

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD,
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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P. L. Bergoff, Rat Chieftain Brags of Scabbing in Press

"The profits of strike breaking have been large," says P. L. Bergoff, king of the scabs, in the second of his signed articles on "I Break Strikes!" appearing in the New York Post.

"My biggest job was with the Erie Railroad in the shopmen's strike of 1920. . . . The Erie paid about \$2,000,000 for that job.

"Theodore Shonts, president of Interborough Rapid Transit Company . . . paid my organization over \$1,000,000 to break the 1916 subway strike. (The cost of which incidentally was met by the people of New York City in the form of taxes. —Ed.)

"The Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company cheerfully paid us \$700,000 for our work during the 1920 strike. The City of New York claimed my services during two street-cleaners' strikes. The United States Government has used my services."

These and other startling revelations, Bergoff makes cheerfully and proudly. For social awareness, for appreciation of the realities of class struggle, for sound understanding of the social function of crime and racketeering in capitalist society, it is hard to improve upon this arch-scab, who was ever willing to "tell all" whenever he could get anyone to listen to him.

Now a respectable newspaper gives ear, and here is some of the dirt Bergoff spills:

On every big job there are musclemen to rake in the side grafts, such as "the chap that takes care of the dining room service, and another who takes care of the kitchen."

"Another man sets up his little tobacco and cigarette stand on the premises. He practically has a monopoly for the men's movements while on strike duty are limited. If he gets a chance to peddle a little booze on the side, he does that too.

The big boss in every racket has to permit his lieutenants their special rackets. That is axiomatic in gangster circles. Accordingly, it is no surprise to find Bergoff viewing mildly these minor deviations from the main grim business of his "profession."

The main business, however, is clearly indicated in the Bergoff memoirs. His agency does not merely supply scabs to fill the place of the strike breakers, but primarily thugs to murder the strikers.

"Most of the strikebreakers are soldiers of fortune. They don't really want to work in most cases. What they want is excitement and

easy money. . . . Frequently we have to equip our guards with weapons of defense and offense. Our activities in this connection today must be treated as a 'trade secret'.

"In the old days we maintained an arsenal. We had 2,500 rifles with plenty of ammunition. A couple of thousand nightsticks and clubs were always at hand. . . . Today we keep pace with modern requirements."

"Keeping pace with modern requirements" refers to tear gas and sub-machine guns.

Bergoff is highly indignant at Governor Talmadge, who "hampered his work" (i.e. cut in on his racket) by sending out the National Guard in the recent textile strike. "Our men were sent at the request of W. D. Anderson of the Bibb Manufacturing Company," Bergoff complains, with a great air of injured pride. "He said he preferred one of our men to ten of the National Guard."

Out of all these revelations, emerge certain facts of interest and usefulness to the working class. One need not trouble long to discover the reason why Bergoff spills the beans. He is not altogether the big shot he pretends to be. There are serious competitors, including the National Guard. Bergoff can stand a little advertisement.

But the main points with which we are concerned are these:

In the first place, against the natural solidarity of the working class it is necessary to maintain a private army recruited from the lumpen proletariat—not to fill the places of strikers (which they can never do) but to terrorize them by gangster methods. And despite Bergoff's boasts, these rats are inadequate. Hence, the National Guard.

Again, this mobile body of strikebreakers operates to weaken the morale of the workers by giving the superficial appearance that their jobs can be easily filled; these scabs are unfit as workers; they can never man the machines, but they enable the boss to print statements, which the newspapers seize upon eagerly, to the effect that 75 per cent of the strikers are 60 per cent, or 80 per cent or 90 per cent filled. These thugs are the workers we hear about, to protect whom, it is necessary to call out the police force, the army and navy.

Thirdly, the Bergoffs and their slimy army of stumblebums and cutthroats are as essential to the operation of industry for the capitalists as are the top-hatted boards of directors.

What is Happening In the C.P.

militant will print startling documents and material

Beginning with its next issue, the MILITANT will begin the publication of a series of articles, documents and other material on what is going on behind the scenes of the Communist Party of the United States, which are sure to arouse the keenest interest and discussion in the entire radical movement.

The series is of a nature that concerns not only the members of the Communist party but deals with questions that are of importance to every active worker in the labor and revolutionary movements of the country. The documents and material which will be printed either in whole or in part have been carefully concealed from the membership of the C. P. up to now, so as to keep them in the dark about the real status of the problems and tasks confronting them and the actual conditions of the internal regime existing in their party.

The MILITANT is in a position to guarantee fully the authenticity of the material it now has on hand. It has been received by us from a quarter absolutely trustworthy, and whose reliability is further confirmed by the contents of the documents themselves.

Do you remember the notorious "Japanese campaign" of the Communist party, whose central slogan—"Drive out the Japanese ambassador!"—created such a scandal in the revolutionary movement? What were the circumstances in which this campaign was conceived? To what extent were our criticisms at that time justified? What did the Executive Committee of the Communist International have to say about it after? Our first installment next week will present the truth about this campaign for the first time.

Do you remember the "bonus march" to Washington? What were the disputes inside the Communist party on this issue? What did the Communist International have to say about THAT question? You will get the answer in the Columns of the MILITANT.

What is going on in the ranks of the upper circles, the "top" leadership of the Communist party? What are the intrigues and chicanery by which "leaders" are made and unmade? by which once "prominent" figures suddenly vanish from the political arena? by which General Secretaries are manufactured? by which critics and potential critics are "liquidated"?

How is a C. P. convention actually organized now? by the Stalinist bureaucracy? Does the membership really elect the delegates—or are they carefully scrutinized in advance and appointed from above? Is workers' democracy in the C. P. a reality or a fiction?

What is the truth about the terrific fluctuation in membership in the Communist party?

What is the cause for the terrific turn-about-face in the trade union field? Just how far has it gone and how far is it still to go? Do the Stalinists intend to "liquidate" all the T.U.U.L. and independent unions? How? Why?

These are the questions which the MILITANT will answer in a thorough and conclusive manner, with unchallengeable documents to back up the replies. Follow the coming issues closely; don't miss a copy. Order an extra bundle of papers for widespread distribution among all militant workers.

Silk Industry Tied up as Strike of 25,000 Dyers Involves Eastern Cities

Roosevelt Is Applauded By Bankers

Higher Wages and Union Shop Are Issues of Walkout

President Roosevelt in his latest address to the bankers was greeted by them with a thundering ovation.

After listening to his explanation of what the New Deal really means, they decided rapturously that they were all for him, and it, Jackson E. Reynolds, Morgan agent, and president of the First National Bank of New York City, almost literally fell on knees before President Roosevelt, and begged forgiveness for the "misunderstanding" that had kept the bankers aloof from the present administration.

"It is now in such a chastened and understanding mood," said Reynolds, "that you can accept with hospitality any overture of co-operation on the part of the leaders of the banking fraternity."

Does this mean that the bankers are now prepared to renounce their former sins, and to sacrifice their private interests for the benefit of the NRA and the ingenious remedies of the Brain Trust?

Now, now, Oswald! Do you want us to send you back to kindergarten?

What then has caused the change in heart? One needs only to read President Roosevelt's speech to find the clue.

President Roosevelt guarantees no Government interference with the swindling operations of the money-changers, against which he spoke so eloquently when he was first elected. He reminded them of all that he had done for "them," towards bolstering up their crumbling concerns, towards guaranteeing them payment on their bad loans, towards "restoring public confidence" in them at a time when their reputation was unavailing, to say the least. And he delicately hinted that he would do as much or more for them in the future.

The benefit of this juggling to the Government is an artificial relief caused by the strain on the budget, caused not by relief expenditures, but by direct loans to industry.

As we go to press, the strike of 25,000 silk and rayon dress dyers in North Jersey and New York City seems definitely on. The strike was scheduled for Thursday night at midnight.

Needless to say, any attempts at stalling the strike, or marking time by further negotiations with the manufacturers, would have been nothing less than a complete sellout of the workers. There was never a time more favorable for the strike than now, at the opening of the busy season.

The bosses themselves have demonstrated this by their panicky efforts at compromise. They have offered to extend the present contract with the union for another six months, and have offered verbal concessions.

But the shifty nature of this truce offer is at once apparent when one realizes that in six months the busy season will be at an end, and the bosses in a position to clamp down.

Workers Want to Fight

The militancy of the workers, however, makes it practically impossible for the bosses or misleaders of labor to stall for time. Flushed with their success in raising the wage scale from 17 to 25 cents an hour, for a 90-hour week, the union members are now prepared to press their demands to the utmost, calling for a fight to the finish.

The chief issue is union recognition. The workers want fewer honeyed words, and more concrete recognition. They demand the closed shop.

On the matter of wages, they demand a 30-hour week, at a minimum wage of \$1 per hour. Under the old contract, wages have averaged \$13 per week during the year.

Grounds for Victory

Conditions for the success of the strike are unusually favorable. The union is well organized, and the membership is composed of militant union fighters, with past successes to hearten them. This plus the fact of large shops, permitting concentration of picketing and the further fact of the busy season should, if the strike is at all properly directed, lead to victory.

A mass meeting, to rally militant workers in support of the strike, has been called in Paterson this Sunday, at Oakley Hall, 211 Market Street, at 8 P.M. It will be addressed by Hugo Oehler, of the Communist League of America, and by A. J. Muste of the American Workers Party.

Meanwhile, the New Jersey authorities, in cooperation with the bosses, are laying plans to crush the strike by the use of armed thugs and police bullets. Vacations and days off for policemen have been cancelled by Police Chief John Murphy, and "adequate protection" has been promised all scabs.

Attempts of the Department of Labor Conciliator to bring about a "truce" settlement, similar to the one in the textile strike, failed when the union officer flatly refused to consider the "terms" of the Institute of Dyers and Printers, the boss organization, and announced that they would meet no more with the manufacturers until the stoppage of work was complete.

With the calling of the silk strike, with numerous textile locals in open revolt against the sell out by Francis P. Gorman, with many weavers already on strike, and more coming out each day, the President's truce in the textile industry seems doomed to a grand flop.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Due to the publication of the programmatic declaration for the new party we were obliged to omit many articles of importance and interest. A mong them is a splendid analysis by one of the former leaders of the German Communist party, Erich Wollenberg, who writes on "Has the Comintern Learned?" An excellent article on the "Vigilante Raids in Minneapolis" etc.

BULLETIN

As we go to press news arrives from Spain.

This is the first authentic information about our organization, smuggled out of that terror-stricken country has been received at our headquarters in New York.

The communication contains the shocking report that most of our comrades of the Madrid section of the Communist Left were overpowered at the army where they had congregated in response to the revolutionary need of the moment.

Comrade Ferson, one of the leaders of the organization, has been arrested and incarcerated. He faces court martial, charged with high treason.

At this writing the whereabouts of comrade Nin and other outstanding members is still unknown.

The author of the communication is greatly apprehensive as to the fate that might have befallen these comrades.

BOOST NEW PARTY FUND!

With the publication of the draft programmatic statement appearing below, the new party—the Workers Party of the United States—is about to become a reality. We submit the draft to our readers to enable them to become acquainted with the basic position upon which the new party will be launched.

A new and a great forward step will be recorded. The working class movement, torn by dissent and splits, betrayed again and again in severe struggles, will be able to look forward to the beacon light of the new party. But it will not represent just another working class party. The most outstanding fact in its emergence is that it represents the unification of two groups, the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. Unity on a principled revolutionary program designed to extend beyond the borders of this country in the effort to also lay the foundation for the new International, that is what is about to be accomplished.

In view of this great objective, being so near its realization we address an urgent appeal to all those

ready to give the final support necessary. We address it to our League branches, to our friends and sympathizers, including every reader of the MILITANT. Our appeal is for immediate help in that final push which will bring us to the immediate goal—the new party. We are turning this remaining period before its launching into a campaign to build and solidify its foundation. We need your active support, and for that we need funds. We want to strengthen the League to become a stronger factor in the new party; but we must also have the means required to do it.

At this moment one way of expressing your support is in United States currency. Help us raise a new party fund. "New Party Certificates" in the amounts of five dollars and one dollar have been issued. Buy them and sell them. Send in your contribution for a certificate, whichever you can afford; but do it without delay. Become an active participant in the campaign to build a new party in the United States. We expect to hear from you right away.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NEW PARTY

(The document below is the first draft of the joint programmatic statement issued by the Negotiating Committees of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. It is submitted to the membership of the League for discussion and for final ratification at the convention.—Ed.)

(Prepared by Joint A.W.P.-C.L.A. Committee)

Foreword

The American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have united on the basis of the following program to form the Workers Party of the U.S.A. Capitalism, everywhere in decline or complete collapse, subjects the masses today to insecurity, misery, Fascist terrorism and war. In this critical hour the Socialist and the Communist Party, the Second and Third International, have attacked utterly unaided to protect the workers from attack, much less to lead them to victory against their oppressors and to a new world order. We urge all revolutionary workers and groups to join with us, therefore, in building the New Party and the New International.

(The workers of the world press on, in spite of all obstacles and defeats, to the final victory. Following the suffering of the Great War and the betrayal of the masses by the Second International in that war, the standard of revolutionary Marxism was raised again, resulting in the victory of the Russian workers and peasants and the revolutionary upsurge of the masses in many other lands under the leadership and inspiration of the Party and the International of Lenin. Following the onslaughts of Fascism and reaction in Germany, Italy, the United States and other lands and the betrayal of the workers under that onslaught by the Second and the Third Internationals, comes renewed struggle, hope and victory under the leadership and inspiration of the New Party and the New International.)

Program

DECLINE AND COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

The present world crisis marks more than a depression or dip in the business cycle. The mighty mechanism of capitalist society is crumbling in the sight of all. Under the capitalist system of social and political relations the productive machine can no longer function effectively. Its operations are directed not to fulfillment of human needs but to the making of profits for private individuals and corporations. It cannot expand the productive forces further—it contracts them. It cannot feed the masses—in the very midst of plenty it starves them.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Seeking cheap raw materials, profitable markets for the goods which their own populations could not purchase, and new profits for the invested capital, the capitalist nations entered the imperialist phase of their development. Having divided the world among themselves the struggle for raw materials and markets now becomes daily more intense. Driven by the lash of the crisis the powers are plunged into economic, tariff and exchange struggles and armament competition. The period of the decline of capitalism is accordingly marked by a series of the mightiest struggles in history, imperialist wars, wars of liberation of the colonial peoples, and the revolutionary struggle of the working-class for its own emancipation.

FASCISM

Under the domination of finance capital, Fascism succeeds in mobilizing on a reactionary basis the disoriented and desperate middle class elements, when the working class party betrays its revolutionary character and relinquishes its leadership of the masses against the capitalist dictatorship.

In its early progressive period capitalism fought against feudal and clerical reaction, sought to free men from tyranny and repression, and relied for its victory upon the support of the workers and farmers. Today the owning class cannot maintain a measure of profits and its position of privilege save by constantly reducing the standards of the dispossessed majority and presently plunging them into war. This the masses would not tolerate if they retained any freedom to assert their will. Consequently in its decline capitalism resorts to Fascism. All democratic rights are violated, all forms of democracy, freedom of thought, speech, press and assemblage, abandoned. The trade unions and all other independent organizations of workers and farmers are smashed or compelled to become a passive part of the state machinery. The right to strike is abrogated in the name of "harmony and the general welfare". Open terror is exercised not only against avowed revolutionists but against any workers engaged in a militant struggle for their own defense. Since these outrages would be resented and those who perpetrate them swiftly destroyed if all the groups in the population which suffer under the present system stood together under the banner of the revolutionary working class and its party, Fascism sows division among the people by appeals to the basest racial prejudices and nationalistic passion. Thus capitalism allies itself in its period of decline with everything that is archaic and reactionary and threatens to drive whole nations

back into barbarism and savagery.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

With the war, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power in the world. The pillars of its vast power rest on the soil of Latin-America, of Europe, of Asia. In the very nature of its power, there ore, lie those irrepressible conflicts and convulsions that herald its collapse. It cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the millions it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. This circumstance relentlessly sharpens the antagonisms with which the further existence of the reactionary American colossus is confronted.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

U. S. capitalism is also in rapid decline. The Roosevelt program is essentially that of monopoly capitalism, concentrating power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing few financiers and industrialists. Despite its democratic protestations the Roosevelt administration is carrying out measures likely to facilitate the growth of a Fascist movement, if that should suit the interests of the capitalist class and fail to meet with effective opposition. It fosters an open alliance between industry and finance and the government. It strengthens monopolistic tendencies in the form of codes and cultivates the view of the state as umpire in conflicts between capital and labor. It seeks to tie the trade union movement to the capitalist state machinery, breaks strikes under the pretext of impartial composition of differences by government boards, and attacks militant workers and their organizations. Its vast military program is designed both as an instrument of dissatisfied sections of the population at home and as an agency of American Imperialist interests against those of other nations in the wars which are inevitable so long as capitalism endures.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

Today there is only one alternative to capitalism and Fascism, to crises of cumulative intensity, growing unemployment and impoverishment, war, and chaos, ending not only in final collapse of the capitalist system but in a relapse into barbarism. The alternative is to wipe out the central contradiction of capitalism, to take the ownership and control of the natural resources, the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and communication, out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist,

i.e., a truly civilized, society. Thus and only thus can the masses in the modern world achieve plenty, security, peace and freedom.

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES

The central position among the social forces which must be depended upon to destroy the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state and effect the transition to a scientific socialist economy, belongs to the working class. The fundamental solution even for the immediate problems of the workers is much more obviously than in the case of any other group, the full solution. The only way in which they can be assured work, security, and a decent living, is to have the shops run to serve the needs of society and not to make a profit for private individuals and corporations.

While the leading position in the struggle for a new social order is occupied by the working class, it cannot achieve a victory without the assistance of other sections of society who are also exploited or oppressed. The cruelly tormented Negroes, the debt-ridden farmers, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire—these are the allies of the American workers fighting a common foe. The liberation of one is inconceivable without the liberation of all. It is only in the socialist revolution that all groups of workers and producers, all the oppressed sections of the population—the agricultural laborers, share croppers, farmers, professionals, technicians, small traders, the Negroes and other oppressed racial groups—can find deliverance from insecurity, want and tyranny. Victory against the common oppressors will crown their united struggle.

THE CAPITALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

This deliverance can come only as the result of victory in a revolutionary struggle. The belief that we live in a free, democratic society in which important economic changes can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and parliamentary methods, is an illusion. Such a belief must be an illusion in every capitalist society, and, in fact, in any society which is divided into socio-economic classes. Freedom and democracy can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and no social and economic equality can obtain so long as the means of production and distribution, by which the members of society live, are outside the control of society as a whole. Capitalist society, in which a small minority owns and controls the means of production, means and must mean capitalist dictatorship. The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means

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