the new forms, with their of the Comintern to lie, intrigue

# Cleveland Convention of the C. P.

(Continued from Last Issue)

We recall Marx speaking in the stances and relationships that "enabled a grotesque mediocrity to desirable in a leader". (Workers' strut about in a hero's garb". And truly, at times of back-wash of the mighty waves of history, the second or third-raters often occupy the most exalted positions. But only until the rise of the new wave again

Browder has apparently earned and very ardent exponents of the fallacies of Stalinism in this country. In 1929, at the time of the formation of the C.P.L.A., he pompously informed all those willing to listen that: "We will no longer waste our energies and time in disastrous attempts to work with these fake progressives". He entirely ignored the fact that it was both the mild and the more adthemselves up with large masses of

### New "Federation of Labor"

discussed the world-wide drift to- Union Federation. But this is the and tactics. ward the idea of a Fourth Inter-same old red trade union policy in national and answered many ques- an enlarged format. And the main come the crowning height of the tions concerning the tasks of build-trouble with that is that only paper contradiction in the United States ing a new party both here and unions came out of the disastrous between an advanced industrial de- themselves into national associasplit policy which isolated the mili-velopment and a backward political tions and their slaves into company The Kansas City Comrades are tants from the mass movement, ideology of the masses. It reflects unions, while the organization of well pleased with the results of This new version cannot fare any all the vices of international Stal-unions and big labor struggles have

-F. S. | was the particular quality the writ-

ers of the New Masses were looking and its Molotovs.

zation of the Stalinist apparatus paratus can be entered by the work- UNIONS. Lenin advised the boys official policy arose from his own and time-worn slanders that I used rising pyramidically to its pinnacle ers as visitors, with the underto get on the band wagon. For all mands. Pressure upon the NRA now we have a definite quotation question and led him to a study of confidence in the "Communist Inunstable and too often changing to expose it as a capitalist strucregime. Then there is also the con- ture against the working class. stant fear of becoming scape-goats. Hence the Stachels and the Amters sing their praise in unmeasured terms of the infallibility of the leadership of the general secretary.

### Fluctuations of Membership

A more real picture of the official the work with the progressives, Party is afforded in certain figures presented by the general secretary. vanced types, which had made it He reported that from 1930 until possible for Communists to connect February 1934, the Party had re-ploiters. To decrease the real wagcruited 49,050 new members. But es of the workers. he admitted that two of every three had not been retained by the Party, But Browder thought it quite use- claiming for it now a membership price fixing, is provided for in the less to monkey around with the of 25,000. We, of course, under-codes; while the 100% unionization conservative mass trade unions and stand the degree of reliability which of the shops is called a monopoly he became the particular exponent, can be placed in figures issued by of labor and is fought as a closed also in 1929, of building red trade the Stalinists. But even taking shop. unions all along the line, together these figures at face value there is with a new national trade union something ominous in this enormcenter, the T.U.U.L. Today he ous fluctuation. By no means all opted under the codes are far above On April 23 Comrade Shachtman sponsors a new idea of enlarging of those who left are the poorest of the workers' demands and intergave an informal talk to about 30 the T.U.U.L. to also embrace the revolutionists. Many of them re-ests. sympathizers and members of the independent trade unions and con-volted against the bureaucratization "Left Opposition", during which he stitute a single Independent Trade of the party and its false policies

The Stalinist Party has today bebecome a serious force of disorien-

-ARNE SWABECK. the NRA.

small industries and in wholesale ter of retail establishments which when combined with the other factors, make up a tremendous petty bourgeois section which dominates

On the other hand, the basic incated and concentrated that they lend themselves readily to the in-Craft and territorial forms called dustrial form and to the shop del-

#### **Útilize Federal Unions**

The struggle within the Federal

the highest political struggles have The transition will result in a or political opinion. These bodies not will to win". existed so long that every one takes struggle between the old and the to constitute the new organizational

to spread nationally as the heat of leaders which is doubted.

#### The Answer to the NRA

cially by the radicals. However, icy was also the year of Lenin's the centralization, the concentra- It is very difficult to organize proper propaganda and agitation to pamphlet instructing the conscripts use wherever possible, taking into and slander all who stood in their struggle are working in our favor, would be accompanied by the name quite rapidly.

There is no short-cut to working this article. for when bestowing their praise in class results. Some argue that an even more intellectualized way this process is too slow, that work some inquiries for this information Eighteenth Brumaire of circum- than the humbler Daily Worker re- in the NRA will be faster. Yes, since in the very next issue of the porters. They predicted that Am- faster in strait-jacketting the work- New Leader Oneal says, "Let us erica will also produce its Stalins ing class. Inside the NRA appar- take a text from Lenin's pamphlet atus the workers are harnessed into SHOULD COMMUNISTS PARTIC-With the enormous bureaucraticlass collaboration. The NRA ap- IPATE IN REACTIONARY TRADE "Trotskyists". His criticisms of the skyism" except those well-known of the General Secretary, which is standing that only the organized what the official party convention might of the workers outside of hullabaloo signifies, there is a rush the NRA can win the workers dethe lesser bureaucrats it is not at and its "use" upon this basis will from Lenin—and it is not strictly its literature. As a result he has ternational". In Germany as both all comfortable to contemplate an obtain results and also enable us the same as Oneal's statement in —HUGO OEHLER.

## under the NRA

To increase the profits of the ex-

A monopoly over prices, through

The average minimum hours ad-

The average minimum wage below a living standard.

The exploiters have organized

talists taking the lion's share under

# Oneal on the Communist Sickness

lowing answer to the crusade against Communism conducted by James Oneal in the New Leader group which recently left the So-

munist sickness".

this backward organization state or national scale the shop units are the change is in the United Front mocracy for, he says, "With my put them out, to make their work an intensive drive must be undering organizational shortcomings structure by delegates from all of tions. By this force conferences not, in the comparative case and pleasant as possible, to insult, ganization in other silk centers, in there was concealed a more funda- the shops in the city, region, or and organizations of SHOP DELE- security we have on this side of hound and persecute them. It is Pennsylvania, in the South, and in mental one that is now in the first nation. The councils of delegates GATE BODIES can be established, the Atlantic, play the role of a necessary to be able to withstand New England—where the bulk of stage of change—as a reflection of in a city elect delegates to the next with ample provisions for the rep-scolding fish-wife". And as for all this, to go the whole length of the workers are still outside the the fundamental economic and class higher body, and so on up to the resentation of workers' political those rude persons who are so unorganizations, the unorganized ethical as to criticise, well, they to strategy and advoitness, illegal ization. A transition stage from the old shops, the organized unemployed are just guilty of a "free-will type proceedings, reticence and subter-Remoulding Workers' Organizations organization forms to the new is workers, and with fraternal dele- of reasoning" which assumes "that fuge, to anything in order to pene-The old organization forms used now beginning. This calls for spe-gates from the other workers' or in nations where the working class trate into the trade unions, remain by the American workers for ele- cial attention and guidance on the ganizations, with no discrimination lost ground or had been defeated, in them, and carry on Communist fight for the consolidation of the mentary industrial struggles up to part of the class conscious workers, against race, nationality, religious the workers could have won but did work inside them, at any cost".

the old forms dominated the situa- place on the first order of business followed a revolutionary course, the organization of the shops into Oneal explains that "Marxism is a expanded and has been modified since Marx and Engel's death". This organizational structure Evidently Marxism is now growing ment in organizing strong national nize its relation to the original.

> teresting to see just how he acconsideration, at the same time, the way". Now we might suppose that fact that the forces of the class such a serious statement as this can enable these forms to develop of the work to which the writer was referring, but none is given in

However, there must have been cunning, and to resort to illegal methods\_to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth'". So Leader. Nothing appears here way". Also, it is unfortunate that Oneal is so brief in his quotation.

follows this short phrase. further information about the mat-fraternal organizations to look out now, and clear-thinking workers ter? Anyway, although the trans- for this counter-revolutionary tool". who see things in their true colors lation seems to be somewhat different, here is the same quotation with a few preceding sentences, as

### THE MILITANT

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EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon slavery. Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

75e for six months.

COMMUNISM:

'masses' and to win their sympawas written by a member of a thy, confidence and support, it is ganization of all silk workers nacialist Party in Waukegan, Wis., attacks, insults, cavils and perse-Such a national organization of the and joined the Communist cutions by the leaders (who, being workers in the silk industry is nec-Recent dissentions in the Social-directly connected with the bour- and living conditions. Since Patist Party ranks due to the failure geoisic and the police), and to work erson is the largest single silk cenof the Social Democracy in Ger- by every possible means wherever ter, and since it is the only organmany and Austria, and especially the masses are to be found. . . . ized section as yet, the workers in The highest developed capitalist through shop delegate bodies and unions must be utilized by those sentiment for a Fourth Internation- Undoubtedly the leaders of oppor- Paterson must necessarily take the nation with the lowest percentage committees. If the object is to who support the industrial union al, are causing the Socialist Party tunism will have recourse to all lead in this direction. The workthe columns of the New Leader has will appeal to the help of bourgeois dyers, warpers, loom-fixers, or ization, and with a Socialist and shop units takes on the form of The key to the change does not begun a war against such "Com- governments, to priests, police, twisters—in short, workers in every Mr. Oneal tells us that he, for munism from entering the trade amalgamated into a single strong

-0. W. WATTERS.

TWO SIDES OF THE NRA

Capital is assisted by the governassociations of employers and car-

> Brownsville Open Forum "WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" Speaker:

JOHN G. WRIGHT Friday, May 4, at 8:30 P.M. Auspices: Communist League of America-Spartacus Youth Club 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

## Paterson Silk Workers Club

The militant and progressive EDITOR'S NOTE...The fol- it appears in Lenin's LEFT WING workers of Paterson have organized the United Silk Workers Club, with "In order to be able to help the the headquarters at 80 Market St. The club sets as its goal the ornecessary to brave all difficulties, tionally into an industrial union. opportunists and social-chauvinists, essary for them to gain and mainare, in most cases, directly or in- tain improvements in their working courts, in order to prevent Com-department of the industry must be

#### To Extend Organization

The club proposes to work and workers in Paterson; for the im-So now is it not clear why Oneal mediate improvement of conditions What critics are there who as- was so brief? Could he have found locally; and for extension of organthem as a matter of course. Now new forms. Both forms will be forms of the workers united front sume that the working class did fault with this quotation if he had ization into the outlying centers. not want to win? Oneal knows given it more fully? He could not The A. F. S. W. U. as the largest in the flux it is vital that the class policy to replace the old with the At the start such shop delegate very well that no one questions the have done so without disclosing his union in the field must take the conscious element help remould new as rapidly as possible until the bodies will only be able to take root desire of the workers to win. It own nakedness. If he wants us to initiative in this drive. But the these organization forms into a new forms dominate and oversha- in certain sections, cities and re- is only the correctness of their be honest to Green & Company and present leadership of the union has gions. But later they will be able program and the wisdom of their all the rest of the reactionaries and failed even to enforce those condiopportunists, then surely he would tions in the industry which were The crisis has brought the new the class struggles remoulds the And what sort of a philosophy want us to be just and merciful to supposedly gained by the workers trade unions, language and territor- forms to the fore. In the past this new and higher organizational is this which asks us not to analyse the capitalists, that is, he would during the last strike. Not only ial structures and local and nation- form only cropped up in the propa- forms for the workers struggles. | critically? Surely it is not Marx- condemn the class struggle and are there many rat shops still opal central bodies. Conferences and ganda of the advanced workers. It The shop delegate bodies shall be ism. But we are mistaken, for would thereby prove that he was erating under non-union conditions, on a city-wide or national issue, heat of the class struggle reached shops in the given area, regardless And for the benefit of those who It is for this reason that Oneal wage scales are paid below the merely knitted together the exist a stage where the old broke down of what union the workers are af-doubt this, and for those who, hav-would rather confuse, distort, and agreement, chiseling on yardage is ing forms, which meant merely and the workers picked up the new filiated to. The unorganized shops ing read a little of Marx, might conceal, than argue in a clear prevalent, and payment for smashes is made in very few shops. Installation of clocks on looms which was promised --- has not materialized. The union officials have made no effort at all to organize the centers in Pennsylvania, to say nothing about the other centers. Small wonder, then, that as a result of such a wishy-washy leadership, the ping the issue. The employers, in swer to Green's class collaboration guidance it is growing to such an izing unions of their own choosing workers in Paterson were given a 3% wage-cut only recently, and are faced with the immediate threat of another wage-cut-not a nominal one, this time.

> If every militac+ and progressive worker in Paterson joins hands with his fellow workers in the United Silk Workers Club and puts his shoulder to the wheel—the Club will be able to realize its program much more easily than the most sanguine militants now believe.

-SILK WORKER.

## Statement of Jack Hackverdian

dian was expelled from the C. P. overthrow this reactionary and muron charges of "Trotskyist devia- derous system of capitalism and tions". Comrade Hakverdian, an build a society where the toilers Armenian militant who belonged to have the right to live and enjoy the party since 1926, did not know the fruits of their labor. anything at that time about the Here I will admit very frankly platform of the International Com- that I did not know anything until munists whom the Stalinists call very lately about so-called "Trot-

aroused in him an interest in the tell you how I began to lose my become convinced of the correctness our friends and enemies know, the preceding issue of the New of our platform, finding in it a ver- there was the strongest Communist ification and generalization of his Party outside of the Soviet Union about slandering, and no reference own proletarian criticism of the with millions of followers. This is made to "all who stood in the policy and practices of Stalinism. mighty force, which I used to know The following is his statement:

Possibly we might be still further column of Panvor, the semi-weekly enlightened if we could secure and organ of the semi-developed Armread a little of what precedes and enian Stalinist bureaucratic clique, section of the working class. On among the announcements of the short notice it could mobilize not In our examination, we find an decisions of the District and Cenother irregularity. This pamphlet tral Control Commission, a state-SHOULD COMMUNISTS PARTIC- ment that I have been declared ex- time in any part of Germany. With IPATE IN REACTIONARY TRADE pelled from the Communist Party such a tremendous force and re-UNIONS is out of print, but it hap on charges of being sympathetic to volutionary traditions: How could pens to be only a section of a larg- the "renegade" Trotsky's ideas and it be possible for such a party to er work LEFT WING COMMUN- of defending his point of view pub- capitulate before the onslaught of ISM which is in print. Oneal does licly. The announcement ended Hitlerism without the slightest renot disclose this. Can it be that with a sharp warning, something sistence or even a sign of it? he hopes we shall not secure any like this: "We recommend to our

of my statement for their judgment. movement. Only the self-contented My social standing before and af-bureaucrats, whose personal and ter I joined the Party has been clique interest is paramount can similar to that of any ordinary still try to convince their followers Entered as a second class mail worker. One of the reasons I en- in a thousand ways that time was adopted under the codes are far matter November 28, 1928, at the rolled in the revolutionary move- not ripe or similar rubbish in order ment was that I had more or less to justify their unfitness for leadchances for self study after my ership. working hours and had contact with more experienced and class con-scious worker-revolutionists will scious workers. Finally I joined not endure any more such costly the Communist Party which, I then defeats. The events show us very thought, was the only genuine lead- clearly that the time has come to er and organizer of the working break away for good from bureauclass for its liberation from wage cratic Stalinism and to form a new

> and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; was good and well for the working sentatives and leaders of the toiling class. And I will still serve my masses of the world. Pundle rator one cort por copy. | class and its party by all means in

Some weeks back Jack Hakver-imy reach until we, the workers,

to read in the Daily Worker and His expulsion for "Trotskyism" in other party organs. Now I will cause I was a seaman and used to I read with great pleasure in a have many contacts with German comrades in Hamburg) was a real mass party that was rooted in every only its own forces, but was able to create a mass movement at any

The fault of Stalinism is plain I will just leave it to the reader are taking steps to build a new

No, no, comrades. Class con-Communist Party and a new Inter-As a rank and file member from national to justify and to carry out

-- JACK HAKVERDIAN.