

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD,
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

VOLUME VII, NO. 41, [WHOLE NO. 245]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

Vertical Union Plan Is Adopted by A.F. of L. at Convention in Frisco

But Right Wing Steers Towards Class Collaboration Policy

Green's policy has met more opposition at the current convention than it has for a number of years. This opposition is not even tinged with progressivism. The real left wing has no voice in the convention. In the main the opposition that received a hearing on the floor primarily concerns jurisdictional disputes, and a clique fight between the labor leaders. These disputes over the question of enlarging the Executive Council, over the building trades jurisdictional dispute, and other such clashes, as well as the difference of opinion on the question of craft vs. industrial union, reflect the difference in policy among the labor leaders, not over the question of how they can aid the working class, but over the question of how they must act in order to retain their organization and its grip over the workers who are moving to the left.

The NRA and Rieberg came in for criticism as the convention warmed up. The speakers did not point out the strike breaking role of the government in the recent strike wave. Rather, their criticism points out that there is not a sufficient development of the policy of class collaboration. They desire equal representation on the NRA Boards. The workers must realize that the main trouble with the A. F. of L. in the present strike wave was too much class collaboration and not enough class struggle. To "remedy" this error the labor agents of the capitalists are going to give the working class an increased dose of this poison.

Anti-Labor Drive Prepared

The A. F. of L. convention skips over the most important issues confronting the working class and organized labor. The reorganization of the NRA is merely the first indication of a new attack upon the workers' standard of living. All indications of the present economic and political moves that are being made by the bosses and their government point to a bitter drive against the workers. Before the drive has gotten under way Roosevelt is asking labor and capital for a truce. In fact every time an emergency situation exists, one which is favorable for the workers, the bosses' government asks for a truce. Capital gives this pledge and the labor leaders do likewise, and then under the cloak of this false harmony, the bosses' drive back the working class. Unorganized and betrayed by the leaders of the few millions of organized, the class cannot put up effective resistance. This is the main danger now. The truce is another knife in the back of the workers.

The possibilities taken advantage of the bosses have offered them in the NRA and have organized powerful national associations and trusts that are legally not "trusts". In addition to this the bosses have organized their company unions, which have become a powerful factor in industrial relations in many industries. On the other hand, the upsurge of the workers toward organization and struggle for better conditions has been checked by the policies and betrayals of Green, Lewis, Tobin, Woll and Company.

A. F. of L. Gains and Losses

The convention reports showed that the increase in membership is constantly wiped out or lowered considerably by the turnover due to unemployment. It must be remembered that these industries have been in chronic sickness for some time and the conditions here are relatively worse than in the other organized industries.

The jurisdictional fight and raids on the Brewery Workers Union by the Teamsters, Firemen and Engineers brought to the surface the issue of industrial unionism, but this issue was successfully sidetracked, and a vote of 15,558 to 9,305 favored the Executive Board's decision to uphold the position of 1933.

Vote for the New Party in The Elections

Once again, the workers in New York have the opportunity of voting while they starve. After five years, in which hunger was a constant guest at the family table and the bull-headed, quick-to-club cops an ever-present companion on the picket lines, the sober realization must be sinking in—the ballot is a worthless scrap of paper unless the might of organized, fighting labor stands behind it. Even then it is a subordinate weapon.

The New Deal versus the Old Deal, and a furious battle of words, is the issue cooked up by the gold-standard parties for the workers to get exercised over. The Old Deal, the workers have associated with the "great engineer", Herbert Hoover, his regime of "let them eat cake" and gassing bonusers will not soon be forgotten by the workers despite all the prattle of "liberty".

The Vertical Union Decision

A compromise has been reached at the convention on the question of the vertical union. The report of the resolutions committee calls for the issuance of international charters in the auto cement and aluminum industries, was adopted by the convention. In these basic industries these internationalists will be constituted as industrial

(Continued on Page 4)

Prices to Rise In Fake Truce Of Roosevelt

An industrial truce is to be declared in the war between capital and labor, and prices are to mount upwards.

These two pronouncements of our "Fireside" President are of course not unconnected. They mean that the worker is not to demand increased wages when the prices of food, shelter and clothing begin to skyrocket. Otherwise, what would be the point of the National Recovery Act, designed entirely to end the slump in price levels?

In a word, industry and business are to find recovery at the expense of the workers.

Again and again, this has been evident in the acts and speeches of the benign Mr. Roosevelt.

"President Roosevelt today emphasized his belief," says the N. Y. Times of Oct. 11, "that prices should go higher, and that the administration would continue on its course toward this goal."

And who is behind the President in this program? The Times' story is clear on this point.

"The price-raising aims of the administration grew out of conferences more than a year ago between the President and representatives of industry and agriculture, financial authorities and spokesmen for mortgage and farm credit institutions."

"Mortgage and farm credit institutions!" The farmer must get more for his crops so that the bankers can get back their loans. Otherwise the mortgages they hold will be worthless.

The wages of the workers are to be drained by high prices for the benefit of the manufacturer. The returns the farmer gets on his crops will be drained for the benefit of the mortgage holder. Beyond that, the deponent sayeth not.

Wages have been stabilized by the codes. But no check is to be placed on prices. Was there ever a more gigantic frame-up of the workers? Was there ever a more perfect swindle?

Scottsboro Boys In Danger As I.L.D. Tactics Enable Lawyer to Knife Defense

Samuel S. Liebowitz, chief I.L.D. counsel in the Scottsboro case during the past year and a half, has quit the case after roundly denouncing the I.L.D. and the Stalinist party for their Scottsboro policy. He joins Alabama's legal lynchers in their efforts to harm the nine defendants by charging I.L.D. attorneys with attempted bribery of witnesses. More than this, Liebowitz, with the backing of a handful of Negro parsons has ordered the I.L.D. to get out of the case, and to turn it over to the Negro churches. The Daily Worker charges that Liebowitz has turned against the I.L.D. because that organization preferred to have the next appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court managed by Walter Pollak, who served in the first Supreme Court appeal. It seems that Liebowitz is another of those shocking "traitors", who somehow always turn up among the Stalinists' best buddies.

Joseph R. Brodsky, the I.L.D.'s leading staff attorney, who has repeatedly praised Liebowitz's work, now announces with pathos that he "never was so disappointed in any one" as he is in Mr. Liebowitz, and charges him with motives of self-aggrandizement.

The truth of the matter is that Sam Liebowitz has always been a doubtful ally, whose intention it was to get what he could out of the case while knifing the working class and the Negro people in the back. This he did effectively for a long time, and the I.L.D. let him do it!

On March 25, 1933, the Militant commented on the hiring of Liebowitz as follows:

"Liebowitz... is getting a free hand to attack the defense from a platform given him by the I.L.D. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times, he maneuvers just as would an N.A.A.C.P. lawyer seeking to make a deal. When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass defense movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the I.L.D. were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism."

"Democracy" in the I.L.D. Unknown to the Militant, leading members of the I.L.D. and of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of the I.L.D. had, even earlier, carried on a struggle on this question within those bodies. The Stalinist bureaucrats advocated the hiring of Liebowitz without putting to him the demand (compulsory, according to I.L.D. rules) that he maintain political silence during the case.

Some members of the National Executive Committee objected. As a result, the N.E.C. by a resolution adopted at a meeting early in 1933 uprooted the expressed wishes of the National Bureau and by the votes of the N.E.C. majority including half the C. P. fraction, instructed National Secretary Wm. L. Patterson not to retain Liebowitz without his letter that, while lawyers were not required to espouse the I.L.D.'s views, they were not permitted to enter into political discussions of the matter on lines

As a matter of fact, we may be quite confident that nobody knows this better than the boys and their parents. Of course, somebody might trick them into choosing Liebowitz against the I.L.D. by assurances that if the I.L.D. is kicked out, the boys will get off. How much such assurances are worth is

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers Battle Heavy Odds in Spain Against Onslaught of Reaction

In spite of the confusion caused by the lack of a truly united leadership, undoubtedly indicates that Gil Robles will still have much to contend with before he can consolidate a dictatorship.

In this interim, there is still a possibility of reforming the proletarian forces forging the vanguard party so necessary if final victory is to be achieved. The heat of the present struggle will be followed by a regroupment within the working class movement in Spain. The new party must then be created. If the final triumph of Fascism is to be prevented, there is but little time left if complete disaster is to be averted.

Unfited on the Barricades In practically every city and factory town of Spain, the red flag was raised during this past week, as the workers staged their first desperate fight against the forces of reaction. Having learned from the German events, of last year, the Spanish Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Communists waged a united struggle on the barricades against the common enemy.

It is still too soon to draw the balance sheet and to make a detailed and intelligent analysis of this heroic struggle. We can only say that the revolutionary party capable of giving Leninist leadership was conspicuous by its absence. The Socialist Party, which has played the leading role, has demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill this necessary role. In the months prior to the events, the Socialist Party prevented the workers under its leadership, from participating in any serious partial struggles, explaining that all energies should be conserved for the insurrection itself. Thus the working class was led into an insurrection without having any partial gains behind it, and at a moment when the bourgeoisie felt most confident of its strength. We see therefore a combination of errors of opportunism and adventurism in the policy of the Socialists.

"July Days" in Spain The present stage in Spain can be said to correspond roughly to the days of 1917 in Russia. The task of the moment was to stop the Spanish "Korniloffs" in their march towards power—and not to attempt a direct assault on power. But the Spanish Socialist Party mistook July for October and called for the transformation of the general strike into a general assault for power, at precisely the time when the enemy, flushed by a series of recent partial victories over the workers, would be best able to defeat the as yet imperfectly united working class. The inability to win over any appreciable section of the armed forces is another indication of the lack of serious preparation by those who insisted on an immediate insurrection at any price. Once under way however, there was no way to avoid the open armed struggle and the workers of every tendency realized that their duty was to strain every effort for victory even though the odds were overwhelmingly against them.

Another serious shortcoming for which the proletariat has paid dearly, is the lack of an organized, well functioning national united front. As pointed out in previous issues of the Militant, the S. P., while permitting its local and regional organizations to participate in the Workers' Alliances wherever these existed, sabotaged nevertheless the formation of the National Workers Alliance.

The anarchists in control of the C.N.T. on the other hand prevented their local organizations from joining the Alliances (excepting in Asturias), while the Stalinists decided to join only at the last moment (Sept. 12 to be exact), reversing completely their previous attitude under which they considered the Workers Alliances as "instruments of Fascism". Throughout the whole period, it is the revolutionary minorities (Communist Internationalists, Syndicalist Libertarians, Maurin Group) who have been giving their complete and whole-hearted support to the Alliances.

Power of Workers Alliances Experience has demonstrated that it is precisely in those regions

Best Fight Is Waged in Districts Led by Worker's Alliance In the district of very serious setbacks to the insurrectionary movement in Spain, the miners of Asturias are still putting up a valiant defense against all the armed forces of the semi-Fascist regime, dominated by Lerroux and Gil Robles.

As warships shell coast towns in the workers' hands, the embattled miners are barricading themselves in mountain strongholds, where they are besieged by the combined land and air forces of the government. In Madrid and many other cities, throughout the country, street fighting still continues, but all indications now are that the premature, improperly prepared uprising has but small hope of success.

This does not mean that Fascism is already triumphant in Spain. The very fact that the workers have fought so valiantly, Anti-fascists Demonstrate In New York

The three Yipsels arrested on the charge of painting anti-fascist slogans on the walls of the Yankee Stadium are being held without bail for the court of Special Sessions.

On Columbus Day, October 12, about 1,500 workers representing all political tendencies in the labor movement except Stalinism met in Columbus Circle, as a preliminary to a demonstration later in the day at the Yankee Stadium, in a counter demonstration against the agents of Mussolini now touring this country in the guise of visiting students ostensibly studying university life in this country but in reality spreading the poisonous fumes of the black shirt variety of Fascism wherever they appear.

These "students" were to lay a wreath at the foot of the statue of Columbus in "honor" of the great explorer. But they never showed up. His excellency, the governor of the state of New York, pinch hit for them... and was greeted accordingly by the anti-fascist demonstrators with a concerted raspberry and by the Fascists with outstretched palms in the manner of flunkies greeting a fascist notable.

Valenti of La Stampa Libera who was the chairman of the united front introduced comrade Hugo Oehler of the Communist League of America as first speaker of the day. Oehler pointed out in the course of his remarks that the tragedy in Germany would not have transpired had both the major parties of the working class, the Socialist and Communist, united in common action against the Nazi hordes. Also, he stressed the need of united fronts of action as against united fronts which turn out to be nothing more than gab fests.

Stress Need for Unity Following him representatives of the I.W.W., the Y.P.S.L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the C. P.O., the II Mariello group, the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the A.W.P., the taxi drivers union and the Socialist party spoke. Each stressed the need for united front activity against Fascism. Particularly stirring were the speeches delivered in Italian. Herbert Solow, speaking for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, was very effective in a condemnation of police brutality. Citing Berlin as an example prior to Hitler's seizing power, he pointed out the futility and hopelessness of relying on the state machinery to hold off Fascism.

Oliver Carlson, speaking for the A.W.P., stressed the need for fighting Fascism in those countries where it is already entrenched but emphasized particularly the urgent need for common militant action against the incipient fascism in this country. With the concluding remarks of the speaker for the Socialist party, the speaker clubs instead of words for the fascists, the meeting wound up and the demonstrators were instructed to go to the Yankee Stadium to carry on the

(Continued on Page 4)

RAISE NEW PARTY FUND! RECRUIT SYMPATHIZERS! BUILD THE LEAGUE!

"Without a revolutionary party there can be no revolution." The triumph of Fascism in Germany clearly revealed the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and the correctness of the International Communist League in proclaiming the need for a Fourth International and new revolutionary parties based upon Marxism. Since then the events in Austria, and now the revolution in Spain further confirm this position. A revolutionary Marxist party must be built in France and the United States before it is too late.

The steps toward organic unity between the Communist League of America and the American Workers' Party is a development in the United States that all revolutionary workers should welcome. To speed up the unification and to launch the new party upon a firm foundation with strong cadres and Marxist theory should be the aim of every revolutionary worker. A new revolutionary party in the United States, the dominant imperialist country of world capitalism, will give a powerful impulsion to the revival of the international movement and the creation of the Fourth International.

You can help. You must help. You must help us in the establishment of a new revolutionary party. Help us build the League. Join the Communist League of America and become a foundation member of the new party.

Buy a Certificate and help build the foundation of the new party. Every member, every reader of our press, every sympathizer should buy a certificate. These certificates come in one dollar and five dollar denominations. Send in your contribution.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA, 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

(Continued on Page 4)